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The Bomb Outrage in Shanghai.

By M. Louis (Paris).

Perhaps the bomb outrage in Shanghai will not cause any further complications in **Sino-Japanese** relations. The bomb was thrown by a Korean, i. e., a Japanese subject. The outrage occurred in Hongkew Park, in the International Settlement, where the Chinese have no authorities and the imperialist States have full power. And the Hongkew Park is under Japanese control; it was occupied by Japanese troops and surrounded by Japanese gendarmes.

Even the military camarilla in Tokyo could not use the bomb outrage as an occasion for fresh provocations. The Kuomintang will therefore be able, under the pressure of the imperialist powers and the League of Nations, to continue to negotiate over the capitulation, over the surrender of Shanghai and the partition of China. Even the military camarilla in Tokyo could not discover the usual "Moscow agent" in Shanghai.

The bomb outrage in Shanghai has indicated a very sore spot in the body of Japanese imperialism, which shows its whole inner rottenness. The perpetrator was a Korean subject of his Majesty the Mikado. He belonged to the so-called "provincial Government" of Korea. In March 1919, a "provisional Government" was formed in Korea. Under the influence of the world war, the Russian revolution and the national revolutionary movements in China and Japan, the national revolutionary movement acquired great impetus also in Korea. This movement was headed by the national-reformist bourgeoisie. Their representatives formed the provisional Government, which, on the basis of President Wilson's principles, proclaimed the independence of the country. The provisional government adopted the standpoint of passive resistance and non-violence. They did

not want a revolution. The first people they informed regarding the proclamation of the independence of the country was the Japanese police, who did not hesitate to arrest the provisional government. The masses, however, replied with revolutionary uprisings. More than 10,000 were killed and over 40,000 arrested. Japanese imperialism stifled the revolutionary movement in Korea in the blood of the workers and peasants. In Korea there set in a new wave of terror, of the bloody rule of Japanese imperialism. National reformism, with its treacherous policy of passive resistance, led the revolution to bloody defeat.

That the national revolutionary movement in Korea is growing is shown not only by the bomb outrage in Shanghai. The young proletariat, badly organised, is conducting obstinate fights and strikes in spite of terror and national reformist treachery. Armed collisions with Japanese gendarmerie, spontaneous outbreaks of mass indignation, growth in the number and obstinacy of the fights of the peasants against the landlords, students' demonstrations and students' strikes, all indicate the profound crisis of the imperialist-colonial system in Korea.

All the economic key positions are completely in the hands of Japanese finance capital. More and more land is being taken from the Korean peasantry by Japanese banks and irrigation companies. The feudal agrarian conditions in the village render the situation of the peasantry unbearable. Money-lenders, taxes, State monopolies of a number of important articles still further worsen their situation. Over a million Korean peasants have had to leave the country and settle in Manchuria. A people numbering 20 million is deprived of all national rights and forced under the brutal

yoke of the foreign imperialists. To this there is added feudal exploitation by the Korean big leandowners who own more than 70 per cent. of the land. Economic crisis, unemployment, ruin of the handicraftsmen, of the small traders, of the urban petty bourgeoisie, wage cuts, incredibly bad working conditions, agrarian crisis, over one and a half million peasants faced with death from starvation as a result of bad harvests. Over one and a half million peasant farms bankrupt according to official statistics. On top of all this there now comes war, the intensification of the reign of terror, pogroms, wholesale arrests.

The bomb outrage in Shanghai throws a vivid light on the profound crisis of the Japanese colonial system in Korea. A people numbering 20 million, betrayed by their bourgeoisie, are rising in revolt... The bomb which was thrown at the Japanese imperialism in the rear.

bloodhounds of Japanese imperialism in Shanghai may be an act of individual terror. In Korea itself, however, the masses are conducting the fight; and the young proletariat has learned courage, bravery and pertinacity from its Chinese class brothers. The revolution in Korea is threatening Korea is the Achilles heel of Japanese imperialism.

The Red Army of the Chinese workers and peasants, of the Chinese Soviets, is at the gates of Amoy. We are proud of the fact that at the head of this Red Army there stands the communist **Chu-de**. English and Japanese warships may protect Amoy, the Kuomintang may send new troops, led by German staff officers, to the province of Fukien in order to check the victorious advance of the Soviet revolution, the imperialists and their watchdog, the Kuomintang, may prepare and carry out the fourth offensive against the Soviet districts—the Soviet people's revolution in China is marching on. And when the American Ambassador reports to his government that 100 million people in China are living under the rule of the Soviets, when the Left Kuomintang man, the Chinese Prime Minister **Wang Tin-Wei** and the Japanese Prime Minister **Inukai** both declare that in China Bolshevism is the chief danger, we can only say: there in the Soviet districts, the Chinese people, under the hegemony of the proletariat, is achieving its national and social emancipation. There the Communists are leading the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution to victory.

And the victories of the Soviet revolution in China are severe blows to world imperialism. The Red Army of the Chinese Soviets before Amoy means that the workers and toiling peasants of China are not only seeking but finding the revolutionary way out. Japanese imperialism, in alliance with world imperialism, wishes to crush the Soviet revolution, to destroy the Chinese Soviets. But it is digging its own grave. The Kuomintang troops are marching to the fourth offensive. These soldiers will find their way into the ranks of the Red Army...

Manchuria was hitherto one of the chief points of support of the counter-revolution in China. The peculiar conditions in Manchuria, which was the largest and most important settlement area in China, resulted in the revolutionary movement being relatively weak there and the government of the big landowners and capitalists relatively strong. And now there is a profound ferment and seething in Manchuria. Partisan fights, revolts against Japanese imperialism are on the order of the day. It is true there are also other "revolts" which are instigated by Japanese agents for the purpose of provocation. It is true, the blowing up of bridges is partly organised by the white guardist agents of Japanese imperialism. It is also true that Japan instigates these movements in order to be able to push forward its troops to the Soviet frontier, in order to be able to attribute these outrages to "Moscow agents". Japan has overrun Manchuria and visited it with all the horrors of war in order to establish "law and order". But instead of "law and order", Manchuria is in a state of ferment. The robber-attack of Japan has roused and revolutionised the population of Manchuria more quickly, more thoroughly than a hundred thousand "Moscow agents" could have done. Up to now Japan has been unable to "digest" Manchuria. A new Achilles heel of Japanese imperialism has arisen in Manchuria.

Shanghai, Amoy Manchuria, Korea show the mass resistance to imperialism. They indicate the mass fight for the revolutionary way out. They show that imperialist war can also be converted into a peasants war, into a national revolutionary war.

And the Statesmen who are working in Geneva, Paris, London, Warsaw and Bucharest to prepare the new war of intervention, cannot draw the lessons from these facts. World imperialism has too many Achilles heels. Its organism is too

vulnerable. And Geneva has shown that the imperialist antagonisms are becoming more and more acute, that the attempts to forge the imperialist united front against the Soviet Union lead to new, dangerous complications in the camp of the imperialists. Mr. **Stimson** is already on his way back to America, and the antagonisms between the United States and Japan and between the United States and England and France have become further aggravated. A new Five-Power Conference is to meet which shall somehow plaster over the Franco-German and Franco-Italian antagonism and "settle" the reparations question, the question of debts, and the disarmament question. The attempts to set up a platform of understanding against the Soviet Union do but lead to new crises and conflicts.

And if the tendencies to war of intervention against the Soviet Union prove stronger than the imperialist antagonisms—and this is probably the case—the review of the revolutionary proletariat on **May Day** has shown that millions of revolutionary workers are ready to protect the Soviet Union in order to protect **themselves!**

To organise these masses, to lead them in revolutionary mass actions and mass struggles against imperialist war—this is the task which the Communists of all countries have set themselves.

POLITICS

Hitler Wants to Enter the Prussian Government.

By F. Brand (Berlin).

Up to April 24, the national socialists posed before the public in Germany and abroad as the passionate and inexorable opponents of the "system". With this catchword they meant that remarkable combination of Brüning-dictatorship in the Reich and "Weimar coalition" in Prussia, of article 48 of the Constitution, of social democratic bureaucracy, Centre clericalism and Reichswehr which up to now had conducted the political business of the German capitalist class. Against this "system" there was directed with an unbounded demagoguery the whole force of the Hitler party.

Since April 25, the day after the elections, the national socialists have concentrated all their efforts on entering a coalition government with the Centre. Already on the day after the Prussian elections the leader of the national Diet fraction in Prussia, Herr **Kube**, made a declaration with the Centre:

"We are prepared to take over the government in Prussia and to work together with those who desire a nationalist, enobled Prussia, filled with a socialist sense of justice. We will reject nobody who is prepared to work together with us in building up the State."

On the same day there appeared a declaration by the Central Committee of the Prussian Centre Party, in which it was stated:

"The Centre party is prepared to work together with all parties which are resolved, on the basis of the Constitution, to serve the well-being of the whole people. In complete agreement with the whole party, it stands for a policy securing the German people inner and outer freedom, prospects of future development and a place among the nations of the world."

On the basis of these declarations there immediately took place tentative approaches between the Centre and the National socialists; Hitler and Kaas, the two party leaders, have come to Berlin in order to direct the negotiations of their intermediaries.

Strong forces are at work in the Centre party in order to facilitate the formation of a government with the national socialists. This is shown by the change in the attitude of the "Germania", the chief shareholder of which, von Papen, has long been working for a coalition with Hitler. There is no doubt that the leaders of the Centre party clearly realise that they cannot indefinitely withstand the pressure exerted by

the national socialists, whilst at the same time they hope by entering into a coalition with Hitler to secure their key positions in the Reich and in Prussia and to divert national socialism into the channel of a capitalist government policy.

The Centre, in order to preserve its key positions, wishes to reduce the all too exorbitant demands of the Hitler party to reasonably modest dimensions. Therefore the Centre Party decided for the time being to adopt a cool rejective attitude to the demands of the national socialists and compel Hitler to make certain concessions. This attitude explains the resolution of the central committee of the Centre party, which refers the decision regarding the Prussian question to the National Committee of the Party. They thereby wish to compel the national socialists to abandon their efforts to find separate solutions in Prussia, Württemberg and Bavaria, and to enter into a general solution for the Reich and the federated States, the conditions of which would be dictated by the Centre.

The national socialists have commenced by manoeuvres to compel the Centre to meet them half-way. In Württemberg, for instance, they have made an attempt to bring about a bloc of all "evangelical" parties in order to exclude the Centre from the government. As this will only be possible if the Württemberg State party co-operates with Hitler, the national socialists have not shrunk from approaching this "party of Jews". The Centre party, on its part, has through Dr. Schmidt, the Prime Minister of Baden, given the national socialists to understand that it is strong enough to remove all national socialist civil servants from their positions.

The social democracy have already reconciled themselves to the fact that their former government partner, the Centre, will form a coalition with Hitler. In the "Vorwärts" of April 30, Herr Severing wrote an obituary article on the Weimar coalition, in which he said:

"Is it not understandable if there exists a lively desire to give the national socialists an opportunity to bring their words into harmony with hard facts? Meanwhile, the wish must remain coupled with the condition: the damage resulting from such an experiment must not be irreparable."

Herr Severing sees such "irreparable damage" in the danger that the Hitler party will not be able to respect "the rules of the democratic game"; he therefore implores the Centre not to agree to any breaches of the Constitution. The leader of the Württemberg social democracy, Herr Keil, expresses himself similarly to Severing (leading article of the evening edition of "Vorwärts", 30th of April):

"The Centre, as a constitutional party, will, if it attempts to secure the collaboration of the Nazis, only do so under certain guarantees which the Nazis cannot give it. Any incautiousness on the part of the Centre would be tantamount to suicide. The Centre knows just as well as we that there are limits set to the swing of the pendulum."

Before April 24, the social democracy, in the most unscrupulously demagogic manner, posed as the fighters of fascism; today their supporters can already see that they have been miserably deceived and betrayed. Up to April 10, the social democratic party dinned into the ears of the workers: "If you want to beat Hitler, vote for Hindenburg!" The workers in the "Iron Front" will soon see that the President whom they have elected is prepared to hand over the government to the Hitler party. "Brüning is the lesser evil compared with Hitler!" the social democratic leaders continually reiterated in order to justify their policy of tolerating the Brüning government. To-day the social democratic workers can read in their own party papers that Brüning and Hitler are already negotiating for the formation of a joint government.

The criminal, deceitful manoeuvres of the social democratic leaders will soon be completely exposed. The disillusioned masses will realise that only the Communist Party is conducting the fight against facism. The **red class front** is the rallying point of all anti-fascist forces. At the same time it has the task now, when Hitler is prepared to participate in the "system" and to betray them to this "system", of drawing over to the red united front the working masses whom Hitler caught by his slogan: "against the system".

The Results of the French Elections.

By J. Berlioz.

Paris, 2nd May 1932.

Contrary to general expectation, the poll was very heavy in the French elections yesterday and was as high as eighty percent in many districts. Owing to the presence of numerous candidates and in particular innumerable "independents" it is difficult to gain any definite picture of the results of the second round of the election which will take place, next Sunday when the fate of 359 seats will be settled.

On the whole the left-wing parties, the **Radical Herriot Party** even more than the Socialist Party, have been very successful. The extreme right-wing nationalists have been hard hit. The Radical Party has won many new votes in the Seine department, whilst in Lyons it made a further inroad into the Socialist party. The successes of the Herriot party make it the dominating factor in the elections. This success is accounted for by the dissatisfaction of large sections of the toilers who harbour the illusion that the radicals will help them. The press designates as one of the main factors of the swing to the Left the existence of millions of unemployed.

Unfortunately, the **Communist Party** has not succeeded in profiting by this discontent, on the contrary, the Communist Party has suffered a severe reverse. In the first round of the election in 1928 the communist candidates received 1,100,000 votes. This time they polled less than 700,000. The losses are less severe in the industrial districts and particularly in the Paris district, whilst in the mining district **Pas de Calais** the **Party** won 12,000 votes, mostly from the socialists. Numerous communist deputies are in a difficult situation for the second round of the election, including Comrades Marty, Cachin and Ducloux.

The success in the Pas de Calais is due to the fact that the Party and the revolutionary unions have organised and led the struggle of the miners there and sufficiently exposed the treachery of the socialist leaders.

The causes of the reverse suffered by the Party are:

1. the underestimation of the offensive conducted by the bourgeoisie against the Party since 1929 and the slanders of the socialists.

In the last few weeks this offensive assumed the form of attempts to disintegrate the C.P. of France by means of corrupt and ambitious elements, which the Central Committee had not put forward as candidates. These cases of renegacy like all those which have occurred since 1929, have not been explained by the Party to the masses. Hence the workers did not realise the Bolshevik line of the Party and frequently followed in the wake of the renegades.

2. The bad effects of the sectarian policy pursued by the **Barbé-Celor group** from 1929 to 1931. These effects could not be made up for in time by the correction of the Party line. The policy of this group which completely ignored the elementary demands of the workers, caused the Party to be regarded as a sect by many workers.

3. The organisational state of the Party, the mechanisation in the Party work, the removal of numerous and healthy worker elements from the ranks of the Party, all of which left such deep traces that there was no time to efface them.

The programme of immediate demands of the Party was insufficiently propagated. The Party propagandists paid too much attention to abstract generalities. This was particularly damaging in the agrarian areas where the Party suffered its chief losses, reaching fifty percent in some cases.

