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## CONTENTS

<b>Politics.</b>		
Th. Neubauer: Brüning Seeks an Understanding with France . . . . .	362	
P. Fontenay: The Election Campaign in France	363	
<b>Germany.</b>		
The Results of the Elections in Germany . . . . .	364	
<b>The Labour Movement.</b>		
J. Berlioz: The Textile Workers' Strike in Vienne	365	
P. Reimann: The Results of the Miners' Strike in Czechoslovakia . . . . .	366	
<b>The World Economic Crisis.</b>		
Max Weiss: The New Tax Robbery in U.S.A. . . . .	367	
R. Bishop: The New Budget of British Imperialism	368	
<b>The War.</b>		
V.M. Molotov: On the International Situation of the Soviet Union . . . . .	370	
Yobe: The Kuomintang and Soviet China's Advance	370	
<b>War and Social Fascism.</b>		
William Rust: The British I.L.P. in the Service of Imperialism . . . . .	371	
Kurt Müller: The Socialist Youth International in the Front of the Imperialist Warmakers . . . . .	372	
<b>International Fight against War and Intervention.</b>		
M. Litvinov: Against the Imperialist Sabotage of Disarmament . . . . .	373	
<b>How the First World War Was Prepared.</b>		
Peace Talk as a Cloak for War Preparations . . . . .	375	
<b>Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union.</b>		
The IX. All-Union Congress of the Trade Unions . . . . .	378	
<b>In the Other Camp.</b>		
Ragnar Okeson: The Corruption Scandal in the Swedish Kilbom Party . . . . .	380	
<b>First of May.</b>		
Appeals of the Comintern, Young Communist International, R. I. L. U. . . . .	382	

## Geneva — Mukden.

### Further Intensification of the Danger of Intervention.

By L. Hildebrandt (Berlin).

The negotiations which are proceeding between the various Statesmen at the Disarmament Conference in Geneva are still hidden by a veil of secrecy. The "Big Five"—Tardieu, Mac Donald, Brüning, Grandi, Stimson— are very "satisfied" with the results of the negotiations; even big speeches are being made about disarmament, peace, the pacification of Europe and the necessity of solving the current questions of world policy. Imperialist secret diplomacy is holding orgies. Behind the scenes of the Disarmament Conference, bargaining is going on over reparations, war debts, Shanghai, Manchuria, naval armaments, Danubian Federation, colonies and loans.

At the Disarmament Conference three decisions have already been adopted against the vote of Comrade Litvinov. All these decisions, as was not otherwise to be expected, are directed against disarmament. It was decided to carry out disarmament only in stages, which means that there will be no disarmament whatever. It was then decided that disarmament must be made consistent with the "security" of the individual States, with their "geographical situation" and with their "international obligations". Security means, however, the security of booty, of the imperialist system. Security means increased armaments. "International obligations", however, mean the maintenance of the military-political system of alliances, the maintenance of the oppression of the colonies; it means, in addition, that on the decision of the League of Nations, sanctions must be applied against the "disturber of peace". And who the disturber of peace is will be ascertained by the imperialist governments. Japan, for instance is not a disturber of peace. But the Soviet Union can be designated as disturber of peace if the imperialist governments united in the

League of Nations consider it convenient to make such an assertion in any given situation.

Further, a decision was adopted on the so-called "weapons of attack". Disarmament is to begin with weapons of attack. But it is expressly stated that weapons of attack can also be internationalised. This "internationalisation" of weapons of attack, which was proposed by Tardieu, implies the setting up of an international army of the imperialists to be used against the colonial revolts and against the Soviet Union. It is important to note that the United States, which hitherto opposed the League of Nations, Italy, which for tactical reasons advocated the revision of the Versailles Treaty and supported disarmament, voted for these decisions. What is still more striking is that the German bourgeoisie, who, are allegedly opposed to the French security theses and sanctions, also voted for these decisions.

It is already known that Stimson is in no way interested in the question of disarmament; on the contrary, according to the "Daily Herald", Stimson is negotiating with France and Italy on the question of naval armaments. The representatives of the United States declare that Washington is striving for agreement among the European Powers on the reparations question. At the same time Stimson is endeavouring to put through a supplement to the Kellogg Pact under which territorial changes must not be effected by violence. This means, however, that the military occupation of Manchuria and other parts of China can only be regarded as legally valid if the United States approve of it, that is to say, if Dollar imperialism obtains corresponding concessions. Dollar diplomacy is attempting to undermine the Japanese-French-English united

front in the Chinese question, because it is partly directed against the interests of the United States, and to bring about a new agreement directed only against China and the Soviet Union.

It has been overlooked that the Shanghai armistice negotiations have experienced a new "turn". China has complained to the League of Nations that the Japanese military will not state a time when they will evacuate Shanghai. The League of Nations Commission has decided, under French and English pressure, to leave the fixing of the time of evacuation to a Commission consisting of representatives of England, France, the United States, Italy, Japan and China. Here again we see an attempt to bring about an understanding among the Powers at the cost of China.

At the same time the experts of the imperialist governments are conducting negotiations on the Tardieu Plan for a Danubian Federation, and the negotiations of the international Chambers of Commerce in Innsbruck, in spite of all the antagonisms which made their appearance there, have brought to light the efforts of the bourgeoisie of the interested countries to find somehow a basis of agreement.

These attempts to find a common basis of understanding against the Soviet Union synchronise with the open war-preparations against the Soviet Union. The events in Manchuria are well known. Alleged plots to blow up the Chinese Eastern Railway, white guardist attempts on representatives of the Soviet Union, trains derailed, concentration of Japanese troops, accompanied by open challenges to the Soviet Union. The leader of the Japanese officers' clique, the Minister for War **Araki**, rattles the sabre and promises that in spite of the wishes of the Soviet Union he will convert Manchuria into an earthly paradise. This earthly paradise in Manchuria does not look very inviting at present. Partisan fights, wholesale executions, shameful and cruel methods of colonial oppression, robbery, tortures, incendiarism—all these, apparently, form part of Mr. Araki's paradise. The representatives of the Japanese Foreign Ministry make provocative speeches against the Soviet Union. And in the "Far Eastern Review" Mr. **Bronson Ree**, an agent of Japanese imperialism, quite openly states that the coast districts of the Soviet Union right up to Lake Baikal, are also to be converted into such a paradise. It is not due to chance that, simultaneously, the notorious Diehards in the English House of Lords are making attacks on the Soviet Union, demanding the termination of the commercial treaties, the breaking off of diplomatic relations and the overthrow of the Soviet Power. And the "socialist" Snowden vies with these noble Lords in anti-Soviet incitement.

The attempts of the imperialist Powers in Geneva to set up a common front against the Soviet Union, the provocations in Tokyo, in Manchuria, London, Warsaw and Bucharest, are all closely connected. And it is again not a mere chance that the II. International and the Amsterdam International have convened a joint Plenum of their bureaus to be held in Zürich on May 22nd and 23rd. It is again not due to chance that **de Brouckère** and **Leon Jouhaux** are to deliver reports "on the state of the work of the Disarmament Conference and on the fight against the capitalist armament industry and trade in arms".

The events in Geneva constitute a conspiracy against peace, against the Soviet Union and China, against all toilers. And the Conference of the II. and Amsterdam Internationals in Zürich is a worthy and necessary part of this conspiracy.

## British National Government Loses A Seat.

London, April 22.

The by-election at **Wakefield** has given the Labour Party its first gain since the General Election, and the National Government its first loss of a seat. This underlines the revolt of the workers against the National Government. Five contested by-elections have taken place, in all of them the Government vote has dropped heavily. The total vote lost is 55,777 in seats where at the General Election their total poll was 144,874—a loss of 38 per cent in six months.

In **Wakefield** the Labour vote rose, by 1,812. From all accounts this vote is not due to any increase in the popularity of the Labour Party but rather to the belief that it is a lesser evil than the tariff and war-making government of **MacDonald**. It becomes increasingly obvious that in Britain

as in other countries the urgent task is to convince the workers that the Labour Party is not the lesser evil.

The successful Labour candidate at **Wakefield** is **Arthur Greenwood**, the real father of the Means Test. Greenwood was the Minister of Health in the Labour Government when the Means Test was put forward by the Royal Commission on unemployment. Greenwood then expressed his agreement with the principle involved and introduced the Anomalies Act as the first step to the implementing of the report.

Now the Labour Party pretend to be in opposition to the Means Test, and on that cry Greenwood is elected, although the sole object of this manoeuvre is to act as a brake upon the mass action of the workers themselves against the Means Test. Greenwood will become the actual leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party, although **Lansbury** may nominally retain the title.

## POLITICS

### Brüning Seeks an Understanding with France.

By Th. Neubauer (Berlin).

When **Reichs-Chancellor Brüning**, after the re-election of **Hindenburg** as **Reichs-President**, went to Geneva to attend the Disarmament Conference, everybody knew that the questions of the approaching reparations conference and the Danube Plan would interest him much more than all the desires of the peoples for disarmament.

The **Reichs-government**, right from the outset, have treated the Disarmament Conference as a matter of minor importance. It is true, the **Reichs-government** were compelled, in face of the very aggressive policy of French imperialism, to put forward their own motion. They were also compelled, in face of Tardieu's attacks, to seek the support of other Powers, especially of Soviet Russia, which in the person of Comrade **Litvinov** came forward as the only serious critic and opponent of the plans of French imperialism.

But the German bourgeoisie are now used to adopting their "standpoint", only in order to give it put at a suitable opportunity. At Geneva their representative **Nadolny** voted along with all the other imperialist Powers against the Soviet proposal of complete disarmament, and also against **Litvinov's** proposal of proportional disarmament. **Nadolny** also voted for the motion that the reduction of armaments should take place in accordance with article 8 of the League Covenant, according to which the League of Nations Council fixes the final amount of armaments of each country—a provision which is quite openly directed against the Soviet Union, which could never think of leaving it to the Council of the imperialist robbers to decide what armaments it should be allowed.

This policy of the **Reichs-government** means more than the abandonment of all the "demands" with which its representative went to Geneva; it means an obvious change of policy for the purpose of coming to an understanding with French imperialism, accompanied by a plain abandonment of the policy hitherto pursued by Germany towards the Soviet Union. There is no doubt that the secret negotiations which **Brüning** conducted in Geneva with the representatives of the big Powers are the reason for this attitude at the Disarmament Conference.

We have repeatedly pointed out how puerile are the hopes of the German bourgeoisie of reliable support from England in the reparations question. It is shown once again that the German bourgeoisie, both in the reparations question and in the Danube question, are faced with the united front of Paris and London, which has come about on the basis of a Franco-British understanding regarding their policy in the Far East and their attitude towards the U.S.A. in the question of war debts. But how do the German bourgeoisie react to this? By resorting to bargaining behind the scenes they give French imperialism to understand that they are prepared to sacrifice also their Eastern policy to it.

Does **Brüning** really venture to expect from the approaching reparations Conference in Lausanne, which is supposed to meet on June 16, the final abolition of the Young Plan? The discussions which are at present going on between French and English "experts" ought to cure him of this illusion. It is already a settled matter for the English and French diplomats that at the Tribute Conference there can be no talk of the

abolition of the Young Plan, but only of the question how many years the German government are to be granted a reparations moratorium, whether for two or more years. Owing to the growing economic crisis in England, British finance capital is more ready than ever to lend an ear to the French argument that a Germany freed from all tribute payments would be bound to be a terrible competitor against England. Under these circumstances, therefore it is quite possible that Messrs Brüning and Bülow will find that at Lausanne the fiercest resistance to the abolition of tribute comes precisely from their English "friends", to whose piping the whole Wilhelmstraße dances.

Herr Brüning would do well to be quite clear in mind that at the Lausanne Conference he will again have to confirm the Young Plan, and thereby renew all slave fetters which the imperialist big Powers have placed on Hindenburg Germany. In addition, further disagreeable surprises must be reckoned with. The "Kölnische Zeitung" of April 24, gives a small foretaste of these:

"Even now many plans and proposals are going round as to how Germany could at a later time resume payment of political debts. There is talk of the Bank for International Settlements granting a loan at the cost of Germany and for the benefit of the reparations creditors, of a currency loan bearing interest being granted to the German Reich for the benefit of the reparations creditors; and there is also talk of the creation of new obligations on the German railways and the big economic undertakings in Germany."

It is therefore nothing else but a deliberate attempt to mislead the public when such newspapers as the "Berliner Tageblatt" make use of a phrase uttered by the English Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald in order to rouse the hope that Lausanne, with the abolition of the Young Plan, will "liquidate the evil financial legacy of the war."

This is quite out of the question. Brüning has taken to bargaining and is seeking an understanding with France on a basis determined by the anti-Soviet policy of French imperialism. This is the reason why Nadolny voted against the Soviet delegation in Geneva.

## The Election Campaign in France.

By P. Fontenay (Paris).

The Communist Party of France has flung itself into the campaign for the election of the new Parliament which will take place on 1st and 8th of May. The main slogan of our election campaign is: "Against the imperialist war, for the defence of the Soviet Union!" The whole weight and importance of this slogan results from the leading role which French imperialism is playing in the capitalist anti-Soviet front. The second item of our programme is the struggle against misery, for the workers' demands. Our agitation in this connection has greatly roused the masses in view of the great unemployment (1,5 million unemployed, 4,5 million workers on short time). Also the poor peasantry is suffering from the agrarian crisis. The Communist platform concludes with an appeal to the masses to enforce the revolutionary way out of the capitalist crisis.

The Central Committee of the Party has issued the directive to concentrate the main efforts of the Party on the chief industrial districts and the chief factories: agitation inside of the factories, factory gate meetings, recruiting of workers from big industry. The aim is to recruit 10,000 new members by the 1st of June.

The Polit-Bureau decided to conduct a particularly active campaign in Paris and its suburbs, where the Communist Party possesses its strongest positions, before all in the constituencies of an almost purely proletarian character. The Party has put forward as amnesty candidates, Comrades Ferrat, Guyot and Varagnat in the suburbs of Paris, and several others in some constituencies in the province. All these amnesty candidates are leading comrades who are either in prison or in illegality, and we wish thereby to obtain their amnesty.

What is the attitude of the various political parties? With regard to the classical bourgeois parties, the "Right" and the "Radicals", there exists a tendency to form a concentration. Although the Radical Party conducts a lively sham fight against the majority, which supports the Tardieu-Laval Cabinet, and which they make responsible for the disastrous financial policy (a deficit in the budget of 7000 million francs, an empty treasury, the loans granted by the government to

various bourgeois States, salvaging of the bankrupt banks at the cost of the treasury), this criticism of the "Left" is considerably weakened by their preparations to join a bourgeois concentration Ministry. Tardieu had proposed such a concentration government to the Radicals at the opening of the election campaign, and Herriot, the President of the Radical Party, has in the main agreed to this proposal.

The main efforts of the bourgeoisie however are directed not only towards gathering their forces but also to crushing Communism. For this purpose they make use chiefly of the social democracy. By means of a manoeuvre Tardieu demonstratively designated the socialists as the enemy, and thereby sought to make the workers believe that the socialist party is really fighting against reaction. The socialist party, on the other hand, is conducting a furious struggle against our party. In numerous constituencies, as for instance in Puteaux, where Comrade André Marty has been put forward as our candidate, the socialist candidates have openly come forward as the candidates of the anti-Communist concentration. In addition, they have set up their own guards and seek the assistance of the police in order to smash up our election meetings.

It is clear that our Party is energetically taking up the challenge. Numerous socialist meetings have ended with a triumph for our discussion speakers. Whilst our Party is determinedly fighting against the social democratic party leaders, it appeals to the sincere socialist workers to participate in joint revolutionary action. Leon Blum, the leader of the S.P. of France, recently boasted "that he would wrest a part of the working class away from Communist influence". We are convinced however that we shall wrest numerous workers away from social democratic influence.

The tactics of the C.P. of France are the same as in the year 1928: class against class. These tactics are expressed in our efforts to set up the revolutionary united front of the workers against the bourgeoisie and all its parties, including the social democracy, and therefore we shall also put forward our own candidates in the second ballot. In no circumstances will we withdraw our candidate in favour of an official candidate of the social democratic party. We should only withdraw our candidate if the candidate, be he a worker or peasant and even a social democrat, declares himself ready to adopt our fighting programme and categorically condemn the policy of the socialist party.

The Party has put forward its candidates in all, i. e. 615 constituencies. It has issued a dozen popular pamphlets, pamphlets containing material for functionaries, numerous election posters, 3 films etc. The collection for the election fund has almost reached a million francs.

The Communist Party, which polled over a million votes in the year 1928, must this time show a further advance, in which case the election campaign will prove to be a great step forward in the mobilisation of the masses against imperialist war.

## The Elections in Austria.

By Oesterreicher (Vienna).

The most important result of the elections which took place on Sunday last in Austria is that the Communist Party still continues the advance which was first revealed at the elections in the year 1930, and which since then it has everywhere maintained. The C.P. Austria, in a tenacious, difficult struggle, is capturing the masses and forcing breaches in the front of social democracy.

The elections were held to the Vienna town council as well as to the 21 districts of Vienna, to the Lower Austrian and Salzburg Diets, and also the municipal councils in Carinthia and Styria.

The Communist Party polled altogether 40,000 votes, i. e., about twice the number it polled in the whole of Austria in the year 1930. This means at least a threefold increase in the number of working people who are prepared to follow the leadership of the Communist Party of Austria.

Owing to the present election law, which is adapted to the requirements of the christian-socialist and social democratic coalition and favours the big parties, the advance of the C.P. of Austria is not reflected in the number of seats gained. Thus the Communist Party polled 21,930 votes in Vienna, compared with 10,626 in the year 1927, but has not obtained a single seat on the town council. The Communists will be represented

only on the district councils in the most proletarian districts of Vienna, in **Favoriten** and **Ottakring**.

The Party achieved important successes in the municipal council elections in **Styria** and **Carinthia**. In Upper Styria, in the municipalities, which only two years ago were strongholds of the Heimwehr fascists, the Communists succeeded almost everywhere, for the first time, in gaining seats on the municipal councils.

A characteristic feature of the elections is the Communist successes in purely agrarian districts, where the candidates of the red front even succeeded in gaining seats on the councils which are dominated by the big agrarians. In **St. Johann** in **Pongau**, for instance, the Communist vote increased from 141 to 398, whilst the social democratic vote fell from 6560 to 5403.

In spite of this advance, the number of votes cast for the Communist Party do not fully reflect its influence. The chief election argument employed by the social democrats against the C. P. was that they would not be able to gain seats, and that therefore votes given to the Communist Party were simply "thrown away". Unfortunately, we must admit that many workers were caught by this argument. Therefore thousands of workers who are otherwise prepared to follow the leadership of the Communist Party still voted for the social democrats.