* * *

Paris, 3rd May 1932.

In the mining areas of the Département **Nord** and the **Pas de Calais** the Communist Party won 16,000 votes at the elections. It also succeeded in increasing its poll in the following districts: Sceaux 7,200, Bobigny 2,500, Saint-Denis 1,500, Puteaux 1,200, Meaux 1,400, Villeneuve St. George 600, Argenteuil-Beacons 200, le Havre 3,000, and les Landes 2,000.

The communist candidates who were at the top of the poll in their constituencies and whose chances are therefore most favourable in the second round of the election, are: Cachin (18th Paris district), Montjean (13th Paris district), Beaugrand (19th Paris district), Ducloux (20th Paris district), Renault (Montreuil), Clamamus (2nd constituency of St. Denis), Capron (Charrenon), Thorez (Ivry), Ramette (Douai), Vaillant-Couturier (Villejuif), Cornavin (le Cher) and Renaud Jean (Lot-et-Garonne).

French Communist Party Issues Appeal.

Paris, 3rd May 1932.

** The Central Committee of the Communist Party of France has issued an appeal to the workers and peasants of France for the second round of the Chamber elections. It points out that 800,000 workers and peasants have given their votes to the Communist Party in the first round of the election against the bourgeoisie and its socialist allies. On the 1st May hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants had demonstrated their will to fight for the communist demands and end the capitalist regime of hunger, crisis and war.

Despite the fierce persecutions of the bourgeois State, the long terms of imprisonment imposed on communist officials, the campaign of slander and intrigues, the Communist Party remained the biggest party of the working class with about a million supporters in town and country.

The election campaign was only an episode in the struggle of the workers against their exploiters. The Communist Party fought for the interests of the masses against the exploiters. All other parties were united in their attempts to deceive the masses. In this respect there was no difference between Tardieu and Herriot. The class enemy of the workers and peasants was the bourgeoisie, but the socialists were the chief support of the bourgeoisie. They deceived the workers, hindered their struggle and urged capitulation. Without the assistance of the Socialist Party the bourgeoisie could not remain in power. In order to defeat the bourgeoisie the Socialist Party must be destroyed.

Class against class was the slogan of the Communist Party. In the second round of the election the Communist Party would maintain its candidates everywhere against both the bourgeois and socialist candidates. Only in the case of a socialist worker candidate denouncing the treachery of his party and adopting the most important communist demands would the Communist Party withdraw its candidate in his favour and in order to maintain the fighting unity of the proletariat. The Communist Party would join hands with the socialist workers, but not with the treacherous Socialist Party.

The appeal then calls upon the socialist workers to fight together with their communist fellow-workers for a non-contributory State insurance scheme at the expense of the State and the employers, and on the unemployed workers and the peasants to vote communist.

Japanese Imperialism Increasing Its War Provocations against Soviet Union.

Chabarovsk, May 3, 1932.

The situation in Harbin is becoming continually more acute. Arrests of Soviet citizens on the Chinese Eastern Railway continue. White guardists are preparing, in connection with attempts to dynamite the Lungari railway bridge and railway trains, a great provocation. Their work is inspired by Japanese militarists who are aiming at worsening relations between the Soviet Union on the one hand and the Manchurian Government and Japan on the other.

In spite of wholesale arrests and torture of arrested, the provocateurs have not succeeded in falsifying anything which could even create the appearance of participation of Soviet institutions or agents of these institutions in any dynamite attempts on the railway. It can be regarded as certain that the above-mentioned false accusations are fabricated in order, on the one hand, to divert public opinion from the developing partisan movement of Chinese troops in Manchuria and on the other hand, to provide a pretext for an attack on the Chinese Eastern Railway. The aim of this provocation is: arrest of the heads of Soviet institutions and forcible seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway.

According to reliable information, there already exists a plan to carry out house-searches in the next few days in all Soviet institutions in Manchuria and to arrest the heads of these institutions. As reported, all possible false documents have already been fabricated which are to figure as having been found in the course of the house searches at the Soviet institutions.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Strike of the Dock Workers in Budapest.

By Gabriel Bálint (Budapest).

Down the Danube, from Bratislava to Galatz, mysterious cargoes are conveyed. The munitions turned out by the Czech Skoda Works are smuggled down the Danube by means of false bills of lading. These weapons are supplied to the mercenaries of the Rumanian Boyars for the purpose of war against the Soviet Union.

Against these mysterious consignments there has now been raised in Horthy Hungary the first powerful protest: The Hungarian dock workers have been on strike since the beginning of April. This fight is of enormous importance not only because it is the first strike of the dock workers since 1914, not only because it is the first militant protest in Hungary against the transport of war material, but also because this strike flatly refutes the lying declarations of the social fascist bureaucracy that it is impossible to conduct economic struggles in a time of crisis.

At the end of March the management of the Danube Steamship Company announced that from April 1st the wages of the dockworkers would be reduced by 10 per cent. In spite of the desperate attempts of the bureaucrats of the dock workers' union, the dock workers at once proclaimed a strike not only in order to prevent the wage cut announced by the management, but also to enforce their own demands: payment for time when waiting for a cargo, higher rates for loading on deck.

The strike soon spread to the other Danube undertakings. The dockers of the Hungarian Lake and River Navigation Company likewise struck work. Two days later the dock workers of the militarily organised free port of Csepel joined in the strike. The few unskilled strike-breakers were only able to work under the protection of a large body of police.

The reformist transport workers' union denounced the strike. The striking dock workers were turned out of the offices of the Transport workers' union and the union leaders refused to grant them strike pay out of the union funds.

The bureaucracy however have not succeeded in disorganising the strike. The fight is becoming more bitter every day. The fighting mood of the workers is now more firm than ever. In spite of police protection, the few strike breakers are being constantly beaten up.

It is characteristic of the fight of the dock workers of Budapest that the strikers immediately attempted to get into touch with the dock workers of the other Danube countries and to secure the aid of the Austrian, Czech and Rumanian dockers. The Communist Party of Hungaria and the Communist Party of Austria have issued a joint manifesto calling for a common fight of all dock workers on the Danube.

The workers of Budapest are fully aware of the importance of the strike. Collections are being held and other categories of workers are coming to the aid of the strikers. As the striking workers are not admitted to the docks, the metal workers, timber workers and building workers have undertaken the task of maintaining an intelligence service regarding the different phases of the fight. The management of the Danube Steamship Company are now inclined to make certain concessions. They declared themselves ready to put through a wage reduction of only 4 per cent. The strikers, however, are sticking to their original demands, so that negotiations came to nothing. The trade union bureaucracy are doing everything possible in order to force the strikers to give up their demands. This, however, has only resulted in a further sharpening of the relations between the strikers and the bureaucrats. The bureaucrats are driven from the meetings of the strikers.

The fight of the Budapest dock workers must not remain isolated. The support of this fight is today not only a question of proletarian solidarity, for this fight is the first fight on the Danube going beyond the confines of a mere wage dispute and possessing a definite anti-imperialist war tendency. For this reason this fight must and will break through national frontiers. It deserves the support of the workers not only of the Danubian countries but of the whole of Europe.

FIRST OF MAY

The May Day Celebrations in Moscow.

Moscow, 1st May 1932.

Early in the morning the workers and their families began to assemble in and in front of their factories. The factories were soon surrounded by a forest of red flags. The placards, etc., were given a final examination and then the first columns began to form. Almost every second rank carried a flag, a placard or a model demonstrating the progress of the factory. The weather, which had been wet and cold, improved considerably and at eight o'clock it began to clear up. Whilst the workers battalions were forming in the districts the traditional **parade of the Red Army** began punctually at nine o'clock.

The slogan, "Long live the victorious advance of the proletarian revolution all over the world!" was displayed on the Red Square in Russian, German, French, English and Chinese. Opposite the Lenin mausoleum a picture of Lenin was set up several yards high. On one side of the square was a representation of a group of workers each representing a Continent with the slogan, "Workers of the world unite!"

After the solemn taking of the oath by the new recruits and a short speech by **Comrade Voroshilov**, squadrons of aeroplanes appeared over the square. The motorised detachments of the Red Army were more strongly in evidence this year than ever before.

To the right and left of the mausoleum were the **delegations of foreign workers** and they greeted the first columns of armed workers with great enthusiasm. Six columns of workers marched across the Red Square simultaneously. The red flags and banners turned the columns into a blaze of red. Thousands of caricatures of various persons or embodiments, Pilsudsky, the Pope, social democratic officials, careless and lazy workers, greedy Kulaks and so on, were carried in the processions. The place of honour in the processions were occupied by the workers of the factories with the best achievements. At the head of the processions were twenty thousand workers of the **Stalin** (Amo) automobile works, the workers of the **Elektrosavod works**, and the workers of the **Krazny Proletari** factory.

Hundreds of placards reported on the successes of the factories in the struggle for socialism: how much the productivity of labour had been increased, how much the costs of production had been lowered, how much the plans had been exceeded. The six conditions of **Comrade Stalin** and his photo were evident many times. Many placards referred to the struggles of the workers in Western Europe and still more to the national-revolutionary struggle of the colonial and particularly the Chinese workers. **Red Aid** groups carried representations of various notorious prisons in the capitalist countries showing the number of proletarian revolutionary prisoners incarcerated in them and urging the workers to proletarian solidarity. Many serious warnings referred to the acute danger of imperialist war and armed intervention against the Soviet Union and called for increased efforts to strengthen the defensive capacities of the Soviet Union. By one o'clock only a part of the huge demonstration had passed through the Red Square and the great march will last until late in the afternoon.

Speech of Comrade Voroshilov.

Moscow, Mai 3, 1932.

In his speech delivered at the May Day Parade, Comrade Voroshilov said:

Working men and women of the Soviet Union, our guests, the proletarians of other countries who have come to us to celebrate this May festival, collective peasants, workers at the front of technique and culture, Red Army-men, commanders and political workers! I greet you on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and on behalf of the Workers and Peasants Government of the Soviet Union. I congratulate you on this proletarian holiday, the First of May. The toilers of the Soviet Union are to-day for the fifteenth time celebrating freely, as masters of their own country, the day of international proletarian solidarity. To-day the working class and all toilers of the Soviet Union are holding a review of the events of their year of strenuous work,

which is aimed at building up the socialist society; they are demonstrating their great successes. We know that in the West, as well as in other parts of the globe, the toilers and their advance-guard, the class-conscious proletariat, will likewise glance back at what they have experienced in the past year.

Whilst we every year further develop socialist industry and agriculture, whilst we have a shortage of workers in our factories and works, in the whole of the capitalist world production is restricted and there prevails terrible and unprecedented unemployment. The toilers in the capitalist countries are suffering hunger and misery; they come on to the streets to-day in order to say to the rulers and the organisers of the dying world: You are bankrupt! Your policy, your administration has led the capitalist world into a blind alley from which for you there is no way out!

The international situation at present is not less difficult than it was a year ago. The capitalist world, which is suffering one defeat after another in its attempts to find a way out of the economic crisis, wishes to solve this insoluble task by its old and tried means—war. The International "Disarmament" Conference which is meeting at present and which, as you know, was the result of the political combinations of the victor States, was to have brought humanity disarmament, or at least special measures for securing humanity from new wars. It must be recorded however that the attempts of this conference to come to agreement over at least a minimum reduction of armaments, have so far come to nothing. At this conference the voices of individual states sounded isolated, and especially the voice of our State, which really demands disarmament. We, and we only, proposed complete disarmament. We, and we only, are prepared to join in any agreement in any way calculated to prevent increased armaments. All our efforts, however proved and prove in vain in face of the opposition of firm capitalist groups which cannot think of their states existing without war.

War hangs and will in all probability still for a long time hang as a fearful threat over the head of humanity, in the first place over the Soviet Union. We, the State of the proletarian dictatorship, created a powerful Red Army for the protection of the October Revolution and socialist construction. The capitalist rulers and politicians are disposed to ascribe to the Red Army the role of initiator of war. This lie, however, no longer deceived anybody; nobody gives credence to it. All toilers and even the best representatives of the cultural forces of the bourgeoisie are fully aware that the only reason why the second world war has not yet broken out is because the Soviet Union exists, because the powerful Red Workers and Peasants Army exists. The Red Army is the bulwark of peace. The Red Army was and remains the protector of the frontiers of its state. The Red Army, together with the whole people, together with its Government, together with the Communist Party, has never thought and never will think of a war of conquest. The Red Army has never threatened and never thinks of threatening anybody. It will, however, along with the toilers of the Soviet Union, keep a sharp eye on everything that happens on the Soviet frontiers. At the moment when danger threatens the Red Army will be there where it has to be. The Red Workers and Peasants Army will fight, as only Bolsheviks can, for every inch of land.

Almost every day they try to provoke us to war. The Bolsheviks, however, have strong nerves and not only know how to fight on the war and economic fronts, but also how to stick to their political line. We are not to be drawn by any provocation. Our enemies will not succeed in forcing us into war. If, however, any imperialist State or any group of imperialist States attempts by direct attack to destroy the fortress of the Soviet Union, then it will encounter the due and powerful resistance of the armed forces of the workers and peasants.

Comrade, according to tradition the young recruits to the Red Army, on the day of celebration of international solidarity, take a solemn pledge. Comrades, young Red army-men! Repeat after me, word for word, the solemn pledge. (Comrade Voroshilov reads the text of the Red soldiers oath). Comrades, you have promised on oath to be true to the Workers and Peasants Government, to be true to the cause of the proletariat...

Long live our illustrious, powerful Red Workers and Peasants Army! Long live the working class of our whole country! Long live the international proletariat and its advance-guard, the Communist International! Long live our famous Leninist Party!

Tremendous Demonstration of the Berlin Proletariat.

Berlin 1st May 1932.

The Communist May Day demonstration against the Emergency Decree dictatorship, fascism and imperialist war was one of the biggest demonstrations which has taken place in Berlin for a very long time. By four o'clock the big square was filled and new columns of workers from all parts of the town were still arriving. The police had prohibited the carrying of placards and the few that were carried through the streets were confiscated before the workers arrived in the Lustgarten. The only streamer permitted by the police stretched across the front of the former imperial palace and bore the inscription in great white letters on a red background. "For the revolutionary united front against war, hunger and fascism!"

Features of the demonstrations were the tens of thousands of men and women in athletic dress marching under the banners of "Fichte" and other working class sport organisations. The **revolutionary trade union opposition** was also very strongly represented with innumerable flags. A forest of red flags waved above the demonstrating workers and almost everyone present wore the Mayday button of the Communist Party. The police maintained a very reserved attitude and no collisions have been reported up to the present.

The great mass meeting was opened by the leader of the Berlin Party organisation Comrade **Ulbricht** who read a telegram of greetings to the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The chief speaker was Comrade **Ernst Thaelmann** who was greeted with tremendous applause. His speech was plainly heard in all corners of the great square and in the neighbouring streets thanks to loud-speakers which were set up everywhere.

Comrade Thaelmann declared that the mass demonstration showed that Berlin remained red and maintained the tradition of Mayday. He recalled the bloody Mayday of 1929 when the social democratic police chief Zoergiebel, acting at the behest of the bourgeoisie, tried to rob the proletariat of the streets. Scores of workers had been murdered, but the workers had maintained their right to demonstrate. He referred solemnly to the acute danger of imperialist war and particularly of intervention against the Soviet Union. Not only the Red Army would defend the Soviet Union, but the workers of the world. Referring to the situation in Germany he declared that the policy of the social democracy had prepared the way for fascism which was now making itself ready to enter the government legally. In conclusion he expressed the solidarity of the German working class with **the workers of the Soviet Union** in the struggle for socialism, and with the **Chinese and Japanese workers** in their struggle against imperialist war. At the conclusion of the speech the workers sang the "Internationale".