The elections of April 24th show a tremendously rapid increase of **national socialism**, before all at the cost of the Pan Germans, the Landbund and the Heimatblock, but also at the cost of the Christian socialists. The national socialists also succeeded in gaining votes at the cost of the social democrats. In Vienna the social democrats lost 20,000 votes, in Salzburg 7000 and in Lower Austria 20,000, as compared with the Parliamentary elections in 1930. About a half of these votes went to the Communist Party, the other half to the national socialists. In **Vienna** the national socialists polled 200,000 votes and obtained 15 seats out of 100; in **Lower Austria** 110,000 votes and 8 seats out of 56; in **Salzburg** 24,000 votes and 6 seats out of 26.

This shifting of forces means that the bourgeoisie are deciding on more brutal methods of oppressing the working class. Already during the election campaign the national socialists showed what they can do when, in **Liesing** near Vienna, a thoroughly proletarian town, at the conclusion of one of their meetings, they stabbed a worker in the street.

This, however, will not keep back the social democrats from entering into a coalition with the national socialists. One can already predict to-day that the social democrats will not withdraw from co-operation with the bourgeois parties in the provincial governments, even if their coalition partners are national socialists. The fact that the social democrats sit peacefully together with national socialists and christian socialists in the provincial governments will serve rapidly to open the eyes of the working class as to who are the real promoters of fascism.

## GERMANY

### The Result of the Diet Elections.

(Leading article of the "Rote Fahne".)

Berlin, 26th April 1932.

The following are the results of the elections in **Prussia** together with the figures polled at the last Reichstag elections in Prussia for the purpose of comparison (in thousands):

Fascist Party . . . . .	8,008	160 seats	3,982
Social Democratic Party . . . . .	4,674	93 seats	4,989
Centre (Catholic) Party . . . . .	3,374	68 seats	3,158
Communist Party . . . . .	2,819	56 seats	3,141
German Nationalist Party . . . . .	1,524	31 seats	1,968
State (Democratic) Party . . . . .	330	2 seats	680
German People's Party . . . . .	332	6 seats	1,004
Christian Social Party . . . . .	255	2 seats	509
Economic Party . . . . .	191	2 seats	803
Hannover German Party . . . . .	63	1 seat	305

The result of the Prussian Diet elections and of the elections in the other German States is a reflection of the increased crisis and the intensification of the class struggle in Germany. With the exception of the Centre (Catholic) Party and the

German Nationalist Party, the traditional bourgeois political parties in Germany have been practically wiped out overnight, and even the German Nationalist Party has been very much weakened. The capitalist class in Germany is strengthening its fascist attack on the proletariat.

The result of the election shows that the nationalist wave, which benefits the **Hitler party**, is still rising. The petty-bourgeoisie, the middle classes, the commercial employees, the civil servants and the peasants who are suffering under the capitalist economic crisis and its intensification by the Versailles Treaty, do not yet recognise the capitalist system as the cause of their impoverishment and ruin. For the most part they still believe that their troubles are due exclusively to the Versailles Treaty and the Young Plan. These elements voted for the fascists, allegedly as a demonstration against the ruling "system" which has carried out the Young Plan. Although Hitler has openly declared himself in favour of Germany fulfilling its financial obligations to foreign capitalists, the National Socialist German Workers Party again played its role in the elections as the most powerful terror and propaganda organisation of the German bourgeoisie for the reactionary misleading of the radicalised petty-bourgeois masses and certain sections of the unemployed, for the most part the commercial employee section.

In this way the Hitler party succeeded in winning over eight million votes. These eight million votes have by no means been polled for the capitalist aims of Hitler. The masses have been deceived by the nebulous "idealism" with which Hitler cloaks his real aims. Princes, Generals, rich industrialists, ex-officers and a certain more prosperous section of the petty-bourgeoisie form the nucleus of the Hitler party, but amongst the supporters of Hitler are millions who have lost all hope in the old bourgeois parties and believe that they are voting against capitalism when they vote for Hitler and fail to see the deception to which they fall victim.

Thanks to the continual support afforded by the Social Democratic Party, the elections have shown that the **Centre** (Catholic) Party, the leading party of the Emergency Decree dictatorship, has even gained in strength. The policy of the Social Democratic Party and particularly the eradication of class lines in the Hindenburg election with a view to confusing the working class, has strengthened the Centre Party.

The finance capitalist groups which dictate in Germany have a fascist fighting organisation camouflaged as "socialist" on the one hand. On the other hand and with the assistance of their chief prop, the Social Democratic Party, they succeeded by clever manoeuvring in the Presidential elections in mobilising the greater number of the electors behind Hindenburg. The holding of the Diet elections immediately after the Presidential elections was a broad manoeuvre against the communist front. The pseudo-prohibition of the fascist storm detachments, which took place ten days prior to the Diet elections, and represented excellent propaganda both for the Hitler party and the Social Democratic Party, was an election blow at the only anti-capitalist and anti-fascist party, the Communist Party. The paper prohibition of Hitler's murder gangs was intended to create the impression amongst the worker-voters that the Bruening-Groener government was really conducting a struggle against fascism.

The aim of all these bourgeois manoeuvres was to disrupt the ranks of the revolutionary worker-voters and at the same time to produce election apathy after the Presidential elections. This manoeuvre of the capitalist class enemy, carried out with the assistance of the Social Democratic Party, assisted the latter in preventing still greater election losses. Despite this, however, the **Social Democratic Party** lost 800,000 votes as compared with the Prussian Diet elections on the 20th May 1928 and 300,000 votes as compared with the Reichstag elections in September 1930.

The **Communist Party** recovered 380,000 votes in Prussia as compared with the second ballot of the Presidential elections and received almost 600,000 more votes than in the Prussian Diet elections on the 20th May 1928. However, it did not recover its poll in the first round of the Presidential election and remained behind its poll in the Reichstag elections in September 1930. A section of this loss can be accounted for by the relatively smaller election participation of the working class voters as compared with the bourgeois voters. Another part was accounted for by the partially successful manoeuvre of the bourgeoisie with the assistance of the Social Democratic Party, by our insufficient carrying out of struggles against wage-cuts and other mass actions, by



serious weaknesses in the work in the factories and at the labour exchanges, and in the oppositional work in the trade unions, and as a result of the insufficient carrying out of the decisions of the Central Committee. A further factor against the Communist Party was the scandalous hindering of the election activity by police persecutions, the prohibition of leaflets, newspapers, placards and demonstrations. The most important facts concerning the Severing policy could not be dealt with during the election owing to this police persecution.

Our Party will deal in detail with the election result and will draw the necessary lessons. Our losses in **Berlin** and **Hamburg** and the increase of the social democratic poll in Berlin must cause our Party to begin its next fighting tasks with particular determination and boldness.

The result of the Diet elections in **Bavaria**, where our Party considerably increased its poll as compared with the Reichstag elections in September 1930, represents a big success for our Party organisation in Bavaria which has had to put up with intense police persecutions for years.

A section of the social democratic losses can also be accounted for by the smaller participation in the poll as compared with September 1930, but the policy of class treachery pursued by the Social Democratic Party has driven great sections of the former social democratic voters into the fascist camp. The social democracy with its policy of class-treachery is the best pace-maker for fascism. The social democratic workers who believed that the Social Democratic Party would defeat fascism now observe this result of the social democratic policy. After fourteen years of the policy of Braun and Severing in Prussia the fascists succeeded in obtaining 160 seats in the Prussian Diet.

The result of the elections shows that our Party must considerably improve its ideological mass struggle and its fighting policy against fascism, whilst at the same time intensifying its struggle against the Social Democratic Party and its branch, the Socialist Workers Party. We must pay much greater attention in our Party work to the working class youth, sections of which have been won over by the fascists. We must stress still more strongly our policy of social and national emancipation against the Young policy of the Fascist Party and we must stress still further that we are the only Party which fights irreconcilably against the Versailles Treaty and the Young Plan.

Immediately after the elections we are faced with a new chain of bourgeois attacks on wages and on the unemployment support. The economic crisis is intensifying. The imperialists are preparing for war against the Soviet Union with increased zeal. The Reich's Minister for Labour, Stegerwald wants to introduce "elastic tariffs" for millions of workers and commercial employees. After this election result the fascists will increase their murder terror against the class conscious workers. It is now necessary to concentrate the whole class forces of the workers in the red united front in order to go over to the offensive once again against the capitalist dictatorship and to defeat fascism.

We Communists address ourselves to the social democratic workers and to the members of the trade unions and the Reichsbanner with an offer of joint action against fascism, against wage-cuts and against the attack on unemployment benefits. On our front page we publish to-day an appeal of the Central Committee and of the National Committee of the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition expressing their willingness to carry out joint actions in the factories with all the subordinate trade union officials and members of the factory councils and with all organisations which are honestly prepared to fight against wage-cuts. We shall also carry on a much more active joint struggle at the labour exchanges for the demands of the unemployed workers.

Whilst increasing our struggle against the Braun-Severing government and against its policy of Emergency Decree dictatorship which paves the way for fascism, we Communists remain the irreconcilable enemies of fascism. With the assistance of the class forces of the proletariat we shall do everything possible to block the path of the fascists to governmental power, to break its terror and to defeat it decisively by a new red advance of the working-class.

In this spirit mobilise the factories and the labour exchanges for a powerful demonstration of the red united front on the 1st May under the leadership of the Communist Party!

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

### The Strike of the Textile Workers in Vienne.

By J. Berlioz (Paris).

After a strike against wage-cuts which lasted fifty-two days and reached an unusually high militant level, the strikers having even flung up barricades in the streets of the town against the police, 5,000 striking textile workers in Vienne decided to return to work without having won their demands. The treachery of the socialists and the brutal terror of the government succeeded in robbing the heroic strikers of victory.

Vienne, a cloth town, has a fine revolutionary tradition. On repeated occasions before the war, during the war and in the first pre-war years, it was the scene of violent strike struggles which even developed into street fighting with the military and into the occupation of the villas and factories of the textile exploiters.

For many years the socialists have held a majority in the municipal council of Vienne. The socialist leaders diverted the attention of the workers from revolutionary trade unionism and the class struggle. As a result the employers were able to depress wages and working conditions and organise about a thousand workers in a "Christian" trade union. Numerous "philanthropic" measures also did much to deceive the workers.

But then came the crisis. Out of 7,000 textile workers 2,000 were flung onto the streets. The remaining 5,000 workers were often on short-time and very often earned no more than sixteen Francs a day. The revolutionary textile workers organisation in Vienne had no more than a few dozen members; there was no factory group and the union was without influence. In February the employers announced a new wage-cut ranging from 20 to 30 per cent. This was the last straw. For a long time the revolutionary union had believed that part strikes were impossible and useless. Now, however, it placed itself at the head of the textile workers in Vienne. Its first meetings towards the end of February were extraordinarily successful. On the 1st March the strike was general.

The employers and the socialist municipal council had been taken by surprise. Under the leadership of the revolutionary trade union leaders the movement was well organised. Factory meetings of the textile workers elected delegates into a strike committee of 150 members. This committee met every day and made all decisions. General meetings of the strikers, attended by an average of about 2,000 workers, took place almost every day, and big demonstrations attended by as many as 4,000 workers took place repeatedly. Soup kitchens were organised and the families of the strikers were fed.

Towards the end of the second week of the strike the authorities tried to intimidate the strikers. The Garde Mobile attacked crowds of strikers who were returning from a strike meeting. The workers stood up against the attack and the collisions lasted until two o'clock in the morning. Hundreds of the strikers joined the revolutionary union.

All possible manoeuvres were then tried in order to throttle the strike. The socialist municipal council reduced the local support granted to the strikers to a minimum. The socialist mayors in the surrounding municipalities prohibited public collections on behalf of the strikers. A number of members of the strike committee were even bribed in order to sabotage the food supplies for the strikers. An attempt was also made to form a rival union to break the influence of the revolutionary organisation. The employers succeeded in persuading a number of less steadfast workers to sign an agreement accepting the wage-cuts, but all these manoeuvres failed thanks to the vigilance of the strike committee. Mass picketing in front of the factories in defiance of the Garde Mobile prevented strike-breaking.

And then the government came to the assistance of the employers. On the 7th April mass arrests of pickets were carried out. On the evening of the 8th April a mass demonstration of the strikers took place in front of the prison to demand the release of the arrested men and women. Fierce collisions took place with the police. On the following evening a second demonstration took place and again fierce collisions occurred. The workers held the Rue des Clercs and erected a barricade of tree stumps, furniture, paving-stones, etc. The

Garde Mobile was repulsed with all sorts of missiles and the fighting went on throughout the night. A number of the Mobile Garde men had to be taken to hospital.

On the 10th April the Prefect of the Departement appeared on the scene and martial law was proclaimed. All meetings were prohibited, including meetings indoors in the afternoon. Curfew was established at eight o'clock in the evening and by that time all windows and doors had to be closed. The labour exchange was closed down. The workers met with on the streets were searched by the police. Scores were arrested and sentenced to terms of imprisonment. Foreign-born workers taking part in the strike were arrested and deported. The most active strikers were threatened by the police.

All these terrorist measures were unable to intimidate the strikers, but they did succeed in damaging the strike organisation and interrupting the close connection between the workers and their strike committee. By means of promises the employers succeeded in persuading groups of workers to return to work. The strike committee was unable to reply effectively to the confusion created by the attacks of the authorities and on the 19th and 20th April several hundred workers went back in the large factories.

On the 21st April a general meeting of the strikers was held and in order to prevent the gradual collapse of the strike front the revolutionary union was compelled to propose a uniform return to work. Against their will, but in order to save their unity, the strikers accepted this proposal and on the same day they returned to the factories in closed ranks and singing the "Internationale".

The textile workers in Vienne have been compelled to break off their strike owing to the treachery of the socialists and the terror instituted by the government, but they are not broken. Above all as a result of their heroic struggle they now have a strong revolutionary union of 1,500 members and numerous factory groups. Further, thirty of the strikers joined the Communist Party and fifty young workers joined the Young Communist League. Vienne has given a splendid example of militant action and demonstrated to French imperialism that in case of war it will not have the Hinterland it would like!

## The Results of the Miners' Strike in Czechoslovakia.

By P. Reimann (Prague).

In accordance with the decisions of the unity conference of the North-West-Bohemian coalfields, the strike of the miners was ended on Tuesday April 19. On Wednesday April 20, the miners returned to work just as united as they were when they went on strike. The number of miners who in spite of the slogan of the social fascist leaders to resume work on Monday remained on strike on Monday and Tuesday, amounted to over 80 per cent of all the striking workers.

The result of the strike, on the basis of which the miners have returned to work, represents a great success for proletarian unity. In the previous week the social fascist leaders negotiated with the employers behind the back of the strike committee and signed an agreement. Under the pressure of the striking miners, however, a number of important concessions to the workers had to be included in this agreement. The agreement provides that up to the end of 1932 there must be no wholesale dismissals—a provision which, it is true, is limited by the declaration that it applies only in the event of there being no essential worsening of the market conditions by the end of the year. Overtime is stopped and the employers have undertaken to reengage all strikers and not to victimise the strike leaders.

If the fight was ended with only such a partial success, this was mainly because it was desired to frustrate the strike-breaking plans of the social fascists, who after having concluded their pact with the owners would have liked nothing better than to see a collapse of the strike front. When, therefore, certain gaps appeared in the strike front, it was right that the workers adopted the decision to return to work unitedly.

The fight of the miners, which was ended in this manner, has tremendous importance for the whole development of the proletarian class struggle. In the whole history of the economic struggles of recent times there have been but few examples of such a firm and unbroken united front of the whole of the workers under the leadership of the Communist Party and of

the red trade unions as was exhibited in this strike. All attempts of the social fascists to break the strike directly or smuggle themselves into its leadership, proved completely futile. No less in vain were the efforts of the Czech national socialists, who on the one side supported the strike in words and on the other issued declarations that the leadership of the struggle was in "irresponsible hands", and thus attempted to destroy the unity of the workers from within.

The Czechish bourgeoisie also are earnestly studying the lessons of this fight. They openly admit in their newspapers that the social fascists had isolated themselves from the masses, that the leadership of the masses had slipped from their hands and that the Communists had captured the undisputed leadership of the miners' struggle. For the bourgeoisie it is certainly no cheerful prospect to prepare for a war in which there exists the likelihood that the social fascist leaders will lose control over the masses.

The political line of the bourgeoisie and of the social fascists in the strike area consisted in a zig-zag course of fascist advances and retreats in face of the strength of the fighting miners. In the first week, the central strike committee was dissolved. In the second week of the struggle, it was again recognised, when it was found that the only result of dissolving it was that the strikers refused to allow coal to be sent to hospitals and humanitarian institutions. The situation was the same on April 13. On the day when the general strike was carried out in the colliery districts, demonstrations of the miners were held in spite of the prohibition, in spite of the shooting; barricades were erected and police motor lorries set on fire. The successful demonstration of the miners caused the bourgeoisie to allow a public funeral of the victims of the bloody Wednesday and completely to withdraw the armed forces of the State on the day of the funeral.

And it was the same with the solidarity action. A day before the outbreak of the strike the bourgeoisie prohibited the Workers International Relief. Never before in Czechoslovakia were funds collected with such eagerness and enthusiasm as in this collection campaign for the miners. In two to three weeks close on a quarter of a million crowns were collected for the miners, a sum almost unexampled in former solidarity actions.

The struggle of the miners, their absolute unity and solidarity in a fight which right throughout was accompanied by open strikebreaking on the part of the social fascists of all shades, has had an inspiring and encouraging effect on the whole of the working class. The strike has shown that the unemployed, when fighting under the leadership of the Communist Party and the red trade unions, do not perform any scab work, but on the contrary actively take part in the struggles of the employed workers.

No wonder that the example of the successfully conducted strike in Brux has roused the workers in the other districts to fight. In Ostrau, in spite of the fact that the social fascists conducted the most furious agitation against the strike, and in spite of the fact that the most brutal terror was exercised, the Party and the red trade unions succeeded in bringing the greater part of the miners out on strike three times against the pact concluded between the reformists and the mine-owners. In the week before the liquidation of the strike in Brux, 19,000 miners struck work in Ostrau, although, it is true, they were unable to continue the strike in face of the terror and the pressure exercised by the social fascists. The indignation on account of the shameful treachery of the social fascists in Ostrau is increasing. Here, too, the united front is being built up on an ever broadening basis and the workers organised in the social democratic and also in the fascist organisations are drawing nearer to the red trade unions.

Also in the other branches of industry there set in a wave of strikes. In Brünn, three textile mills went on strike, and the struggle was only defeated thanks to the open strike-breaking of the social fascists. In North Bohemia the workers in one of the largest textile mills, Richter Brothers in Mildenau, went on strike and thereby prevented the dismissal of several workers. In the Skoda Works it came to a big mass movement and demonstrations against dismissals. The blood-bath in Brux also called forth tremendous indignation among the masses. In all parts of Czechoslovakia it came to protest demonstrations and demonstration-strikes; a wave of protest swept the whole country. Social democratic and national socialist organisations protested and sent in money in support of the victims.

The sympathy which the strike met with in other sections

of the working population likewise shows that the strike has developed into a real general movement of the people. During the street demonstration of the strikers in the strike area, the small shopkeepers closed their shops as a sign of solidarity and joined in the processions. Small peasants collected food, small tradespeople, butchers and bakers, provided relief; the whole of the working population in the strike area actively supported the fight. In Prague there was set up a relief committee, participated in by leading intellectuals, which took over the function of the prohibited Workers International Relief. Intellectuals, prominent writers and poets visited the strike area in order to express their solidarity with the fight.

All these facts show quite plainly the great international importance of the miners' fight. The successful miners' fight was a blow against the imperialist war front; it was an appeal to the workers of Czechoslovakia and of all other countries to emulate the example of the North West Bohemian miners and, in the period when intervention immediately threatens the Soviet Union, to stay the arm of the imperialists by developing the economic and political mass strike.

## The Unity Congress of the Colliery Workers of Europe.

The Unity Congress of the Coal Workers of Europe organised by the Miners International Committee was held in Saarbrück on 16th, 17th, and 18th April.

Ten countries represented by 125 delegates took part in the Congress. The credentials commission ascertained that approximately 500,000 miners took part in the election of the 125 delegates. Besides the delegates, 6 comrades represented the committees of the different revolutionary miners' unions. Among the Congress delegates there were 19 comrades who are members of reformist unions, and 10 belonging to the Christian trade unions of Germany, Holland, and Czechoslovakia.

Comrade **Sobottka**, the General Secretary of the Miners International Committee, opened the Congress with an address of welcome.

Comrade **Heckert** addressed the Congress on behalf of the Executive Bureau of the **Red International of Labour Unions**.

The Congress then resolved to send telegrams to the striking miners in Czechoslovakia, to the Union of the Coal Workers of the Soviet Union, to the striking miners of Pennsylvania, to the striking workers in Vienne, and to the Congress of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union, beginning on 20th April. In a further telegram the Congress demanded the immediate release of the 4 young revolutionary workers arrested in Spain. In another telegram the immediate release of Comrade **Horner**, the leader of the Welsh miners, was demanded.

Comrade **Sobottka** in his report dealt in detail with the international situation of the miners, and stated concretely the tasks now confronting the miners. Comrade **Sobottka** dealt in particular with the reformist manoeuvres with regard to coal quota agreements and the nationalisation of the mines. He showed that the demand for the state ownership of the mines, if not accompanied by the demand for the taking over of political power by the working class, represents nothing more nor less than a deceptive manoeuvre on the part of the reformists and the Amsterdam Miners International. Under the pretence that the nationalisation of the mines is the beginning of socialism, the sole idea of the reformist bureaucrats is to create the possibility of continuing to thrust the burdens of the crisis onto the shoulders of the miners, and of increasing the exploitation of the miners. The speaker proved this by definite instances.

Comrade **Sobottka** further dealt with the struggle for the seven hour shift now confronting the English miners, and with its significance for the miners of Europe.

Comrades **Moffat** (England), and **Funk** (Germany) supplemented in their co-addresses the points of Comrade **Sobottka's** speech.

The discussion was participated in by 21 comrades, including representatives of the Christian Trade Union of Germany and of the Roman Catholic Miners Union of Holland, and members of the reformist unions of Germany, England, and Czechoslovakia.

In the course of exhaustive discussion, the comrades exchanged notes on their experiences in the struggles, and welded

the front of the unity of the miners. After Comrade **Sobottka** had summed up the discussion in his concluding words, and dealt in detail with a number of additional concrete fighting methods, the resolutions submitted to the Congress on the tasks of the miners were passed unanimously.

An address was given by Comrade **Thiébault** on the struggle against imperialist war, and another by Comrade **Peschly** (Czechoslovakia). Both speakers dealt in detail with the militant measures against imperialist war, and closed their addresses by the appeal that every possible effort should be made to transform the imperialist war into a war against the imperialists.

The discussion on the methods of the struggle against war was taken part in by 6 further delegates. A comrade belonging to the Mining Industrial Workers of Germany, speaking on behalf of all the delegates from the reformist union, made a declaration that these delegates, though organised in reformist unions, will do their utmost to defend the Soviet Union, as the fatherland of the workers, against the imperialist bandits.

## THE WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS

### The New Tax Robbery in the U.S.A.

By Max Weiss (New York)

After almost a month of unparalleled demagoguery, disintegration of party lines, and the most forceful pressure on the part of Wall Street, the billion dollar revenue act was passed by the House of Representatives with some important modifications and referred to the Senate.

Introduced in its original form as a "non-partisan" project, the bill contemplated the raising of sufficient funds to partially balance the huge budgetary deficit of \$1,700,000,000 for the fiscal year 1933.

The failure of the Hoover administration to balance the budget for three successive years, the accumulation by the Treasury of a deficit of almost four billion dollars, the introduction of a sweeping tax bill containing the robber manufacturers' sales tax provision in the midst of a presidential election year—all testify to the enormous dent made in the "bullet-proof armour plate" of American capitalism.

The only solution which the finance capitalists could see to the contradiction between the growth of an insupportable bureaucratic super-structure and the crisis-narrowed economic base was a frontal attack all along the line upon the working class and the petit-bourgeoisie.

The speech of Representative **Crisp** on the opening day of the debate sounded the keynote of the approach to the bill by American finance capital:

"If Congress does not pass this bill, the financial world will become frightened as to the solidity of United States credit. When our bonds depreciate, everything else depreciates in proportion."

As originally presented, the revenue act was designed to raise \$1,246,000,000. Of this amount, approximately \$225,000,000 was to have been raised by effecting economies in government expenses (mainly by cutting the wages of the lower paid civil service employees, by eliminating entirely certain categories of government services entailing the employment of such workers, by staggering and speeding up the remainder; but by no means touching the huge expenditures for war or in any way affecting the real parasitic government bureaucracy).

The sum to have been raised by outright taxation was about \$1,021,000,000. This total was again subdivided according to the manner in which it was to be raised into eleven sections. Of these subdivisions, by far the most far reaching and drastic in its effects on the working masses and the petit-bourgeoisie was the **general manufacturers sales tax**.

Under the provisions of the sales tax, all manufactured articles, with the exception of certain specified commodities, were to be taxed two and a quarter percent of their manufactured sales price. The total amount to have been raised by the sales tax was, therefore, \$595,000,000.

This insured that approximately fifty-eight percent of the entire sum collectable under the provisions of the revenue act

would come from the proceeds of the manufacturers sales tax and other excise taxes. Since eighty percent of all manufactured consumptivn commodities are bought by those having incomes of less than \$3,000 a year, and ninety percent by those having incomes of less than \$5,000 a year, the net result of the sales tax provision was that more than fifty percent of the total taxation under the terms of the revenue act was to come out of the pockets of the toiling masses and the petit-bourgeoisie. The bill was clearly designed to unload the burden of the Treasury crisis on the shoulders of the masses and the petty-bourgeoisie. It meant an unprecedented inroad upon the standard of living of the working and farming masses and the certain expropriation of wide sections of the petit-bourgeoisie.

Immediately upon its introduction in the House of Representatives, a storm of petty-bourgeois opposition arose led by the arch-demagogue **Fiorello La Guardia**, the ex-"Socialist", now Republican Representative **Doughton**, Democrat of North Carolina. Rallying to the banner of the LaGuardia-Doughton "insurgent" group, the Representatives kicked over their party traces and combined in a "rank and file" Democrat-Republican bloc to defeat the sales tax provisions introduced by a bi-partisan leadership.

This "revolt" within the ranks of the two old parties, the crossing of party lines and the merging of the forces of the "bolters" within the two parties expressed the efforts of the petty-bourgeoisie to resist the attempts of finance capital at expropriating sections of the middle class. As could have been predicted, this "revolt" was short lived. The petit-bourgeoisie were soon whipped back into line again.

The defeat of the sales tax by a vote of 223-153 was accompanied by an unprecedented wave of demagoguery. In the brief period that followed between the defeat of the sales tax and the application of pressure by Wall Street for the passage of the revenue act with a sales tax substitute of equal robber content, a demagogic "soak-the-rich" movement developed, led by the ex-"Socialist" La Guardia. The political division of labour in this splurge of demagoguery was even carried out by the representatives of finance capital who accused the La Guardia group of "Bolshevism". Said Representative **Rainey**, Democratic leader:

"You are opposed to Communism, everyone of you and so am I. I want to maintain this government as it is but let me tell you, gentlemen, you have put the cap sheaf on all of it at the present time. We have made the longest step in the direction of Communism than any other country in the world ever made except Russia."

The actual content of the "soak-the-rich" movement was exposed by **Representative Swing** in reply to Rainey's charge:

"On the contrary, the action of the House was the greatest insurance that could be given the country against Communism. Communism thrives on grievances and the flagrant discrimination existing in the rates of the income surtax whereby those with incomes above \$ 100,000 a year were favoured with a flat rate while those below \$ 100,000 were required to pay graduated tax."

True to its social fascist role, the **Socialist Party** immediately saw in the defeat of the sales tax a "vindication of democracy". **Norman Thomas** seized upon it to strengthen once more the crisis-shaken democratic illusions of the masses. In the New Leader of March 26th, this ordained minister of social fascism commented as follows:

"Once in a while our creaking political democracy, dominated as it is by an economic plutocracy which owns both parties, shows that there is some life in the democratic principle... The temptation of both old parties to cater to the income-tax paying group which finances their campaigns is very strong. But the gains I have noticed constitute something of a case for substituting for our cynical or irritated despair of political democracy more efficient machinery of political action."

As was to be expected, the revolt of the petty-bourgeoisie, incapable of an independent or consistent class line, immediately collapsed as soon as Wall Street began to apply serious pressure to the insurgent representatives.

The day after a midnight meeting of leaders of both Republican and Democratic parties with several leading Wall Street bankers, the revenue act was passed with the sales tax replaced by provisions of the same basic content under an altered form.

Instead of the general manufacturers sales tax, a series of special excise taxes were inserted in the bill. That these excise taxes are objectively sales taxes was admitted by Representative **Crisp** who said:

"Under whatever form taxes are levied, if the competition of the business permits it, the taxes are passed on to the consumer and they are in reality sales taxes."

As finally passed by the House Representatives, the tax bill differs not one whit, in main outline, from the original bill against which the "revolvers" carried on their campaign of demagoguery. It is clearly an attempt to shift the main burden of the government crisis onto the shoulders of the working masses, poor farmers, and petty-bourgeoisie.

The original bill called for fifty-five percent of the taxes to come from the various excise taxes in which was included the sales tax. The amended bill calls for forty-eight percent of the taxes to come from the excise taxes from which the sales tax as such has been excluded.

This slight difference will quickly be wiped out in practice as the taxes, both direct and indirect, are shifted onto the masses in the form of a general raising of prices, lowering of wages and further extension of the already staggering totals of unemployment.

The giant deficit whose burden Wall Street is attempting to place on the shoulders of the masses is a concrete expression of the parasitism of imperialism in its period of general crisis and decay.

The growth of this monstrous bureaucratic super-structure can be seen in the increases in per capita local, state and Federal taxes to \$107 in 1931 from \$30 in 1913. Such increases, for example of \$88,000,000 in the Department of Agriculture in the period since 1925; of \$25,000,000 in the Department of Commerce; testify to the growth of this bureaucratic dead weight.

At the same time that the balancing of the budget is a source of income for the big bankers who capitalize on the flotation of government bonds, it is a blow at the very right to exist of the masses.

Well might the Wall Street magnates write as a preamble to this robber tax bill the statement of **Marx**:

"The only part of the so-called national wealth that actually enters into the collective possession of modern people is—their national debt."

## The New Budget of British Imperialism.

Heary Burdenson the Workers Shoulders.

By R. Bishop (London).

"The ratio between direct and indirect taxation has now been suddenly altered to the detriment of the indirect taxpayer", thus said the "**Economist**" of April 23 commenting on the Budget introduced by **Neville Chamberlain**, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, a few days ago.

And so it has been. The increase of £75 millions in Customs contrasts with a rise of only £6 millions in Income Tax, Super Tax and Estate Duties combined.

And that is the central feature of this Budget of tariffs and war, hailed by the bourgeois press as something not out of the ordinary. The "**Daily Herald**" described it as a "Nothing for Anybody Budget", the "**Daily Express**" as a "Stand-Pat Budget", the "**Times**" as a "Hard Budget". None of them express satisfaction with the Budget, but equally none of them profess to regard it as anything other than a perfectly normal Budget which might have been better conceived. The general line of the bourgeois press was that the Budget was "preparing the way for better times" (vide "**Daily Telegraph** April 20.).

Of course the Press had to say something. When last month the Chancellor announced that there would be a surplus, they had with one voice acclaimed this as meaning that "the corner had been turned" and that prosperity was round the corner. When later the Ministry of Labour announced a reduction in the total of unemployed, the same lesson was drawn, completely ignoring the fact that this nominal reduction was brought about by the simple process of depriving thousands of the workless of benefit but still leaving them unemployed.



On the basis of the surplus and the reduction of the unemployed total, the press went a little too far for its own purposes in promising relief to all and sundry. Sixpence off the income tax was promised by all the journals. Some went so far as to toy with the idea of a shilling being taken off. A penny off beer was another widely held conception whilst there was press talk of the cuts that were taken off the pay of Civil Servants, soldiers, sailors, teachers etc., being returned.

Only the "Herald", however, talked of the unemployed pay being restored to its old level, and this it did for the purpose of damping down the mass activity of the workless, which was manifesting itself all over the country in giant demonstrations.

But the Budget offered no relief to anybody and on the workers it imposed fresh burdens. Therefore the press had to proclaim it disappointing, whilst at the same time holding it up as being merely careful preparation for rosy times that lie ahead. But the workers are beginning to realise that with press prosperity talk it is always 'jam to-morrow, never jam to-day'.

Although the Press conceal the fact the Budget was only balanced by resorting to a number of tricky devices. Death duties and stamp duties realised £21,000,000 less even than the revised estimates of last September. Income-tax and surtax receipts were raised by £19,000,000 by means of collecting three-quarters of the tax in the first quarter, instead of merely two as in the past. This and extra pressure from the tax-collectors is the explanation of this much-boasted phenomenon, which is attributed in the press to queues of patriotic tax-payers rushing to save their country from financial disaster.

On the expenditure side there has been a saving of £13,000,000, largely due to the Means Test and the Anomalies Act. In addition by various methods reserves have been raided or debt increased to the extent of £52,000,000 so that the debt shows a net addition of £20,000,000. The repayment of the New York and Paris credits incurred last year led to a loss of something like £40,000,000 which is not shown in the Budget account but has been added to the debt.

Thus the announcement that the Budget shows an estimated expenditure for the year of £766,004,000 as against revenue of £766,800,000, leaving a balance of £796,000, takes on a different complexion.

The Budget places very definite new burdens on the shoulders of the workers. The additional tariffs are estimated to bring in a further £5,000,000. This will in the main be met by the workers, as will the increased prices that home producers will charge for their products as the price of foreign products rises. So far the price rise has not been great except in one or two commodities, because of the further drop in wholesale prices. But this month the wholesale price index has risen by 8 per cent, and with the new tariffs, the wheat quota which shortly starts operating etc., a big rise cannot long be delayed.

Then there is the tax on tea, 4d per lb on foreign tea (mostly from Java) and 2d per lb on Empire tea. In the English working-class household tea is a big item, the staple diet of many of the unemployed to-day is bread, margarine and tea. Java tea is used only in the cheapest blends, and here again it is the poorest strata of workers who are hit the hardest.

The appointment of a committee to enquire into the taxation of Co-operative Societies is another blow struck at the working-class. All these things are justified on the plea that the limit of direct taxation has been reached. That this is fantastically untrue is shown by the Inland Revenue figures which record that during last year the number of millionaires, people with an income of £50,000 per year or over, have increased by 21, the total now standing at 540. In addition the returns show that the number of people with incomes of over £100,000 a year, numbering 157, is higher than for any year since 1920-21.

All of the Budget calculations rest on entirely insecure foundations. All consideration of income from war debts and reparations and war debts payments are omitted till after the Lausanne Conference. If no agreement is reached there a sharpening of the economic crisis must result and the bottom will be knocked out of all the calculations about income-tax returns etc. A new Budget crisis in a few months is not only possible but probable.

The Budget shows not only more taxation on the workers but the determination to press ahead still further with the

economy drive against the unemployed and the social services, whilst the chairman of the Federation of British Industries declares that they must not expect as a result of tariffs that wage advances will accrue, which is another way of saying that fresh demands for wage-cuts will be put forward. The only feature of the Budget that remains normal is the war expenditure which remains at the rate of 13/- of every £ spent. The sinister war-purport of the Budget is shown in the decision to plump a duty of 33½ per cent. on semi-finished steel. The Tariffs Advisory Committee in recommending this step says:

"We are satisfied that the maintenance of a prosperous iron and steel industry in the highest degree of efficiency is essential to the economic progress of this country, while from the point of view of security it must still be regarded as vital."

Viewed from the purely economic angle the question of a duty on iron and steel has always been a matter for hot dispute among the capitalists as obviously it raises the cost of almost every other industry than the iron and steel industry itself, its advantages are limited to the steel capitalists almost alone. A few months ago Runciman spoke against an iron and steel tariff on these grounds. Yet now while the duty on most articles has been raised from 10 per cent. to 20 per cent., the duty on these imports has been raised to 33½ per cent.

The only reason that can be adduced is the rapid development of the war situation, before which all other interests in capitalist society must give way. A parallel is to be seen in Snowden's statement in the House of Lords as to why the Government are refusing credits on the old terms for £4,000,000 worth of orders from the Soviet Union. **The steel tariff is an indication of the preparations for the war that the general tariff policy brings ever nearer.**

The Budget with its concomitant tariffs means war as well as an attack upon the workers at home. The capitalists are blindly striving to find their way out of the crisis, which despite their optimistic pronouncements for public consumption is daily deepening. The workers' way out is by struggle against this Budget of tariffs and war, leading on to the revolutionary solution which alone can bring benefit to the workers.

## Will Deterding Follow Kreuger?

London, April 24 1932.

The affairs of the huge **Shell oil combine** are in a bad way. Their shares have been slumping badly on the Stock Exchange and the English company has been compelled to issue a statement trying to assure people that all is well. Sir Henry Deterding himself has stated that the whole trouble is due to "malicious rumours circulated by Moscow agents".

On April 22, Royal Dutch shares stood at £11 per share, of which the value in 1929 was £38.3.9., and even last year was £26.17.6. Since 1928 the shares of this company have depreciated by no less than £140,000,000. Similar drops have been recorded in the shares of Shell Transport and Trading Co., which have dropped from £5.18.0 in 1929 and £3.17.6 last year to 30/- today. These shares have depreciated by £98,000,000 since 1928.