At five o'clock when the meeting broke up new columns of workers were still arriving from various districts and were unable to enter the Lustgarten at all. It is calculated that well over 150,000 persons took part in the magnificent demonstration for a revolutionary united front against hunger, fascism and imperialist war.

The May Demonstrations in Germany.

Berlin, 2nd May 1932.

Huge masses of the German working class marched under the banners of the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade union opposition yesterday. Tremendous demonstrations took place in all the big towns. In a number of big towns the demonstrations were prohibited, but the German workers have proved on many occasions that they will not let themselves be robbed of the right to demonstrate on the streets.

In **Brunswick** the Minister of the Interior, the fascist Klagges, had prohibited all demonstrations. In the morning a football match between well-known workers teams took place and was attended by thousands of workers. After the game the spectators streamed onto the streets and formed into a great procession which marched along singing revolutionary songs. In the centre of the town the procession was attacked by the police with drawn swords. The main procession was broken up, but numerous smaller columns marched through the streets of the workers quarters. The police made many arrests. Both social democratic and communist workers demonstrated in this

way. In the evening a mass meeting of the Communist Party took place in the Stadthalle.

In **Bremen** Mayday demonstrations were also prohibited, but processions formed in various parts of the town and marched through the streets singing revolutionary songs. The police attacked the workers who offered strong resistance. One worker was seriously injured. According to the bourgeois press seven policemen were also injured.

In **Munich** the police had prohibited not only all demonstrations but also all indoor Mayday meetings of the Communist Party. Fast police tenders raced through the streets of the working class quarters in order to suppress demonstrations immediately. At eleven o'clock however, a procession of about fifteen hundred workers formed in the workers quarters and marched through the streets. The ranks of the workers swelled continually and the procession was greeted with cheers. It was over half-an-hour before the police succeeded in dispersing it. The police attacked the masses with drawn swords and the nose of one worker was slashed off.

In almost all other parts of Germany the demonstrations were permitted and powerful masses of workers were on the streets. In the **Ruhr** district the demonstrations were particularly big. Twenty thousand demonstrated in **Duisburg-Hamborn**, thirty thousand in **Essen**, thirty thousand in **Dortmund**, eight thousand in **Bottrop**.

Very big demonstrations are also reported from **Saxony**. Ten thousand workers attended the communist demonstration in **Dresden**, ten thousand in **Chemnitz** and a great demonstration in **Leipzig**. The social democratic demonstrations in Saxony were weak.

Hamburg reports the biggest Mayday demonstration of recent years. Many social democratic and trade union workers took part in the communist demonstration which dominated the streets of the town from early morning on. Whole columns of dockers and seamen gave a special note to the demonstration.

In **Stuttgart** the police permitted only one big demonstration, but in the working class quarters street processions formed, particularly in the evening. Collisions took place with the police and thirty-four workers were arrested.

Great Britain.

London, 2nd May 1932.

Hyde Park was filled with a multitude of well over 50,000 workers. It was the biggest May Day demonstration which London has seen since the historic May Day of 1926 which preceded the general strike.

The demonstration from the Embankment to the Park was magnificent. It stretched over 2 miles with banners blazing red over the heads of 20,000 marchers. Notable were the many trade union banners, near half a hundred.

A contingent of athletes from the British Sports Federation marching with a fine swing made an excellent impression. Striking, too, were the performances given by the uniformed members of the Workers' Theatre Movement at each halt.

The Communist Party was right to the fore in the demonstration and the day showed that the leadership of this great turn-out of the London workers was clearly that of the Party.

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London, 2nd May 1932.

Fierce fights with the police took place in **Dundee**, when the police interfered with the May 1st demonstration.

Twenty-four workers were arrested, but in face of this police activity the demonstration was held and over 5000 rallied round the platform in Gussie Park.

May Day in Melbourne.

London, May 2.

Tunnecliffe, the Premier of Victoria, and leading members of the Melbourne Trade Council and of the Victoria Trade Union movement were roughly handled by a crowd of 5000 at the May Day demonstration at Yarra Bank. They were not allowed to speak and finally the crowd rushed the lorry on which they were standing and knocked them off. Mr. Tunnecliffe who received a number of cuts about the face was fiercely denounced by the majority of those present as "the Labour rat".

Big May Day Demonstration in U. S. A.

New York, 3rd May 1932.

40,000 workers assembled in **New York**, Union Square on the 1st May to demonstrate against hunger, bourgeois class terror and imperialist war. A great procession marched for four hours through the East Side working class districts. The demonstrating workers carried placards protesting against the Japanese slaughter in China and in defence of the Soviet Union. They also called for the use of the military funds to feed the unemployed workers and their families. Further placards announced, "We shall turn imperialist war into civil war!", "Japanese and Chinese toilers unite!", "Stop the war transports to Japan!"

Big Mayday demonstrations also took place in other American towns. In **Detroit** the workers protested in particular against the recent massacre of unemployed workers there. The police had put up machine-gun nests and tear-gas bombs against the demonstrating workers. In **Philadelphia** fierce collisions took place between demonstrating workers and the police. About sixty workers and five policemen were injured. Many workers were arrested.

A big Mayday demonstration took place in **Havana**, the capital of Cuba, under the leadership of the Communist Party. The demonstration carried numerous slogans expressing the determination of the workers to fight against war and hunger and to defend the Soviet Union. The police attacked the demonstration and many persons were injured. A number of arrests were made.

In **Santiago** the police attacked and dispersed the Mayday demonstration. Mass arrests were made.

May Day Celebrations in Other Countries.

The only really serious collisions which have been reported so far on the 1st May are from **Poland** where illegal demonstrations took place in the towns and mining areas. In the **Dombrova Basin** the police fired into an illegal Mayday demonstration killing two workers on the spot and wounding many others. Following on the collision mass arrests were made.

Big communist Mayday demonstrations took place in the big towns and industrial districts of **Austria**. Many thousands of workers took part in the communist demonstration in **Vienna** and bourgeois newspapers wrote that it was larger than former demonstrations. In **Graz** collisions took place with fascists who were energetically repulsed by a united front of communist and social democratic workers. The danger of imperialist war and the necessity of defending the Soviet Union played a great role in the demonstrations.

Despite the police prohibitions Mayday demonstrations took place in **Bulgaria**. In **Sofia** a procession of communists demonstrated through the streets. Collisions with the police occurred. During Mayday demonstrations in the villages of **Preslav** and **Toros** two persons were shot dead by the police.

The "peaceful" Mayday demonstration permitted by the police in **Hungary** was organised by the Social Democratic Party and took place in the sports grounds. During the speech of the social democratic leader Buchinger who attacked the Communist Party there were hostile demonstrations. Collisions took place between the communist workers and the members of the social democratic strong-hand groups. A number of communist workers were handed over to the police. Twenty-four arrests were made.

Many demonstrations took place in **Japan**. Twenty thousand workers took part in the "peaceful" demonstration organised by the reformists and permitted by the police in **Tokio**. The leader of the reformist trade union federation "Nippon Rodo Sodomo", **Toriaki Hara**, was prevented from concluding his speech. There were shouts of, "Traitor!" and stones were thrown. Hara was driven from the platform and the demonstration was turned into a revolutionary one. The bourgeois newspaper "Asahi" reports that over 1,300 workers were arrested on May day in **Tokio** alone. In **Haziodzi** (Saitama district) the textile workers held a Mayday demonstration. Many workers were arrested. Demonstrations also took place in the **Aomori district** in which many peasants participated. Six workers were injured. Attacks on the Japanese military drive against China and references to the threat against the Soviet Union were prohibited but they occurred again and again, particularly on illegal placards which were posted up in the night.

Police interference with the Mayday demonstration in

Prague, Czechoslovakia, resulted in minor collisions and over one hundred placards, etc., were confiscated.

Almost everywhere throughout **Czechoslovakia** the communist Mayday demonstrations were larger than those of the socialists this year. Fine communist demonstrations were held in the **Moravian** industrial areas and in **Oderburg** the Communist demonstration was much larger than the joint demonstration of the Czech, German, and Polish socialist organisations. Particularly large demonstrations were held in **Slovakia** where a number of collisions with the police took place. In **Kositch** the police broke up the demonstration with great brutality and made twenty arrests. In **Carpathian-Ukraine** the demonstrations were about twice as large as last year's demonstrations. The socialist demonstrations were very small. The communist demonstrations were considerably persecuted by the police.

In **Belgium** the Communist Party organised twelve demonstrations and many meetings. In general the demonstrations were larger than last year's. In **Antwerp** the police broke up a communist demonstration and made a number of arrests. A communist meeting in a **Brussels** suburb ended in collisions with the police who made a number of arrests. In the **Charleroi district** all the communist meetings were prohibited, but demonstrations took place whereby collisions occurred with the police and a number of arrests were made. The socialist demonstrations which took place in the morning were smaller than last year's and passed off without incident.

Successful communist demonstrations took place in **Switzerland**. In **Basle** about 1,800 workers marched in the Communist Party demonstration. The social democratic demonstration was attended by about eleven hundred workers only. In **Zurich** 3,500 workers took part in the Communist demonstration. The social democratic demonstration was a little larger than the communist demonstration, but quite lacking in fighting spirit. In **Berne**, the stronghold of the social democracy; the Communist Party succeeded in holding a strong demonstration for the first time. In **Geneva** about two thousand workers demonstrated under communist slogans. In **Schaffhausen** Bringolf, the leader of the renegade communists, organised a joint demonstration with the reformist leaders. The Communist Party organised its own demonstration for the first time since the split and about 400 workers were present. The other demonstration was attended by about 800 workers only. For the first time the Communist Party organised a Mayday demonstration in **St. Gallen** and it was attended by about 400 workers. Communist Mayday demonstrations were also held in **Biel, Lucerne** and other towns.

May Day in Canada.

London, May 2.

May Day in Canada was marked by a number of clashes between police and demonstrators. The most serious was at **Hamilton** (Ontario). Here the police spent three hours trying to disperse a demonstration numbering 10,000 under the leadership of the C.P.

The march and meeting had previously been forbidden by the municipal authorities, but it was decided that the demonstration should be held. As the workers assembled to march, repeated baton charges were made by the police, but the workers rallied time and again, eventually getting the police on the run. Eventually the fire brigade was called into action, and it was only after three hours of repeated charging and turning the hose on the workers that the police finally succeeded in dispersing the demonstration. At **Rouyn** (Quebec) there was a free fight in the central square between police and demonstrators. Many, both workers and police, were taken to hospital injured and several arrests were made.

At **Sudbury** (Ontario) a large body of fascists attacked the demonstration and in the battle which ensued many persons were injured, including the Mayor of the town, who was hit by a stone.

Koumintang May Day — Twenty-five Executions.

Nanking, 2nd May 1932.

On the 1st May twenty-five communists were publicly executed in Nanking at the orders of the Kuomintang government. They were accused of being members of an organisation working to overthrow the government.

The War

Anti-Soviet Propaganda of British Imperialism.

R. Bishop.

Whilst the British press and British politicians have consistently conducted a virulent anti-Soviet propaganda ever since the Revolution, this has assumed a definitely more war-like note during the past few weeks. It is true that at present there is no single campaign being worked up with such unprincipled ferocity as characterised some of the earlier ones—the “Forced Labour” campaign, the “war on religion” campaign etc., but in every speech of a prominent politician, in every issue of the capitalist press there is invariably something inserted calculated to add fuel to the anti-Soviet hatred which the bourgeoisie is feverishly attempting to work up.

For instance the “**Sunday Dispatch**”, a journal with a circulation of 1½ million, contains some jottings of the week referring to the return to London of MacDonald and Sir John Simon. These events are presented thus:

“Disarmament is not the only or even the principal reason for these hurried comings and goings. The real reason is the situation in the Far East. There are ominous rumblings in Manchuria. **Japan is anxiously watching Soviet Russia and fearing attack.**”

Could misrepresentation and distortion go further?

In the “**Times**” of April 30, there is a letter from **Lord Phillimore**, which says:

“We need practical measures to relieve a world now suffering from many active disorders. If any one of these disorders could be eliminated it is something gained. In the commercial pool of the peoples there is now present a disturbing factor—a pike in the trout stream. This is the Soviet Government, which is in de facto control of the Russian people . . . To make surrender to this force will never help to the restoration of that world for which Lord Revelstoke (an earlier correspondent) pines. It may, however, well serve to bring down in ruins those peoples on whose support the whole fabric of capitalism now rests.”

Nothing could be franker than this declaration of capitalism’s aims, the “elimination” of the Soviet system.

But Phillimore is not alone in his avowed hostility. On Sunday, April 17 there appeared in the “**Sunday Graphic**” an interview with **Sir Stanley Machin**, an executive member of the Association of British Chambers of Commerce, concerning the granting of credits to the Soviet Union for the placing of large engineering orders in this country. Said Sir Stanley:

“Anything may happen in Russia within the next twelve months. Business men in Britain have a feeling that the Soviet regime is getting near the end of its tether.”

What does he mean by “anything may happen”? He means that he has inside knowledge of the plans of the capitalist Governments to “eliminate” the Soviets, and that he is looking forward to armed intervention by the Powers within the year. It is significant that the day following the publication of the interview with Machin, the “**Morning Post**”, the official organ of the Conservative Party, should print a message from its Harbin correspondent, in which he says:

“The general opinion here is that war with the U.S.S.R. is inevitable before the year is out.”

On the day following this the whole press spoke in war-likes of the imminence of war.

In the week preceding these events the “**Daily Express**” had devoted the portion of the front page of one of its issues to a scare story about the failure of the Russian wheat crops and the breakdown of the Soviet oil industry. This article, which appeared on April 18, concluded

“The wheat gamble has failed. The oil gamble has failed. The gamble of the Five-Year Plan has failed.”

This scare story, without the slightest foundation in fact, bears all the marks of deliberate war propaganda. But behind this spate of press propaganda, the Parliamentary big guns have also been booming.

Lord Snowden, the Lord Privy Seal of the National Government, and **Walter Runciman**, the President of the Board of Trade, have both of them during the past week made open declarations of hostility, whilst the lesser lights among the M.P.’s have been providing the big men with ammunition by asking innumerable questions. The position is such that the “**Morning Post**” of April 29 says with glee:

“There is a growing feeling among members of Parliament that the Government will soon deal drastically with Soviet Russia. Many indications support the belief that something will soon be done either to extract payment of the enormous outstanding debt and adjust the balance of trade, or to extricate this country from the Trade Agreement foisted upon it by the Socialist Government.”

It should be pointed out that the only outstanding Russian “debt” is that incurred by the Tsar’s Government. Even the City Editor of the “**Daily Express**” was compelled to admit on April 18:

“Traders who have done business with Russia in recent years say that every obligation has been met—in striking contrast to the losses which have been made by financial operators who have done business with Sweden and other Continental countries outside Russia.”

The main line of the Parliamentary campaign has been around the question of the balance of trade. The Government complain that there is an adverse balance of Soviet trade amounting to £23 millions. Said **Snowden**: “The Government insist that practical steps shall be taken to lessen the disparity.” This was underlined by Runciman, who declared that the Government were considering whether the balance could be adjusted by “annulling the Trade Agreement”.

Actually the position with the balance of trade is this—there is not a single Power of any importance, nor a single British Dominion with which Britain does not show an adverse trade balance, yet it is only the Soviet Union which is singled out for particular adverse comment. Snowden’s speech was particularly envenomed. Never in the British Parliament has language so insulting been used by a responsible Minister with regard to a Government with which normal “friendly” diplomatic relations are in being. Said Snowden:

“The Russians are past masters in the art of propaganda and plausibility. All that they say has to be taken with a large grain of salt . . .

There is a certain amount of risk in being involved in very heavy credits, arising out of transactions with a Government of the nature of the Soviet Government. The Government are well aware of the risks involved and are watching them closely.”

At the very time when the National Government claims to be trying to rebuild the shattered industry of Britain, with the mills and factories standing idle by the hundred, Snowden announces that orders to the tune of £4 millions are to be turned down, by tightening up credits, although it is openly confessed that every liability so far incurred by the Soviet Government has been met to the minute.

What does this barrage mean? It can only mean one thing—**War**. To this end the bourgeoisie are perfecting their war machine in every direction, whilst their propaganda machine is being made to work overtime on the ideological preparation for war.

What is happening in Britain is happening simultaneously in the Press and Parliaments of the capitalist world. This sudden upsurging of hate is no coincidence. It is a sign of grave portent, which it behoves every worker throughout the world to take notice of. The war is here. It is only a matter of time and opportunity for the capitalist powers to intervene openly against the Soviet Government. When that moment actually arrives, the workers must be ready to smash the plans of the warmakers. The only way in which they can be ready is by actively struggling against war now.

The New Stage of the Kuomintang Treachery.

By Yobe.

The Japanese invasion of China has called forth a storm of anti-imperialist protest, a storm of anti-imperialist militant enthusiasm, which is mobilising the Chinese working masses against the robber intruders. The names of the Japanese generals and militarists who are at the head of the invasion, Uyeda, Shiosava, Murei etc. have become the symbol of the hostile bloody attack. Thousands of Chinese families see in these generals the murderers of their children; hundreds of thousands of toilers in Chapei and other parts of Shanghai recognise in them incendiaries and destroyers of their dwellings.

When, however, this imperialist gang of butchers were hit by a bomb thrown by a Korean revolutionary, who thereby protested against the frightful oppression of the working population of Korea by the Japanese—then the **first** man who hastened to express in the most cringing and servile manner his sympathy and condolence to the Japanese diplomats, was the **Chinese** Foreign Minister, the representative of the Kuomintang government.

Here it was by no means an act according with the usual diplomatic conventions: the whole of Shanghai is under the military dictatorship of the Japanese. The perpetrator of the outrage is a Japanese subject. The review of the Japanese troops took place with the exclusion of the Chinese authorities and meant such a monstrous provocation of the Chinese population that, as the "Times" reports, even the foreign Chambers of Commerce raised a protest against it. Even the Japanese authorities had to admit the culpability of their own officials—a fact which was expressed in the resignation of the responsible police officer. In spite of this, the representative of the Chinese Kuomintang ran as quickly as he could to the Japanese and assured them of Chinese friendship. Could the fresh stage of the treachery of the Kuomintang be symbolised more plainly than by this act?

As a matter of fact, behind the scenes of the so-called armistice negotiations there has begun a **new stage** of the Kuomintang treachery; the close co-operation of the Kuomintang bandits with the Japanese imperialists is becoming more and more apparent.

Now, when the full report of the meeting of the Kuomintang which took place in Loyang at the beginning of March is to hand, it has become evident that the 4th Army, which could have rescued Shanghai, was deliberately **held back** by the Nanking authorities. We now know for a fact that the aeroplanes which were sent from Canton to Changsha remained idle there on orders from the headquarters of Nanking, whilst the Japanese aeroplanes were raining down death and destruction on Chapei. It has been established that even two regiments which were already on the way were held up in Chinkiang (from the speech delivered by Hsia Tau pi, a Kuomintang leader, at the above-mentioned conference).

After the fall of Shanghai, the Kuomintang leaders demanded the reward of their treachery. The Japanese, however, wanted first that the Kuomintang leaders should put an end to the discontent among the armies of the Kuomintang itself, whose soldiers, as the fight for Shanghai proved, offered resistance against the will of their leaders. Hence the employment of every means in order to demoralise the 19th Chinese army. Hence, also, the new means which the Kuomintang government is employing in order to frustrate the anti-Japanese boycott and paralyse the anti-Japanese demonstration-movement in the whole country.

The Japanese further demanded a free hand in Manchuria. It is obvious from the whole attitude of the Kuomintang Generals that Manchuria has already been bargained away to Japan. The expeditions which, it is announced with great pomp, were to proceed via Peiping to Manchuria, have been held back. The Chinese government has already indirectly recognised the so-called Manchurian government which is under the control of the Japanese. Without saying it openly, out of fear of the anger of the people, the Kuomintang generals and Wan Chin Wei of the so-called Left wing of the Kuomintang who is at present allied with them, are seeking for a formula in order to render final the cession of Manchuria to Japan.

But the Japanese intend, if the Kuomintang clique are to be granted a further respite, to use them for still more hangmen's work. The object of the Japanese "standstill"

attitude is to wait and see the results of the new Kuomintang expedition against the Soviet districts. The Japanese are no longer leaving things to the Chinese. As the Chinese press reports, Admiral Shiosava was in **Hankow** at the beginning of April where, together with the Chinese generals, he prepared the plan of the campaign against Hupeh and Kiangsi. In this way the Kuomintang has become the executive organ of Japanese imperialism.

The fresh treachery of the Kuomintang is so base and contemptible that the people's movement against the Kuomintang cannot fail to experience a fresh upsurge. It is to be specially remarked that the labour movement in the big Chinese centres has received a fresh impetus. The illegal Communist paper, "Red Flag", is again appearing in Shanghai. Communist leaflets were distributed wholesale in the workers quarters in connection with first of May calling upon the people to fight against the bloody Kuomintang dictatorship which is working hand in glove with the Japanese imperialists. The heroic fight of the Chinese Soviet districts, the new upsurge of the people's movement against the Kuomintang, and at the same time the increasing signs of disintegration in the camp of Japanese imperialism itself, open new revolutionary perspectives in the Far East.

Japan Preparing for an Attack on Mongolia.

By M. T. Ch. (Ulan Bator).

The Mongolian People's Republic is still threatened with the danger of an attack by Japanese imperialism.

Japanese imperialism, and especially the military clique, consider the Mongolian People's Republic the most important jumping off ground for intervention against the Soviet Union.

Although the young Mongolian Republic preserves the strictest neutrality towards events in the East, Japan has on its part initiated a whole network of intrigues, provocations and calumnies against the Mongolian People's Republic.

Japan's efforts to find a support in the inner reactionary forces in Mongolia, have not met with the success expected. In spite of the year-long extensive activity of **Chang Hsue Liang**, who was in the service of Japan, to organise the counter-revolutionary elements of Mongolia against the People's government, in spite of the energetic activity of **Pantchen Bogdo**, the head of the Mongolian Buddhist Church, who had been expelled from Tibet, to mobilise the Mongolian population, and above all the Church, for the fight against the revolution under the yellow flag of religion, the toilers of Mongolia still actively support their revolutionary government.

Pantchen Bogdo is generously subsidised by Japan. In the course of the whole of last Summer and Autumn he toured the districts of Inner Mongolia bordering on the Mongolian People's Republic, organised Congresses and held prayers, received delegations, staged delegations of Mongolian feudal landowners, who requested him, allegedly in the name of the Mongolian people, to free them from the revolutionary government.

At the present time Pantchen Bogdo no longer confines himself to praying and cursing against the People's Government of the Mongolian People's Republic; he is collecting horses and weapons, recruiting volunteers from the ranks of expropriated feudal landowners and also Burjatian white guardists, and forming them into detachments, ostensibly for his own protection, but in reality in order to attack the Mongolian People's Republic.

Japan is reckoning on the fanaticism of the Mongolian population, and precisely therefore chose Pantchen Bogdo, this former comrade in arms of the Dalai Lama, as organiser of the attack of the Mongolian People's Republic.

At the same time, Japan is forming a considerable number of armed bodies from the northern part of Inner Mongolia and the Russian-Burjatian white guardists, headed by General **Semjonov**. The concentration of Japanese troops on the western part of the Chinese Eastern railway has, in addition to other aims, undoubtedly the object of encouraging the Mongolian princes and the Russian Burjatian white guardists who are preparing to attack the M.P.R.

All this is accompanied by systematic attempts to provoke the frontier patrols of the M.P.R., especially on the Eastern and Southern frontier.

It is therefore not due to chance that the representative of Japan at Geneva referred more than once to Mongolia and

attempted to divert attention from the Japanese robber-campaign by the obvious lie that the M.P.R. is occupied by the Soviet Union, just as Manchuria is occupied by Japan. Mr. Sato made this statement not only in order to justify the robber-deeds of his government in Manchuria, but also to give the signal to the military clique that it is time to commence action.

It is significant that some days after the above cited declaration at Geneva, there appeared in the Japanese and white guardist press a report that a delegation had come from Inner Mongolia to the Manchurian "government", and requested it to render the aid in overthrowing the People's government.

Mr. Sato's provocative declarations at Geneva have aroused quested it to render them aid in overthrowing the People's Republic.

The working population of Mongolia are making active preparations for the fight against Japanese imperialism, and will give a warm reception to anybody who ventures to violate the independence of their country. No matter with whose hands Japan may attempt to strangle the young Republic—whether with the hands of the white guardists headed by General Semjonov, or with the hands of his comrade in arms, Panchen Bogdo—the Mongolian toilers will energetically repel the attack.

In this fight the proletariat and the oppressed peoples of the whole world must stand by the side of the M.P.R. against Japanese imperialism.

INTERNATIONAL FIGHT AGAINST WAR AND INTERVENTION

How the Japanese Communists are Fighting the War.

By Sen Katayama.

The Communist Party and the Young Communist League of Japan are continuing their revolutionary fight against the imperialist robber-war in the Far East with increasing energy. Cases of refusal to obey orders are becoming more and more frequent in the Japanese army. The Japanese militarists are also complaining that the officers "are killed not by enemy bullets but by Japanese soldiers".

How the Japanese Communists are conducting the fight against war is shown by an article which appeared in the "Leninist Youth", the illegal organ of the Young Communist League of Japan. This article deals with the question of mobilisation and gives the following directions as to what should be the attitude to mobilisation:

"In order, against the will of the ruling classes, to make all war impossible, we must overthrow Japanese imperialism and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. In other words: we must convert the imperialist war into civil war. In order to emerge as victors from this civil war, we must do everything in order to disarm the bourgeoisie and to arm the proletariat. This determines our attitude towards the army, this most important part of the bourgeois State apparatus. We must do everything in order to disintegrate the army, to win the soldiers over to our side. Proceeding from this standpoint, from the standpoint of carrying out our fundamental line, the question of mobilisation is one of the practical questions confronting us, and we must therefore examine it from this standpoint. What does the carrying out of the mobilisation order mean? It means that the proletarians go into the army, become soldiers, don uniforms and obtain rifles. To obey the mobilisation order means, therefore, that the proletarians get possession of rifles. To refuse to obey the mobilisation order means that the proletarians refuse to take up rifles."

The article then proceeds to deal with the question of the methods of utilising mobilisation for the fight against war:

"The Communists must obey the calling up notice and enter the army together with the proletarian masses in the factories, in order thus to lead the masses of the soldiers in the fight against the bourgeoisie, and by means of this fight to win them over to our side. This means that we transfer the scene of our activity for capturing the proletarian masses from the factory to the barracks, at least so far as this

concerns the mobilised soldiers . . . Whoever, out of fear of difficulties, abandons this fight is no revolutionary worker."

To the question: How must the Communists work in the factories and villages in connection with the mobilisation the article gives the following answer:

"Between the soldiers who have been called up and the workers and peasants in those factories and villages in which the soldiers worked before they were called up, closest contact must be maintained . . . In cases where comrades are called up from the factories and villages where we are working, we must seize the initiative and arrange mass meetings (for instance a farewell gathering for this or that comrade etc.). We must develop agitation and propaganda work against war, showing by means of concrete examples, taken from the life of the factory or village, in whose interests and for what purpose the present war is being waged, who gets all the advantages and who has to bear all the cost. At the same time—and this is most important—at these meetings a permanent organisation must be set up for the purpose of maintaining contact with the mobilised comrades (for instance association for the support of Comrade X.). At the same time it must not be forgotten that such organisations must be organs of the united front from below."

The task of such associations is indicated as follows:

"By means of such organisations we must keep the mobilised soldiers informed as often and fully as possible regarding all happenings and events in the factory and village where they formerly worked, regarding the situation of their friends and relations, and the necessary facts of the class struggle."

The next question dealt with in the article: How shall we work in the barracks among the soldiers? is answered concretely and in detail:

"Refuse to go to the front, support the revolutionary proletariat, for the whole content of this fight is aimed at undermining the mobilisation attempts of Japanese imperialism, capturing the masses, and drawing the troops over to the side of the revolutionary proletariat. The revolutionary importance of this fight is clear . . . The directives of the Central Council of the Youth Section of the 'Zenkiō' (Revolutionary trade union League) with regard to developing the fight before the New Year's festivals contain some mistakes: Point 7 of these directives reads: "It is a mistake to refuse to obey the calling up order. Obey the calling up notice, go to the front in order there to turn your weapons against the bourgeoisie and fraternise with the soldiers of the enemy army." As regards the calling up notice, a correct answer was given here, but it is a mistake to say that the recruit should go to the front, because it says nothing about the question of the recruits in the barracks refusing to go to the front, or the question of the mass fight for the support of the revolutionary proletariat. To obey the calling up order, that is to become a soldier, and to go to the front—these are two quite different things. We must carry on indefatigable, tenacious, energetic agitation and propaganda work among the masses of the soldiers in order that they shall refuse to go to the front, in order that they shall turn their weapons against Japanese imperialism and thereby be drawn into the revolutionary fight of the proletariat."

The last question dealt with is: How shall one work at the front? The answer is as follows:

"We must work energetically at the front for fraternisation with the soldiers of the enemy troops, as well as in order to get our troops to turn their weapons against Japanese imperialism. There is no denying that this work will have to be conducted under very difficult circumstances. If however we, as brave, determined comrades who stick together, win the confidence of the masses of soldiers, and if in addition we make use of every suitable opportunity (for instance, every short pause during the march can be made use of for agitation and propaganda work), then there is nothing impossible in this. Bolshevik bravery, energy and tenacity can overcome every obstacle. In the event of having to fight against red troops in the field, the soldiers must as far as possible come together in a firmly united group in order, at the suitable moment—the choice of the moment is very important—to go over to the Red Army."

These articles are being spread in Japan, in a popular language understandable by the masses of peasants, as well as among the soldiers in Chapei and in Manchuria.

Appeal of the All-China Trade Union Federation.

Shanghai, 28th April, 1932.

To the Workers, of the Whole World!