While the company and Deterding talk of "malicious rumours", the facts are that crude oil production of the company last year declined by 1,200,000 tons and has still further declined this year, whilst at the same time the world market price of oil has dropped by 50 per cent. The combine has suffered heavy losses, and Deterding has lost heavily in silver speculation. These are facts that no talk of "rumours" can dispose of. Deterding is the biggest holder of silver in the world. He bought in expectation of a rise, but instead of a rise prices have fallen and Deterding has lost many millions.

Less than a week ago the "Daily Express" was announcing the imminent collapse of the Soviet industry, but present facts would show that journal was barking up the wrong tree. In February 1931 Deterding himself was doing the same in the columns of the "Daily Telegraph". But Deterding, like Kreuger, has always been a consistent anti-Soviet campaigner, and again like Kreuger, he has spent much of his time conferring with Russian Whites and subsidising their activities. Kreuger also protested the stability of his concerns until the last. But if, like Kreuger, he crashes, the resulting chaos will be even worse than was the case with the crook match king.

Said Deterding to the Bucharest newspaper, "Rador": "The world crisis will not be overcome until the Soviet system ceased to exist." To-day it is the huge oil combine that is faced with imminent collapse.

## **The War**

# **On the International Situation of the Soviet Union.**

**By V. M. Molotov.**

Moscow, 21st April 1932.

In his speech at the 9th Congress of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union Comrade Molotov made the following declaration regarding the international situation:

The events in the Far East and the international situation in general call for the close attention of the workers of the Soviet Union. The war plans of the imperialists and the danger to the peace of the world call for increased watchfulness. The workers of the world know the principles of our foreign policy. It is to maintain peaceful relations to the capitalist States and to work unswervingly in the cause of world peace. Since the existence of the Soviet power this has been proved by fact after fact.

In the present situation also the Soviet government will hold fast to this policy of peace. It is a fact that a whole chain of provocations has been put into operation in order to compel us to abandon our policy of peace. These provocations have strengthened of late, particularly in the Far East. The white-guardist agents of the landowners and capitalists who formerly ruled in Russia, the agents of the imperialist Powers, and venal Chinese generals are all working to undermine our peaceful relations with Japan. The facts prove that in Japanese military and imperialist circles there are adherents of a policy of aggression towards us, going beyond the occupation of Manchuria. On our part we shall strive more than ever for the maintenance of neighbourly and friendly relations in the Far East.

The Soviet Union which conducts a systematic fight against the attempts of the war provocateurs and exposes them step by step, will pursue also in the future, true to its anti-war policy, in all persistency the policy of peaceful relations.

The plans of the imperialists in the Far East are also closely connected with the plans of the General Staffs of certain capitalist countries in the west. In recent time the number of provocateurs and war-inciters is growing. We have repeatedly exposed the participation of the ruling imperialist cliques in certain capitalist States in the organisation of these provocations and the setting up of counter-revolutionary, terrorist sabotage groups on the territory of the Soviet Union. In the future we shall be still more watchful in this respect. We have not forgotten the period in which foreign imperialism organised an armed intervention to overthrow the workers and peasants power. It is a matter of historical fact that despite the economic disorder and exhaustion of the country, despite the spectre of the "Bloc of the 14 States" the enemies of the Soviet Republics were repulsed. Since then a long time has passed and the international situation has changed in favour of the Soviet Union, the country of socialist construction, against the capitalist world. Our enemies on the other side of the frontier should consider this carefully before they plunge into any adventures which might prove dangerous. This time it might end more badly for them than it did last time. It is quite understandable therefore that our working masses are becoming more and more convinced, not only that their cause is right, but also that they are able to fight for this cause until final victory.

Not only the workers of the Soviet Union but the workers of the world are beginning to realise more and more clearly the real nature of the League of Nations which allegedly was set up to consolidate the peaceful relations between the States. It is sufficient to point to the activity of this body in the question of disarmament. For six years now the so-called Preparatory Committee has been meeting. And now the Disarmament conference itself has been in session for two months and the cause of disarmament has not been advanced by as much as one step.

Very much speaks in favour of the opinion that all the talk of disarmament is intended merely to cover the fact that armaments are being increased, that the imperialist antagonisms are sharpening and that the danger of imperialist war is increasing. All the proposals of the Soviet delegation to this disarmament conference in favour of disarmament or

even in favour of really getting down to the job, have been rejected. By this the true nature of the League of Nations is sufficiently exposed. All the more therefore must the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union work to consolidate the friendly relations with the outside world, to strengthen the economic and political power of the Soviet Union, to advance the cause of the construction of socialism and to organise their forces for the final victory for socialism.

## **The Kuomintang and the Advance of Soviet China.**

By Yobe.

The consolidation of the Japanese positions on Chinese territory, both in and around Shanghai and in Manchuria, is proceeding rapidly. The leaders of the Kuomintang are facilitating the work of the Japanese in every respect. They are striving to come to an agreement with Japanese imperialism at the cost of the abandonment of all China's national interests. The cause of this attitude of the "left-wing" Kuomintang leadership is above all to be sought in their fear of the revolutionary movement in the Chinese towns and their anxiety that they feel with regard to the extension of the Soviet areas.

Even the defence of Shanghai took place against the will of the Kuomintang leaders. The 19th Army fought heroically against numerically superior Japanese forces supplied with all the equipment for conducting modern warfare, whilst behind their backs the Kuomintang generals were bargaining with the Japanese. And finally came the treacherous order to retreat which throttled the struggle of the 19th Army. However, the Kuomintang clique was not satisfied with this. Since the retreat of the 19th Army nothing has been left undone to disorganise and liquidate this force because it appears dangerously revolutionary to the Kuomintang leadership. The struggle of the 19th Army is glorified by the leaders of the Kuomintang who would like to write it down to their own credit, but at the same time the soldiers are being robbed in the most shameful fashion. Over three million dollars were collected by the Chinese civil population for the support of the 19th Army, but for five months the soldiers have not received a penny of their pay. The wounded soldiers are not being properly cared for and nothing is being done for the dependents of those who fell in the fighting. The Kuomintang is busily engaged in organising a white reactionary army and it has not only left the soldiers of the 19th Army who fought against imperialism, in the lurch, but it is permitting them to starve.

During the last few weeks the leaders of the Kuomintang have experienced more than ever the need of a thoroughly "reliable" white reactionary army, not of course to fight against the Japanese, but in order to attack the Soviet areas.

The imperialists continue to sound the alarm at the rapid growth and progress of the Soviet districts. And in fact the people's movement which has sprung up in China during the last few months against the imperialist invasion, together with the treacherous attitude of the Kuomintang, have given the Soviet movement a new and powerful impulse.

The conviction that only the Soviets can save China from the claws of the bloody Kuomintang clique and from the grip of foreign imperialism is stronger than ever before amongst the masses of the Chinese people. In the Soviet districts the revolutionary power has consolidated very considerably since the congress which took place on the 7th November last year and resulted in the election of a central Soviet government. And further, the district affected by the drive of the Red Army is steadily being increased, whilst the advance on Amoy has already resulted in an imperialist intervention. The pretext under which this intervention is carried out is the usual one of defending "the lives and property of foreigners". In reality the intervention is nothing more than a direct imperialist attack on the Chinese Soviets.

The imperialists are alarming in their turn the leaders of the Kuomintang and at a time when Manchuria has been

wrested completely from China and Shanghai is still under the jack-boot of the Japanese imperialists, the Kuomintang has nothing better to do than leave the front against the Japanese completely uncovered and draw off twenty regiments to fight against the Red Army. Whilst the heroic soldiers of the 19th Army go ragged and hungry for their pains, the Kuomintang has succeeded in raising a sum of 800,000 dollars in order to equip a military expedition against the Soviet districts. All the Kuomintang groups met in secret conference in Tientsin in the middle of March. The aim of this conference was the organisation of a co-ordinated drive against the Soviet districts. In April a second conference on a broader basis took place with the same aim. Right and "left-wing" Kuomintang generals, merchants, the political leaders of the bourgeoisie are all in agreement that the main danger is not the blood thirstiness of Japanese imperialism, but the existence of the Chinese Soviet districts.

It is clear, that under such circumstances the struggle between the Chinese Soviet movement and the reactionary and treacherous Kuomintang will become more and more bitter. All the previous anti-Soviet expeditions have suffered miserable fiascos. In the coming armed struggles the Chinese Soviets as the representatives of the interests of all the toilers will have to deal not only with the white expeditions of the Kuomintang, but also, as the example of Amoy shows, with foreign imperialism. However, not even the close alliance of the treacherous leaders of the Kuomintang with foreign imperialism will succeed in crushing the revolutionary movement of the Chinese working masses.

## WAR AND SOCIAL FASCISM

### The British I. L. P. in the Service of Imperialism.

By William Rust (London).

The Independent Labour Party has discovered the war situation again. After several weeks of complete silence the "New Leader" now publishes a manifesto from the National Council of I.L.P. which concludes with the proposal that all branches should:

"Take immediate action to exert all possible pressure on the Trade Unions and the Labour Party to create an effective working class demand for an embargo to be put on credit supplies and on the export of munitions and war materials in any form to Japan, and to demand that the General Council of the T.U.C. shall make it clear to the Government that, if an embargo is refused, the first act of war by Japan against Socialist Russia will be met in this country by Trade Union action to stop the manufacture and despatch of munitions and war material to Japan."

Put in plain English this involved statement means that the working class is being asked 1. to demand that the pro-Japanese "National" Government shall stop sending munitions to Japan, 2. to express this demand through the General Council and the Labour Party, both of which issued a manifesto on February 24th supporting the Government's policy, 3. to demand trade union action against the munition traffic only after "the first act of war by Japan against Socialist Russia."

Is not this "lead" nothing but a direct help to the imperialist war mongers of Britain and those who are reaping a rich harvest out of the armament trade? It is idle to argue that the leaders of the I.L.P. are giving a weak or mistaken lead, the framers of this carefully worded manifesto were obviously straining to find all possible plausible proposals in order to conceal their opposition to the organisation of **united working class action** against the war.

Even the reference to trade union action against the war has the threefold qualification that it must be taken through the T.U.C. after the Government decides against an embargo and only after Japan's first act of war against the Soviet Union.

Take the last point first and the criminal service rendered by the I.L.P. to the imperialists is seen in its most glaring form. Do nothing now, says the I.L.P. to the working class, we shall stop munitions when the war between Japan and Russia begins. In other words, permit the piling up of munitions in the Far East for war against the Soviet Union

to go on without let or hindrance, and do nothing to impede the imperialists who are now completing their preparations for war on the Soviet Union.

**The treachery of 1914 is being repeated. The "left" leaders, Brockway and Maxton, are trying to strangle today's fight against war with the promise that action will be taken when the war breaks out.**

They indulge in this empty talk when imperialist war has actually broken out in the Far East, when it is extending step by step, when the thin dividing line between the present war and armed intervention against the Soviet Union may be overstepped at any moment.

The war mongers can be defeated only by the mass action of the working class now. The holding up of a munition boat, even for a few hours would have an electrical effect throughout the country, create the basis for organising wider action and warn the imperialists that the workers' revolutionary struggle was deepening.

The untiring struggle of the **Communist Party** and its organ the "Daily Worker" to organise action against the war has not yet met with a wide response, but the basis for action is being surely laid and there is a growing resolve that not another munition boat shall get away so easily as the "Glen-shiel" which sailed for the Far East from London on April 9th. The recent war news from Manchuria has aroused larger numbers of workers to the imperative need for immediate action.

That is why the I.L.P. again discovers the war, and comes forward with all kinds of alternatives to the policy of independent working class struggle. The very moment when the possibilities of action against the war are growing is chosen by the I.L.P. to tell the workers to leave it to the Government, to leave it to T.U.C. and Labour Party, to leave it until after the war on Russia begins.

This manifesto expresses the policy that the I.L.P. has carried on ever since war began in Manchuria. When the Joint Council of the Labour Party, Parliamentary Labour Party, and Trades Union Congress issued a manifesto in February, calling upon the League of Nations to take action for peace, the I.L.P. also came out with a manifesto calling upon its branches to get "common action by the General Council of the T.U.C. and the National Executive of the Labour Party to bring effective pressure to bear upon the Government".

This I.L.P. manifesto also said that the League of Nations "is dominated by imperialist powers". The Labour Party calls on the League for peace action, while the I.L.P., which says the League is dominated by imperialism, calls on the workers to support the Joint Council.

But this is not the limit to the trickery of the I.L.P. Its official organ, the "New Leader", even went so far last month as to publish an article entitled "We Must Stop War". This article said, "there is one effective step we can take—stop any further munitions going to Japan".

Of course this was quite an isolated article and there was no attempt to follow it up with a sustained and persistent campaign for the mobilisation of the workers. But the publishing of this article, and then the complete dropping of the question of munitions, was not mere frivolity on the part of the I.L.P. leaders. It was political deception. The playing with "left" phrases in order to retain influence over the workers.

This is proven by an examination of the article. Far from being written in a style which would convey to the worker the realisation that the stopping of munitions was urgent and imperative it gave exactly the opposite effect. For example, the writer contended "the imperialist powers have been half-hearted in their protest" against Japan. What is this but deliberate covering up of the aggressive role of Britain and France and hypocritical capitalist propaganda?

The I.L.P. leaders know that Britain is a ferocious imperialist power, yet they print articles complaining that she makes only "half-hearted" protests for peace. How many workers will be mobilised for the fight to stop the transport of munitions if they listen to the I.L.P., which tells them that the only difficulty is that British imperialism does not fight strongly enough for peace?

The propaganda of the I.L.P. is a powerful factor in preventing the militant workers of Britain from understanding the real situation that confronts them and the correct methods to be worked out for fighting against imperialist war. The I.L.P. is in the service of British Imperialism at the most perilous moment in the history of the British workers.

## The "Socialist Youth International" in the Front of the Imperialist Warmakers.

By Kurt Müller (Berlin).

In the new war the leaders of the II. International of the S.Y.I. are more closely allied with their bourgeoisie than was the case even in the last world war. In order to hold back the masses of young workers from the fight against their own bourgeoisie, these leaders use phrases about the "fight" against the bourgeoisie in another country, but not against their own bourgeoisie. Thus for instance, the leaders of the Austrian socialist Youth demand in a resolution:

"We call upon the working youth of Japan to protest actively against the robber war of their government; we call upon the youth of all countries to fight against the threatening war danger."

And in their own country? Here is an example of how the social democratic youth "fight" against their own imperialism. In Japan, where the illegal Young Communist League is making the greatest sacrifices in the fight against imperialist war, there is most clearly revealed the countenance of the S.Y.I. as agent of imperialism. In the Manifesto issued by the Young Socialist League of Japan it is stated:

"In the fields of Manchuria, where the sources of raw material for the export of Japanese capital and Japanese goods, by reason of the political privileges of Japan, play a decisive role for Japanese national economy, we see the aggressive action of the Soviet Union—which otherwise theoretically emphasises pacifist Internationalism—of American and English capital, as well as the boycott conducted by the feudal Chinese generals against Japanese goods. This was the reason why the present Sino-Japanese conflict broke out. With the rapid development of the objective situation we must **abandon schematic strategy**, and instead, carry on a really objective tactic from the standpoint of the proletarian youth. In order to realise our aim we must first build up national socialism on the foundation of the national economy, and then gradually advance to international socialism, whereby it is our task to combat most energetically the fantastic idealism of the Communist Youth."

That is the cynical language of Japanese imperialism which is stretching out its claws towards Vladivostok and Sachalin. That is the policy of converting Manchuria into a vassal State for the purpose of advancing against the Soviet Union.

Is the policy of the other Sections of the Socialist Youth International any different? In no way! In the theoretical organ of the French Socialist Youth Federation "La Revolte", the leaders of the young socialists propagate their social-imperialist standpoint through a member of their Central Committee, P. Bloch, who openly proclaims the imperialist theory of the defence of native country:

"The workers have no fatherland—this view is today quite obsolete."

And the leaders of the German socialist youth? They are closely united with all bourgeois, christian and fascist youth organisations of Germany in the "National Committee of German Youth Associations". Here they conduct the policy of educating the youth in the interest of maintaining the capitalist system. The decision of the National Committee of the Socialist Youth of March 17 last, which leaves all members free to perform military labour service, and the organisation of labour service by the leaders of the free trade unions and socialist Youth show that the reformist youth bureaucracy is the active pace-maker of fascist labour service. The "leader", the organ of the functionaries of the S.L.Y. writes as follows:

"What was propagated at a time of the war should now take place voluntarily . . . the Right organisations have failed."

It then announces:

"The socialist youth organisations and the free trade unions have already had plenty of experience in regard to the 'voluntary' enlisting of new recruits. The camps of the Reichsbanner and the free trade unions have proved this, and we shall prove it in the future."

The Socialist Youth of Czechoslovakia—this vassal State of France—do not wish to remain behindhand in their service of the imperialist fatherland. Srba, speaking on behalf of the

social democratic youth leaders of Czechoslovakia, declared on January 27, 1930 in the National Committee of Czech Parliament:

"The Czechish social democracy is in favour of a reduction of the period of military service and for the **pre-military training of the Youth**... By means of pre-military training the Youth will be inspired with **national pride and made ready to defend their country**. This training should commence at school age in order to make the Youth capable of defending their native country."

In the "Cri de Jeunesse", the organ of the French Section of the Socialist Youth International, there is carried on the fiercest war agitation against the Soviet Union:

"In Eastern Europe, under a cloud of lies, a 150 million people are kept under the knout of a government which claims to represent the interests of the proletariat, **but which in reality, with its Bonapartism, constitutes the greatest danger to world peace.**"

Could a French war chauvinist speak more openly and cynically than these French young social democratic chauvinists?

And not to be outdone, the January number of the functionaries' organ of the German Socialist Youth states:

"In Russia, Socialism has been converted by means of blood, terror and brutal Bonapartism into an organised State slavery."

In order to mislead the young workers, the leaders of the socialist Youth International conceal their war policy behind anti-war phrases. By means of sham-radical phrases about disarmament and laudation of the League of Nations, they wish to keep back the masses from the daily fight against the manufacture and transport of munitions and against armaments in their own country. This was the object of the pitiable lamentations of the S.Y.I., which at its March Conference sent a telegram to the League of Nations recording with "profound concern" that a government which has recognised the principle of the Kellogg Pact is permitted to commit this crime (war) unpunished.

The Secretary of the French Socialist Youth, Dumon, issued a hypocritical appeal to the wives and mothers, in the event of war, to throw themselves on the railway lines and not let a train pass. The same aim is served by the demands of the "Left" (Seydewitz) Youth organisations for "complete disarmament and international arbitration courts, the judgments of which the States (the organisers of war) are pledged to recognise", thereby throwing sand in the eyes of the masses.