The toiling masses of China, who are engaged in a serious defensive struggle against Japanese imperialism, follow with enthusiasm your manifestations of solidarity, which are proof of the close alliance of the toilers of the capitalist world in the fight against imperialism. While expressing our brotherly thanks to you on behalf of millions of Chinese workers we consider it our duty at the same time to report to you how war is raging against the toilers of China and how the Chinese workers and peasants are conducting the fight against the Japanese robbers and their own treacherous bourgeoisie.

Japanese imperialism has reduced whole Chinese towns and villages to heaps of ruins. Hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants have been shot or slain. The factories in which Chinese workers earned their bread, are destroyed and burned down. Do you know that in Chapei all the silk and textile factories, metal works, printing works and railway workshops have been completely destroyed by Japanese shells and air bombs? As a result, several hundred thousand have been rendered unemployed. They have all been deprived not only of work but also of their dwellings and are now lying hungry and homeless in the streets. In Shanghai alone the number of unemployed has increased to over 150,000 during the last few months.

In the Japanese factories thousands of workers are being terrorised by the Japanese militarists under the pretext of "exterminating the partisans" so that they cannot remain in the factories. The Japanese officers attempt to compel the workers by force of arms to transport munitions for the Japanese army. In spite of the most cruel terror, however, they have not succeeded in forcing the Chinese workers into the service of the imperialist robber war.

The daily growing misery and the increased terror of Japanese imperialism were unable to break the heroic resistance of the working men and women of Shanghai and the neighbourhood. The toiling masses are engaged in a heroic national revolutionary defensive struggle against the Japanese robbers and against their own treacherous bourgeoisie, which under the leadership of the Kuomintang has become the tool of Japanese imperialism by unconditionally accepting the shameful January ultimatum of Japan, which demanded the ruthless suppression of the boycott movement and the complete dissolution of all anti-Japanese organisations.

The Shanghai workers replied to this treachery of the Chinese bourgeoisie with the proclamation of the general strike in all Japanese factories. In order to break the resistance of the Shanghai workers, the Japanese dispatched an army of more than 100,000 soldiers to Shanghai and concentrated 60 warships before Shanghai. But even this tremendous armed power could not break the revolutionary resistance of the armed Shanghai workers and volunteers who fought together with the 19th Chinese army. It was only due to the treachery of the Nanking government and the Chinese generals at the head of the 19th army that the Japanese militarists succeeded in pushing back the Chinese workers in Shanghai.

The heroic struggles of the Shanghai proletariat have roused the whole of China. Millions were collected for the fighting workers and peasants. But the Chinese bourgeoisie are putting these funds into their own pockets. The workers who are fighting and striking against Japanese imperialism are left without any support. Their demands for relief and payment of wages during the strike, for the establishment of soup kitchens, for the setting up of shelters are categorically rejected. On the contrary, the Chinese bourgeoisie, with the assistance of the imperialist troops, are organising the fight against the striking workers. Under the slogan "preventive measures against Communist agitation", thousands of workers are arrested, expelled and executed. Thus the Kuomintang government is working hand in glove with Japanese robber imperialism against the toiling masses of China.

Working men and women of the whole world!

The cry of the Shanghai proletariat must not remain unheard. The appalling misery of millions calls imperatively for relief by the international proletariat. We appeal to you to demonstrate your solidarity with the revolutionary fighters for liberty by increasing your struggle against the transport

of arms and munitions for Japanese imperialism and at the same time organising a **large-scale international relief campaign**. We are convinced that the Workers International Relief and the Red trade unions will do all they can in order to carry out this relief campaign. The Shanghai proletariat stands to-day in the front ranks of the fight against imperialist war. It reckons upon you and your energetic support in this heroic fight.

Long live the international solidarity!
Long live the Chinese Revolution!

The Fight of the Polish Workers Against War.

By Dombrowski

Polish Upper Silesia and the Dombrova coal basin are among the most important centres of the war industry in fascist Poland. In the foundries and factories of these districts munitions are being produced. Thus for instance, in the **Bismarck foundry** armour plate is produced, in the **Baldon foundry** guns, ordered by the **Skoda works** in Czechoslovakia and probably destined for Japan, are manufactured. In the iron foundry in **Milovice** an extinguished blast furnace is to commence working again at the beginning of May for the purpose of producing armour plates. In addition, one of its workshops which was closed down is to commence work again on the production of shell casings. The **Katarzyna iron works** has received a new order for thousands of steel helmets. **Fitzner and Gamper** are producing steel hawsers for warships. The "Westen" works are making spoons and plates for the army. The textile factories are producing bread sacks, blankets etc. for soldiers. The whole of the chemical industry, especially the big **nitrogen works** in Chorzow, are engaged on war production.

The Communist Party of Poland is exposing the feverish war-preparations of the fascist Pilsudski government against the Soviet Union and is calling upon the masses to fight

An Appeal of Romain Rolland against Imperialist War.

Moscow, 30th April, 1932.

Romain Rolland has issued the following appeal in the "Pravda":

"The fatherland is in danger! Our international fatherland, the Soviet Union, is threatened. This means a threat to the whole world. Never before was this danger so tangibly evident. Europe is handed over to the arbitrary will of fascism. A monstrous blow is being prepared, the instruments of which are: on the right wing—Japan, and on the left wing—Poland and Rumania. The instigators of this blow are in the West. It is heavy industry, industrial and bank capital at whose disposal are the lackey governments and the League of Nations. The tremendous conflict can break out any day. It is clear that not a single country, not a single person in the world will be given the right or the possibility to stand on one side. Some free-minded persons are determined to exert all their forces in order to rouse from its deadly torpor the public opinion of Europe and America which has been drugged by the capitalist press.

Henry Barbusse has taken the initiative, with the support of a Committee to which Maxim Gorki and Roman Rolland belong, to convene an international anti-war Congress on June 28, the bloody anniversary of Sarajevo. The Committee have requested Bernard Shaw, Albert Einstein, Heinrich Mann, Theodore Dreiser, Upton Sinclair, John dos Passos, H. G. Wells, Paul Languine and Sun Tsin Lin to take part in the Congress. On the other hand, an appeal is addressed to the organisations of the metal workers, chemical workers and transport workers of the whole world, calling upon them to send workers' delegations to the Congress. It is necessary to set up the united front of the hand and brain workers and to call a halt to and break the outrageous attack of bellicose imperialism in the West and in the Far East. Friends of peace! Close your ranks!

Romain Rolland.

The appeal bears the following dedication: "Fraternally devoted to you, our comrades, the working people of the Soviet Union."

against war. "Never was the danger of war so threatening as at the present time! War is already here!" it is stated in the many leaflets which the Party has issued. In the Anti-War Week which the Party organised from 25th to 31st of March, meetings were held against the war. During the Anti-War Week a mass meeting was organised in the **Baidon foundry** and a resolution adopted sharply protesting against war. The Party also succeeded in organising various **street demonstrations**. During the big miner's strike in the Dombrova coal district, in which the workers of the chemical works "Strem" also joined, the following incident occurred: The striking workers learnt that the factory had engaged about 20 strike-breakers in order to load a large quantity of glycerine and to convey it to a State munition factory. About 1000 workers (the whole staff numbers 800) gathered round the waggons and prevented their being loaded. A speaker who addressed the crowd strongly denounced the war and a resolution was adopted protesting very sharply against the Japanese imperialist robber-war against China. During Anti-War Week it came to street demonstrations in various localities. Special mention should be made of the demonstration in **Dandovka**, which was organised by the Young Communist League of Poland, a red flag with slogans was hoisted and a procession marched through the streets.

The Communist Party attaches great importance to strikes in the war industry. It has achieved the best results in the **Baidon foundry** where it succeeded twice (at the end of March and at the beginning of April) in carrying out **successful strikes**. In March the management announced that piece-work rates would be subjected to cuts ranging from 17 to 60 per cent. The C.P. of Poland and the Red Trade Union Opposition called upon the workers to fight. The workers replied with a strike in which they fought against the wage cuts and for the reinstatement of nine workers who had been dismissed on account of their active fight against the management. Both demands were achieved. When however, at the beginning of April, wages were not paid (a thing which very often happens in Polish foundries) because the company stated that they had no money, the workers replied by again going on strike. After two days, wages were paid out.

At the calling up of **new recruits** the Party and the Youth League succeeded in organising demonstrations in various localities. Thus for instance in **Sosnovice** about 2500 people gathered at the railway station in order to give the recruits a send-off. The police were powerless. Hundreds of leaflets were distributed. In **Strzemieszyce** the recruits were accompanied by a brass band. At the railway station where 2000 people gathered, the "Internationale" and other revolutionary songs were sung. In many localities in Upper Silesia the recruits were accompanied by a great crowd of workers who sang the "Internationale".

Many leaflets have been distributed among the soldiers in the **barracks**. The fascists and the social fascists are increasing their agitation for war. They are inciting against the Soviet Union and telling the unemployed that war will bring them work and bread. But the class-consciousness of the masses is growing. The red flags hoisted on factory chimneys, the inscriptions in the streets, the leaflets, the demonstrations, the constant daily work of the Party, are mobilising ever broader masses.

In spite of the monstrous terror, in spite of summary courts, in spite of mass murder of the revolutionary workers, ever broader strata of workers, poor peasants and oppressed nations are gathering round the slogans of the Party: "Hands off our socialist fatherland! Down with the Japanese robber attack! Down with the war-preparations of the hangman Pilsudski! Long live Soviet Poland!" with the firm determination to frustrate the predatory plans of world imperialism.

THE WHITE TERROR

The Case of Tom Mooney.

By A. Dombrowski

There is no need to prove that the American bourgeoisie, in its fight against the proletariat, will not shrink from any crime. In the last few days the attention of the public has been focussed on the fate of **Tom Mooney**, who has been in prison

for 15 years. The governor of California **James Rolph** has declined for the fourth time to pardon Tom Mooney.

Tom Mooney was arrested in 1916 on the occasion of a patriotic parade, when the American bourgeoisie had worked up a state of war hysteria among the public. During this parade agent provocateurs committed a dynamite outrage, as a result of which 10 persons were killed and 40 wounded. Mooney was arrested after the outrage together with another labour leader **Billings**. Both of them were condemned to death.

Under the pressure of mass demonstrations of revolutionary workers in Leningrad, who in 1917 organised a gigantic demonstration in front of the American Consulate demanding the release of Mooney, the governor of California was compelled to suspend the execution of Mooney. Mooney's sentence was later commuted by President **Wilson** to **life-long imprisonment**.

The workers of all countries, who realise that both Mooney and Billings are the victims of agent provocateurs and of war incitement, have at innumerable meetings demanded their release. The last demonstration in New York held to demand the release of Mooney and Billings was attended by 50,000 working men and women. The American Labour Defence has caused evidence to be collected by its lawyers from which it is quite obvious that Mooney and Billings were a mile away from the scene of the explosion at the time of the outrage.

As in similar provocations, the object of the Pinkerton's men who were behind it was to have the two labour leaders, who are so hated by the American bourgeoisie, put out of the way. Mooney was particularly hated by the capitalists as **organiser of the railway workers**.

The refusal of the governor of California to pardon Mooney caused the bourgeois press of the whole world suddenly to display sympathy for this innocently condemned man. The Berlin bourgeois paper "Tempo" published a special page dealing with the Mooney Case. There are underlying motives for this "sympathy". **Jimmy Walker**, the mayor of New York, a typical representative of the corrupt politicians, used his personal influence in order to induce the governor of California to pardon Mooney. And now the journalists are overcome with emotion on account of Jimmy Walker's "kind heart". This Tammany Hall politician comes forward and demands "justice" for Mooney in order to increase his popularity in view of the approaching Senate elections. Of course, Mooney has nothing to do with this farce. He refuses to accept a pardon coupled with the provision that he shall refrain from political activity, and shoulder to shoulder with the fighting working class demands a retrial and his release. The American bourgeoisie who are arming for war, have no intention to release Tom Mooney. He has become still more hated by the bourgeoisie since he published his pamphlet last year entitled: "**The Trade Union Leaders Betray Tom Mooney**" in which he exposed the corrupt bureaucracy of the American Federation of Labour, who forbid the members of their organisation to take part in any demonstration on behalf of Mooney and Billings. Not mayor Walker but the mass pressure of the workers will open the prison doors and release Tom Mooney.

Sun Yat-Sen's Widow Demands Ruegg's Release.

Shanghai, 27th April.

Madame **Soong Ching-ling**, the widow of the great Chinese national-revolutionary leader Sun Yat-sen, has issued the following statement to the press concerning the treatment accorded to Paul Ruegg and his wife Gertrude who were arrested on trumped-up charges ten months ago in Shanghai and have been in prison ever since without a trial:

"In the press of the 25th April I have read an official statement of the Supreme Court in Nanking concerning two political prisoners Noulens alias Ruegg. I regard this statement as an attempt to convict in advance two human beings who have been denied the right of normal legal defence and who have not even been permitted to answer this statement. First of all such a public statement issued by a Supreme Court against prisoners not yet tried is unheard of in any civilised country. It amounts to nothing less than an attempt to prejudice public opinion against untried accused. It must be emphasised that the accused have no legal representation and that they are unable to reply to the charges against them. The newspapers in Shanghai which have published this state-

ment of the Supreme Court refuse to publish two lines concerning the great international campaign in defence of the Rueggs, although the International Defence Committee includes many noted men and women who are supported by hundreds of various organisations and millions of individuals all over the world who not only demand the release of these two prisoners, but who also fight the cause of China against Japanese aggression.

"As far as this propaganda statement of the Supreme Court is concerned I must point out a number of things which are utterly impossible from the legal point of view. First of all it speaks of so-called documents allegedly belonging to Ruegg. But by what methods were these documents collected since last June when the prisoners were arrested? By Chinese law, and it is the case in other countries also, documents which are intended for use as evidence must have been confiscated in the presence of the accused or other witnesses who must sign on the spot to confirm their authenticity. No such safeguards were maintained with regard to the Rueggs.

"Secondly, it is abundantly clear from the statement of the Supreme Court itself that there is no basis for a charge against Gertrude Ruegg. All that the statement is able to bring forward against her is that amongst the documents was a code letter from Singapore and that the handwriting of this letter was similar to that on a note written by Gertrude Ruegg to her husband. We have a right to know what expert tests were used to prove that the handwriting on the Singapore document was Gertrude Ruegg's handwriting.

"The authorities in Nanking have absolutely nothing which would justify their holding Gertrude Ruegg in prison. All they can point to is the police argument about the Singapore document. Although the two accused have been under arrest for almost a year no steps have been taken to discover whether Gertrude Ruegg was ever in Singapore, probably because the authorities know very well that she never was.

"Just as the British police have been the collectors of the documents for which the prisoners are held responsible, just as they have been the real prosecutors in the case from the beginning, so now they advance the Singapore story. As a Chinese I protest emphatically against a Chinese court accepting or using in any way such alleged evidence supplied by British policemen.

"Thirdly, there is absolutely nothing new in the court statement. Everything has already appeared in the Shanghai press during the past year. However, during this time there has been no settlement of the case. If the two can be proved guilty why are they held for ten months without a trial. Why have they been shifted to six different prisons.

"I must also protest against the continual false newspaper reports concerning the case. On March 3rd the Reuter agency reported that the death sentence was impossible. The latest report is that the death sentence can be imposed. On April 4th the Reuter agency claimed in a report that the trial would open within a week. Its later reports make no mention of any trial. On April 14th the United Press reported that the two had been removed to Soochow. In the meantime, however, it has become clear that they are still in Nanking.