In the fight against the production and transport of munitions and war material for Japanese imperialism, which must be organised in the works and docks, it is necessary to mobilise the social-democratic young workers and the youths in the reformist trade unions and sport organisations in a revolutionary united front. The Young Communist Leagues must fulfil their task in the fight against the social democracy, which also in the question of war is the social support of the bourgeoisie, of mobilising the masses of the social democratic young workers under the flag of Lenin and Liebknecht.

## The Split in the Japanese Social Democratic Party "Siakai Minsuito".

Tokyo, 19th April 1932.

The Japanese social democratic party "Siakai Minsuito" has been split. The group of Akamazu, the general secretary of the party, has seceded from the party and organised a new fascist "national socialist party".

The split in the social democratic party of Japan reflects the increasing instability of the existing regime, and indicates that in view of the commencing revolutionary upsurge in the country the former methods of deceiving the masses practised by the social democrats are becoming ineffective. The war against China has accentuated the class struggle of the Japanese proletariat and peasantry; since its commencement the number of strikes and peasant conflicts has increased and is still increasing. The anti-war movement, which is participated in not only by workers but also by peasants, soldiers and



students, is growing. The crisis is deepening, unemployment is increasing tremendously. A third of all workers and employees are unemployed. The price of raw silk and all other products is rapidly falling, and with the increasing ruin the peasants are seized with excitement and despair.

The split in the "Siakai Minsuito" does not mean that serious differences of opinion exist between the leaders of the two parties, the old "Siakai Minsuito" and the new party "Akamazu" in regard to the main questions, i. e., war and the monarchy. Both parties wholeheartedly support the bourgeois-feudal monarchy and the imperialist war against China as well as the preparation for intervention against the Soviet Union. The slogans of the social democracy are: "socialist control of Japanese rights and interests in Manchuria", "Protection of the rights and interests in the Northern (i. e. Soviet) fishing grounds".

There is a growing ferment among the working masses of the social democratic party. The social democrats are attempting to divert the masses from the active fight by means of the slogan of "state socialism", and to persuade them that the "classless" military clique, which is openly supported by the social democrats, is the embodiment and bearer of such a "State socialism". All social democrats without exception are active supporters of the imperialist war. The radicalisation of the masses, which is daily growing, on the one hand, and the increasing reaction and terror in the country, on the other hand, accelerate the exposure of the actual role of the social democracy as the faithful servants of Japanese imperialism.

The Communist Party of Japan, which is daily getting into closer contact with the masses and is leading them in the fight, will frustrate the manoeuvres of these two parties, which constitute the true lackeys of the police monarchy.

## INTERNATIONAL FIGHT AGAINST WAR AND INTERVENTION

### Against the Imperialist Sabotage of Disarmament.

By M. Litvinov.

Geneva, April 21st, 1932.

Comrade Litvinov delivered a speech at the sitting of the General "Disarmament" Commission on the criteria for the limitation or reduction of armaments, in which he stated:

"The resolution proposed to us, which is practically a repetition of article 8 of the League Covenant, can scarcely mean anything else than the preliminary decision of the methods of the reduction of armaments. I do not believe that the authors of this resolution considered it necessary to bring it in solely in order to get the members of the League of Nations once again to swear their fidelity to one point of the League Covenant.

"I believe that in my declaration of April 12, I already exhaustively analysed both the objective and the individual methods. In the first case we obtain a sufficiently precise formula which would allow us, without serious further dispute, to fix for the immediate future a desirable reduction of armaments. In the second case we do not actually give a general practical formula, but propose only an agreement regarding a definite level of armaments for each individual country: a particularly difficult and, in my opinion, even impossible agreement; and if such an agreement is not arrived at, then every agreement becomes illusory.

"If the individual method were adopted, then the Soviet delegation would be compelled on its part to put forward demands which would guarantee the security of the country represented by it. And if we actually engage in examining these factors and coordinating them, I must say that I see no prospect of the present conference coming to an end and, what is still worse, no commencement of the reduction of armaments.

I take the liberty of reminding you that when explaining the proportional method of reducing armaments, I myself emphasised the necessity of some exceptions, as for instance for such countries the reduction of whose armaments has already

been carried out apart from other States. Further, we have completely excluded from our scheme States with armies under 30,000 men. The Persian Delegation, in the Preparatory Commission, pointed to the special condition of the country represented by it. I immediately remarked that the Soviet delegation would not object to an examination of the arguments brought forward by the Persian delegation, the more so as we, as neighbours, know that this country has often been attacked, but has itself never shown any aggressive intentions. It is possible that there are other analogous cases.

It is another matter when it is recommended to regard all countries as being in an extraordinary situation, and when this includes countries which have never been attacked for centuries, but on the contrary, were, owing to their policy of imperialism and aggression, a source of disturbance and concern to the whole world.

I repeat, if there are exceptional cases which call for special and careful study, we have nothing against these cases being dealt with specially. The proposed resolution contains a reference to Japan, China and some other States. If Japan or other States prove that their defensive forces are insufficient, as a result of which they are exposed to attacks; that the fleets of foreign Powers are stationed in their harbours; that warplanes fly unhindered over their towns and fortresses—if these countries prove that their neighbours show ill-will by violating the international treaties and agreements signed openly before all the world, and that therefore it is impossible to expect of these neighbours that they will observe the disarmament convention, then the Soviet delegation will be ready, together with the other delegations, to devote special attention to these cases and to increase the feeling of security and to dispel the fears of Japan and other States referred to in the resolution.

But one can hardly assume that all or the majority of States can bring forward such complaints and reasons for disquietude and that the necessity of exceptions prove that it is not necessary to fix general rules and general methods."

As is known, the resolution adopted by the General Commission was based on the draft submitted by the French group of Powers. At the vote on this resolution, Litvinov made a declaration regarding the motives which prompted the Soviet delegation to vote against it. This declaration is to the effect that the Soviet Union will not submit to the instructions of the League of Nations. In this declaration it is stated:

"The objections of the Soviet delegation are of a formal and an essential nature. The formal objections concern the almost complete identity of the resolution with article 8 of the League of Nations Covenant. There is now proposed to us a resolution which, by article, 8 is to bind all participants in the Conference including non-members of the League of Nations. This would mean that they would have to approve the correctness of the international obligations which the League of Nations Covenant impose on members of the League, or in other words, that they must approve the right to sanctions to which direct reference is made in the resolution. I am not convinced that this would not also mean the recognition of the right of the League Council to allow an increase in the level of armaments fixed, to which reference is also made in article 8.

The delegation of the Soviet Union has received a mandate to work out methods for the reduction of armaments, but not to accept or approve this or that article of the League Covenant.

This is the formal side of the matter. On the other hand article 8 cannot be accepted by us as a directive for the reduction of armaments, as it is interpreted here as a recommendation of individual and subjective method of reduction. In addition, when any proposal for a radical reduction of armaments was made in the Preparatory Commission, it was always countered with a reference to article 8, as being an obstacle to this reduction, and for this reason alone it is unacceptable to the Soviet Union delegation.

The resolution does not create any clearness regarding the methods of disarmament; it does not represent any step forward in our work, but on the contrary creates fresh ambiguities and unclearness, which can only render difficult the further work of the Conference. Under such conditions the delegation of the Soviet Union cannot take any responsibility for this resolution and vote for it. There remains nothing else for the delegation of the Soviet Union to do but to wait and to see what results from the practical work of the Conference and the application of this resolution."

## Anti-War Day in the U.S.A.

By A. G. Bosse (New York).

On April 6, the fifteenth anniversary of the entry of the U.S. into the World War, tens of thousands of workers demonstrated against the new world war under preparation and already being waged by Japanese imperialism in China. They protested militantly against the attempt of imperialism to find a way out of the ever-deepening world crisis by the slaughter of millions of workers in a frantic struggle for new markets. They supported enthusiastically the slogans of defence of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Soviets and freedom for the Scottsboro boys and Mooney.

The biggest meeting was in **New York**, where 10,000 gathered at the Coliseum, the second largest hall in the city. Various groups of workers marching in behind the banners of their organisations were greeted enthusiastically, particularly the Workers Ex-Servicemen's League, the proletarian Negro and white war veterans organisation. The chairman of the meeting was **J. W. Ford**, of the executive of the League and the Trade Union Unity Council.

The next largest meeting was in **Chicago**, where 7-8,000 Negro and white workers gathered at Union park and listened to speakers from the T.U.U.L., Unemployed Council, League for Negro Rights, C.P., and Ex-servicemen's League. As in New York many neighbourhood and factory gate meetings were held previously in the week in preparation for the central demonstration. At **Detroit** 5,000 marched for an hour through the Negro proletarian section, while tens of thousands lined the sidewalks. At Grand Circus Park 10,000 greeted the demonstrators. A sea of streamers and banners were carried with slogans urging the defence of the Chinese masses and the Soviet Union against Japanese invasion and provocation, demanding the release of the framed-up Scottsboro boys, and militant Negro and white unity.

In other important cities the size of the demonstrations was as follows: **Kansas City** — 3,000 paraded and in the evening 600 met in a hall; **Minneapolis** — 2,500, **Seattle** — 2,500, **St. Louis** — 2,000, **Youngstown** — 1,500, **Milwaukee** — 1,500, **Providence and Duluth** — 600, each, **New Bedford** — 500, **Boston** — 400, **New Castle** — 700, **Gary** — 300, **Hammond** — 300, etc. In **Milwaukee** the "Socialist" police attempted to disrupt the meeting but the militancy of the workers was such that no attack was made. The Socialist Mayor, Hoan, was given a unanimous resolution adopted by the meeting against war, which he promised "to take under advisement". That evening he spoke at the Army and Navy Club and together with officers talked about making the next war more efficient. On April 9 1,000 workers demonstrated before the Japanese consulate in **San Francisco**, many of them Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, and Negro.

On April 6 the **Daily Worker** published a joint statement calling for the defence of the U.S.S.R. and China, signed by 14 Communist Parties of North and South America. On the 2nd it published a special supplement on anti-war day, with articles on problems in the struggle against war, the S.P. and war, peace pacts and the Far Eastern situation, part of Litvinov's speech, and a list of pamphlets on the war danger. Many organisations, particularly women's and youth's, were mobilised in delegate conferences in preparation for April 6.

The imminence of war and the importance of intensified struggle against it may be seen from the preparations the bourgeoisie are making. General MacArthur, chief of staff of the army, has stated that a list of 4,000 items essential for war has been compiled and agreements made with 15,000 large factories to produce them. The tasks have been assigned and "experimental" orders are ready to be placed at a moment's notice, secretly, and without competition (as is legally necessary for ordinary government orders). The necessary plans have been made to mobilise raw materials, transport, power, and labour. The manufacturers are to be guaranteed 6% profit, plus rent for the plant, plus graft. Four million men between 21 and 30 are to be chosen from the 11 million available in the first class, besides the 800,000 who become of age each year and other millions between 18 and 45. 100,000 reserve officers are available, in addition to those in the national guard and the regular army.

Anti-war week was only one stage of a broad campaign of mobilisation of the American masses. Now comes May 1, which will see demonstrations on a much larger scale. The treacherous Social Fascists and Trotskyists must be exposed concretely so that the masses who still follow them can

comprehend. The shipment of munitions to Japan and the cooperation of Western imperialism in the provocation against the U.S.S.R. must be made clear and combatted. The Party and the revolutionary workers under its guidance must make the masses realise that war is **already being waged**, that they must rally to the defence of the Workers Fatherland as they did in 1920.

## Appeal of the Unity Congress of the Colliery Workers of Europe Against Imperialist War — for the Defence of the Soviet Union.

Miners, Comrades!

World imperialism is preparing for a new world war, for the redivision of the earth among the great capitalist powers. Japan has already carried war into China with the agreement of the leading powers of the League of Nations, and is attempting by daily intensified provocation to draw the Soviet Union into war. It is anxious to give the other imperialist conspirators a favorable opportunity for the joint attack on the proletarian fatherland. Decaying capitalism hopes to secure for itself a further reprieve by means of war on the Soviet Union. The imperialists hope that by crushing the Soviet Union they may be enabled to deal at the same time on overwhelming defeat to their own workers. Litvinov, the representative of the Soviet Union, was scoffed at at the Geneva disarmament Conference for his speech for peace and his proposals of disarmament were derided by the spokesmen of the imperialists. The French general staff is endeavouring by all available means to place Poland, Roumania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Hungary in the war front against the Soviet Union.

We see the leaders of the Amsterdam and Christian trade unions in the foremost ranks of the most savage war-mongers against the Soviet Union. The treacherous leaders of these organisations are exerting their utmost efforts to save the capitalist system of suppression. With the slogans: "War brings work", "War fills the purse of the workers", they lure the workers to take part in the manufacture and transport of war material, with which the workers of China are to be murdered and the campaign of annihilation commenced against the Soviet Union. Whilst every other branch of industry is being brought more and more to a standstill, the armaments industry is growing from day to day, and in the great munition works work is going on day and night, and overtime is being worked. Today the worker is being lured away from the defence of his class interests by means of the criminal slogan that war brings work; and tomorrow he will be put into uniform and dragged to the battle fields of the imperialists as cannon-fodder.

Capitalist war does not bring work, but slavery and death for the working class.

The colliery workers too are being mobilised in many places for war supplies. The wage cuts which have been resolved upon, and the increasing dismissals, are to render the miners docile and ready for war.

The imperialist conspiracy against peace, against the Soviet Union, and against the workers' movement, must be frustrated by the counter-action of the working masses. As Lenin taught us, we cannot fight with empty phrases against imperialist war. Those who want to prevent imperialist war must fight daily against the capitalist oppressors. Today Karl Liebknecht's words are truer than ever: The greatest enemy is in our own country. Therefore the revolutionary miners must work with the utmost energy for the establishment of the proletarian united front, in order that with this front they may repulse every attack made on their means of subsistence in every mine, every coalfield, every country. The offensive of the workers in the struggle for higher wages and shorter working hours, against capitalist rationalisation and discharges, is the path not only to work, bread, and freedom, but at the same time the path to peace and socialism.

The Unity Congress of the Miners of Europe pledges itself to mobilise with the utmost energy the masses for this struggle. It calls upon all miners to join in this struggle.

Saarbrück, 17th April 1932.

The Delegates of the Congress.

## How the First World War was Prepared

# Peace Talk as a Cloak for War Preparations.

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

*Disarmament Conferences, peace declarations, Geneva, League of Nations! Messages of peace, calls for disarmament in the whole of the imperialist and social democratic press!*

*And in China and Manchuria the guns are thundering. The troops of Japanese imperialism in the East and the Polish-Rumanian vassals of the European big Powers in the West, are already advancing with full war equipment on the frontiers of the Soviet Union. War alliances, feverish*

*arming, war provocations, war lies, are the real meaning of the peace talk: peace in words and war in deeds.*

*Just as it was before the world war!*

*Documents must speak and open the eyes of those who still believe in the peace talk. As an introduction we publish an extract from an article written by Comrade M. Pokrovsky, the Marxist historian who died recently.* Editor.

## From the Diplomatic History Preceding the World War.

By M. N. P o k r o v s k y.

The October revolution placed in the hands of the proletariat documents incriminating the bourgeois regime in all spheres, including that of international relations. A part of these documents have been already published, but by no means all, and perhaps also not the most interesting. We have in our hands the originals of the intimate letters which the Russian Ambassadors in London and Paris exchanged with their chief, Minister Sazanov, the Foreign Minister of the Tsarist government. There have been preserved at least a part of the secret telegrams and the no less intimate reports from Sazanov to the Tsar. All these documents throw an extraordinary vivid light on the war-preparations made by the Entente and constitute the most irrefutable evidence that a peace before the bar of impartial history is assured not only the **Wilhelms** and **Bethmann-Hollwegs**, but also the **Lloyd Georges**, **Greys**, **Poincarés**, and **Sazanov**.

"The conspiracy against general peace" by no means arose on July 5th 1914, but much earlier. Its origin dates back to 1908, when, before the annexation of Bosnia and Hercegovina by Austria-Hungary, a certain agreement was arrived at between the then Foreign Ministers **Isvolski** (Russia) and **Aehrenthal** (Austria-Hungary) regarding the Dardanelles question . . .

Two years later, the Dardanelles question appeared much more plainly on the diplomatic stage. On October 24, 1909, there was concluded the Treaty between Russia and Italy on the occasion of the visit of Tsar **Nicolas** to **Victor Emanuel**, the king of Italy in **Racconigi** . . . It is hardly possible to overestimate the importance of the Treaty of **Racconigi**. Whilst, however, the action of Italy at that time could be observed by everybody, the activity of **Isvolski** in Paris, which went on behind the scenes, was of much greater importance as regards its results.

**Isvolski** wrote in September 1911, immediately after the Italo-Turkish war:

"We must concern ourselves not with regard to the best means of maintaining peace and order in the Balkan Peninsula, but we must also take care that we shall be able to derive the greatest advantages for ourselves from the events which are now beginning . . ."

But the gradual acquisition of the Turkish straits was not so easy as say, the occupation of Tripoli. The straits—that meant Constantinople, Constantinople, in turn, so said **Napoleon**, "is the domination of the world". In order, however, to obtain such a great prize, allies were necessary. Thus the initiators of this undertaking were very quickly faced with this question of allies. The first ally, of course was France, which had for a long period of years been bound to Russia by a whole number of obligations and conventions. Would, however, France consider herself bound to Russia also in the question of the occupation of Constantinople? At the first moment **Isvolski** could not decide to answer this question in the positive sense (Letter dated 10/23rd November 1911) . . .

The picture changed completely, however, when **Poincaré** became Prime Minister and at the same time Foreign Minister of the French Republic. **Isvolski's** letters immediately adopted another tone when this change came about. (Letter of 16/29th February 1912) . . .

As a prologue to the war for Constantinople, the Balkan Slavs, the Bulgars and Servians, had to come forward. For this purpose there was fabricated, with the participation of Russian diplomacy, the now well-known secret treaty between Serbia and Bulgaria. **Poincaré** had hardly glanced at this treaty, when he immediately designated it as a war document ("un instrument de guerre") . . . As regards **Poincaré** himself, he saw the thing quite soberly and any hesitation was foreign to him . . .

### 1907—1910.

*A fierce struggle is going on over the imperialist colonial booty. Germany defends its "justified interests" in Africa. France has to give way for the time being. Thus the Morocco agreement of 9th February 1909 is concluded. Of course the sole object of this treaty is to "maintain peace".*

*Under the pretext of similar aims the Russo-Italian Agreement of October 24, 1909, is concluded. This agreement relates specially to the maintenance of the "status quo" in the Balkans, precisely where the world war broke out.*

*"Allies" are sought everywhere, although the two groups of Powers, the Triple Alliance and the Entente, have already existed for a long time.*

### The Russo-Italian Secret Treaty of Racconigi of October 24, 1909.

The Russo-Italian Secret Treaty of **Racconigi** of October 24, 1909, provides:

1. Russia and Italy will in the first place make it their business to maintain the status quo in the Balkan Peninsula.
2. Italy and Russia undertake respectively to adopt a benevolent attitude to the Russian interests in the question of the Straits and to Italian Tripoli and Cyrenaica.

### The Franco-German Secret Morocco Agreement of February 9, 1909.

The Imperial German government and the government of the French Republic declare:

The government of the French Republic, wholly concerned with the maintenance of the inviolability and independence of the Shereefian domain, has decided to maintain economic equality there.

Concluded in Berlin on April 9, 1909.

(Signed) v. Schoen.

(Signed) Jules Cambon.

## They Only Want Peace.

In his speech of March 29th, 1909 Prince Bülow declared "In building the German fleet we have not the remotest intention of entering into competition with British sea-power. By numerous declarations in the German Reichstag and by the content of the Naval law itself, there has been laid down the unalterable aim of German naval policy; that we desire a navy solely in order to protect our coast and our commerce" (Count Ernst Reventlow: German Foreign Policy 1888-1913.)

## How Lenin Estimated the Situation.

*In an article which appeared in "Proletari" in October 1908, Lenin wrote:*

That which is now taking place in the Balkans, in Turkey and in Persia can be summed up in the counter-revolutionary coalition of the European Powers against the growing democracy in Asia . . . And the whole policy of the proletariat at the present moment consists in tearing the mask from the bourgeois hypocrites, exposing to the broadest masses of the people the reactionary character of the European Governments, which out of a fear of the proletarian fight at home, play and help to play the role of gendarmes towards the revolution in Asia . . .

## The II. International at the Cross-Ways.

*The Stuttgart Congress of the II. International (August 1907) dealt, as first item on the agenda, with the question of "Militarism and International Conflicts", and as third item with the colonial question. The Congress adopted a motion brought in by Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg and Martow against the war. The motion read:*

"If war threatens to break out it is the duty of the working class in the countries concerned and of their Parliamentary representatives, with the help of the International Bureau as a means of co-ordinating their action, to use every effort to prevent war by all the means which seem to them the most appropriate, having regard to the sharpness of the class war and to the general political situation.

"Should war none the less break out, their duty is to intervene to bring it promptly to an end and with all their energies to use the political and economic crisis created by the war to rouse the populace from its slumbers, and to hasten the fall of capitalist domination."

## Lenin on the Stuttgart Resolution.

"In regard to the question of anti-militarism, the notorious Hervé defended a semi-anarchist standpoint, in which he naively proposed to "reply" to any war with strike and insurrection. He failed to understand, on the one hand, that war is a necessary product of capitalism and that the proletariat cannot dissociate itself from a revolutionary war, as such wars are possible and such wars have occurred even in capitalist society. On the other hand, he failed to understand that the possibility of "replying" to war depends upon the character of that crisis which calls forth the war. Upon these conditions depend the choice of the means of struggle, whereby the fight must consist not only in substituting war by peace, but in replacing capitalism by Socialism. The essence of the matter does not consist only in preventing the outbreak of a war, but in making use of the crisis produced by the war in order to accelerate the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

"Bebel's motion, brought in by the Germans and which in all essential points coincided with Guesde's motion, suffered precisely the same fault in that it contained no reference to the active tasks of the proletariat. This leaves open the possibility of reading Bebel's orthodox theses through opportunist spectacles. Vollmar immediately realised this possibility.

"Rosa Luxemburg and the Russian delegation therefore brought in their amendment to Bebel's motion. In this it is stated, 1. that militarism is the main instrument of class oppression; 2. it points out the task of agitation among the youth; 3. it emphasises the task of the social democracy of fighting not only against the outbreak of war or for the speedy ending of war which has already begun, but also of making use of the crisis called forth by the war for the purpose of hastening the overthrow of the bourgeoisie."

(Lenin: The International Congress at Stuttgart.)

## Noske and Co. Come Forward.

*Immediately after the Stuttgart Congress there took place in Essen, from 15th to 21st September, 1907, the Party Congress of the German social democratic party, at which Noske delivered a speech on the question of national defence, in the course of which he stated:*

"The way in which a part of the party press criticises the speeches which were delivered in the Reichstag during the discussion of the military budget, is an example of how discussions within the Party regarding supposed or real differences of opinion should not be conducted. One party paper expressed the opinion that it was not necessary to say that the social democrats are willing, 'to shoulder a rifle to defend Germany against an attack'. These words cannot be cited as prejudicial to the interests of the Party, but **logically follow from the attitude hitherto adopted by the social democratic party to war.** Another paper states that the anti-militarist agitation of our comrades abroad has been rendered more difficult by the speeches in the Reichstag. I do not find that this charge can be made with any seriousness. Nothing else has been said than what has been said in former years, as is admitted by various party papers. I expressly stated that in the event of Germany being attacked and in the event of our country being seriously threatened, **the social democrats would enthusiastically defend their fatherland.** Our French party comrades have repeatedly said the same thing when reproached with being unfaithful to their fatherland." (Protocol page 229.)

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On October 12, 1907, Karl Liebknecht was sentenced to eighteen months fortress arrest on account of his book: "Militarism and anti-militarism".

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## Rosa Luxemburg on the Triple Entente.

"It seems to me that—thanks to the scientific basis of our socialist world outlook—it is clear to us that in the modern capitalist world both war and peace result from much profounder social causes than the will and the petty intrigues of leading Statesmen; that so long as capitalism exists there will be unbridgeable differences between the different States, which necessarily become more acute with the advance of world and colonial politics, and which no "alliances" can plaster over, just as all "alliances" and "Ententes" of the military States themselves represent only increased means to progressive armaments and in the given case, to extension of the danger of war. . . . It seems to me therefore that it can be much less the tasks of the socialists to foster the illusions of the bourgeois peace advocates and their hopes for maintaining peace by all kind of cabinet artifices of State diplomacy, than to expose step by step the miserable puppet game of this diplomacy in its impotence, narrowness and hypocrisy."

(From the "Open Letter to Jean Jaurès", by Rosa Luxemburg, published in "Neue Zeit" 1908.)

## The Colonial Policy of the Social Imperialists.

*Already at the Stuttgart Congress, van Kol, the Dutch social chauvinist, submitted a motion on the colonial question the first paragraph of which read as follows:*

"The Congress records that the advantages or the necessity of colonies in general, especially to the working class, are greatly exaggerated. It does not, however, reject on principle and for all time every colonial policy, which could under a socialist regime have a civilising effect."

## Max Schippel:

*The colonial policy of the imperialists, however, was formulated most plainly and brutally by Schippel (later also by Hildebrandt, David etc.). In his article: Balkan Confusion and Democracy Yesterday and To-day, which appeared in the "Sozialistische Monatshefte" of 1908, volume 12, 3, Schippel wrote:*

"It would be regarded by all thinking party comrades as a mistake if the view expressed once again in our Berlin



Central organ gained the upper hand, namely, that the great changes which have already taken place in the Balkans, and also those which may follow, do not in any way concern Germany. We of course, have not to seek any territorial expansion there. The official German policy, however, does not seek this; and therein lies in the given circumstances, the strength of its influence on the further development of the complicated international problem. True, the Bosphorus is to-day no longer the great cross-road determining the future fate of Europe. But great shiftings of power in the most important binding link between Europe on the one side and the whole of Asia and a great part of Africa on the other, of course immediately affect our international position, while we are indirectly bound up with these events through our Austrian neighbour and ally.

"It is the more easy for us to take up this attitude by reason of the fact that we are no longer haunted by the spectre of Russian reaction. Russia has today become a power like any other."

### The Centrist Kautsky:

"The idea of a voluntary renunciation of colonies can, therefore, as long as the rule of capital lasts, only be of value to us as a compass showing us the direction . . . The risings of the natives to shake off the foreign yoke will always be sure of the sympathy of the fighting proletariat . . . **Much as we understand such rebellions and much as we may sympathise with the rebels, the social democracy cannot encourage these rebellions.**" ("Kautsky: Socialism and colonial policy" 1907.)

### Lenin against Schippel . . .

. . . Here we have an example of what the yielding of the socialists to the bourgeoisie leads to . . . On the very same day on which Schippel, like a slave repeating the assurances and the howls of the liberals and of the police press, proclaimed to the German workers that the importance of Russia as a reactionary power is a thing of the past and that it would be a mistake to regard Russia under all circumstances as an enemy—on the same day the Russian military crossed the Persian frontiers. (Lenin: "The events in the Balkans and in Persia." 16/29th October 1908.)

### . . . and against the Centrists:

In an article on "The Meeting of the International Socialist Bureau" (in October 1908), Lenin wrote as follows:

Van Kol pushes entirely aside the fight of the social democracy against the colonial policy, the agitation among the masses against colonial robbery, the awakening of the spirit of defence and resistance among the oppressed masses in the colonies, and concentrates his whole attention on enumerating possible 'reforms' of colonial conditions under the present regime . . . His whole report breathes not the spirit of the proletarian class struggle, but the spirit of the most petty-bourgeois, nay even worse, of bureaucratic reformism. (Lenin. Volume XI. part I, Page 367.)

Here we see the standpoint of Lenin on the duty of the proletariat systemically to support the revolutionary movement in the colonies and to work for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie in the colonies, a standpoint which stands in striking contrast to that of the centrists, including Kautsky.

## Chronicle of Events in the International Labour Movement from 1907 to 1910.

1907.

**18th to 24th August:** International Congress in Stuttgart.  
**26th August:** Founding of the Youth International in Stuttgart.

**15th to 21st September:** Party Congress of the German social democratic Party in Essen. Noske's speech for the participation of the social democracy in war. Liebknecht replies to him.

**12th October:** Karl Liebknecht sentenced to 18 months' fortress arrest.

1908.

**1st November:** 80,000 workers demonstrate in the Messe Square in Leipzig.

1909.

**3rd to 9th January:** Conference of the Russian social democratic labour Party in Paris.

**13th to 14th February:** Extraordinary Party Congress of the Dutch social democracy. Expulsion of the revolutionary Marxists Pannekoeck and his followers from the party.

**1st of May:** The first May strike in Moscow.

**25th July:** Great protest meeting of the London workers against the Tsar's visit.

## THE PEASANT MOVEMENT

### Meeting of the European Peasant Committee. The International Frontier Gathering of Peasants in Grevenbroich against Imperialist War.

The chief task of the third session of the European Peasants Committee, which met from the 15th to the 17th April, consisted in examining the activity of the Peasant Committees in the 16 months which have elapsed since the second session, reviewing its results and giving to the committee movement new directives for future work, taking in account the whole present situation. In accordance with this task, the discussions and decisions of the third session of the E.P.C. were characterised to a great extent by the necessity—in view of the war which has broken out in the Far East and the serious threat to the Soviet Union—of setting a number of new tasks and directing the entire activity to the chief need of the hour—the fight against war. The session did not content itself with discussing and passing resolutions regarding this question—it ended with an international frontier rally in Grevenbroich, attended by 1,500 peasants, and which as the first international mass demonstration of the peasantry against war, lent weight to the decisions of the session and also provided an example to be followed by the working peasants of other countries.

Of the invited representatives of the Committee Movement of the central and west European countries, there were present delegates from: Czechoslovakia, Poland, Germany, France, Italy, Austria and Holland.

Their reports, which were dealt with as the first item of the agenda, provided much interesting and informative material regarding the condition and development of the movement, while at the same time a number of serious faults were pointed out by the speakers in a self-critical manner.

After a short report on the state of the movement and the prospects of the work in Italy and Spain, the session listened to a report delivered by Miglioli on: **The activity of the Peasants Committees and the next tasks of these committees.** There followed a report by Rau on the fight against hostile organisations in the village.

The reports were followed by a very lively discussion in which all delegates participated.

The last report was delivered by Desnots on "the fight against war, and the working peasantry". This report, and the discussion which followed, dealt exhaustively with all the concrete forms and methods of the fight against war. There was especially emphasised the necessity of organising **international frontier rallies of peasants**, which should follow that of Grevenbroich, and concrete proposals were adopted in this connection.

Resolutions on the question of the further development and struggle of the committees and on the fight against war were unanimously adopted as a basis, and the Bureau of the European Peasants Committee was entrusted with the task of finally revising these resolutions. On the proposal of Miglioli it was decided that a red flag with a sickle should be awarded for the best Committee work, and it was also unanimously decided that for the current year the flag should be held by the Czechoslovakian Committee, which had best carried out the decisions of the Second Session.

There was then adopted an appeal of the Third Session and of the National Committees represented at it to the working peasants. This appeal was read out to the mass demonstration which immediately followed the Session and was greeted with tempestuous applause.

After the conclusion of the mass demonstration and in spite of the police prohibition, a procession was formed consisting of 1500 workers and peasants headed by a red flag with a sickle. A strong force of police attacked the demonstrators with truncheons and revolvers and confiscated the flag, but soon afterwards were compelled to return it and to allow a speaker to address the demonstrators.

## Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

# The IX. All Union Congress of Trade Unions.

Moscow, 21st April, 1932.

In his opening speech to the Congress, Comrade **Svernik**, the General Secretary of the Central Council of the Trade Unions, stated:

"The trade unions of the Soviet Union comprise at present 16.5 million members compared with 11 million members at the time of the 8th Congress. The Soviet Union is the only country in the world where there is no unemployment, the only country in which 85 per cent of the industrial workers are working a seven-hour day. The working class of the first proletarian State is beginning to tackle the second Five-Year Plan of socialist construction, which means a tremendous step forward in the establishment of Communist society. This means a great triumph of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism.

These victories are the result of the Leninist policy of the Party, the result of the irreconcilable struggle of the Party on two fronts: against Right opportunism as the main danger, and against the "Left" exaggerations as well as against the conciliators towards deviations from the general line of the Party."

The Congress sent messages of greeting on behalf of the 16.5 million trade-union organised workers of the Soviet Union, to the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., to Comrade Stalin, to the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union and to Comrade Voroshilov, the leader of the Red Army.

Comrade **Svernik** then delivered his report on the activity of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union since the 8th Congress, in which he stated:

"The period which has elapsed since the VIII. Trade Union Congress, was a period of the competition between two systems: the socialist and the capitalist systems. The result of this competition is: we are completing the Five-Year Plan in four years — the crisis of the capitalist system is developing and becoming more acute."

Comrade **Svernik** gave many examples showing the growing sympathy of the masses in the capitalist countries and in the colonial countries for the Soviet Union. Since the VIII. Trade Union Congress 62 delegations, comprising about 1900 foreign workers including many social democratic and non-party workers, have visited the Soviet Union. These worker delegates, who have realised the tremendous progress of socialist construction, the revolutionary role of the Communist Party and of the trade unions, have returned to their countries where they are refuting the lies and calumnies spread by the social fascists and the bourgeoisie about the Soviet Union.

Dealing with the question of the role of the trade unions in socialist construction Comrade **Svernik** stated:

"The past three years have been years of struggle for the carrying out of Lenin's teachings on the trade unions. Lenin's and Stalin's doctrines on the role of the trade unions in the epoch of the dictatorship of the proletariat have been fully confirmed by the experiences of the proletariat in its struggle for transforming the country on socialist lines. This struggle began with a radical transformation of the ranks of trade unions, of the methods and the content of the work of the mass organisations of the working class. This required before all the removal of the old opportunist leadership of the Central Council of the trade unions of the Soviet Union, headed by Tomsky. The main principles and the working methods of this leadership had become incompatible with the development of the Bolshevik advance."

Comrade **Svernik** then proceeded to deal with the concrete question of socialist competition and the shock brigade movement, the wages question and the tasks of the trade unions in the sphere of improving the material position of the working class (supplying articles of daily necessity, construction of dwellings, social insurance, protection of health, emancipation of the working women from household drudgery) as well as the organisational questions of trade union work, and in conclusion stated:

The greatest task of the trade unions is the struggle for the successful completion of the last, the fourth year of the

Five-Year Plan and the preparations for the second Five-Year Plan. The Five-Year Plan must be fulfilled this year 100 per cent. The trade unions must mobilise all the toilers for participation in the work of setting up the second Five-Year Plan. There is no doubt that we shall carry out the tasks of the second Five-Year Plan just as successfully as we did in regard to the first Five-Year Plan. For this purpose the workers must strengthen their fight against the class enemy who tries to penetrate into the ranks of the workers. The trade unions are faced with the task of changing the outlook of the millions of toilers in a socialist direction; they have to conduct the struggle for the class education of the workers.

Moscow, 23rd April, 1932.

The third day of the Congress was taken up with the report of the Control Commission and the discussion on the report of the Central Council of the trade unions. Delegates from Dniepropetrovsk, Central Asia, Moscow, Leningrad etc. reported on their work. The delegates of the Kharkov Tractor works reported that their works had produced 5993 tractors in the course of 6½ months.

The Congress sent messages of greeting to the Communist International and the Red International of Labour Unions.

Moscow, 25th April, 1932.

The fourth day of the Trade Union Congress was devoted to the continuation of the discussion on the report of the Central Council. In two days 60 delegates took part in the debate, among them being workers from Dnieprostroy, Magnitstroy, Kusnetzksstroy, Nishni-Novgorod, Tula, Ukraine, the Far East, from the Ural. They reported of new blast furnaces, new cities, new worker armies and their achievements in the fight for the carrying out of the Five-Year Plan.

Comrade **Kotov** reported on the social insurance budget. The abolition of unemployment rendered it possible to devote millions of roubles to the training of new workers cadres. Further millions would be used in the current year for prophylactical work. The toilers would in the future be better supplied with all articles of daily necessity. Whilst in the year 1930, the average amount expended on one insured person was 108 roubles, this year the amount has risen to 142 roubles. The social insurance budget has been more than doubled, and has increased to 3,500 million roubles.

**Prokovjev**, an engineer, declared that the technical intellectuals have abandoned their caste-like isolation and have come to a real collaboration with the working class. 60 per cent. of the engineers and technicians are members of shock brigades. The experts are actively taking part in the struggle for the economic independence of the Soviet Union.

A delegation of the foreign workers and experts of the Moscow Electrosavod was greeted with great applause.

**Lasarev**, a physician from Tula, declared: "Soviet medicine is a sphere in which we have no need to catch up and pass any country. We have already now far outstripped the most advanced capitalist countries in regard to the setting up of medical institutions, clinics, sanatorias, convalescent homes etc. for the benefit of the broadest masses of the people.

The delegates reported with eager enthusiasm of their achievements, but also criticised various shortcomings in trade union work. The speakers emphasised that greater attention must be devoted to the question of organising the supplies to the workers, the development of State trade and improving the work of the co-operatives.

This latter question was specially dealt with by Comrade **Rudsutak**, People's Commissar for workers and peasants inspection, who stated that the quantity of goods within the country is uninterruptedly growing. If various shortcomings in the supplying of the workers have been noticed, they are due to the inadequate working of the trade network and also to the fact that great quantities of goods have not been used in a rational manner. Thus for instance, sometimes quite exaggerated quantities of overalls and boots are demanded by the factories.

Then Comrade **Krylenko**, the People's Commissar for Justice, spoke of the great educational importance of the honorary courts in Soviet factories.