"This case represents a struggle for the lives of two human beings between the forces of British imperialism on the one hand and the forces of international justice on the other. As a Chinese I cannot suffer the idea that we are so ignorant of the elementary conceptions of justice that we are prepared to accept the verdict of British policemen. Two people are charged with alleged attempts to overthrow the Chinese government, but this government is engaged in honouring and flattering the imperialist representatives of Powers whose whole history in China has been one long attempt to destroy the Chinese nation and subject the Chinese people.

"I appeal to the sense of justice of the Chinese people to demand the immediate release of the prisoners. The friends, colleagues and supporters of these two are the only forces throughout the world to-day which are struggling for the withdrawal of the imperialist armed forces from Chinese territory and for the liberation of the Chinese masses, and for this they are being bludgeoned and shot down on the streets of their own towns. We must demand the immediate release of these two prisoners in order that honour and justice may be vindicated in China."

The above statement has been prohibited for the Chinese press. Nevertheless it has created a great sensation in Chinese and foreign circles.

Savage Terror in the Caribbean Countries.

By R. Palacios.

Capitalism is particularly vicious and murderous in the colonies. The bourgeois-landlord-imperialist reaction in the Caribbean countries has unchained a ferocious terror against the militant workers and peasants and their revolutionary organisations in Mexico, Cuba, Colombia, Panama, etc. In Colombia, the "liberal" Olaya Herrera has viciously attacked the unemployed demonstrations and hunger marches of February 29, the National Day Against Unemployment. From Bogota to Barranquilla, the government sought to break the rising militancy of the unemployed who are determined to force the government to give them relief. Mass arrests, beatings and tortures. This is the answer of the Yankee lackey, tool, Herrera and his gang of hangmen. In Monterrey Mexico, the armed forces of the Ortiz-Calles regime killed in cold blood a young worker at the unemployed demonstration on February 26. Fascist terror is the answer of the bosses and their government. The social fascist C.R.O.M. stands by the government.

The workers are rising in militant strikes against the capitalist offensive. There have been more strikes since last May throughout the Caribbean than the previous year. Highly significant is the fact that most of these strikes have, in some of these countries, taken place in the basic industries. Strikes of the agricultural workers in El Salvador; in the United Fruit Co. plantations in Honduras, Panama, Porto Rico; fifteen thousand tobacco workers in Cuba against the announced wage cut. The armed forces of Mejia Colindres in Honduras together with the armed bands of the United Fruit and in co-operation with the reformist leaders succeeded in defeating the strike of the banana and railroad workers, only with a tremendous display of force and terror.

Fascist terror is raging savagely against the toiling masses of the Caribbean countries. General Martinez of El Salvador with his organised bands of the armed bourgeois and landlord youth headed a nation wide massacre of workers and peasants. The masses arose against the unbearable sufferings of hunger and misery, against repeated wage cuts, against the forcible expropriation of the peasants, against the terror and the special repressive laws. It was a glorious uprising of the masses, led by the Communist Party, mishandled by a putchist approach. The leaders were tortured and shot. A wholesale butchery all along the pacific coast of El Salvador under the vigilance of the imperialist warships, Yankee, British and Canadian sent there to support the bloody government. The last words of the communist leader **Agostin Marti** before his body was riddled with bullets were: "Long Live the Communist International, Long Live the Soviets."

The bourgeois-landlord government of Ubico in Guatemala has just returned from a red hunting campaign. A widespread terror throughout the country against the revolutionary workers and peasants organisations. Ten communists were sentenced to death. The Secretary of the Communist Party of Guatemala, Juan Wainwright was shot for the crime of being the organiser of the workers and peasants. Ubico sought to buy him off as it is reported in the press. A few hours before the execution Juan was called to the Presidential Palace. The iron will of the brave comrade to serve his class could not be bought with Ubico's gold. Before being brought to the scaffold, our Comrade Wainwright scribbled on the prison walls with his own blood dripping from his veins, the death sentence of capitalism: "Long Live the Communist International!"

The puppet governments of Yankee imperialism in the Caribbean countries and their reformist lackeys of all shades are preparing to carry on war against the Soviet Union under Yankee command. The wave of terror and attack against the living conditions of the masses is part and parcel of the war preparations. American imperialism is laying basis for the utilisation of the ports, railroads and highways in Mexico, El Salvador, Panama, etc., for the transport of munitions, raw materials and foodstuffs for the capitalist crusade against the Soviet Union.

The revolutionary workers of the Caribbean, in alliance with the revolutionary peasants, must immediately initiate a mighty campaign to stop the sending of ammunition and other supplies to imperialist Japan and for the expulsion of the representatives of Japanese imperialism from the Caribbean.

How the First World War was Prepared

Peace Talk as a Cloak for War Preparations.

Documents from the Period Preceding the First Imperialist World War.

The Morocco-Conflict, 1911.

On May 20, 1911, the Fourth German Peace Congress was opened in Frankfort-on-Maine. A few quotations from the official report serve to characterise the joyous peace-mood prevailing at the Congress.

"The Peace Movement Making Great Progress."

"The chairman recorded that the peace movement had made great progress in the past year not only in Germany but also in the whole world." ("Der 4. Deutsche Friedenskongress." Verlag der deutschen Friedensgesellschaft.)

War will be "Answered by a General Strike".

Herr von Harden, a lawyer, stated:

"Dr. Frank, the social democratic deputy, in replying to the speech of the Chancellor, put forward the standpoint of the peace movement. This is a remarkable change. If the German social democracy has been rather late in coming to this standpoint, one must bear in mind that other Left parties also required a long time to be brought to this point of view. On various occasions workers' organisations have pronounced against war and suggested the general strike should war break out . . . Like the working class, the middle class are more and more coming to realise the harmful effects of armaments on culture". (Ibid p. 6.)

Mass Petitions in Order to Avert War.

The Peace Congress adopted the following resolution:

"The 4th German Peace Congress, meeting in Frankfort on May 20th and 21st, 1911, gives its support to the world petition for the prevention of war between States addressed to the III. Hague Peace Conference, and urgently calls upon all men and women of Germany to sign this petition." (Ibid p. 8.)

Just the same as today, when huge petitions are sent to the Disarmament Conference!

The "Panther" Despatched to Agadir.

Berlin, 1st July. "Some German firms established in the South of Morocco, notably in Agadir and in the vicinity, have been alarmed by a certain ferment among the local tribes, due, it seems, to the recent occurrences in other parts of the country. These firms have applied to the Imperial Government for protection for their lives and property. At their request the Imperial Government have decided to send a warship to the port of Agadir to lend help and assistance in case of need to their subjects and protégés as well as to the considerable German interests in the territory in question. ("Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung".)

"Hurrah! An Act!"

"At last an act, a liberating act . . . The French have not bothered about the word of the Kaiser nor about treaties; they have added one challenge to another . . . Good! We can play the same game. If they venture to establish "order" in Morocco, we can do the same thing. A German warship is now lying off Agadir. It is still open to the French to come to an understanding with us regarding the spheres of interest in Morocco. If they do not wish this, then the 'Panther' may have the effect of the Ems telegram." ("Rheinisch-Westfälische Zeitung", July 2.)

The Echo.

Paris, July, 2, 1911. The whole press emphasises that the sending of the warship to Agadir is contrary to the Treaty of Algeciras and the Franco-German Agreement of 1909. ("Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung", July 4, 1911.)

Budapest, July 5. Prime Minister Count Khuen-Hedervary declared in Parliament today: Needless to say we are following with sympathy every step taken by our allies and wish them success. ("Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung", July 7, 1911.)

British Imperialism's Response.

On July 6th, 1911, Mr. Asquith, the English Prime Minister, declared in the House of Commons:

"I wish it clearly to be understood that His Majesty's Government consider that a new situation has arisen in Morocco, in which it is possible that future developments may affect British interests more directly than has been the case. . . . In the part we shall take in it (diplomatic discussion. Ed.) we shall have due regard to the protection of those interests and to the fulfilment of our treaty obligations with France, which are well-known to the House."

The situation was rendered more acute by the declaration made by Lloyd George in the speech he delivered on 21st of July:

"in the event of a challenge, Germany would find the British Power on the side of France."

The II. International and the Morocco Conflict.

In reply to a circular sent out by the International Socialist Bureau proposing that representatives of the social democratic parties of the countries concerned in the Morocco conflict should meet to discuss the question, H. Molkenbuhr (Germany) stated:

"I see in the whole affair a manoeuvre whereby our statesmen wish to divert attention from the state of affairs at home and to stir up national feeling in view of the Reichstag elections . . . For us it is vitally necessary not to allow home questions, such as taxation policy, agrarian privileges, insurance law etc. be pushed into the background of discussion . . . I think, therefore, that for the present we can still wait before holding this conference."

Huysmans is also against "Premature Action".

Huysmans, the secretary of the Executive Bureau of the II. International, stated:

"It seems to us inexpedient to convene the Bureau at this moment. We propose that this question be placed on the agenda of the next annual meeting of the Bureau."

Rosa Luxemburg Protests against Molkenbuhr's Letter.

In an article published in the "Leipziger Volkszeitung" of July 24, Rosa Luxemburg protested most sharply against Molkenbuhr's letter and demanded that the Party launch an action in connection with the Morocco conflict. She attempted to call the attention of the proletariat to the threatening dangers.

The reply of the Central Committee was an organised incitement against Rosa Luxemburg. This incitement was the main feature of the Jena Party Congress of the S.P.G., and served at the same time to divert the attention of the proletariat from the serious danger of war.

Rosa Luxemburg Replies.

At the Jena Party Congress Rosa Luxemburg defended herself against the accusations made against her and declared:

"I not only deny that it is in any way an indiscretion on the part of a party member to criticise in public, in the interests of the party, the actions of the party Central Committee in regard to questions affecting the vital interests of the whole party, but I go further and say: the Party Central Committee has been guilty of a neglect of duty... It was its duty to publish this correspondence and to submit it to the criticism of the party... In the whole Morocco affair the party Central Committee is not the accuser, but on the contrary, must answer before all of us for its sins of commission."

Liebkecht's Criticism of the Central Committee.

At the Jena Party Congress Karl Liebkecht declared:

"When the 'Panther' went to Agadir, there immediately appeared in the 'Rheinisch-Westphälischen Zeitung' and in the 'Konservativen Korrespondenz' those furious war-inciting articles which everywhere aroused a justified excitement. A few days afterwards, official communications came from England and France, according to which England would under no circumstances tolerate Germany acquiring a naval base on the North-West Coast of Africa.

... The Berlin Party comrades, and also the comrades in the rest of Germany, did not wait for the manifesto of the Party Central Committee and the so-called indiscretion of Rosa Luxemburg. They displayed great activity and showed that they realised the seriousness of the situation better than the party central committee had.

If the Party Central Committee had admitted that there had been a considerable neglect, then the criticism here would have been much milder. Instead of this, the Party Central Committee brings charges against Rosa Luxemburg and adopts the tactic of crying: stop thief!

The Morocco-Conflict Ended.—The Tripoli-War Begins.

The partition of Morocco was accomplished without a war between the imperialist Powers. On the November 4, 1911 Germany, and France concluded the new Morocco agreement under which German imperialism was given the right to plunder the Moroccan people in the same way as the other imperialist Powers, but it was left to France to see to the military and administrative subjugation of the working people of Morocco.

The Morocco Agreement of November 4, 1911.

The Imperial German government declares that it pursues only economic interests in Morocco. It will not prevent France in its intentions to support the Moroccan government in introducing all those administrative, legal, economic, financial and military reforms which are necessary to a good government of Morocco.

In this sense it is agreed that the German government will raise no objection if France, after coming to an agreement with the Moroccan government, proceeds to that military occupation of Moroccan territory which it considers necessary for the maintenance of order and the security of trade. The same applies to all police measures on land and in Moroccan waters."

"Everything Can be Settled Peacefully."

"To the peoples, who work hand in hand, unity is necessary for the development of their vital powers and their riches, and they will welcome with joy the signing of the

The Action of the Proletariat.

German-French Demonstration.

On July 28th there took place in Berlin a huge German-French demonstration against war-incitement and diplomatic intrigues, at which French comrades spoke.

Gigantic Demonstration in Treptow (Berlin).

On September 3, 1911, there took place a powerful mass demonstration in Treptow Park. Karl Liebknecht and Ledebour were among the speakers.

Lenin:

Some Remarks on the International Situation in 1911.

Shortly before the outbreak of the Morocco conflict there took place the Annual Conference of the English Social Democratic Party in Coventry. The Conference dealt with the question of disarmament and the danger of war. In an article dealing with this party conference, Lenin characterised the international situation with the following words:

It is generally known that both England and Germany have been feverishly arming in the last few years. The competition between these two countries on the world market is becoming more and more acute. There is an imminent danger of military collision... The socialists of England and Germany, and also of France, are devoting great attention to the question of war by fighting with all their might against bourgeois chauvinism and against armaments, by endeavouring to make clear to the backward strata of the proletariat and of the petty bourgeoisie what indescribable disaster a war, which serves exclusively the interests of the bourgeoisie, would bring.

Sharp Attack on Hyndman . . .

"Hyndman allowed himself to be intimidated by the howls of the English bourgeois press about the German danger, and arrived at the conclusion that England is compelled by necessity to arm herself for the purpose of defence, that England requires a big fleet and that the Emperor Wilhelm is the aggressor.

"Hyndman was defended by the whole of the Executive Committee of the Party and also—be it said to his shame—by Harry Quelch."

German-Franco treaty. This shows us that the peoples can remain at peace if they wish, and that everything can be settled by means of peaceful negotiations." (Petit Parisien Nov, 1911).

Peace Conference Convened in Rome.

Following the general meeting of the International Peace Bureau, there took place in Berne on 26th and 27th September a delegate meeting of the Peace Societies... Regarding the place and date of the next Congress it was decided that it should be held from 21st to 27th March in Rome. („Der Friede", September 1911).

Rome, 28th September. At 2.30 this afternoon the Italian chargé d'affaires in Constantinople handed to the Grand vizier the Italian Note containing an ultimatum from Italy to the Porte."

(„Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" 30. September 1911).

The Tripoli-War.

On September 30, 1911, Italy declared war on Turkey. Whilst the pacifists in the various countries were hailing the Moroccan robber-treaty as a victory of pacifism, the guns were already thundering in Tripoli.

"The slaughter caused by our artillery is incredible. It is not simply 'death' which we witness here—it is the most savage, cruel destruction, the most horrible wiping out of all life, the most terrible mass slaughter caused by our guns. ("Tribuna" 1912).

Tsarist Russia also out for Plunder.

"Immediately after the commencement of the war—2nd October—the Russian Ambassador in Constantinople Charykov, received instructions from St. Petersburg to take advantage of the circumstance of the Italo-Turkish war and of the German-French negotiations regarding Morocco and to attempt to squeeze some concessions from the new Turkish government, in particular permission for Russian warships to pass through the Straits..." („Die Europäischen Mächte und die Türkei während des Weltkrieges." Page 16.)

Attempt at a General Strike in Italy against the War in Tripoli.

Rome, September 26.

The attempts of the socialists in Rome, Milan and other towns to declare a general strike as a protest against war in Tripoli have failed. The central committee of the railway workers' union instructed their members not to take part in any strike. (Stefani agency.)