**Hermann**, an American worker in the Nishni-Novgorod automobile works, received a great ovation when he declared that the Nishni-Novgorod motor works would soon commence to produce motor lorries, which would not be worse than the ford's waggons. He further emphasised that the foreign workers employed in the Soviet factories are ready to defend the Soviet Union with weapons in hand against any attack by the capitalist States.

In his concluding speech Comrade **Svernik** summed up the results of the discussion and declared that only a broadly developed proletarian criticism is a guarantee for a successful transformation of the trade union movement of the Soviet Union. He set the Congress the task of mobilising the masses for the carrying out of the Plan of socialist construction, for the plans for the improvement of the material position of the working class.

The Congress unanimously adopted the following resolution:

"The Congress, after having heard the report of Comrade **Svernik** on the activity of the Central Council of the Soviet Trade Unions, considers the political line of the Central Council of the Soviet Trade Unions as correct and fully and entirely approves its practical work in the period covered by the report, which was directed towards the ultimate extirpation of the remnants of the old, politically bankrupt Right opportunist leadership of the Central Council and the carrying out of the general line of the C.P.S.U."

On behalf of the 17,000 members organised in the trade unions of Mongolia and of the Mongolian section of the International Workers Relief, **Rabdar Sarbu** addressed the Congress and reported that the toilers of the Mongolian People's Republic are following with the greatest attention and enthusiasm the great achievements of the Soviet proletariat in its struggle for Socialism. As a token of brotherly solidarity with the proletariat of the Soviet Union the Central Council of the Trade Unions of Mongolia sent the IX. All-Union Congress of the Trade Unions a red flag. The Congress accepted the greetings and the gift of the Mongolian trade unions with an ovation.

In his report on the activity of the soviet delegation in the Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions **Comrade Losovsky** declared that the work of the congress was being followed closely all over the world because the congress represented seventeen million workers engaged for the first time in history in building up socialism. The struggles of the workers in the Soviet Union to overcome their difficulties would one day be extremely valuable to the workers in the countries at present still capitalist.

He then described the preparations of world imperialism for war against the Soviet Union and dealt in particular with the situation in the Far East. He reported at length on the struggle of the Communist Party and the revolutionary unions of **Japan** against war. Referring to the threatening increase of armaments he declared:

"The Soviet Union has proved its desire for peace again and again. The course of events however, does not depend on us. The danger of war is approaching nearer and nearer to the frontiers of the Soviet Union. The world bourgeoisie is collecting its forces against the Soviet Union. It hopes to find a way out of the economic crisis which is throttling it by indulging in war."

Comrade **Losovsky** then analysed the world economic crisis and the fights of the proletariat. He came to the conclusion that although the sections of the Red International of Labour Unions in the capitalist countries were growing and strengthening they were not yet everywhere up to standard.

In the discussion on Comrade **Losovsky's** report the secretary of the Central Council of Soviet Labour Unions **Comrade Abolin** declared that the work for the winning of the majority of the workers in the capitalist countries must be increased. A ruthless struggle must be conducted against the reformist trade union bureaucracy. The main work should be concentrated in the factories and particular attention paid to the daily interests of the working masses.

After Negro and Chinese delegates had spoken Comrade **Piatnitzki** spoke in the name of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. He pointed out the undeniable services of the revolutionary trade unions and the revolutionary

trade union opposition in the capitalist countries. At the same time he dealt with the weaknesses of the various sections. The chief cause of the low membership figures of the revolutionary unions and of the revolutionary trade union opposition was the inability of these organisations to deal effectively with the daily needs of the workers. The revolutionary unions were not always well informed concerning the happenings in the factories and as a result they very often put forward their slogans at the wrong moment. In particular, the movement had not won sufficient influence on the masses in the reformist trade unions and the result was that members of the reformist unions failed to take part in revolutionary strikes. The work of the revolutionary trade union opposition in the reformist unions was particularly weak. A damaging opinion was still current to the effect that it was not possible for a revolutionary to work inside the reformist unions. Naturally, the reformist trade union leaders expelled the revolutionary members and thus made the work of the opposition very difficult. It was very necessary that the greatest possible activity was carried on inside the reformist trade unions.

The congress then adopted the following resolution:

"The Ninth Congress of Soviet Labour Unions has listened to the report of Comrade **Losovsky** on the activity of the delegation of the Central Council of Soviet Labour Unions in the Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions and on the international revolutionary trade union movement and has expressed its approval of the decision of the Fifth Congress of the R.I.L.U. and of the Eighth Session of the Executive Bureau of the R.I.L.U. It also expresses its approval of the policy and tactics of the delegation of the Central Council of Soviet Labour Unions in the Executive Bureau of the R.I.L.U."

The congress then listened to the report of the People's Commissar for Labour, **Zichon**. Twenty delegates took part in the following discussion.

## Exemplary Struggle of the Toiling Women in the Cotton Districts.

By **Mastjukova** (Uzbekistan)

The Farab district is collectivised to the extent of 99.8%. The district has 5 collective farms. The total number of able bodied men in the collective farm district is 3,359, and the number of able bodied women is 3,353. The sown area of the collective farms is 6,704 hectares, of which 4,535 is irrigated for cotton. Next to cotton, the most important occupation is silk production.

The Farab district was the first in all Middle Asia, and probably in the whole of the Soviet Union, to attain exceptional results in the matter of drawing women into all productive processes, in the matter of organising women's labour in the collective farm.

These people are Uzbeks and Turkomans, among whom the habits of the pre-revolutionary life are still dominant. They are still fettered to their old customs, the women are veiled and practically the whole population is illiterate. These Turkoman and Uzbek women in the Farab district performed 99% of the whole work in the spring sowing campaign.

How was it possible to attract all the working women in a distant Eastern province, where the women are most backward, absolutely illiterate, where the influence of the kulaks on the women apparently could not be finally overcome? The chief factors which made this great victory possible may undoubtedly be considered to be full collectivisation, the consolidation of the collective farms, the introduction of piece work rates and the increased import of food, the extensive adaption of European implements. But the most important of all was the systematically conducted **planned work of the Party organisation among women, the definite Party leadership of the work of the delegate meetings**, which played a tremendous role in the organisation of the women's masses for the fulfilment of the production plan.

The question of the attraction of women into the Spring sowing campaign was discussed at all Party and Y.C.L. meetings, in the committees for organising the sowing campaign, in the executive committee of the district, in all the management boards of the collective farms, at all delegate

meetings. The functionaries and women delegates set the example. They formed the first women's brigades.

The first start was made by the activists in the "Kalinin" collective farm. On the first day, the first brigades of activists were formed, and commenced ploughing. Their work was accompanied by furious agitation on the part of the rich "beys". But labour discipline and organisation served as the best repulse to all the attempts of the kulaks, and in the course of 4 or 5 days, all the women of the "Kalinin" collective farm went to work.

Agitators from the first delegates who went to work were sent to all the other collective farms of the district to hand over their experience in the matter of organising women's labour. This was a great success. 116 special women's brigades were organised in the district, and every day 2,516 women out of 3,359 capable of work turned up on the job. In addition, there were organised 103 mixed brigades, with 5-10 women in each. All the women's brigades were led by a delegate who served as brigade leader, or by members of the Soviet or by activists. Old collective farmers were brought in to teach the methods of work. They instructed the delegates and activists, and each of them, at the head of a brigade, in turn passed on the knowledge to the collective farmers in their brigades.

The efficiency of the women was improved by piece work rates, socialist competitions, shock brigades, self-verification and by the wall newspaper. Brigades of collective farmers competed with each other, surpassed the standard rates, and in five days did the work for which seven days had been set, while at the same time improving the quality of the work. The delegate shock brigaders and activists by their example inspired the agronomical workers who did everything to assist.

The women's brigades showed themselves in practice to be shock brigades on night work. During a night alarm, when the irrigation canal broke and all the men went to repair the breach, the women went out into the fields and did not return until the work was finished, (at 5 o'clock in the morning).

The beys and kulaks could not, of course, look on calmly when the most backward part of the women villagers were slipping away from their influence. Lies and threats were used. But the delegate activists replied to all the attempts of the kulaks by increased mass work among the women and by organising 13 new brigades specially for the sowing time, composed of 311 persons.

When practically all the women went to the fields to work, the question of the children became very acute. The collective farm delegates decided to take the children with them into the fields, and then leave them on one side away from the work with the old women and girls. These "home made" nurseries were called "child watchers". The idea was taken up by the district functionaries. Tents were found, and clothing taken into the fields. Thus the first tent nursery was formed. Now not a single woman sits in the "kishlak" (village) because there is no one to look after the children.

The delegates first put forward the idea of baking bread in common in the sections, carried it into practice and liberated many women to take part in the ploughing.

The collective farmers have two hours break for dinner. One hour is devoted to learning to read and write. The schools for illiterates have been reorganised to fit in with industry, have been transferred to the sections where the collective farmers are ploughing and sowing. In 27 special schools for illiterates, 810 women are learning. The delegates are the prime spirits in this matter.

At the production meetings in the collective farms, the women-activists discuss the standard rates of output, and insist on the standards in the collective farms being based on the output of the best shock brigaders.

For its good work in the organisation of women's labour, the Farab district received the Republican Red Flag of Turkestan and a prize of 20,000 roubles, with which money 8 new tent nurseries for 30 children each will be organised by the harvest time, and a number of other measures for improving the conditions of life of the collective farm women, such as the purchase and collective use of 10 sewing machines, etc.

The best delegate shock brigaders are promoted to be managers of sections, members of the management board of the collective farms, and are sent to courses for the training of tractorists, and skilled workers for cultivating and harvesting cotton.

## IN THE OTHER CAMP

### The Corruption Scandal in the Kilbom Party.

By Ragnar Okeson (Stockholm).

As a result of the confession made by director Lange, who was arrested on April 15 in connection with the Kreuger scandal, it is now established beyond doubt that the leaders of the Right opportunist renegade party, Kilbom and Samuelson, were bought by Kreuger. Lange, acting on behalf of Kreuger, had a meeting with Kilbom in April 1930 when he handed over to him 80,000 crowns, the first instalment of a sum of 200,000 crowns which Kreuger had agreed to loan Kilbom in order to finance the latter's paper, the "Folkets Dagblad". Subsequently, Lange successively paid over to Kilbom 20,000, 25,000 and 10,000 crowns, making altogether 135,000 crowns. The remaining 65,000 crowns was to have been paid over to Kilbom in the Spring of 1932. For the first 109,000 crowns advanced, Lange received from Kilbom various mortgages on the building of the printing works as well as personal guarantees. In addition, in return for 35,000 crowns he received preferential shares of the printing works, which carried 5 times greater voting rights than the foundation shares held by the workers.

When these very awkward facts came to light, Kilbom and his associates, after first denying that they had anything to do with Kreuger, attempted to represent these transactions as an ordinary loan transaction, and even boasted that they had paid 6 per cent on the loan.

Thus it appears that these hirelings of the big capitalists had resolved to pay interest on the money with which they had been bought! It is a fact, however, that Kreuger had informed his representative Lange, that he did not intend to demand back from Kilbom the money he had lent him. Moreover, it is known to the whole business world that the "Folkets Dagblad" had been in difficulties for a long time and was even faced with collapse, and thus if Kreuger decided to comply with Kilbom's request to advance a loan, he must have had very definite reasons for doing so.

The "Folkets Dagblad", especially in the last two years, i. e. since the conclusion of the business with Kreuger, actively participated in all the anti-Soviet campaigns conducted by the bourgeoisie and the social democracy. The leaders of the Kilbom party, who still have some thousands of honest workers behind them and whose task is to keep the workers who are dissatisfied with the openly anti-working class policy of the social democracy from going over to Communism and for this purpose designate themselves as "Communist Party of Sweden", both in their speeches and in their newspaper, spread all sorts of slanders and made innumerable attacks against the Comintern and its leaders and also against the Soviet Union.

Whilst in regard to foreign politics they in every way promoted the plans of the most rabid enemy of the Soviet Union, Kreuger, in regard to home politics they have probably rendered their paymaster even greater services. They placed themselves wholly on the side of the social democratic trade union leaders when the workers in the big saw mills and wood pulp factories owned by Kreuger went on strike against wage cuts. In this district, where the Kilbom party possesses a bi-weekly organ and a certain amount of influence, they conducted a savage incitement against the "unofficial" strike organised by the Red Trade Union Opposition and the Communist Party, and succeeded in preventing the extension of this strike. They served their master with equal success in Norbotten, where he owned a profitable iron mine. Here, in alliance with the social democrats and syndicalists, they disrupted the formerly united labour movement and actively took part with the reformists in splitting the miners' union, whereby the workers were considerably weakened before the approaching wage struggles.

One can now understand why the "Communist" Kilbom, immediately after the announcement of the suicide of Kreuger, broke off his propaganda tour and travelled post-haste to Stockholm, where, together with bourgeois and social democratic deputies, he voted in parliament for a moratorium for the Match Trust. He and his associates, of course, had a great interest in salving the match concern in order thus to avoid their own exposure.



But they made a mistake in their calculations. The trust collapsed and as their exposure was inevitable, **Per Albin Hansson**, the leader of the social democracy, decided to pose as an honest man and expose the weaker allies with whom the social democracy had entered into an election pact for the coming Parliamentary elections. Hansson, who represents the Right wing of the social democracy, is opposed to a union with Kilbom. Perhaps he shares the view of Hilferding that a sham-radical buffer party between social democracy and Communism is desirable in order to hold back the workers, who have become revolutionary, from going over to the Communists. The other leading clique of the social democracy, including the one-time Communist **Höglund**, already negotiated with Kilbom regarding such a union, as they wished thereby to strengthen their own positions.

The exposure of the Kilbom party has caused a great sensation among the workers. This affair will without doubt greatly shake the confidence which thousands of honest workers placed in the Kilbom party. These workers now perceive where the breach with the Comintern, where the incitement of their leaders against the Soviet Union has led.

With a correct policy by the Communist Party and by indefatigable, comradely discussions with the workers in the ranks of the renegade party, it should be possible now to win them away from the nefarious influence of the bought leaders and bring them back into the ranks of the Communist Party.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### Execution of the Scottsboro Boys Fixed for June 24.

By A. Dombrowski (Berlin).

A report from New York states that the **Alabama** Supreme Court has postponed the execution of the eight Negro boys, originally fixed for May 13, to June 24. This postponement is a result of the international protest movement against the death sentences. American class justice is resorting to the same tactics that it employed in the **Sacco and Vanzetti** case: it upholds the death sentences and at the same time postpones the execution from month to month in order to prolong the agony of the condemned and to damp down the protest movement of the proletariat.

In the Southern states of America, systematic racial incitement, defamation and lynching of Negroes is a part of the class struggle of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. The southern American bourgeoisie, whose forebears obtained their wealth out of slave-trading and exploiting slaves, still to-day regard the Negro as a semi-slave. As a result of the growing influence of the revolutionary labour movement in the southern states, white and black wage slaves stand together in one front against their exploiters. Therefore the southern American bourgeoisie appeal to the basest racial instincts in order to defame the Negro workers, to separate them from the white workers and to hold them in subjection. The Alabama Supreme Court could not ignore the evidence brought forward by the defence proving the innocence of the accused. It confirmed the death sentence, however, out of cowardly fear of its capitalist masters. If the judges in Alabama had annulled the death sentence it would have meant that they would not have been re-elected and would have been ruined economically.

The defence provided by the American section of the Red Aid (International Labor Defence) has the opportunity, between now and June 24, to appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States. **This short reprieve must be made use of in order to increase tenfold the mass protest movement.** Up to now 50,000 protest resolutions passed by workers' organisations and meetings of workers in all countries have poured into the state of Alabama. In Germany there has been formed a committee of intellectuals which is collecting signatures demanding the repeal of the death sentences.

The fight which the American Red Aid and the other revolutionary mass organisations are conducting for the release of the Negro boys is a fight which concerns every worker. The international proletariat, which on May 1st will demonstrate against international war-preparations, must on this day also protest against international terror, against illegal and legal lynch justice, which is part of the terror employed against the militant international working class.

## PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

### In Revolutionary Mongolia.

Goonsyn, a Woman Labourer.

By I. Pekerma.

Goonsyn and I met for the first time at a big meeting of the Revolutionary Youth League. The dark, short haired young Mongolian girl was delivering a passionate address to an eagerly listening crowd of the revolutionary youth.

After the meeting, in the "yurta" (nomad tent) where a brand new telephone stood side by side with a mediaeval brazier, and portraits of leaders of the Mongolian revolution looked down from the wall, there was unfolded before us a page from the life of Goonsyn.

This 20-year old girl labourer is now one of the leaders of the revolutionary youth movement in the country—she is the secretary of the C.C. of the Revolutionary Youth League.

Until quite recently, her life did not in any way differ from the life of thousands of other women, enslaved not only by feudal, but also by family oppression, and willingly bearing this yoke. Four times a year her parents, Arat labourers of the village of Dyl-Gurkhansk, took up their tent and migrated to other places. Up to 1926, Goonsyn migrated with them, looking after the cattle, collecting wool.

In 1926, Goonsyn, a very young girl at that time, took part in the first revolutionary youth meeting in the village. After working in the nucleus and attending a women's course for three months, Goonsyn could read and write. Indescribable was the joy of this Mongolian girl when, provided with the credentials of a delegate, she left her village to go to the fifth Great Khuruldán (Pan-Mongolian Congress), and to the Seventh Congress of the Revolutionary Youth League. At the Great Khuruldán, she was elected to the Little Khuruldán, and the Seventh Congress of the Revolutionary Youth League made her a member of the C.C.

Her baptism of fire Goonsyn received in the fight with the feudal lords. She was once sent by the C.C. to the Tashir District, to confiscate feudal property.

Goonsyn was ignorant then; Goonsyn did not know how to begin work—she said with a smile, showing her fine white teeth.

But class instinct taught her how to fight feudalism, and she carried out brilliantly the confiscation of property. Having gone through her apprenticeship there, she remained in the Tishir district, at the head of the district committee of the Revolutionary Youth League. Thus, the young Nomad girl, Goonsyn, grew up politically in the Mongolian Steppes.

Time went ... the child of the Steppes was elected secretary of the C.C. at the Eighth Congress of the Revolutionary Youth League.

Now she is no longer nonplussed by the complicated political aspect of the revolutionary struggle of the Mongolian workers.

Such is the path of this Nomad woman labourer.

At the first Pan-Mongolian Women's Congress, looking at the smiling faces of the women delegates, we asked ourselves the question: are there many women like Goonsyn in Mongolia?

And later on, at the same congress, we were already able to answer this question in the affirmative to ourselves and to others.

Three hundred former slaves decided state affairs at the congress. Not so long ago these Mongolian women orators were doomed to an existence without rights or privileges.

And now, 600 women have been elected to various representative bodies, 30 of them are presidents of various councils, and 35 members of law courts.