Lenin: On the Commencement of a new Upsurge of the Revolutionary Labour Movement in Russia.

"Since the end of 1910 there has been a remarkable change. The demonstrations in connection with the death of the Liberals Muronzev and Tolstoi as well as the students' movement clearly show that a fresh breeze is stirring, that there has taken place a certain change in the feeling of the democratic masses. The year 1911 brought a slow transition of the working masses to the attack: the number of strikers amounted to 100,000. ("Newskaja Svesda" June 10, 1912.)"

The 4th of August Casts its Shadow before.

The language of the social imperialist Hildebrandt

The more the war-conflicts among the imperialist Powers over the distribution of the colonies increased, the more openly apparent became the social-imperialist tendency within the social democracy. The most candid representative of this imperialist tendency in the social democratic party of Germany was undoubtedly Gerhart Hildebrandt, who in his book "Sozialistische Auslandspolitik" published in the year 1911, wrote:

"If the chief nations of Western Europe, who are crowded together in a narrow space, or the Japanese, who are similarly situated, for the purpose of securing their requirements in the way of foreign raw materials, lay their hands on countries possessing natural riches but whose inhabitants are backward and unable to develop unaided, then this is in the first place a historical, world-economic and political necessity upon the carrying out of which all cultural development hitherto has been based and upon which a part of the future cultural development will for a long be based..."

As it to be seen, Hildebrandt already in the year 1911 used the arguments with which the Japanese social democracy to-day defend the Japanese robber-war in Manchuria. Hildebrandt continues:

"What will become of our exports if we are prevented by the political influence of England, France and Russia from establishing new markets on the basis of equal rights for our exports in Abyssinia and Morocco, in Portuguese Africa, in Turkey, in Persia, in Siam and in Australia!"

The Jena Party Congress of the social democratic party of Germany it is true, adopted a resolution in which it is stated "that the German working class employs every possible means in order to prevent a world war". But the ground for social imperialism was already so far prepared that Hildebrandt and Maurenbrecher were able to bring in a motion in which it was stated:

"So far as German diplomacy pursues no other aim than to prevent the ignoring of German economic interests by English and French diplomacy, so far as its action therefore, only serves to defend the rightful common interests of German economic life, so far the German social democracy has no reason to extend its oppositional attitude from home politics to foreign politics."

The Fight of the Bolsheviki against Imperialism.

The Party Conference of the Russian social democratic labour party held in 1912, adopted the following resolution which was drawn up by Lenin:

"The Russian social democratic labour party protests against the robber-policy of the Tsarist hands, which is directed towards stifling the freedom of the Persian people, and in order to accomplish which aim does not shrink from the most barbarous and atrocious acts.

"This Conference records that the alliance of the Russian government with the British government, which is promoted and supported in every way by the Russian Liberals, is directed in the first place against the revolutionary movement of the Asiatic democracy, and that this alliance renders the English Liberal government jointly responsible for the bloody cruel deeds of Tsarism.

"The Conference expresses its complete sympathy with the fight of the Persian people, especially with the fight of the Persian social democratic party, which has made so many sacrifices in the fight against the Tsarist military."

CHINA

The Situation in the Hunan-Kiangsi Soviet District.

Like all other Soviet districts, the Soviet district situated on the borders of Hunan and Kiangsi has grown and increased in strength through constant struggles against the attacks and intrigues of the imperialists and the Kuomintang, on the one hand, and against various deviations and tendencies, on the other. Many important and fundamental problems, such as the land distribution, economic policy etc. have lately found a correct solution.

The local Soviet Government has paid the greatest attention to the **land problem** because of its importance as the most fundamental task. Despite the fact that the distribution of the land was carried out long ago, the work was not regarded as complete and successful until towards the end of last year, when a campaign for redistribution was conducted. The work is now practically completed, with the exception of a few places in Pinghsiang and Yu-hsuen where white troops are active and the masses have to concentrate all their attention and energies on fighting the enemy. The redistribution was carried out by allotting so much land to each village according to labour power and population. Agricultural implements, as well as draught animals confiscated from the landlords and gentry, were divided among the agricultural labourers and poor peasants who were in need of them. The plan to set up agricultural implement stations has not yet been realised. It is quite certain that the recent redistribution of the land has raised the agrarian revolution to a much higher level.

In regard to **economic policy**, there is no need to say that the Kuomintang's taxation policy, under which frightfully heavy burdens were imposed on the toiling masses, has been done away with. For the purpose of defending the Soviet power and maintaining the public services, the Soviet government has introduced a progressive land tax and a progressive commercial tax. The burden of taxation is borne by the well-to-do peasants. The families of red soldiers, the poor peasants who do not receive more than 600 catties*) of grain annually for each member of their families, and those families who after meeting their own requirements have left over less than 100 catties of grain annually, are exempted from the progressive land tax.

Trade in such articles of every day use such as tea, oil, table-salt, matches and medicine is exempt from the progressive commercial tax. Traders whose capital does not exceed \$50 are also exempted from the commercial tax. Traders with a capital between 50 to 100 dollars and dealing in petroleum, cotton cloth, stationery etc. are taxed 2 per cent, whilst those dealing in foreign goods, wine tobacco etc. are subjected to a tax of 3 per

*) A catty is the Chinese pound, usually amounting to 1½ lb. avoirdupois.

cent., for traders with a capital exceeding \$100 the tax is increased progressively by 0.5 per cent. and 1 per cent. respectively for each \$100 of capital.

In order to combat the economic boycott imposed by the enemy and to develop the village economy, and thereby improve the standard of living of the poor people in general, the Soviet government has established a workers and peasants bank which commenced operations on January 15. The Bank at present has a capital of \$20,000 and is planning to increase it to \$100,000. It has issued banknotes to the amount of \$100,000.

The broad toiling masses of the Soviet districts realise that in order to consolidate and extend their economic achievements they must promote the sound growth of the Soviet regime, ruthlessly repel the attacks of the white troops, and combat the destructive activity of the gentry and landlords. This is the reason of their enthusiastic militant spirit. It is concretely expressed in the various activities they are now conducting on behalf of the Red Army, the local defence forces and to purge the district of reactionary elements.

The working population of Lienhua and Yenshien willingly and eagerly give congee, tea, vegetables, firewood, shoes, sandals etc. to the red soldiers and at the same time mend and wash their clothes. The families of the red soldiers have the best land allotted to them and are constantly helped by their neighbours in tilling it. Although the Red Army has suffered heavy losses in the course of a long period of bitter fights, it has had no difficulty in maintaining its strength thanks to the fact that the broad masses, particularly the Young vanguards, always promptly answer the call of the Red Army for new recruits. Of the new recruits about 20 per cent. come from the Young Vanguards.

The local defence forces in the various districts have been very active in harassing the enemy's rear, in building defence works and assisting the Red Army generally. For instance, the armed forces of the working masses of Ki-an have attacked and seized many headquarters of the armed forces of local landlords and gentry and obtained possession of a large number of rifles. The armed forces of the workers of Yinhsien, numbering over 4000, are constantly harassing the rear of the enemy.

The masses have also displayed great activity in clearing out the reactionary elements. All families of the landlords, gentry and reactionary elements in the various districts have been deported. Many of them who actually took part in counter-revolutionary plots were executed.

The women are also playing their part. There are many women holding positions in the local Soviet governments. The women members of the Young Vanguards fight as bravely as the men. The struggles against the old usages and customs is now proceeding in various districts. The movement for holding women's conferences is now being built up from below, and it has been decided to hold the provincial women's congress on March 8, International Women's Day. Every local Soviet government has attached to it a women's committee which deals specially with questions relating to the improvement of the conditions of living of women and the women's demands in general. These committees constantly submit their suggestions to the Soviet government for execution by the latter.

As large tracts of territory have now come under the control of the Soviets, and the Kuomintang has thereby lost considerable areas which it formerly was able to exploit, the burdens imposed upon the masses in the districts still under the Kuomintang have increased tenfold. Moreover, the white troops seize stocks of food, burn down houses, violate women everywhere and constantly compel the masses to serve as guards or "volunteers" to assist them in attacking the Soviet districts. The lot of the soldiers in the white armies is no better than that of the civilian population. Their pay is always several months in arrear; they have to endure the rigours of winter clad in a uniform of thin cotton cloth; they are constantly bullied and flogged by their officers. This is why they are susceptible to the propaganda of the Soviet masses and why from time to time they desert or mutiny. The masses in the Soviet districts always cordially welcome mutineers and deserters. Most of them are quite ready to stay with the Red troops and help to fight the Kuomintang.

It is obvious that despite the savage white terror exercised by it, the Kuomintang is already very hard put to it to maintain its rule in the white districts and to prevent the Soviet government from extending its rule.

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

The IX. All Union Congress of the Trade Unions.

Reports of Comrades Zichon and Pjatakov.

Moscow, 27th April 1932.

The People's Commissar for Labour, Zichon, delivered his report yesterday.

The total number of workers in the Soviet Union had risen from 11.5 millions in 1928 to 18.6 millions in 1931. During the current year it would rise to 21 millions. 83 per cent of the industrial workers already enjoyed the seven-hour day. Unemployment had been completely abolished. The percentage of women workers in industry rose from 26.5 per cent in 1928 to 33 per cent at present. The Social Insurance Budget would total 3.5 milliard roubles during the current year as compared with 1.4 milliards in 1928/29. During the course of the year houses for at least three million persons would be built.

These figures showed conclusively that the material situation of the workers was improving. The tasks of socialist construction demanded a continual increase in the numerical strength of the industrial proletariat. For instance, during the current year over a million workers would be engaged in the building industry alone. This meant that many workers. It was one of the most important tasks of the undesirable elements found their way into the ranks of the labour unions to render these elements harmless and to conduct a widespread educational campaign.

He then dealt with the situation of the foreign-born workers and technical experts. These categories had also been affected by the general enthusiasm for socialist constructive work and many of them were taking an active part in the struggle for socialism. Many foreign-born workers and technical experts had been distinguished for their services.

Referring to the general wage question he declared that the average monthly wage of the workers is 51 per cent higher than the 1928/29 level and the average budget of the working class family still higher owing to the complete abolition of unemployment and the increasing extent of woman labour. Immediately the sons and daughters of the workers were of age they received work. During the current year the introduction of the seven-hour day would be general to all intents and purposes.

The chief questions now facing the labour unions were: the question of the correct and most rational organisation of production, the increase of the productivity of labour-power, the improvement of labour protection against accidents, and the betterment of the material situation of the workers.

Twenty delegates took part in the discussion. They described the successes achieved by the unions on various fields and pointed out the weaknesses and deficiencies which would have to be made good.

Comrade Avdeyeva, spoke to the congress on behalf of the Central Committee of the Abatement of Industrial Accidents Society. She compared the working conditions in the Soviet Union with those existing in capitalist countries in respect of accidents, first aid and medical attention and declared that on this field the Soviet Union was already leading the world. During the current year no less than 7.2 million roubles would be expended for this work in the factories. In particular the number of trained medical men in the industrial areas was rapidly increasing. Since the revolution the mortality rate in the Soviet Union had dropped by thirty per cent, whilst it was rapidly rising in almost all capitalist countries, for instance, 12 per cent in Great Britain, 20 per cent in Germany, and even 26 per cent in France.

The Congress then unanimously adopted a resolution expressing complete approval of the policy and practical work of the People's Commissariat of Labour as reported by Comrade Zichon.

At today's session, Comrade Pjatakov delivered his report on the activity of the People's Commissariat for Heavy Industry, in which he stated:

"This year the Soviet Union is reaping for the first time the fruits of the tremendous expenditure on the construction of heavy industry. This year a whole number of big undertakings, equipped with the most modern achievements of technique, will commence working. The following industrial giants will be completed this year: Dnieprostroj, Dniepr Combine, Magnitostroj and Kusnetzkestroj, "Asovstal", the chemical combine of Beresniki, the Leningrad aluminium combine, Kramatorsk and Ural engineering works, ball-bearing factory, Saratov Mowing and Threshing Machine works, Kharkov turbine works and a whole number of middle and smaller factories. In the year 1932 the main problem of the Soviet Union, the iron smelting industry, will be solved. The year 1932 will witness a radical change in machine construction. If we solve all the main tasks set for the year 1932 and complete all the works which are under construction, then the fundamental socialist transformation of our whole economy is assured.

In the first quarter of 1932 the output of goods increased by 34.5 per cent. This increase, however, is inadequate. In the year 1932 the heavy industry of the Soviet Union must achieve an output of 18,000 million roubles. Works and enterprises to the value of 10,000 million roubles must be erected and prime costs reduced by 8 per cent. All these tasks can be solved only by means of the greatest exertions of all workers and with the immediate help of the trade unions."

Moscow, 30th April 1932.

The chairman of the State Planning Commission, Comrade **Kuibichev** addressed the congress on the Second Five Year Plan. He declared that the decision of the seventeenth party conference, which adopted the Second Five-Year-Plan, represented a great milestone on the path of socialist development in the Soviet Union. The first Five-Year-Plan had laid the economic basis for socialism, whilst the second plan represented a higher stage, the building up of the classless society, and the destruction of the last remnants of the exploitation of man by man.

The speaker then described the rapid progress being made in the Soviet Union and compared it with the decay of the capitalist world. The carrying out of the second Five-Year-Plan meant the realisation of scientific socialism on one-sixth of the world's surface. At the end of the second plan the Soviet Union would be ahead of Europe with regard to the production of **iron**. It would draw level with Great Britain in the production of **coal** and overhauled Germany and France. In the production of **petroleum** the Soviet Union would take second place. In the most important branches of the **engineering industry**, the building of locomotives, electric locomotives, waggons, etc., the Soviet Union would be ahead even of the United States. In **automobile production** the Soviet Union would be second only to the United States. In the production of **tractors** the Soviet Union would be slightly behind the United States in its best years. The production of **electricity** in the Soviet Union would equal that of the United States and leave all other countries far behind. On the **agricultural** field the Soviet Union would produce 1.3 milliard cwts., of grain and fodder cultures, a milliard cwts., of oil seeds, 66 million poods of raw cotton, 12 million cwts., of flax threads and the total area under cultivation would reach 150 million hectares. At the same time it would undertake the task of increasing its harvest yield by forty per cent.

The report of the **committee on credentials** showed that 1,507 delegates with decisive votes were present and 463 delegates with advisory voices. The delegates represented 16.5 millions of organised workers, according to the figures of the 1st January 1932. On the 1st April the Soviet Labour Unions had 17.5 million members. The percentage of worker delegates was 84.9 per cent as compared with 77.2 per cent at the eighth congress.

The conference unanimously adopted the **resolutions** on the reports of Comrades Shvernik, Losovsky, Piatakov, and Zichon and elected a plenary central council of the Soviet Labour Unions consisting of 150 members including Comrades Shvernik, Kaganovitch, Zichon, Losovsky etc.

After a closing speech by Comrade **Shvernik** which was repeatedly interrupted by storms of applause, the congress was declared closed. The delegates rose in their seats and sang the "Internationale".

The Arteries of Socialist Economy.

Moscow, April 27th 1932.

There are legends about the streets of Russia. Russian literature has made much use of this romantic matter, but the prosaic reality of Soviet Russia, the requirements of a people numbering 150 million which is building up a new life, the requirements of socialist economy and the tasks of the Five-Year Plan has no use for these streets.

The victorious proletariat has long since begun to get rid of this "heritage" of impassable roads, the roadless steppes, the wide marsh areas, the mountain passes without modern means of communication, etc. Socialist industry and socialist agriculture demand a first class system of modern roadways.

In 1931 the population of the R.S.F.S.R., the Transcaucasian Soviet Republic, the White-Russian Soviet Republic and the Ukrainian Soviet Republic gave 25,366,000 working days for road-building. 13,320 kilometres of road were laid down, and 627 kilometres of paving, 214,808 metres of bridging were built, and 50,566 kilometres of roadway and 1,445 kilometres of paving were repaired.

The voluntary participation of the population in this work is of tremendous importance. A special voluntary organisation "Avtodor" ("Auto-roads") has been formed and it already has numerous branches in all parts of the country. By the end of the year it hopes to have three million members. The organisation aims at having an active branch in every factory, every collective and soviet farm. The organisation is working out a plan for voluntary supplementary road-building with modern equipment.

During the current year road work to the value of 380 million roubles will be carried out by this organisation. The participation of 14 million workers and peasants will be necessary for this. The aim of the association, as its name implies, is to make all parts of the country passable for automobile traffic and particularly the steppe and mountainous districts where there is no other possibility of modern transport.

The second conference for the Furthering of Automobile Transport has just closed. Numerous scientists and experts took part and many scientists are concentrating their inquiries on finding the best materials, etc., for building the roads in the Soviet Union in accordance with the growing requirements of the economic system, the increasing number of automobiles, etc.

The second Five-Year Plan will contain a highly complicated scheme for road-building whereby all the factors will be taken into consideration. Special technical groups of road-builders are being trained and millions of workers and peasants will be organised by them in order to solve the road transport problem along socialist lines in a sixth of the world's area.

Set Up the Front of the Soviet Friends against War!

The following appeal has been issued by the International Committee of the Friends of the Soviet Union on the occasion of the visits of workers' delegations to the Soviet Union to attend the May Day demonstrations.

To all workers, peasants, and employees!

In the course of the next few days another delegation of workers from Europe, America, and Australia will travel to the Soviet Union, in order to see for themselves, on the occasion of 1st May, the status of socialist construction in the first workers' state.

In this situation, it is the task of the delegates to proclaim to the workers of the S.U. the will of the class conscious workers in the capitalist countries—their readiness to fight with all means against a raid of the imperialists on socialist construction.

But this is not enough. The Friends of the Soviet Union call upon all their members, and upon all friends of the S.U. in the ranks of the workers, to apply themselves with redoubled energy to the formation of **the front of the Soviet friends against the criminal imperialist war**. The 1st May demonstration must be intensified more and more with the return of the delegations, and with the carrying through of the

campaign for sending to the S.U. an address of greeting, signed by millions of workers, peasants, and employees, on the 15th anniversary of the revolution. The seriousness of the emergency demands energetic action. Those who do not wish to share the guilt of the war, this greatest crime which can now be committed against mankind, must join the ranks of the Soviet friends in this action.

THE WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS

The Bankruptcy of the Chilean Saltpetre Trust.

By E. Lorenz (Berlin).

The long-expected bankruptcy of the Chilean Saltpetre Trust (Compania Salitrera de Chile — Cosach) has now taken place. It is reported that it is probable the whole of the share capital of 3000 million Pesos (1930) is lost.

The Cosach was founded in 1930 under the government of the dictator Ibanez, a willing instrument of United States capital, on the initiative of the Guggenheims, an American millionaire family, who control not only the largest saltpetre fields of Chile but also the most important part of its copper mines, and thereby exercise a deciding influence over the whole economy of the country. The saltpetre holdings of the Guggenheims combined in the Lautaro and the Anglo-Chilean Nitrate Co. were deeply in debt as a result of the large-scale rationalisation investments. The Guggenheims therefore induced President Ibanez to effect a compulsory amalgamation of all the saltpetre interests of the country. These included, in addition to a Chilean group owning about 15 per cent, an English group owning about 14 per cent, also a German group with about 10 per cent, whilst the share of Guggenheim amounted to 37,2 per cent. As the new company had to take over the debts of the old undertakings, which in the case of the Guggenheim were very great and in the case of the other undertakings much less, the compulsory amalgamation was a very good stroke of business for the Guggenheim group. The State of Chile took over half the share capital of the company, while the other half was divided among the old shareholders.

Before the war Chile, with its saltpetre fields, was one of the most important producers of nitrogen in the world. During the world war, however, the industries producing nitrogen were developed in alle countries and achieved an output which very rapidly surpassed the saltpetre industry. Of the 770,000 tons of pure nitrogene produced in the world before the war, Chile alone supplied about 60 per cent. In the year 1930, the world production of nitrogen amounted to 2,200,000 tons (with an output capacity of 4 million!). This production was distributed among the various countries as follows:

Germany	30 per cent.
United States	15 " "
Chile	13 " "
France	7 " "
Japan	7 " "
England	6 " "
Belgium	5 " "

By merging the whole of the Chilean saltpetre industry into one concern the Guggenheim group, which of course was at the head of the Cosach, intended to take up the fight for the world market against the competition of artificial nitrogen, in order by an increased utilisation of their plants to put them on a paying basis. This price war ended with the defeat of Chilean saltpetre. Huge debts were contracted with the banks (National City Bank, New York; Schröder Bank, London; Rothchild, London). The burden of indebtedness is said to amount now to about 50 million pound sterling. Nevertheless this could not prevent the production being reduced and the plant laid idle.

The misery and poverty of the working population in the Chilean saltpetre districts, where in 1929 about 50,000 workers were still engaged in the production of saltpetre, have become

indescribable. But the collapse of the saltpetre production had a disastrous effect for the whole country. The government was compelled to declare a moratorium. It was further compelled, on the order of the Guggenheims it is said, to abandon the gold standard.

Negotiations are now proceeding for the liquidation of the Cosach collapse. On the New York stock exchange, the shares which in 1929 still stood at \$128.75, have now fallen to 9 and 8. The shareholders who were compelled to enter the Cosach trust are expecting to lose the whole of their share capital; the banks who participated will also have to write off millions of dollars in losses.

How far the American Guggenheim trust will be shaken by the bankruptcy of the Cosach it is difficult to say at present. It is certain, however, that its metal production is in an exceedingly bad situation. The American Smelting and Refining Corporation owned by the Guggenheims was the most powerful ore, metal and chemical concern in the world; in "normal times" it was able to supply a third of the total world output of copper, silver, lead and spelter. But the price of these products has sunk very low on the world market, far below the pre-war level.

It is therefore not improbable that the Guggenheim concern will be the next on the list of big bankruptcies.

The Kreuger Case is Typical.

By E. Maurer (Berlin).

Whenever one of the big financial capitalists has collapsed, the capitalist press has invariably declared it to be an exceptional occurrence of a criminal character which had nothing to do with capitalism as an economic system. This is what was said in Italy on the occasion of the collapse of the trust king **Gualino**; this is what was said in France in the case of **Oustric**, who ended up in prison, this is what was said in England in the cases of **Hatry** and Lord **Kylsant** and in Germany on the occasion of the collapse of **Lahusen** and **Katzenellenbogen**. But much as the capitalist world may wax morally indignant over these bankrupts and defalcators, they have only acted in accordance with usual capitalist practice.

The case of **Kreuger** most strikingly exposes this hypocrisy of the bourgeoisie. When his suicide was announced, all the bourgeois papers devoted to him the most eulogistic obituary articles. Whilst Hugenberg's paper, the "Nachtausgabe", described him as a "typical Germanian", the report of the Deutsche Diskonto Gesellschaft lauded him as an "unusually capable man, a man with the best intentions and of sound business integrity and probity". It was not long, however, before the papers wrote: "Kreuger, the swindler, the falsifier and criminal" and again maintained: "The case of Kreuger is an exception which has nothing to do with the civilised capitalist world."

This swindle is plainly exposed by the editor of the "**Bank**", the German financial expert **Alfred Lansburgh**. In No. 15 of 13th April he writes regarding the falsifications and frauds of Kreuger:

"Even the intentional falsification of accounts as disclosed by Price Waterhouse & Co. is in such a case to a certain extent understandable, as a man who believes himself to be a millionaire considers himself justified in covering the debts of his big concern with his own guarantee and eliminating them from the balance sheet of the company by representing them as his own personal debts. If this manoeuvre succeeds in saving the concern, then it is a "mere peccadillo", and the courage to commit it is only a further proof of the genius of the world-conqueror who disregards mere formalities. It only becomes a crime if it fails to achieve its object, especially, however, if the culprit makes away with himself."

Herr Lansburgh correctly describes the business morality of capitalism. Rockefeller, Morgan, Kreuger, etc. have become kings of finance to whom the capitalist world pays homage, solely by actions which in "ordinary life" rank as crimes. They are only designated as criminals, however, when they have become bankrupt. That is the "morality" not only of the supreme gods of capitalism, but of capitalism itself. The case of Kreuger is typical of the capitalist world. We are grateful to Herr Lansburgh for confirming this in his journal.

PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

The Women's Communist Movement in the National Regions of the U.S.S.R.

By Risel.

The year 1931 was a decisive year, above all in the field of agriculture, for the republic of Central Asia, Transcaucasus, North Caucasus, Kasakstan, the Bashkir and Tartar Republics and other eastern national regions. **The majority of peasant farms in these regions, which are the most backward regions in the Soviet Union, have been drawn into the collective farms.**

A special victory for the countries of the Soviet East is the unprecedented tremendous growth of the industrial and political activity of the women workers and masses of women on the collective farms. In economic and political campaigns which have been carried out the women have worked heroically and on a number of occasions have shown a high degree of political consciousness (struggle against the Kulaks and the bandits), and have overcome their illiteracy to the extent of 80—90% in a number of regions (The Kalmuck Autonomous Region, Adighea in the North Caucasus).

Women of Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Turkish women, women of the hill tribes and women of Kazakstan, throwing off the veil, notwithstanding all the efforts of the national reactionary elements to hold them back, are organising themselves in collective farms and going to work on these farms and in the factories.

For the last year the percentage of women among the workers of the national republics has risen from 10—15% to 25—28%.

Many women's gatherings and conference were held in the national regions during the economic and political campaigns (spring sowing, weeding, the harvesting campaign, the procuring of stocks and grain and other campaigns). At these gatherings women members of collective farms in the national regions reported to the Party and the Government through their delegates and shock brigaders and various representatives on their achievements in increasing the productivity of labour, in correctly organising their work and in overcoming their illiteracy. They challenged other regions to competition (contract between Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan) sent brigades to help out where the work was weak and advanced candidates for the Party.

In the spring sowing campaign for cotton in Uzbekistan alone 2,197 women's brigades embracing about 42,000 women were at work. In the Farab region of Turkmenistan 99% of all ploughing, sowing and harrowing was carried out by the Turkoman women, for the first time in the history of the Turkoman Republic. The men at that time were employed on irrigation work.

The decree of the Party on increased harvest received tremendous response from the workers on the collective farms in the Farab region, and instead of the estimated plan of 69 poods per hectare, they put forward a counter plan of 80 poods per hectare, and they not only submitted this plan but produced guarantees for its fulfilment. The fertilisation plan was fulfilled by some collective farms to the extent of 300—400%.

The political activity in the national regions is growing from year to year. In the last Soviet elections in the cities of the national regions 50—70% of the women voted as compared with 20—30% or less in the previous elections. In the villages and smaller settlements the proportion was 35—50%.

In Turkmenistan, which is one of the most backward of the national regions, the proportion of women elected to the presidiums of the village Soviets rose from 10% to 17%. The Turkoman republic, elected 11 members and 6 candidates to the C.E.C. The other national regions followed suit. In Uzbekistan and in the Turkoman republic the vice president of the C.E.C. is a woman.

The establishment and operation of industrial enterprises and collective farms calls for ever greater masses of working women from the villages and national regions.

But there are many obstacles in the way of departure from the small settlements and villages, especially for the women.

Crops which require a great amount of labour, (cotton, tea, rice, etc.), as well as handicraft, which is very extensive throughout the east (rug-making etc.), still calls for large numbers of workers as a result of the poorly developed mechanisation, the nomadic form of life in a number of regions, the relatively backward cultural level of the population, seclusion of women, as well as various other survivals, and finally the attempts of the reactionary elements to prevent women from going into industry—all these are factors which still stand in the way of the rapid development of a women proletariat in the national regions.

The national regions are carrying on intensive work to train their organisers for the collective farms and Soviet farms, their engineers, their agronomists, their teachers and their technical cadres.

During 1930 alone, 5,300 skilled workers, technicians, and so forth were trained in Central Asia, 2,300 of these being from the national regions. The number is growing from year to year. The proportion of girls in 1931 in the vocational schools was 31 per cent and in workers' courses 30 per cent. In Turkmenistan schools 21,500 women attended the socialist training schools (a few years ago there was not a single woman in Turkmenistan who could read and write). Compulsory education was introduced last year.

At one of the gatherings of working women in Margelan (Central Asia) 120 shock brigaders were present, 100 of them being native women. The gathering persuaded 670 women to go to work in Margelan, at the silk factory. 10 newly accepted working women threw off their veils on the spot. 150 persons joined the Party and 13 of the best shock brigaders were rewarded for their work by receiving places at health resorts, and three by being sent to work abroad. The result of the whole gathering was a pledge not to leave work until the completion of the second Five-Year Plan and to draw the native women into the process of production.

Under the most difficult conditions of class struggle and in the face of all old customs and religious traditions a large force of militant women has grown up in the Soviet East.

During the past year the number of women in party organisations in the eastern regions and republics has doubled. In comparison to the previous year twice as many women delegates were elected and the number of women members of the trade unions doubled. In Kazakstan alone in the summer of 1931 there were already 8,386 Communist women, 3,716 being members of collective farms. In Kirgizia there were 2,024 women Party members, in the Bashkir 3,904 and in the Tartar republic 4,135. For central Asia as a whole there were approximately 10,000 women in the Party, and for Transcaucasia approximately 11,000. Each year in Central Asia alone as many as 20,000-23,000 women delegates are drawn into delegates' work.

The systematic introduction of women labour in all branches of economic life in the national republics, as well as the stabilisation of woman labour depends to a far greater degree than in other regions of the Soviet Union upon the growth of cultural and social institutions.

For this reason the Party, trade unions and other organisations in the national republics are devoting special attention to the question of developing a network of cultural and social institutions (day nurseries, kindergartens, play grounds, restaurants, institutions for protection of motherhood and childhood etc.), to the preparation of cadres for these institutions and to political and educational mass work (reading rooms, clubs, Red corners, peasant houses, Red tea-rooms, libraries etc.) and, finally, Hospitals, clinics, etc.

In 1931 in Turkmenistan along 14,000 children of workers on the collective farms were cared for in day nurseries. Since 1927, 17 hospitals and 96 surgical stations have been opened, and very great initiative is being shown in social work among women (in the organisation of pre-school institutions for children, restaurants, laundries etc.). This is to a great extent due to volunteer work as well as to assistance to the national republics from other regions.

For example, during the sowing campaign of 1931 the Friends of Children Society organised 101 day nurseries in Central Asia, caring for 2,845 children, 133 children's play-grounds, providing for 1627 children, and 44 children's field groups, comprising 278 children.