There is a woman Cabinet Minister in Mongolia, two Under-Secretaries, one a member of the Supreme Court, and 12 women are heads of ministerial departments.

There are a hundred thousand women in the collective farms of Mongolia! There are six thousand Arat women in the peoples revolutionary Party! Seven thousand are in the Revolutionary Youth League! Women's bondage will be wiped off the face of the Mongolian Steppes by revolution.

**First of May****May Day Appeal of the Communist International.****To the Working Men and Women of All Countries!  
To All Oppressed and Exploited!**

After three years of a world economic crisis unexampled in history, the international proletariat this year celebrates May Day in a situation characterised by crushing misery, by hunger in all capitalist, in all colonial countries and by war in the Far East. The attempt of international capital to overcome the world economic crisis has brought you more than **40 million unemployed, wage cuts, unbearably heavy tax burdens, cutting down of social insurance, under-nourishment, devastating sicknesses and increasing mortality. Millions and millions of toiling peasants have been ruined.**

In spite of fascist terror, in spite of social democratic treachery and strike-breaking, the revolutionary upsurge is increasing every day, the revolutionary class struggle is assuming ever sharper forms. Ever broader strata of the working class are joining the **revolutionary united front** under the leadership of the Communist Parties for the fight against the capitalist dictatorship.

The oppressed nations, the colonial peoples, the impoverished masses of peasants are joining the fighting front against imperialist oppression and feudal exploitation. A number of capitalist countries are already seized by the revolutionary crisis. In other countries the prerequisites for the revolutionary crisis are rapidly ripening. The capitalist world is plunging into inevitable disaster.

The attempts of the bourgeoisie to overcome the crisis have been in vain. **They are now seeking a way out through imperialist war.**

Imperialist war is already here. Japanese imperialism, the gendarme of Asia, has, in close alliance with French imperialism, the gendarme of Europe, and with the connivance of the imperialist Powers, militarily occupied Manchuria and Shanghai. Smoking heaps of ruins, shattered towns and villages, mountains of corpses of murdered and starved workers and peasants, women and children, destruction of invaluable cultural treasures—these are the first results of the imperialist war against the Chinese workers and peasants. The military partitioning of China, which accentuates still more the antagonisms between the two imperialist Powers of the Pacific Ocean, between Japan and the United States,

**has placed the military redistribution of the world by a monstrous imperialist world-slaughter immediately on the order of the day.**

**The war against China is the prelude to military intervention against the Soviet Union.**

The greed and hatred of the imperialist robber Powers are directed against the land of Socialism, in which there is no crisis and no unemployment. Their weapons are already directed against the Soviet Union. Japanese imperialism, under the pretext of fighting against banditry in Manchuria, is sending ever larger forces ever nearer to the Eastern frontiers of the Soviet Union. The railway trains, the ships, bearing the black flag, loaded with weapons, explosives and poison gases, which are being dispatched by the European and American armament industry to Japan, **are directed not only against China but also against the Soviet Union.**

The guardian of the Versailles robber-peace, French imperialism, is organising military intervention against the Soviet Union from the West. Its vassal States—Poland, Rumania, and Czechoslovakia—under the supervision of the French General Staff, are increasing at a feverish pace the immediate preparations for war. **A state of siege has already been imposed in the frontier districts!**

**Working men and women! Oppressed and exploited of the whole world!**

War has not been formally declared, nevertheless Japanese imperialism has attacked China? Who can prevent this war from developing into a new imperialist world slaughter? Perhaps the League of Nations, which openly supports beligerent Japanese imperialism against the Chinese people, which ever since its existence has supported all the leading imperialist robber-Powers against the weak, oppressed peoples? Perhaps the League of Nations? Perhaps the League of Nations, whose Preparatory Disarmament Conference and Disarmament Conference have openly and cynically rejected the repeated proposals of the Soviet Union for general disarmament? Perhaps the II. International, which betrayed the working class in 1914? Perhaps the II. International, which during the war of 1914—1918 announced: this will be last war! Or perhaps its sections, which in the parliaments systematically voted for war credits? Was it not the II. International which supported the attacks on Morocco, on Syria and Indo-China? Have not with their co-operation, entire villages been destroyed in India by bombs dropped from aeroplanes? Was it not the II. International which, by the vilest calumnies about "red imperialism" prepared war against the Soviet Union? Is it not the same II. International which proclaims "No more War" while the new war has already begun? The II. International promises you, proletarians, that the Geneva Conference will lead to disarmament. As a matter of fact this conference will not lead to disarmament but to fresh armaments and to new wars.

It has been convened in order to conceal the immediate preparation for the world war, for armed intervention against the Soviet Union.

Unable to beat the Soviet Union in economic competition, the capitalist world wishes to destroy socialist construction in the first country of the proletarian dictatorship by force of arms. Two worlds confront one another. The capitalist world is stifled in the clutches of the crisis. The Soviet Union, which is completing the construction of the foundation of socialist economy, is achieving one victory after another in fulfilling the gigantic plan of socialist construction. In the camp of the capitalists, fury of fascist terror. In the Soviet Union dictatorship of the proletariat and real democracy of 160 million working people. In the countries of capitalism, systematic, uninterrupted reduction of wages, cutting down or complete abolition of social insurance. Millions of proletarians are turned out of the factories and flung onto the street! — In the Soviet Union uninterrupted increase of real wages, rising standard of living of the masses, complete abolition of unemployment. Under the conditions of capitalist slavery, millions of toilers are doomed to hunger and misery, to the loss of all political rights. In the Soviet Union, uninterrupted material and cultural progress of the working and peasant masses.

In the capitalist world, under the blows of the agrarian crisis, the increasing burden of taxation and enslaving indebtedness—mass ruin of the poor and middle peasant farms, whole peasant districts starving. In the Soviet Union, the overwhelming majority of the peasantry has voluntarily joined the collective farms. The collectivisation of agriculture on the basis of the employment of modern machine-technique has radically improved the material and cultural situation of the masses of peasants and incorporated the collective village in the socialist system of economy.

Under the conditions of capitalist slavery, work is a curse to the worker; in the Soviet Union, where new socialist forms of work, shock-brigades, socialist competition, are developing, work is a "matter of honour, of fame, of heroism".

Without weakening for a moment the fight against the inner class enemy, after deciding the question "who remains the victor?" in the country itself, in indefatigable struggle against the whole imperialist world,

**the Soviet Union has entered the period of socialism.**

The foundation and sources of exploitation of man by man are being abolished. A new socialist life, a new socialist culture has been created. Under the slogan of completing the first Five-Year Plan in four years, the working masses are marching steadily forward on the way to a new, socialist society. The self-sacrificing heroism of socialist labour is equal to the heroism displayed in the civil war. In the second Five-Year Plan the working masses of the Soviet Union will do away with the division of mankind into **classes** by removing the causes which produce class differentiation.

In spite of all imperialist provocations, in spite of the undermining work of imperialist diplomacy and the General Staffs, in spite of the organising of sabotage work, in spite of the attempts of paid provocateurs, the proletarian State is firmly and unswervingly carrying out its **policy of peace.**

The millions of toilers in all capitalist countries are being daily convinced by actual experience of the superiority of socialist planned economy compared with the capitalist system. Millions of oppressed and exploited of the capitalist world are forming with their bodies a living protecting wall round the Soviet Union. The imperialists are flinging themselves on the fatherland of all workers in order to destroy the Soviet Union—this strong citadel of the international revolution—by military force.

The preparation for military intervention against the Soviet Union proceeds parallel with the **growth of the most cruel terror** against the working and peasant masses in all capitalist countries. The international bourgeoisie reply to the revolutionary upsurge of the working and peasant masses with brutal force of arms. Everywhere where the revolutionary wave is rising, everywhere where the toiling people are opposing the capitalist offensive, workers and peasants' blood is flowing in streams.

Hitler's fascist bands, the police mercenaries of Severing and Grzesinski, have murdered hundred and hundreds of proletarians. In Poland, striking workers are shot down every day. The forest of gallows is increasing daily. The best champions of the workers and peasants are condemned to death by military courts. The Czech bourgeoisie cause demonstrating workers, women and children to be shot down like wild beasts. In Spain, the bourgeoisie reply to the heroic fights of the proletariat by physically destroying the best proletarian fighters. In Detroit, demonstrating masses were shot down; in Kentucky, a frightful blood-bath was carried out. In Scottsboro, the electric chair awaits the young Negro workers who have been sentenced to death. In India, the prisons of the English imperialists are crowded with workers and peasants. Hundreds of fighters for national emancipation are systematically and bestially murdered. In China, the murderous terror of the decaying Kuomintang clique of generals is raging. The Kuomintang hangmen, in alliance with the imperialist robbers, are conducting the fourth offensive against the Chinese Soviets and their Red Army, which stands at the head of the fight for emancipation of the Chinese workers and peasants.

**All the forces of fascism and social fascism are being mobilised in order to check the advance and delay the victory of the revolutionary forces of the proletarian and national revolutionary fight for emancipation.**

Fascists and social fascists vie with each other in employing terror and unscrupulous demagogy. The II. and the Amsterdam Internationals, these main supports of the bourgeoisie in the working class, prevent by means of open and concealed terror and strike-breaking the economic fights of the workers in the factories against wage cuts and the fight of the unemployed for work and bread. With the aid of the police they shatter the revolutionary workers and peasants organisations. Under the slogans of bourgeois democracy, of the concealed dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, they prepare the way for **the undisguised fascist dictatorship of capitalism.** To-day, at the time of world economic crisis, capitalism is seeking to save itself just as it saved itself at the time of the world war of 1914—1918, and also later, when Noske choked the revolt of the German proletariat in blood.

**The anti-Soviet incitement of the II. and Amsterdam Internationals, their pacifist peace slogans, their manoeuvres to conceal the feverish armaments, their fight against the proletarian revolution, are active preparation for the new imperialist world slaughter and armed intervention against the Soviet Union!**

**Working men and women! Employees and poor peasants!**

At a historical moment, when Socialism is a triumphant fact in the Soviet Union, when imperialist war is already raging in China and the preparations for military intervention against the land of Socialism are nearing completion, when the revolutionary wave is rising daily and the perspective of a successful fight for the overthrow of capitalism is approaching ever nearer—at this moment the social democratic leaders, together with the bourgeoisie, wish to employ you again as cannon-fodder in order to rescue capitalism once more.

**Social democratic workers!**

**Members of the reformist trade unions!**

**Proletarians and toilers of all countries!**

We revolutionary workers of the whole world, united in the Communist world Party, call to you to take another path:

**the path of revolutionary struggle, the path which our brothers in the Soviet Union have victoriously traversed—the path of the proletarian dictatorship, of the fight for Socialism!**

This path is not an easy one. It is a path calling for sacrifices, but it is the path which leads to Socialism and freedom.

Remember, workers and peasants, the terrible sacrifices of the last imperialist world war! Remember that the war brought you not work and bread, but misery and death! Remember for whom and for what you made these sacrifices during and after the imperialist war!

The path of the proletarian revolution, the path of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is the path of smaller sacrifice, of sacrifice in your own interests, in the interests of the emancipation of all toilers. **It is the path of the victory of Socialism!** No revolution and no civil war for the overthrow of capitalism, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, will demand such sacrifices of the workers and peasants as the war of 1914-1918 demanded and as the new imperialist wars will demand. No fight for Socialism will involve such tremendous sacrifices as are now being imposed upon the working class by the present crisis.

**Toilers, Oppressed and Exploited of all countries!**

A new period of imperialist wars, of proletarian revolutions and fights for national emancipation is beginning. The capitalist world is approaching a fresh upheaval. It depends upon you when the hour of death of capitalism, when the hour of your emancipation will strike!

All on the streets on 1st May!

Organise in connection with May Day the revolutionary united front against the capitalist offensive, against hunger and misery, against wage cuts and cutting down of social insurance, against fascist terror and murder, against war and intervention!

Increase the revolutionary mass fight against fascism and against the social democracy, which by betraying the working class has become the pace-maker of fascist reaction.

Organise strike struggles against the progressive lowering of your standard of living! Organise the fight for the seven-hour day, for work and bread for the unemployed, for State unemployment insurance at the cost of the employers and the State! Rise up for the revolutionary mass strike!

Reply to the robber-war in China by refusing to transport any weapons and munitions to Japan! Reply to the preparations for a new imperialist world slaughter and war of intervention with mass actions against war!

**Workers, Peasants and Soldiers!**

On May First, demonstrate your inflexible and determined will to fight!

Against the offensive of capital!

For the defence of China against its imperialists partition!

For the defence of the Soviet Union, the fatherland of all toilers!

For the dictatorship of the proletariat!

For the victory of the world revolution!

**The Executive Committee of the Communist International.**

## First of May Appeal of the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International.

### Young toilers in town and country!

In a situation fraught with dangers for the life and limb of millions of young toilers, the Young Communist International calls upon you to demonstrate on May first, the historical world fighting day, for your demands, for Socialism.

The powerful revolutionary strikes and mass struggles of the adult and young workers in Poland and Czechoslovakia, the extension of the revolutionary mass movement in China, India and Indio-China against robber imperialism, the growing influence of the Communist Parties and of the Young Communist Leagues show the readiness and the will of millions to seek the revolutionary way out of the capitalist crisis, to conduct the struggle for Socialism.

**The blood-bath in Shanghai, the destruction and devastation of the workers' suburb of Chapei, the slaughter by Japanese imperialism in Manchuria and the occupation of Manchuria, the advance of the imperialist troops to the Soviet frontiers in the East and West, the actual preparation for war against the country of Socialism, that is bankrupt capitalism's way out, which means unbounded misery for the toilers in the capitalist countries and colonies, increased fascist dictatorship measures of the ruling class against the militant proletariat.**

### Social democratic Young workers!

Your leaders who together with the leaders of the social democracy and of the Amsterdam Trade Union International are preparing the war against the Soviet Union, support the fascist dictatorship measures of the bourgeois governments, are paving the way for fascism. Whilst the social democratic Youth International in its appeal for May first calls upon the youth to demonstrate for "Socialism", for a cause which they have betrayed for 18 years and trodden underfoot, they do not utter a word of protest against Japan's robber campaign in China, against the war preparations against the Soviet Union. They thereby tolerate and cover up the chauvinist and imperialist attitude of the socialist youth of Japan, which defend and justify the crimes of Japanese imperialism. Remember the first of May 1929, remember Zörge! Together with the worst reactionaries, with the junkers, the German social democrats have mobilised the workers at the Presidential elections for Hindenburg, the general of the imperialist war.

### Young toiling men and women!

It depends upon you and your common fight with your adult class comrades whether the imperialist war criminals will be able to realise their aims! Raise your mass protest! Launch the revolutionary mass struggle in the factories and at the Labour Exchanges, in the rural districts and in the vocational schools for your daily demands, against imperialist war and fascism, for work and bread, for Socialism!

It is for these demands that you will demonstrate under the red banner of the Communist International and Young Communist International, full of determination and conscious of your victory, on the 1st of May!

For the defence of the Soviet Union! Against the partition of China by the imperialists, for the defence of Soviet China!

Rally in powerful protest demonstrations against the fascist terror and class justice, against the intended murder of the eight young Negro workers in America, for the release of all political prisoners!

Forge the red united front! Set up your fighting organs in the factories and at the Labour Exchanges. Set up fighting and vigilance committees in the transport and munition undertakings. Set up youth commissions in the strike committees and unemployed councils! Prevent by means of strike and mass actions every transport of munitions and arms to Japan!

Long live the international revolutionary solidarity of the proletarian youth!

Long live the first of May, the international fighting day of the world proletariat for the revolutionary way out of the capitalist crisis for Socialism!

Executive Committee of the Young Communist International.

## From the Appeal of the Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions.

The Executive Bureau of the R.I.L.U. has issued a May Day appeal in which it is stated:

**Working men and women, employees, unemployed, agricultural workers! Comrades!**

The first of May, the day of international solidarity and revolutionary struggles of the proletarians of all countries, is this year marked by a great crisis which has shattered the foundations of the capitalist world, by a situation of a new imperialist war which has already broken out, and a tremendous accentuation of all the contradictions of imperialism.

The capitalists are endeavouring to shift the whole burden of the crisis on to the shoulders of the toilers. The workers are thrown onto the street, wages are cut, unemployment benefit reduced, all social expenditure for education, protection of health, social welfare etc. is reduced to the lowest limit.

**Proletarians of all countries! frustrate the counter-revolutionary plans and the warlike intentions of the bourgeoisie!** Oppose the attempts of the bourgeoisie to seek a way out of the crisis by means of war and intervention by your determination to fight for a revolutionary way out of the crisis and war. Expose and frustrate in the actual struggles the war-preparations of the imperialists. **Prevent the transport of arms and munitions for the imperialists.** Render work in the munition factories more difficult. Tear the mask from the face of the reformist traitors who cover up the war-preparations of the imperialists by their pacifist talk. Drive away the pacifist liars, the bought agents of imperialism who lull the vigilance and fighting determination of the working class. Remember that the enemy is in your own country.

Convert every factory in a revolutionary fortress of the working class. Oppose the terror of the employers and of the police by the united front of all workers. Close the ranks of the advanced proletarians, organise in the red trade unions and in the revolutionary Trade Union Opposition.

**Close the front of the workers and unemployed!**

**Workers in the metropolis and in the colonies, proletarians of the various races and nations, do not permit the bourgeoisie and the fascist demagogues to separate you from each other and to defeat you singly.** Support each other in a brotherly manner in all economic and political struggles, in all partial demands and in the general emancipation struggle of the proletariat.

Proletarians, the chief enemy in your midst, which in the fight against the bourgeoisie and against fascism is fettering you hand and foot, is reformism, which already has become social fascism.

**Workers! isolate the reformist leaders, the trade union bureaucrats. Expose them, remove them from their posts, win away the organised workers, the members of the reformist and other reactionary unions. Consolidate the revolutionary unions! Consolidate the revolutionary trade union opposition!**

By tenacious partial fights for the urgent demands of the working class, by a systematic exposure of the treacheries of the reformists, by consolidating the revolutionary positions in every factory, close the ranks of the proletarian united front from below, organise the forces for the last and decisive fight against capital and its agents. On the 1st of May, march in closed ranks in the streets; demonstrate in fighting columns your determination and readiness to overthrow the power of capital.

**There is only one way out of capitalist slavery: the proletarian revolution. Down with the slave system of wage labour! Down with rotting capitalism! Down with the imperialist robbers in China! Down with the murderers and oppressors of the Chinese people, the Japanese military!**

**Greetings to the heroic working class and the Red Army of China! Greetings to the revolutionary unions of Japan, which are conducting a courageous fight against the robber-attack of Japanese imperialism on China! War on imperialist war and its wire-pullers! For the independence of China, for the support of the Chinese Soviets!**

**Long live the U.S.S.R., the fatherland of the world proletariat! Long live the Red International of Labour Unions!**

**Long live the proletarian world revolution!**  
Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions.