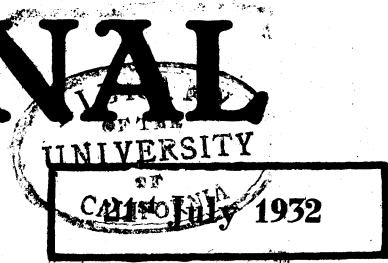


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# J'Accuse!

By Henry Barbusse (Paris).

I accuse all French governments which have been in power since the end of the war of having received with open arms, of having encouraged, aided, financed, and armed, those associations of the White Guardists now venturing into the foreground with ever increasing openness, this international organisation of criminals, whose aims are murder and war.

I accuse these governments of being responsible for the repeated murderous deeds committed by these bandits, whose innumerable and financially powerful groups stretch out their tentacles over the whole world, but have their centre in France.

I accuse in particular the Tardieu government of being responsible for the assassination committed by the White Guardist Gorgulov, who was in connection with the Paris police.

I accuse Tardieu of having played a comedy rather more utterly base than ridiculous in this affair, in that he made use of the means of propaganda and corruption available to him in the press for spreading the rumour that Gorgulov was a Bolshevik or a "Neo-Bolshevik", or an instrument of the Bolsheviks—a despicable lie, which was nevertheless exploited by all the foes of the working class.

I accuse him of having actually done everything to make the murder of Doumer an accomplished fact. And I further accuse his head of police of having done nothing to prevent this assassination.

\* \* \*

The indictment which I intend to formulate against the machinations, misdeeds, and crimes (the list of which is not

yet closed), committed by a horde of spies, provocateurs, and apaches, in consequence of the unallowable protection given these elements by the authorities, will be found to be substantiated by ample evidence.

I base my arraignment on exact facts. These facts have already been enumerated and repeated with the utmost clearness in the "Humanité", without one of the statements ever being weakened by a denial from the accused.

### The White Army in France: a State within a State.

These facts are not merely facts of to-day and yesterday. The official recognition, the financial support, the supplies of arms, accorded to the abominable White hords of Koltchak, Yudenitch, Denikin, and Wrangel, are positive facts which have passed into the annals of the post-war days. Hundreds of millions of francs were squeezed out of the French taxpayers and distributed—thanks to the favours bestowed by Messieurs Clemenceau and Millerand—among these bandit hordes who devastated whole regions of liberated Russia by fire and sword.

When Wrangel was finally turned out of new Russia, his army was disbanded in Russia only. The French Government took every possible measure to maintain the cadres of this army, in fullest accordance with its home and foreign policy of social retrogression.

The main masses of the White Army, representing an international police and military force of over 200,000 men, ready to commit any deed, are concentrated in France.

The extent of the organisation of this active centre of social and political reaction, which is not merely tolerated by the official authorities but actually aided by them, has reached such a point that French public opinion was positively alarmed when regiments of the White Guardists were seen, on three different occasions (September 1930, August and November 1931) defiling in full equipment, officially, through the Arch of Triumph.

### Ready for War.

The general military association, whose general staff under General Miller's leadership has its headquarters in Paris, includes 15 great military organisations and 140 Cossack divisions. This imposing military power recruits day by day among the emigré youth, gaining new soldiers and army students. In the course of an interview granted not long ago by General Miller to a representative of the English paper "The Referee", General Miller gave a survey of the importance and status of the preparations of these military forces, acknowledging at the same time that the organisation of such an extensive network and the provision of such equipment "would not have been possible without the readiness to help shown by the French government".

A few months ago General Miller inspected the forces at his disposal in Europe. He was received like a prince in Poland (where he established contact with the chief of the Polish general staff, Piskov) and in the Balkans.

In Bucharest and in all the vassal states of France he was received by the official authorities and generals. He openly expressed his thanks to the Yugoslavian Government for the support which had been given him.

Public declaration made by General Miller:

**"We are ready to begin the war. We are only waiting for a favourable opportunity, and for the financial support which will doubtlessly be given us by one of the Powers anxious for the overthrow of the Bolsheviki."**

In consequence of the latest events in the Far East, a meeting of the association of the officers of the general staff was held in Paris under the chairmanship of General Dragomirov, for the purpose of dealing with the necessity—based on the report given by S. Vostrogin, a former member of the Duma—of giving support to Japan's attack. At this session the Don Cossack Ataman Bogoyevski suggested the creation of an anti-Soviet buffer state, to consist of Manchuria, Mongolia, and the Mongolian Soviet Republic, which state was to be presented with the Chinese Eastern Railway after this had been wrested from the Soviet Union. Bogoyevski declared that the general Military Union could mobilise 300,000 men for the war.

Under Tardieu's government, the contact between the general staffs and the tzarist emigrés was strengthened by the

## Martial Law Proclaimed in Berlin and Brandenburg.

Just before going to press the following official communiqué was published in the Berlin midday newspapers:

President Hindenburg and the Reichs Government issued at 11 o'clock this morning a new Emergency Decree under which the whole executive power in the State of Prussia is transferred to Reichs Chancellor von Papen.

President Hindenburg has decreed that the Reichs Chancellor, in his capacity of Reichs Commissioner for Prussia, is empowered to remove from office the members of the Prussian State government.

At the same time the Reichs Chancellor is empowered to entrust to other persons the conduct of State business in the Prussian Ministries and to confer upon them all the powers of these ministerial offices.

In its official comment on this Emergency Decree the Reichs Government states that the Reichs Chancellor, in his simultaneous capacity as Reichs Commissioner for Prussia, has ordered the removal from office of the Prussian Ministers Braun and Severing, this order to come into effect immediately.

Simultaneously the Reichs Chancellor, in his capacity as Reichs Commissioner for Prussia, has proclaimed martial law over Berlin and Brandenburg. The executive power is thereby placed in the hands of General Rundstett, the commander-in-chief of the third military district.

activities of General Sekretev, who was closely connected with General Weygand. This Sekretev played an immediate role in the matter of the orders for armaments given by Japan to Panhard-Levassor, Hotchkiss, and Schneider—and in the munitions factories Sekretev has trained the White Guardists as blackleg cadres.

There is a big town in the South of France whose public undertakings are entirely in the hands of the White Guardists. These White Guardists, employed during the day as workers, possess their weapons and uniforms, and are ready to follow the call of their acknowledged leader.

Everywhere there are stores of weapons. A number of enterprises employ a certain proportion of the White Guardists not otherwise engaged at the moment, and these temporary workers steal the wages of the real French and foreign workers. Thus they await the moment to march, at the first signal, against the Soviet Union.

**There is a whole squadron of one-time Wrangel soldiers employed in the Schneider-Creuzot undertakings: the remnants of the 19th dragoon regiment of Casan.**

These White Guardists have their schools, their courses of preliminary military instruction, their clubs, their co-operatives. They have at their disposal a military academy which, as General Miller has himself stated, is unable to satisfy all demands for admission, although 10,000 White Guardist officers (the figure is again from General Miller) have been trained in it. These White Guardists, ready at any moment to shoot down the Russian or the French people, practise musketry every day in the Rue d'Alembert. In the Seine et Oise Departement the White Guardist workers employed in the enterprise there practise shooting on Sundays at the rifle ranges of the French army. In Grenoble they organise public military training in marksmanship, in the Departement Alpes Maritimes training in wireless telegraphy.

This—I repeat it—is being done not only in France. After Wrangel's defeat, 40,000 Wrangel soldiers settled in the Balkans. Many of them remained in uniform and continue to serve as soldiers. Today it must be reckoned that there are 100,000 men standing ready in the Balkans and Czechoslovakia. Further White Guardist centres are Shanghai, Tientsin, Harbin, and in Japan: the Ural Amur Division, the cadres of Kobé, the cadres of Formosa, the cadres of the Island of Hokaido. And general Dieterich, a confidant of General Miller, applies for further funds to the Banque Franco-Chinoise in Shanghai. General Smirnovsky and the naval officer Dimitrievsky are working in the French embassies of the Northern Baltic States, and collaborate there with the Intelligence Departments. In Finland the White Guardist military organisational activities are centralised by the son of Senator Belgardt, in Esthonia by general Boyevn, and in Latvia by the naval officer Podolkin. In New York a "Peter the Great Society" was recently founded for the same purpose, led by Martinov, formerly head of the political bureau of the Moscow police.

Would it be possible for this state within a state, these supplementary police forces, these police reserves, to exist without any connection with the police of the various countries, or rather with the international police?

### The Serpents' Nests.

Besides the purely military organisations: the General Military Union, the military schools, the general staffs, the mobilisation of youth—and besides a complete network of cultural and financial organisations, the White Guardists have at their disposal another network of organisations pursuing the following aim: **the carrying out of terrorist and sabotage action against the Soviet Union . . .**

First the Russian Central Union. This sieves and centralises. It organises the recruiting of all anti-Soviet forces among the emigrés and allocates the various tasks.

The leadership of the Central Union is in the hands of the former oil magnate Gukassov, head of the pogrom newspaper "Vosroshdenye", in which Gorgulov published his appeals.

The Central Union and its organ "Vosroshdenye" have joined most loudly of all in the chorus of the White Guardist papers of Europe of late years in agitating for terror and for the provocation of a conflict with the Soviet Union.

Then comes the so-called Russian National Committee, whose recognised object is "allegiance to the principles of the armed struggle and permanent contact with the White Guardist army". Its spiritual father is Professor Kartashev, leader of the Russian clericals.

The leader of all training work among emigré youth is Mr. Fedorov. This work is subventioned by **Deterding**, who has openly declared that he is willing to sacrifice a part of his enormous income in order to contribute to the multiplication of the White Guardist institutions, whose aim is the crushing of the Soviet power and the final triumph of capitalism all over the world. Fedorov is one of the leaders of the periodical "The struggle for Russia", which preaches pogroms and terror.

The Industrial and Trade Committee, the organisation of the former Russian industrialists, after resisting with the utmost violence the recognition of the Soviet Union, is now endeavouring to promote the war of intervention against the Soviet Union and the restoration of the old regime.

**The Banque du Crédit Mutuel**, connected with the Industrial and Trade Committee and with the Zemstvo association, **takes part in finding appointments for White Guardists and in financing their organisations.**

These bank hyenas are obsessed by the sole idea of regaining possession of their one-time undertakings and oilfields (which have been much developed and perfected since, it may be remarked), and the means which they propose to that end is frightful bloodshed among the Russian people.

Besides all this, there is a group around the former president of the Provisional Government, **Kerenski**, today the head of the White Guardist organs "Oppressed Russia" and "Dni" ("The day"). Though Kerenski is not a monarchist, still he is a White Guardist. Whatever form of the old regime these various groups want to restore in the Soviet Union, they none the less are all adherents of the Grand Duke Cyril or of the Grand Duke Nicolas, or of some allegedly constitutional system, and **they are all equally determined to take up arms against the Russian people.**

The Kerenski group founded a special sabotage organisation for the destruction of the railway service, headed by the former tsarist officer Michel Davidov, a man with connections among French officers. Hence Kerenski's programme is: Fight against the Soviet Union, at any price and with any means! And what are the means which he advocates? **White terror, sabotage, and military attacks by the loot-greedy powers.** His ideal is to fight with the other White Guardist groups for the seizure of power, after the ruin of a continent has been accomplished.

Another terrorist group exists ("The Struggle for Russia"), led by the police spy Burzev, the former minister Fedorov already mentioned, the old social democrat Melgulov, and their confederates.

And there exists the "Fraternity of Russian truth", connected with the newspaper "Vosroshdenye", with the official organ of the "Military Union": At the Outposts", and with the headquarters of General Miller. This group acts on the instructions of Division II. of the **Polish general staff** and is supported by it.

Finally, it must be observed that besides these organisations here enumerated there exist many medium and small groups (including the so-called benevolent organisations, such as the "White Cross", the "Red Cross"), all of which are directly or indirectly connected through the Military Union with the **general staff, the secret police, M. Tardieu and M. Millerand.**

White Guardist terrorism has not confined itself to appeals for war, but has actively engaged in organising the assassination of Soviet personages.

Direct calls for murder—appeals in the style of Antonius the metropolitan—increase in frequency.

This holy man declared, and wrote in his Bulletin in November 1930:

"People of Russia! The Red devil has commenced the decisive battle against our faith... This must not be! Our torch must not be extinguished. Rise and protect the faith of Christ! **Kill the communists!** Tread upon the head of this serpent! **Do not permit even the children of this serpent to remain alive! The People's Terror—this is the sword of God!**"

Appeals of this kind—I quote this as one of hundreds—have been issued and have been followed: The murder of Vorovsky by Conradi in Geneva, the murder of Voykov, the Soviet ambassador in Warsaw, the murder of Schaposchnikov in Moscow; the attempted murder of Anikiev, the Soviet Russian trade representative in Tokio, of Stalin, of Litvinov, of Dovgalevski (and here the infamy of the "Liberté" must be pilloried, for after this attempt on the life of an employee

of the Soviet embassy, mistakenly supposed by the assassin to be the ambassador, **the paper published a photograph with the comment: "This is Comrade Dovgalevski. Make no mistake in the future!"**)

### Shoot the foreigners!

Then a change took place in the slogan, a change in tactics. The general Russian central organisation and its organ, the "Vosroshdenye" ("Renaissance") advocated, and substantiated with all desirable clarity, the following practical alterations in the terrorist methods: In the future the assassinations should not be directed against the Soviet Government, but against the representatives of those states which maintain diplomatic and commercial relations with Russia—the object being to break off these relations and to provoke war.

In accordance with these tactics, last December the Czech ambassadorial counsellor in Moscow, Vanek, approached some Soviet citizens who appeared to him to have counter-revolutionary opinions, and called upon them to aid in the organisation of the assassination of the Japanese ambassador in the Soviet Union, Khirota. The result of this assassination was to be an armed conflict between Japan and the Soviet government. But this attempt failed, thanks to the timely discovery of the plot by the G.P.U.

On March 5th 1932 8 five shots were fired by the White Guardist hangmen's apprentice Judas Stern at the motor car in which the German ambassadorial counsellor von Twardovski was driving, injuring him in the hand and in the neck. The investigation showed that Stern had intended shooting von Dirksen, the German ambassador in Moscow, for this was the order which he had received from a terrorist organisation led by a V. Lubarski, a Pole.

These tactics of war are not being carried out in secret corners or secret conventions, but are being worked out quite openly. The White Guardist bands impudently and openly approach the most prominent citizens of the different nations, **and the police have given them every possibility of gaining a foothold and prospering undisturbed.**

The commentaries in the White Guardist French and international press throw a clear light on the well thought out intention to provoke the assassination of important foreign personages for the purpose of political struggle.

On 26th April the report of an important session of the Russian White Guardist Central contained an even clearer announcement of fresh assassinations:

"These shots show all foreigners who support the Soviet Union what responsibility falls upon them. Stern's shot is valued by us. And any other shot will be of equal value to us which is fired outside of Russia for the overthrow of the Soviet power."

It was Bayanov who shouted at this meeting: **"Everyone who supports the Soviet power is the enemy of the Russians, and such foreigners will be reduced to dust."**

Yablonovski, an editor of the "Vosroshdenye", stresses the White Guardist standpoint in the newspaper "Sevodnya", which appears in Riga:

"Stern's action has made a great impression all over the world. It signifies a change in the tactics of the Russian terrorists. The political meaning of this change can be very simply defined: Do not shoot the Bolshevist sparrows; it is much more advantageous for us change our target and shoot the foreigners. The advantage is obvious: A revolver shot fired at a foreigner can get the Bolsheviki into serious trouble, and even cause political complications."

And Kerenski's newspaper "Dni" states: "Here we have a classical instance of a holy terrorist action for the defence and the rights of the people. Stern does not stand alone. The flame of individual terror is beginning to blaze."

Numerous and manifold are the cruel appeals for murder and bloody disorder now being made in the various countries in the name of democracy; and these are left unpunished, whilst the simplest demands of the communists, based on the rational co-operation of all members of a social community, bring their authors persecution, prison, torture, and death.

French public opinion, which places the same blind faith in Poincaré and Tardieu as it did in Rochette and Oustric, listen! Protest with me, for in the whole history of the present day we shall scarcely find more open provocations, more revealing and unequivocal preparations for the murder of public men, for the purpose of bringing suffering to millions of workers.

We know what an important role the White Guardist bands have been playing at the same time in the Far East for the purpose of provoking a declaration of war by the Soviet Union on Japan: armed raids on Soviet institutions in Manchuria, numerous acts of sabotage on the Chinese Eastern Railway, blowing up of bridges and public buildings, invasions of Soviet territory.

Who is going to believe that this bandit propaganda, carried on under the supreme leadership of General Miller's headquarters in Paris and of his representative in Harbin, General Dietrich, could possibly be undertaken **without the agreement and co-operation of Japanese imperialist elements and of all the great Powers?**

In 1929 the manoeuvres led to an armed conflict between the Chinese generals paid by the imperialist great Powers and the Soviet Union. Thanks to the unshakable resolution and sincere determination for peace on the part of the diplomacy and the government of the Soviet Union, this conflict did not develop into a war. Provocatory banditism has so far failed to attain its object. But how long will this be the case?

"We must begin," cries the "Trewoga" of 12th April 1932, "what we should have begun 15 years ago: with the holy war against the devil incarnate. We must undertake not only a holy war, but a devilish massacre." **The "Trewoga" has been under the direct control of the prefecture of police through the agency of Krutschkov, Gorgulov's secretary. Krutschkov, a secret agent, is at the disposal of the Police Commissary Faux Bas Bidet.**

But is this exemplification necessary at all? Even if those "business relations" had not existed, that contact between the French police and the White Guardist emigrés, established for purposes of terror and murder, in any case it is **undeniable that the police and the Tardieu Government were thoroughly informed as to the mental condition so categorically and publicly expressed, and which was bound to lead absolutely logically to Gorgulov's assassination of Doumer?**

**Therefore I accuse Tardieu and his head of police, Chiappe, of complicity in the murder of Doumer, the President of the Republic.**

### **The Effects of a Formal Political Plan.**

The great Powers have never resigned themselves to the idea of the existence of that Soviet Union which has been endeavouring since 1917 to convert socialism into a reality, and has been doing this before the eyes of the great capitalist business magnates who are the kings of the bourgeoisie and to an even greater extent kings of the "democracy" of five-sixths of the globe. The claims advanced by that other sixth of the globe, till only recently the most backward and enslaved of all countries, but now building up a liberated proletarian state of society by marching at the head of real human progress towards the abolition of classes—these claims are rightly promising disaster to the main principle of capitalism, which consists of the exploitation of man by man. This social and political hostility expresses itself in various forms, beginning with armed intervention—I referred to this above—and reaching to the economic blockade.

Meanwhile the capitalist countries have realised that in spite of everything it is to their interest to maintain trade relations with the Soviet Union. Since this has been realised, the unceasing campaign of hostility to the Soviet Union has taken the more secret form of sabotage, espionage, and calumny.

Comprehensive propaganda on a large scale, organised with the intention of preparing public opinion for a sudden rupture, has hitherto failed to shake the firm will to peace of the Soviet Union. It turns out that the workers' and peasants' state, invariably represented as a "barbarian with a knife between his teeth", has proved to be the sole power making for peace in the world.

And this clique of White Guardist emigrés, who recommend and order that the representatives of states should be murdered for the purpose of provoking war, serves the plans of the imperialist great Powers. Such assassinations are intended to supply the pretext for slander-campaigns, to the end that the blind sheep among the citizens of our so-called free country may follow the lead of a corrupted press. It is no paradox, and the solid ground of fact is not abandoned, when we state this clique and the imperialists possess common interests, and are consequently allied to one another

### **Gorgulov is a White Guardist.**

On 6th May Gorgulov, a White Guardist well known to the police, was able to approach President Doumer without any difficulty during a ceremony, and to wound him fatally by numerous revolver shots. A witness, the well known journalist Jacques Mortane, has declared expressly that 10 to 15 seconds passed between the first and second shots. Madame Claude Farrère had already drawn Guichard's attention to the nervousness shown by Gorgulov, and to his strange walking to and fro. Gorgulov's suspicious conduct had also aroused the attention of another witness. But Guichard made no attempt to find out who he was; doubtlessly because he knew already. Guichard walked in front of the president to clear the path through the crowd, though this was small. **It is obvious that the precautionary measures, which the police is very well capable of taking when it wants, were not observed.**

The first statement made by the murderer after the cowardly assassination was as follows:

"I wanted to force a collision between France and Russia". It need not be said that these words are a direct echo of the monstrous propaganda published for some time in the White Guardist newspapers.

In order, however, that Gorgulov's deed should achieve an advantageous result, he had to be represented at any price as a Bolshevik or as sympathising with the Bolsheviks. The first official communique issued by Tardieu formulated this shameful lie.

Further instructions from above followed, aiming at exploiting Gorgulov's action for a special purpose: Diplomatic incident and complications, which might lead to an anti-Soviet campaign and, who knows, for anything may be hoped, to a war.

This is the reason why Tardieu flew into such a rage about the first accurate information given by the press, and severely blamed a well known journalist for committing the fault of speaking the truth. The journalist were turned off the police premises, where they had been "imprudently" permitted to be present at the first hearing. The first report of the Minister for Home Affairs took no notice of the confession of the defendant, and represented him as an anarchist not right in his mind. On the same evening, there unexpectedly followed another notice. Tardieu, in direct contradiction to the declarations of the murderer, made the declaration: Gorgulov is a Neo-Bolshevik."

This slanderous statement was taken up by a certain section of the press. The "Times", which can scarcely be accused of sympathy with the revolutionaries, wrote however: "The murderer has declared himself to be a Russian fascist; but since France is in the midst of an election period, various newspapers are trying to represent him as being a communist, in order to alienate the population from this party". This correction of the numerous lies contains a part of the truth, but the aims of imperialism and its agents in the government go far beyond a mere election.

### **Falsified Investigations.**

The police investigation of the affair was carried on one-sidedly, and very clumsily wangled in the desired direction. A flood of statements, ridiculous in themselves and contradicting one another, could be brusquely set aside by proved facts (the alleged ticket and alleged membership card of the Communist Party, whilst in reality Gorgulov was only a member of the Social Democratic Party of Czechoslovakia, and had a safe-conduct only from the White Guardist Leontyev; his unproved sojourn in Kuban). These allegations were brought forward by persons who appeared now here and now there. A fact in itself arousing misgiving was the connection existing between the judge of the court of inquiry, Fougery, and the White Guardists. The circumstance that Fougery had given the White Guardists a part of his sumptuous villa in Asnieres, permitting them to set up a chapel and an assembly room there, and maintained a consistently sympathetic attitude towards them, is in itself sufficient to cause us to reject the whole investigation, and further **explains why nobody made any attempt to penetrate further into the essential causes of the assassination of Paul Doumer, though these were obvious.**

Too excited and too talkative, Gorgulov did not play the part assigned to him, in spite of the tortures to which he was submitted in the prisons of the French republic. Had he been a greater scoundrel, and above all had he been more pliable,

France might have been involved to-day in a war with the Soviet Union.

The great gutter press, which has many good reasons for hating the proletariat and its cause, made common cause with Tardieu. The "Journal", the "Ami du Peuple", the "Journal des Débats", the "Intransigeant", the "Liberté", and the "Journal de Paris", threw themselves energetically into the work of deception with endless unfounded assertions and vile innuendoes. Meanwhile the police were spreading a fresh report, sweeping away the first lies but defending none the less the valuable White Guardist organisation: "Gorgulov stands alone, and acted spontaneously" — a bold assertion denying in itself the existence of the bandit organisation.

### The Contact with the General Staff and the French Government.

Gorgulov may be a brute and a fool, but most certainly he is nothing else but a White Guardist. He is the son of a large landowner expropriated by the revolution, and founded a party of the expropriated landowners (Green Peasants' Party, Pan-Russian Party, Fascist Russian Party). The fascist and national socialist party programme of this party, which aims at war against Russia, is by no means a secret one. Two newspapers have published it: "Rul" in 1930 and "Vosroshdenye" in 1931. Here Gorgulov published under his signature characteristic excerpts from the programme of his party, aiming at unconditional war against Soviet Russia. "The first article of the programme of the Greens is war against present Russia."

Gorgulov was once a Cossack officer in the White Army. His student's card, confiscated in Monaco (where sojourn is possible only with the permission of the French police), bears his photograph and the stamp of the tzarist administration. He has never ceased to carry on a campaign for the White Terror and to maintain contact with the French general staff and the French government. He was in constant communication with Krutshkov, who worked with Renault, and with police agents. The police journalist Géo London has been obliged to admit, even from Prague, where he went "to study affairs", that the prominent terrorist Yakolev, director of the "Tocsin" and of the (White Guardist) "Great Russia", a man with connections with the French ambassador in Berlin, François Poncet, was Gorgulov's "second". Gorgulov had special connections with Maslov, organisational chief of the Whites, and General Miller has admitted that he knew him.

Gorgulov's publicly made declarations: "I wanted to force France into a collision with Russia", ("Journal"), "I saw that France was working with the Bolsheviks, and this determined me to kill its head", ("Journal"), "I have French nationalist friends" ("Petit Journal"), "I am a Cossack, a patriot, I wanted to force France to wage war on the Bolsheviks... I fired the shots because France loves the Bolsheviks". And when to all this we add what he wrote beforehand in the White press, and remember the formula which he signed: "War is the salvation of the Russian emigrés. Long live war!", we see that the whole is simply the reflection of the provocations of the great White Guardist organisation.

We see how much the crocodile's tears of the White Guardist Russians are worth, when there is thus exposed the role which has been played by one of their most docile and cynical agents.

### J'accuse.

I repeat that no word of what I have said here deviates from the truth. No-one will close my mouth. If gaolers and assassins practise their trade on me, this will only be additional proof that I am right. I take the responsibility for what I have written, and appeal to all honest people, and on the other hand to the authorities. But I am well aware that my voice expresses the opinion of many thousands scattered all over the world, and that it possesses the power of the gigantic wave which is beginning to rise.

On behalf of these masses and of this power I address the president of the French Republic, the successor of a man who was killed for the ends of international politics; to the prime minister; to the keeper of the seals, and to all those who set the apparatus of national justice in action.

I demand:

The arrest of André Tardieu, head of the government at the time of the assassination.

The removal from his post and arrest of the prefect of police Chiappe, who came in constant contact with the assassin in the course of his duties, who was aware of all the

threats uttered, who did nothing to protect the president of the republic, and is most directly responsible for his violent death.

The arrest of the White Guardist leaders, the promoters and glorifiers of assassination, the war-mongers who have made France their central retreat, and especially of Kerenski, Miller, and Yablonski.

The institution of an inquiry against Millerand, who has deliberately and systematically attempted to mislead public opinion for political purposes by representing Gorgulov to be a Bolshevik.

The appointment of a special commission in the Senate and in the Chamber, in order to investigate the whole of the causes and effects of the affair of the assassination of Paul Doumer and the whole of the concentrated activities of that White Guardist rabble spreading infection in all countries, commencing with France.

This is not a petition and not an indictment. We want the matter brought to the light of day, and it is necessary that you too should be made to want it, gentlemen, cost what it may.

## POLITICS

### The New Anglo-French Entente.

By R. Bishop (London).

The three big imperialist conferences—Ottawa, Geneva and Lausanne—have underlined the urgency of the war situation that confronts the working class of the entire world.

At Geneva, while American and British imperialism have been producing their respective programmes for window-dressing purposes, the imperialist governments have been pressing forward their war preparations at an unprecedented rate.

At Ottawa the imperialist statesmen of Britain are going to confer with their Dominions prototypes as to effective preparations for war. Before leaving, Baldwin, the leader of the British delegation, declared that the object of the Conference was "to revive world trade". But as a prelude the National Government declared economic war on Ireland and is showing its willingness if necessary to turn this economic war into armed warfare.

At Lausanne, the outcome has been a new Anglo-French Entente, which other nations are invited to join, for the purpose of building a united bloc of European Powers against America and at the same time the strengthening of the anti-Soviet bloc in the West by drawing in Germany. First of all the new Entente was presented by Sir John Simon, the British Foreign Secretary, as merely a friendly arrangement with no ulterior significance. Rumours of "gentlemen's agreements" were widely spread, but it was not for several days that Simon admitted their actual existence.

When Simon announced the new Entente between Britain and France, the strongest naval and the strongest military power in the world, in the House of Commons on July 13, he described it as "the new political spirit which we illustrated at Lausanne and which will be so valuable if it can be preserved in the future". Simon declared that an invitation had been extended to Germany, Italy and Belgium to associate themselves with the declaration. It was obvious that what was being attempted was a united front of the European Powers. But against whom? Clearly against America. The politicians at Lausanne made no secret of the fact that the conference decisions regarding the postponement of German reparations payments is made dependent upon America cancelling her war debts. It is clearly pointed out that unless America agrees to this "the legal position of all Governments will revert to what it was before the Hoover moratorium". In other words the infamous Young Plan will again become the order of the day. The payment of the French debt to Britain has been postponed pending the ratification of the Lausanne decisions. This is a further act of solidarity against America.

A Foreign Office dementi has been issued declaring that the Pact has no connection with U.S.A. debts. This is plain, deliberate lying, and can be dismissed as such.

But America is not the only target of the new Pact. By means of drawing Germany into the European anti-Soviet bloc it is hoped to bring active war from the West on the Soviet Union appreciably nearer.

Italy and Belgium have announced their adhesion to the new alliance. However much the imperialists try to dress up the new Entente as something peaceful, every fact belies them. Whilst Simon is posing as the dove of peace he is sponsoring a document at Geneva which proposes to shelve the disarmament conference for a further six months. The whole of the Anglo-French manoeuvres at the Disarmament Conference show that the Pact leads headlong to a new world imperialist slaughter, and not to peace as its protagonists would pretend.

Germany so far has not joined the new alliance. Von Papen asks for an assurance that it is "not directed against either the Soviet Union or the U.S.A." Von Papen knows that it is directed against the U.S.A. and that it is directed against the Soviet Union. None knows it better than he. He resorts to the clumsy manoeuvre of asking for this assurance because of his fear of the masses. But the putting of the question only serves to underline the obvious.

Just as with **President Hoover**, who in a letter to Senator Borah, says "I do not think the agreement has for its purpose combined action by our debtors". Hoover, however, significantly adds:—

"The United States were not consulted regarding any Lausanne agreements and are not a party to nor in any way committed by them."

Why do the German and American politicians need to raise the point, in order to brush it away with diplomatic evasions afterwards? Simply in the hope of bulldozing the masses as to the real methods and objective of capitalist "statesmanship".

The American press does not need to be so careful as its politicians. They put the case more bluntly and they take up the challenge.

The New York "**Herald-Tribune**" attacks the "stupid Anglo-French diplomacy". It refers to "Chamberlain's studious evasions and MacDonald's ambiguous oratory", but concludes on the defiant note:

"A united European front is an unreal bogey because Europe cannot club the U.S.A. into revising debts, nor can she dictate our policy on the matter, because our policy is not based on European desires but economic facts".

That France and Britain are united on the question of war debts is beyond question. This, of itself, does not necessarily mean war, but when the Powers concerned are armed to the teeth, such agreement as the new Entente, brings the possibility of a sudden plunge into war much nearer.

But what of the **Soviet Union**? How is it affected? Britain and France, the protagonists of the new alliance, are the chief suppliers of munitions and credits to Japan which is already waging an imperialist war in Manchuria and threatening the Soviet Union. The new Entente will mean that the unity of France and Britain on their war policy in the East will now be extended to Europe.

What the outcome will be depends to a very large extent upon the situation in Germany where the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces are already at grips. The world capitalists are anxious to crush the revolutionary forces of Germany and thus to swing Germany right over into the anti-Soviet bloc.

Herriot and Von Papen throughout the Conference were discussing how best this could be achieved. A proposal was put forward for a six-Power bloc, but it came to naught. Now a new attempt is being made to come to terms with the pro-fascist German Government in order to secure common action against the successful revolution in the Soviet Union and the threatening revolution in Germany.

The Papen Government still hesitates and manoeuvres, asking awkward questions before coming to final terms. Probably it will hand the job over to Hitler.

But whatever course the events of the next few weeks may take it is obvious that this, the latest imperialist move, brings open war on the Soviet Union a big step nearer.

The **British Labour Party** is wholeheartedly with the imperialists on the Lausanne Pact. Lansbury gave it his official blessing in the House of Commons, declaring it to be "beneficial and equitable to everybody". The Labour Party is playing a tremendous role for imperialism in this as in every other respect by hiding from the workers the true meaning of the Pact, and by using all its power and influence to strangle the fight of the workers against imperialist war and the imperialist war-makers.

## A New Majority in the French Chamber.

By Paul Mas (Paris).

The Herriot government has finally succeeded in getting its famous financial plan accepted by the Chamber. This did not take place without considerable friction. And in fact this victory of the government was very dearly bought, as less than two months after the victory of the "Lefts" at the Parliamentary elections it had to resort to an "exchange majority".

It must be further added that the Bills which have been adopted are far from corresponding to the pretentious aims which Herriot had attributed to them in his government declaration. It was stated at that time that the Bills would make good the mistakes of his predecessors, **Tardieu** and **Flandin**, cover the budget deficit — which this year amounts at least to 5000 million francs, replenish the completely exhausted State treasury, restore confidence etc.

As a matter of fact, Herriot and his financial experts, **Germain-Martin** and **Palmade**, were confronted with a task which was insoluble for them. They would not and could not think of introducing any taxes on capital, nor could they think of "obtaining the money from where it is to be obtained", as **Renaudel** formulated it in the year 1924. Nor could they effect any substantial economies in the enormous budgets of the War Ministry, the Admiralty and the Air Ministry.

The finance Bill which Herriot's Minister of Finance **Palmade** introduced at the beginning of July in face of a deficit of 5000 million francs for 1932, was to bring about 1000 million into the State treasury. For 1933, for which already to-day a deficit of 7—8000 million francs is expected, this Bill would have brought in scarcely 4000 million Francs.

This Bill, which provided for a reduction of the salaries of the civil servants by 5 per cent, was hopelessly mutilated by the finance committee of the Chamber. Long negotiations between the government and the committee were necessary before a compromise was agreed on which reduced the economies and the new sources of revenue for 1933 by about 3000 million.

This Bill, which was finally submitted to the Chamber, was rushed through in a single sitting, thanks to the so-called extraordinary emergency procedure. This procedure, which was set up in the year 1926 by **Poincaré** and **Renaudel**, has as its sole object to stifle debate, to convert Parliament into a voting machine and prevent the protest of the workers being heard.

But there is no law which cannot be infringed, and there is also no procedure which cannot be got round. And thus the **Communists**, in spite of the **socialist** President of the Chamber **Buisson** and his unceasing threats, as well as the systematic resistance of the 500 bourgeois deputies (among whom the socialists are the most rancorous) to the handful of Communist deputies, succeeded in making use of the Parliamentary tribune during the whole course of the debate, lasting 20 hours, in order to pillory the class policy of the government and the sham opposition of their best supporters, the socialist party.

At the conclusion of the debate, the socialist fraction, it is true, voted against Herriot and his Bill. The chauvinist Herriot and the super-patriot **Boncour**, his War Minister, had in the course of the night made the demand put forward by **Léon Blum**, that this year there shall be no manoeuvres of the reservists, a question of confidence in the government.

But how could the Socialist party, which in 1927 helped to pass the law for the reorganisation of the army, demand this measure today? The socialist party plays its role, and plays it very well. It helps the bourgeoisie to pass the most reactionary laws. When the working class proclaim their anger and discontent, then the socialist leaders endeavour by fresh promises to allay this discontent in order to protect the capitalist regime.

The incident with the reservists' manoeuvres, therefore, offered the socialist party an opportunity to play at "opposition".

In place of the votes of the **socialists**, **Herriot** received the votes of the followers of **Flandin** and of the "pro-concentration" wing of **Tardieu's** former majority, whilst the closer friends of **Tardieu** refrained from voting. The government was supported by an "exchange-majority".

The opposition of the socialists is only a **sham opposition**. One can safely say that the socialist fraction only voted

against Herriot because they knew that in any event he would be sure of a majority.

In the meantime one can say, as Comrade **Renaud Jean** did in the Chamber in the name of the Communist fraction, that the "National Union" now embraces the followers of **Flandin** and **Herriot**, as well those of **Reynaud** and **Tardieu** and the socialists.

The first Parliamentary sitting of the new Chamber which emerged from the elections of May 1, and 8, ended with a number of failures of the majority of the Radicals and the Socialists, which is incapable of co-operating on the basis of a common platform, and also in regard to the financial Bills. It ended with the failure of the "**Left majority**", which in less than two months has become a **majority of the "National Union"** in a word, with the failure of the democratic illusions which were sown by the socialists.

Events are developing rapidly. They are showing the working people who were misled in May, that only the policy of class against class can change their present situation.

## The United States at Geneva and Lausanne.

By Michele Salerno (New York).

Hoover's plan calling for a reduction of 33.3 per cent. of all armaments above the so-called "police requirements", is unequivocally considered in capitalist circles as a "bold" move against United States' rivals. The same capitalist circles state somewhat more ambiguously that the move is well "timed" and "unlikely to fail".

In spite of the official statements denying that the United States government is in any way "interfering" with the proceedings of the Lausanne Conference, its interest being merely centred on the possible results of the Geneva Conference, it is generally assumed that if Hoover's plan was not launched before this is not due to an accident.

Hoover is therefore credited with "real diplomatic tact" in choosing the most favourable time for advancing his plan—and none disputes that when the representatives of other imperialist countries were engaged at Lausanne in efforts to set up a united front against the United States, Hoover acted "wisely" in presenting his plan.

The fact that the State Department was quoted, for example, as not being at all discouraged by the non-enthusiastic or rather "unfriendly" stand of France, Great Britain and Japan on the plan, is interpreted as indicating that so long as these countries are confronted with the task of inducing the United States to forget the war debts, they cannot well afford to openly and definitely oppose the proposed "cut" of armaments.

As to the "cut" itself, a Universal Service dispatch declared explicitly soon after the Hoover plan was made known:

"The United States Navy has 220,750 tons of cruisers and would have to build 35,000 additional tons to reach the strength of 254,350 allowed if the cut (sic) is made. Great Britain would have to scrap 120,201 tons and Japan 77,707 tons."

A dispatch to the New York Times quoted governmental circles as stating that Hoover's plan "would provide absolute tonnage parity" between the United States and Great Britain. The same circles were reported as being convinced that the proposed "cut" would reduce the strength of the Japanese Navy.

Naval experts estimated that Hoover's plan "would also entitle the United States to build 9,950 tons of aircraft carriers", while England and Japan would have to eliminate respectively 14,100 and 8,120 tons of such carriers.

Military officers, who approved the plan wholeheartedly, expect to increase to 200,000 men the United States Army effectives necessary to meet the "police requirements" on the basis of one man for every 650 inhabitants as in Germany. In addition they expect the United States to have a proportional number of men for "defence" purposes. At present the Army of the United States is composed of less than 140,000 men.

"The **Nation**", therefore, declared editorially that:

"The Hoover 'disarmament' plan . . . is a scheme for securing naval 'parity' at a cheaper figure than that made necessary by the London treaty, and for nearly doubling the size of our army."

This review contains an "attack" on the plan. The real motive of this attack, however, is not the fact that through the plan the United States will not contribute to real disarmament. On the contrary, it is because "The Nation" fears that other countries will not accept the plan as it stands, that it launches an "attack" against it.

"Despite Mr. Hoover's blunder"—"The Nation" wrote—"we believe that the Geneva Conference can yet be saved if the United States has the intelligence and courage to propose the abolition of battleships. Such a proposal, indicating that we are ready to make a genuine reduction, would make it possible to secure the international abolition of all aggressive weapons on land, on sea and in the air, and thus achieve the beginning of success."

What else did "The Nation" do but suggest that the Hoover fake disarmament plan be smuggled behind the proposal for abolishing battleships?—Battleships are, however, considered indispensable by the United States. In the absence of naval bases at which small cruisers may refuel, the United States must keep battleships having a wide cruising radius.

"The New Republic", which also has liberal pretences, does not entertain any fear. And it eulogizes Hoover for having formulated such a "bold" and "generous" plan. "Until last week"—The New Republic stated—"the Geneva Conference was an undisguised fraud". According to this publication the great virtue of Mr. Hoover's plan is that it saved the conference, which is now a successfully **disguised** fraud. Cunningly "The New Republic" tried to disguise still more this fraud behind its "acceptance" by the Soviet Union. In fact it hastened to declare shamelessly that the best indication of the essential quality of Mr. Hoover's plan is in the fact that it was accepted by the Soviet Union!

Dealing with the stand of other imperialist countries on the Hoover "disarmament" plan, "The New Republic" stated:

"It is unlikely that England would side openly with France against the United States. To do so would alarm the dominions and would invite the opposition of Viscount Cecil's immense and well-organised following. Japan . . . can probably be ignored. The Japanese economic position is now extremely serious; it is a question whether during the next six months Japan can avoid collapse . . . In dealing with France, Mr. Hoover holds a valuable weapon in the French war debt to the United States."

This assertion is important in so far as it gives the key to the course being followed by Hoover on behalf of the United States in regard to the Geneva and Lausanne Conferences. A dispatch to the "**Herald Tribune**" stated on July 2nd:

"Indications appeared today that, if the European Powers reached some agreement among themselves at Lausanne on German reparation tributes, the United States might be expected to discuss individually the question of the allies' war debts . . . Emphasis was given to the point that such discussions, if undertaken, would have to be with each nation singly on the basis of capacity to pay and would in no wise involve cancellation."

The emphasis on the individual negotiations is clearly designated in general to prevent the formation of a European united front against the United States. In particular, it is intended to exert pressure upon France in order to have her accept Hoover's plan.

"It is possible"—wrote the "**New Republic**"—"that Congress could be persuaded to approve separate, generous debt settlements with England and Italy. France with the biggest army and the great gold hoard, would then be in a highly embarrassing position. It could not, after its admonitions to Germany about the sacredness of all treaties, unilaterally repudiate its debt. Nor could it ask for easy terms from the United States while flatly refusing to discuss disarmament."

This is clear enough; it needs no illustration.

But the socialists, true to their role, hastened to hide this glaring truth about the Hoover's Plan. The Jewish "**Forward**" wrote on the plan:

"President Hoover has again surprised the world. Exactly one year ago he proposed the famous moratorium which opened the way for a successful settlement of the question of reparation tributes and war debts. Now he has come out with a plan for the reduction of armaments

by one third. Hoover's plan... shows that the President is wholly sincere in the question of disarmament, although he does not go far enough."

The "Forward" concluded its editorial with an appeal to the workers of all nations to exert mass pressure in order to have this plan accepted. Its purpose was undoubtedly once more to betray the workers by misleading them to believe that the Hoover plan will prevent war, and assure peace.

Only the **Communist Party** clearly and unequivocally denounced the Hoover plan as a move against the United States' rivals in the **preparation** for war.

## The Attack on the Workers' Organisations in Czechoslovakia.

By A. L. (Prague).

On Monday July 11, the Prague police, acting on the orders of Mr. Slavik, the Minister for Interior, dissolved the Central Committee of the Red Trade Unions in Prague. In addition on the same day and the days immediately following, the district organs of the red trade unions in Prague, Brünn and Moravian-Ostrau were dissolved. On July 12, the Unity Committee of the miners in Brüx, which functioned as the unity organisation of the North Bohemian miners in place of the strike committee which was prohibited after the big strike had been broken off, was also dissolved.

The real reason for the dissolution of the Central Committee of the red trade unions becomes clear if we keep in mind the recent actions of the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie against the revolutionary movement. After the successful campaign which the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia conducted against the exploitation of the Ukrainian peasants and workers, the union of working peasants in Carpatho-Russia, then the Red Aid and the Workers International Relief were dissolved. This attack was then followed up by the dissolution of the Young Communist League and of the Union of Proletarian Freethinkers in Brünn. The bourgeoisie are now proceeding to extend their attacks to the Red trade Unions. It is quite clear that the Minister for the Interior Slavik is deliberately aiming at isolating the Communist Party from the masses by dissolving the revolutionary mass organisations one after another and driving them into illegality.

This systematic fascist attack by the government, which is undertaken with the full support of the social fascist leaders, seven of whom are members of the government, is a reflection of the intensification of the economic crisis. The numerous decrees which have been issued in the last few months in order to safeguard the currency have only resulted in a decline of foreign trade and a further intensification of the crisis. The Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie have up to now succeeded in averting the collapse of big banks by uninterruptedly subsidising these banks to the tune of hundreds of millions of crowns from the State treasury. In spite of this the banks have sustained enormous losses. All the banks have recently been compelled greatly to reduce their capital. As a result the bourgeoisie had to resort to an inflationist measure. A law was passed by which the ten and twenty crown banknotes were withdrawn from the note circulation and employed for ordinary currency circulation, so that the National Bank was no longer compelled to maintain gold cover for them. On July 13, a new law, the so-called currency protection law, was passed in all haste providing that 15 days' notice must be given of intention to transfer any capital abroad and imposing heavy penalties in the event of infringement of this law.

In order to cover the increasing deficit and to bolster up the banks, the bourgeoisie are resorting to the usual method of increasing the taxes. The Sokol Congress on the other hand showed how far advanced the bourgeoisie are in their war-preparations. Great changes have taken place of late in the political life of the country. The last Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia recorded that the national antagonisms have greatly increased as a result of the intensification of the international situation and of the economic crisis. A whole number of events which have occurred lately prove this.

The Communist Party is conducting a broad campaign and calling upon the workers in the factories to protest by means of strikes and demonstrations against the prohibition

of the red trade unions. This campaign is being conducted on the basis of a broad united front.

The attack on the red trade unions, on the workers' right of combination has called forth a great wave of protest. The feeling among the workers can be judged from the protest resolution which has been adopted by the reformist union of taxi-drivers and which states: "We cannot keep silent even if this time the members of a trade union of another tendency are attacked. The Constitution guarantees the right of combination. The dissolution of the red trade unions is directed against the liberty of the workers... It is our duty not to be silent but to protest."

This mood is spreading to ever broader masses of workers; more and more loudly the cry is being heard: away with the dictator Slavik! Down with the persecution of the revolutionary organisations!

## GERMANY

### The Situation in Germany.

By Franz Martin (Berlin).

Fascism is preparing to deliver a fresh blow against the German working class. That which has been prepared for weeks past by an infamous incitement to murder by the national socialists and an unscrupulous campaign by the reactionary capitalist press, is now to be carried out.

The Papen-Gayl Government has, as its first step, prohibited all meetings and demonstrations in the open air. At the same time it has expressly declared that this measure is directed "in the first place" **against the Communist Party of Germany**, which is described as a "party hostile to the State". Although this prohibition of demonstrations is described as "general", i. e. as applying to all parties, the Government has taken care that the big demonstrations of the Hitler party which are to take place in the next few days, do not come under this prohibition. For demonstrations like that of the Hitler demonstration which is to be held in the Stadion in Berlin, are expressly exempted from this prohibition.

Simultaneously with these measures, which are directed against the class conscious workers, the Reichs Government has announced that it is **preparing further and more drastic measures**. The Telegraphen Union, owned by Hugenberg, already reports that summary courts are being set up, and that anybody found with weapons in hand will be "**stood up against the wall**".

The "**Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung**", which is in close contact with the Papen Government, in its evening edition of Monday July 18, speaks quite openly regarding these plans of the bourgeoisie:

"It is certain that the Communist Party, or the Anti-Fascist Action led by it, organises shootings, systematically and in accordance with orders, especially the shooting of national socialists. There exists no doubt that these groups possess weapons and make use of them also against the police. **Here it is necessary to take action: ruthlessly and immediately**... The state of affairs which at present prevails in Germany cannot in fact be tolerated another 24 hours."

After this introduction, which compresses in a few sentences the whole of the monstrous incitement of the lying fascist press, the "D.A.Z." proceeds to discuss the measures which can be employed against the working class. It demands that the fundamental rights of the Constitution shall be suspended, and proposes "the setting up of courts martial and summary courts" which can pronounce sentence after a "very simplified procedure"; at the same time, new penal provisions shall be issued for these courts martials: for rioting, acting as ringleader, breach of the peace, riotous assembly, the **death penalty**.

"There should also be added that **unlawful possession of weapons** will be punished by the same courts martial with **death**."

For the purpose of suppressing the Communist Party of Germany the "**Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung**" further demands the "ruthless arrest and condemnation of all leaders who are guilty of bloody excesses".



These demands of the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" are not just the opinions of a reactionary newspaper, but are the definite views of the fascist bourgeoisie who are behind the Papen Government.

How far the plans of fascism go already at present is shown by "Der Deutsche", the organ of the Centre trade unions, which in its issue of 17th inst., in an article on "Dangerous plans", reports:

"Sinister circles are, as is known, heading for a directorial government, and they are obviously making use of the present state of affairs as an argument for the demand to cancel the Reichstag elections and forbid all parties to carry on any political activity."

The Hitler party fears that it will experience a big setback at the elections. Up to the present it has not yet succeeded in emerging from the defensive and breaking through the ring which has encircled it since von Gayl's emergency orders. The terrorist offensive which was initiated on Hitler's orders in order to escape from this encirclement has had the contrary result: it has produced an **extraordinarily strong and broad mass movement against the fascist murder terror**, in which thousands of Communist, social democratic and Reichsbanner workers are standing shoulder to shoulder. The national socialists are therefore afraid that they will experience a severe setback on July 31, and hence they would like best to prevent the holding of the Reichstag elections and to take over power by an open coup d'état.

The Hitler party has exerted the greatest pressure on the Reichs Government in the last few weeks in order to get the Communist Party prohibited. One after another of the national socialist leaders—Goebbels, Strasser, Göhring, Feder etc.—have proclaimed the right to defence and the arming of the Storm Detachments. By means of a monstrous campaign of lies they have sought to represent the terrorist acts of the fascist bands of murderers as being acts of self-defence against the "attackers" from the ranks of the working class, whilst at the same time, by systematic provocation, they evoke fresh collisions every day.

But not only Hitler but also the fascist **Papen-Gayl Government** view the present anti-fascist development in Germany with increasing concern. They have to record that, in spite of the infamous order of the Central Committee of the social democratic party forbidding all organisations and members to take part in united front actions, the number of social democratic workers who are fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Communists is continually growing. Therefore the Papen-Schleicher-Gayl Government believe that they must not hesitate any longer to suppress the anti-fascist action and the Communist Party of Germany. Ever since Papen returned from Lausanne there have been long discussions in the Cabinet as to in what manner they should proceed against the Communists—whether with a general prohibition or with a system of individual measures, as is at present recommended by the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung".

The bloody street-fighting in **Altona** near Hamburg, which the Reich Government have used as a pretext for their new repressive measures, is a typical example of the kind of civil war which fascism is at present conducting in Germany. The national socialists chose for their march in Altona, of all places, the proletarian quarter of the town. The President of the police, a **social democrat** of the name of Eggerstedt, according to a report of the "Vorwärts", pointed out:

"that a march through the disreputable (!) quarter of the old town of Altona was very inadvisable. The organisers of the parade, however, insisted on this, as they had already held parades in the other parts of Altona, and they wanted to go **where the enemy was situated.**"

The social democratic police president, to whom the national socialists so openly disclosed the provocative purpose of their demonstration, nevertheless permitted the fascists to parade through the red workers' quarter of the town, and caused the whole of his police force, equipped with machine-guns and armoured cars, to act as escort to the fascist murder bands in their march against the workers. The result was—14 workers shot dead by the police and over 50 wounded!

Another example illustrating the role of the social democratic leaders and of the Severing police: in **Langensfeld**, near Frankfurt on Maine, there took place a Communist meeting. Before even the meeting was started it was dissolved by the police, whom the **social democratic provincial governor** Kaiser, had sent there, because the audience

had sung prohibited revolutionary songs. When the workers at the meeting protested against this arbitrary action by the police, the officer in command gave the order to shoot, with the result that **two working women were immediately killed** and three workers seriously wounded.

The present terrorist-campaign of fascism against the German working class is a hard school for the masses of the **social democratic workers**. Day after day social democratic and Reichsbanner workers are attacked and brutally beaten by national socialists. In spite of this the leaders of the social democratic party persist in forbidding any participation by social democratic workers in common self-defence measures. As a result of the fascist murder-terror the red united front is being set up in spite of all the resistance of the social democratic leaders.

There has already been a number of **political protest strikes**, as for instance in Dessau, on the occasion of the fascist march, in Ohlau, after the attack by the national socialist murder bands, in Ziebingen, Ostmark, after a detachment of the Reichswehr had been called in. In Spandau also a number of factories have now decided on a political protest strike because in Siemensstadt, in the neighbourhood of Spandau, national socialists fired from an ambush at a group of workers who were returning from a communist demonstration, killing two workers and wounding six others.

The social democratic leaders have immediately come forward to oppose this rising wave of political strikes and actions on the part of the factory workers. The "Vorwärts", in its issue of 17th inst., opens a shameful campaign of incitement against this wave of strikes, which it describes as "violent strikes", and declares that "it does not want this last decisive weapon of the proletariat blunted by botchers".

The anti-fascist action, initiated scarcely eight weeks ago by the manifesto of the Communist Party of Germany, has already become a force; neither the sabotage of the social democratic leaders nor the murder-terror of the Hitler bands has been able to check it. The new repressive measures of the Papen-Schleicher-Gayl Government will also not succeed in checking it.

## FASCISM IN GERMANY

### The Stahlhelm.

By HANS JÄGER (Berlin).

If one wants to obtain a rounded-off picture of German fascism one must not confine oneself to the national socialists, but must also examine the other fascist organisations. Of these the Stahlhelm (steel helmets) is the most important. Contrary to the Nazis, it refuses to form a party and unites in its ranks German nationalists, supporters of the People's party, the Popular party, the Land League, the Conservatives, the Economic party, etc. Therein lies its strength, and at the same time its weakness. It wishes to be only a defence organisation, and rejects the tremendously important role which the Nazis assign to the party.

The Stahlhelm was founded already on December 25, 1918, as a "union of all who have served at the front". It is therefore older than the national socialist party. It received its first equipment from Noske. At first only soldiers who had served at the front were admitted into its ranks. Outwardly it claimed to be a sort of ex-servicemen's organisation, aiming at maintaining the spirit of comradeship and common economic interests. The result was that many who did not agree with the real object of the organisation (to serve as defence troops of industry and of the big agrarians) were won over, and did not realise in whose interests they were being made use of.

The Stahlhelm is double-faced. Behind the apparently harmless fostering of the spirit of comradeship there is hidden the fight against the "Weimar State", against the Republic. This fight coincided with the interests of the big agrarians, who in the 1918 revolution lost a part of their privileges and positions to the industrialists, the industrialists, who sought a means of defence against the working class, who at that time were engaged in an offensive, and the officers, who in 1918 had had their epaulettes torn off, who had lost their occupation and therefore hated this State like the plague and were prepared at any time to take bloody vengeance against the working class. These were and are the leaders.

By what means were the bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, peasant and semi-proletarian strata won? The fight was against the "Reds" who had "stabbed the country in the back" and then signed the Versailles Treaty. In 1919 it was still easy to practise the deception of lumping together the social democracy and Marxism, red internationalism and the policy of fulfilling the Versailles Treaty. It was stated, the reds committed treason at the front (although the social-democracy supported the war for years, betrayed the International, and then placed itself at the head of the mutiny of the fleet in order to save the monarchy if possible, and when it failed to do this, to save at least the bourgeois order and themselves obtain the benefit of this apparent revolution), then delivered Germany over to the Entente, and now create chaos in Germany and lead the masses into misery. Thus it is to be seen that the deeds of the social democracy and of the real revolutionaries were cunningly mixed together. Petty bourgeois instincts were stirred up (the princes were driven out, the soldiers at the front betrayed, law and order are in danger, the church is threatened, mob rule is imminent, only work can save us, etc.). In conclusion they appealed very cunningly to the interests of the soldiers who had served at the front, of the war cripples, about which the new Government did not bother at all—just as they did not trouble about the interests of the broad masses in general.

Thus it was not surprising that the Stahlhelm already had a leading share in the fight against Spartacus and in all the actions against the working class.

Workers were won over, partly by means of pressure exercised by the employers, and partly by exploiting the economic need, whilst other workers were won among the unenlightened strata (land workers, home workers) and among the ranks of the yellow unions.

In 1929 the Stahlhelm had 26 provincial organisations with 7000 local groups and, it is alleged, a million members. Close relations existed with the Kyffhäuser Bund, which embraced the various ex-servicemen's organisations and to which belonged the National Union of German Officers, the German Officer's League, the Fatherland Workers Association, and numerous defence organisations. The Stahlhelm now accepted as members those who had not served at the front. It thereby won a large number of the youth, and this served as a counter-weight to the older elements and to overcome the passivity resulting therefrom. Youth groups (Scharnhorst Bund) and women's groups (Königin-Luise-Bund) were formed.

What, now, was the attitude of the Nazis? In their agitation the national socialist party had the obvious advantage over the Stahlhelm in that they were better able to conceal their relations with the heavy industrialists who finance them. Not so long ago they demagogically stigmatised the Stahlhelmers as henchmen of the employers, as reactionaries, as allies of the German nationalists and the People's Party, as hirelings of the big agrarians and heavy industrialists, as monarchists. It not infrequently happened that Nazis openly disclaimed Stahlhelmers and refused to have anything to do with them. It even came to blows between them, by which the Nazis wished to prove that they were hostile to the bourgeoisie. There took place later an rapprochement as a result of the fact that, on the one hand, the Nazis dropped their mask and gradually abandoned their tactic of dissociating themselves from the Stahlhelm and, on the other hand, the Stahlhelm, in accordance with the course to open fascism which the bourgeoisie adopted with the increasing economic crisis, changed itself from an ex-servicemen's organisation into a political fighting organisation in order to meet the competition of the Nazis and thereby to keep another iron in the fire for the bourgeoisie. The Stahlhelm then associated itself more closely with the German Nationalist party, of which Hugenberg had obtained the leadership, and again prepared for civil war as it had done in 1919.

This was most plainly seen at the referendum against the Young Plan, in which the Stahlhelm and the German nationalists played the leading part with the Nazis as a third party in the alliance. Of course, this was meant in the first place to be the first lining up in the civil war front. Those who were aware of the effects of the demagogic propaganda on the Nazi supporters realised that here the party was for the first time subjecting its supporters to a very severe test. Otto Strasser and his immediate followers sounded the alarm, as did also the supreme demagogue Goebbels. The Nazis leaders

made out that they were simply acting from tactical considerations.

In the meantime this line has never been abandoned. The connections became ever closer. The Stahlhelm no longer objected to the "socialism" of the Nazis, but learnt to understand it as being unavoidable propaganda; the Hohenzollern princes became the connecting link. This rapprochement of the Stahlhelm to the Nazis reached its highest point at the big rally in Harzburg in October 1931, which was again to be a parade of all the fascists before Hugenberg and Hitler, with the generals, industrialists, bankers and agrarians in the background.

In conclusion, the question arises: who will get the upper hand? Hugenberg or Hitler? If Hugenberg is regarded as the direct representative of the bourgeoisie and Hitler as the executive organ, then this question will not be difficult to answer. If the social democratic party of Germany constantly point out how the German nationalists are weakened by the Nazis and are dependent upon them, this is only a part of their whole policy of obscuring the general fasciation, of representing it as being embodied only in Hitler, and perhaps one day to present Hugenberg as the lesser evil and servilely to point out to the bourgeoisie that they are better servants than Hitler.

The Stahlhelmers are fitted to supply the S.A. storm troops with leaders who will knock out of them the last remnants of class war proclivities and socialist ideas. Nevertheless there are of course also class antagonisms within the Stahlhelm, partly between leaders and led, and partly as a result of the contrast between the big landowners and the agricultural workers in its ranks.

## THE BALKANS

### The Crisis of the Fascist Dictatorship in Yugoslavia.

By Krechitch.

The revolutionary wave in Yugoslavia is rising. A proof of this is the outbreaks and revolts of the working peasants and of the unemployed in the last two to three months, as well as the increased fight for national emancipation and the ferment in the ranks of the army. The disintegration of the military clique of the Pan-Serbian bourgeoisie is proceeding at an accelerated pace. The King's throne is beginning to totter. The unity of the Yugoslavian State set up at Versailles is threatened. French imperialism sees its most important supports in Central Europe and in the Balkan, one of the most important links in the anti-Soviet front beginning to shake.

How little the dictators are masters of the situation in the country is proved by the reports of foreign newspaper correspondents who of late have been sounding the alarm regarding the growth of the Bolshevik danger in Yugoslavia. The broad masses of the disinherited, starving workers, the majority of whom are unemployed, the peasantry who are plundered, the ruined sections of the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia and the working masses of the oppressed nationalities are seeking a revolutionary way out of their misery and slavery.

As a result of the closing down of a whole number of enterprises in the Spring of this year, half of the working population have been deprived of employment. They do not receive any unemployment benefit or relief. Even the sickness and accident insurance is being gradually liquidated. The workers are starving. Child mortality reached 25 per cent already last year. 90 per cent of the school children are suffering from tuberculosis. Out of 5 million children 200,000 are homeless.

The only means by which the authorities seek to combat unemployment is systematically to arrest unemployed workers and send them to their native town or village, and draconic police orders in order to prevent the influx of ruined peasants from the famine districts into the towns. The actions of the workers (chiefly of the miners, metal workers, and timber workers, against wage cuts, the wholesale dismissals and evictions), which took place this Spring in spite of the sabotage of the reformists, and frequently without participation of trade union organisation, have ended in masses of

the unemployed being sent back to their native villages. The result of this, however, has been that the revolutionary fighting spirit of the workers has spread to the rural districts.

The complete collapse of the grain monopoly which was introduced in the middle of last year, has let loose a revolutionary ferment in Yugoslavia, where the peasantry comprises 74 per cent of the population and 80 per cent of the peasants are small holders. This monopoly has reduced the corn-growers to beggary (if we leave out of account the privileged section of the big landowners and big peasants). The refusal of the monopoly organisations to accept the grain, and the payment of grain in bonds which have only 50 per cent of the purchasing power of the national currency, the house-searches in the villages by which the police tried to discover hidden stocks of grain—all this was the immediate cause of the unrest among the peasants. The other cause was the selling up of the farms of the ruined peasants. The peasantry is so deeply in debt, the prices of agricultural products and land have fallen so greatly that the debts are not even covered when whole villages are sold up.

The frozen agricultural credits and the bloody collisions compelled the government in March last to declare a moratorium for the private debts of the peasants. As, however, this moratorium did not include the debts to the State, the unrest in connection with the compulsory sales continued.

The revolts in April and May last were, at bottom, a rebellion of the peasantry in the famine districts, in which connection it should be mentioned that these districts which are visited by famine and have a population of 4½ million, are not able even in normal times to feed the population living there. Last year, however, the drought destroyed 80 per cent of the maize crop, i. e. the chief article of food, and also the hay crop which in turn dealt a very severe blow to cattle breeding.

The influx of starving unemployed into the villages which were already hard hit by the famine, created the prerequisites for the united front of the unemployed with the poor peasants. The unemployed in the villages, and especially the Communists, played a leading role in the disturbances.

At the same time the national emancipation movement, especially in Croatia, is growing. The mass actions of the working people are interconnected with the fight against the various forms of national oppression.

The revolutionary upsurge of the working class, of the toiling peasants and the oppressed nationalities which has taken place in spite of the most cruel methods of oppression on the part of the fascist dictatorship, has called forth a panic in the ranks of the bourgeoisie. This panic has increased still more in connection with the general economic collapse. A run on the banks has set in. A great part of the banks has become insolvent. The State is no longer able to pay the salaries of the civil servants and State employees. The inevitable collapse of the currency has once again been postponed by the restrictions on foreign exchange transactions and by short-term credits to the banks by France.

The revolutionary ferment has also spread to the soldiers. Republican sentiment is increasing among the officers—a fact which is shown by the "Maribor conspiracy" in which a whole number of officers and non-commissioned officers took part. These officers and non-commissioned officers, who described themselves as Communists and of whom many were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment and two sentenced to death, had themselves taken the initiative in this conspiracy against the existing regime.

The bourgeois oppositional leaders are endeavouring to prevent the revolutionary fight of the masses for the overthrow of the dictatorship of the Pan-Serbian bourgeoisie and to deceive the working people by means of various illusions. In connection with the recent disturbances in the villages, the dictatorship for the first time permitted the opposition to convene a conference of their supporters, but only after the opposition leaders had declared that they had no intention "to take advantage of the economic difficulties in order to make a people's revolution".

The oldest party of the Serbian bourgeoisie, the Radical Party, the petty-bourgeois Serbian democrats, the Serbian Peasant League, the ruined Bosnian landed gentry and the Slovenian People's Party, shortly before the first of May, concluded an agreement which is to serve as a starting point for the conversion of Yugoslavia into a federal State with three or four autonomous districts. A part of the Serbian bourgeoisie, which fears that the collapse of the fascist military dictatorship might lead to the collapse of the Yugo-

slavian State, has therefore determined on a manoeuvre in order to avert this collapse.

The Croatian bourgeoisie, with the exception of insignificant sections, are beginning to abandon the sinking ship of the dictatorship. This Croat opposition has not yet declared itself for the federalist programme by which it is hoped to save the fascist Pan-Serbian State. The experiences in connection with the capitulation of the Radic party in 1925 cause it to fear a betrayal of the movement for an independent Croatia so long as there are no guarantees for the financial independence of Croatia and the possession of its own army.

The chief demand of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois opposition is the convocation of a National Assembly. In addition, the national reformists are demanding a plebiscite. In the event of the fascist dictatorship of the Pan-Serbian bourgeoisie finally collapsing, French imperialism has in readiness a new weapon in the form of the above-mentioned "bloc of the five oppositional parties". The Marinkovitch Government, which followed that of General Zivkovitch, resigned because it did not even succeed in getting the leaders of the "opposition" to share the responsibility for the fascist dictatorship.

The formation of a new government headed by Milan Srschkiez, who was Minister for Justice in the Zivkovitch Cabinet and Minister for the Interior in the Marinkovitch Cabinet, is an act of desperation. It is to be a government of the strong hand, a government of pogroms and massacres, a government against the revolutionary workers and peasants. The terrorist measures against the enemies of the regime are being increased. The prisons are overcrowded. The government press is conducting a campaign for the physical annihilation of the "enemy at home".

The government press is at the same time inciting to war against Bulgaria, Albania, Hungary, and covertly also against Italy. Srschkiez' coming into office will not only aggravate all the antagonisms within the country but also intensify the antagonisms between Yugoslavia and its neighbours. The Srschkiez government, it is true, can intensify the terror, but it will thereby only accelerate the general collapse.

Only the revolutionary mass struggle of the working class, of the toiling peasants and of the national revolutionary elements against the monarchy, against Serbian finance capital, for the right of self-determination up to separation, for the workers' and peasants' power and the voluntary Federation of Workers' and Peasants' Republics, will bring the final solution of the crisis. The Communist Party sets itself the task of taking over the leadership of the masses in this fight against the fascist-military dictatorship. The Party is striving in the first place to liquidate the organisational lagging behind the revolutionary mass movement, to connect itself more closely with the masses and to mobilise the revolutionary forces for the approaching fights.

## Decision of the I.C.C. on the Azis Case.

Mahomet Abdul Aziz, while a member of the C.P. of Egypt, indulged for many years in various intrigues, carried on an unprincipled struggle by which he systematically demoralised the ranks of the C.P. of Egypt. Azis would not desist from his disorganising activity despite many admonitions and warnings. On the contrary, during the mass demonstrations of the Cairo workers in May 1931, he even gave an impetus to his disorganising activity.

As the disorganising work carried on by Azis, not only interfered with Party work, but actually was destroying the Party organisation, the Egyptian comrades looked upon the conduct of Azis as work for the benefit of the police, and brought against him the charge of provocation. For the investigation of these charges and of the whole conduct of Azis, the latter was summoned to appear before the I.C.C., but he refused to do so.

Taking into consideration his disorganising activity and his disinclination to justify himself in the I.C.C. against the charges of provocation, the I.C.C. resolved to expel Azis from the ranks of the C.P., as a person suspected of provocation and declining to have the charges investigated, and also for his disorganising activities in the C.P. of Egypt.

Zangaretis  
Secretary of the I.C.C.

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

### Reformist Treachery in Belgium.

By B. Coenen.

Brussels, July, 17, 1932.

A treacherous agreement has been arrived at in the mixed commissions for engineering and the smelting industry. The Prime Minister congratulated the Commission on the conciliatory spirit which the representatives of the trade unions and of the employers have displayed. The cunningly drafted agreement amounts to a rejection of the demands put forward by the strikers. The agreement states that no new wage reductions are to be undertaken before November. The wage reductions which were announced before the strike of the metal workers are thus only postponed. The mixed commissions will meet in August in order to examine the situation. This means that the 5 per cent. wage cut in the smelting industry and the 2½ per cent. wage cut in the engineering industry, which were to have been carried out now, are postponed to the month of August. On November 1st a new wage reduction will be undertaken. The reformist delegates expressly demanded from the employers only the postponement and not the annulment of the announced wage reductions. They demanded the postponement of the wage cut as otherwise it would be impossible for them to induce the workers to resume work.

The General Council of the social democratic labour party published a manifesto calling upon all strikers to resume work on Monday, July 18. It is already certain that the miners in Borinage will not resume work on Monday, for up to the present the delegate meeting has not expressed its definite opinion. The local groups of the miners are meeting on Monday, and on Tuesday a new delegate meeting will decide its attitude to the situation.

A special edition of the "Drapeau Rouge" (the organ of the Communist Party of Belgium) calls for a general strike until a decisive victory is achieved, and denounces the treacherous compromise concluded by the reformists.

The Communists are now advancing the following demands: Withdrawal of the cut in miners' wages put into force on 19th June, and annulment of the two wage cuts now being imposed on the metal workers. They further demand a 50% reduction in house rents and the cancellation of the last governmental decree on the reductions of unemployment benefit. A further demand is the release of all workers arrested during the strike.

The miners' strike in the Province of Limburg has spread from the mines of Zwartberg to the mines of Wüinterlag, Waterscheid, and Eisden. Here the strike will rapidly become general. As there are only a few gendarmes left here, soldiers have been sent from Antwerp. In Tongres a procession of unemployed was formed after a communist meeting, against the will of a social democratic deputy. In Bray, in the Central Belgian district, the reformist leaders caused communist functionaries to be arrested at a strike meeting called by the reformists.

Brussels, 18th July 1932.

Numerous reformist meetings have been held, at which the decisions of the trade union commission and of the workers' party on the resumption of work have been announced. It is further reported that all social democratic functionaries are called to these meetings, in order to exercise pressure and form a "majority".

The miners of Central Belgium have rejected the parole of the resumption of work, as also the conditions agreed upon by the employers and reformist leaders. They demand that a living wage be fixed, rents reduced, and the wage cuts of 19th June withdrawn.

In the smelting industry only a very few workers have resumed work. In Limburg the miners' strike has become complete. Attempts on the part of the Polish consulate, in agreement with the employers, to form blackleg groups with foreign workers, have failed.

### The Lessons of the Belgian Miners' Strike.

Moscow, July 17, 1932.

The "Pravda" publishes today a leading article entitled: "The lessons of the strike in Belgium", in which it states that the big mass strikes in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Belgium have furnished important lessons for the revolutionary tactics of the international labour movement. The "Pravda" then describes the attempts of the social democrats, renegades and counter-revolutionary Trotzkyists to propagate a **theory of defeat** among the masses. They attempted to persuade the workers that economic fights cannot be conducted in times of crisis, and precisely at a time of revolutionary upsurge implant the theory in the masses that the working class must remain entirely on the defensive. The heroic Belgian miners' strike has dealt a severe blow to these opportunist theories.

In the last two years the wages of the Belgian miners' have been reduced **seven times**. **Only the Communist Party summoned the masses to active fight**. The revolutionary miners' committee was the first to call for a strike in the **Borinage** district, which call was first followed by eight pits in **Wasmès**, whereupon the strike rapidly spread over the whole of Borinage, and from there to the mining district of **Charleroi** and the Central coal district. The social fascists issued an appeal **against** the strike.

When the question of the necessity of a fight against the wage cuts was raised, the social fascists, who during the crisis **had six times carried through a wage cut together with the employers**, decided to set up a "Commission to investigate the possibilities and the necessity for a wage cut". It was only when the mass movement **began to spread**, that the social fascists issued an appeal to the strikers under the confusing slogans: "resignation of the government" and "dissolution of Parliament".

The central committee of Vandervelde's party declared quite openly that the party is **against the strike**, but as **the masses have already come into movement**, they would fight "on two fronts": against the employers and the **"inciters"**.

By this means the social fascists are provoking and preparing for the persecution of the Communist Party, which has become very popular among the masses during the strike.

In spite of the greatest sabotage of the social fascist bureaucracy, the strike movement was continued and embraced 240,000 workers. Large sections of the metal workers also joined the strike. This circumstance is of the greatest importance, as the metal workers movement has constituted the weakest position in the strike struggle of the whole world proletariat during the last few years. At the same time a strike of the railway workers was commenced, a fact which shows that the strike had been raised to a higher **political level**.

The Belgian strike thus clearly proves that the economic crisis, which for a time hampered the development of the strike struggle, is inevitably leading, as a result of the further impoverishment of the working masses, to an **increase in their resistance**, in spite of the sabotage of the social democratic leaders.

But the Belgian strike is of great political significance also in another respect. Like the general strike of the Czechoslovakian miners in Brüx, like the general strike in the Dombrova basin and the strike in Poland on March 16, the Belgian strike is a threat to the bourgeoisie of these countries, who are **"allied"** to the French imperialists.

The strike in Belgium, with its scenes of fraternisation between strikers and soldiers, shows what tremendous forces of revolutionary resistance on the part of the proletariat French imperialism, the chief organiser of the intervention against the Soviet Union, will encounter.

The heroic struggle of the Belgian proletariat means also an annihilating defeat for all those opportunists, renegades and social fascist theoreticians who now talk about a new period of "ebb" of the labour movement, of a weakening of the revolutionary fighting will of the proletariat.

As already pointed out by the XI. Plenum of the E.C.C.I., the intensification of the crisis, at a time of increased fascist terror of the bourgeoisie, necessarily leads to a further growth of the revolutionary upsurge of the masses. In a number of countries it is often easier to call the masses to a fight against the fascist terror than to launch economic strikes, in particular where there are millions of unemployed. One of the most important principles of Leninist strike strategy, however, is that if the period of revolutionary conflicts is

characterised by the political mass strike, every exertion of class forces on the part of the masses of the proletariat increases their desire to launch partial strikes for their daily interests. The economic mass strike is under all circumstances the correct path leading the masses to higher forms of the class struggle.

The tremendous impoverishment of the working masses constitutes a powerful lever for the revolutionary fight of the proletariat.

The working masses who are spontaneously demanding the formation of the united front for the fight against the capitalist offensive, are confronted with the following task: to oust the social democratic leaders and trade union bureaucrats from the ranks of the working class.

The mobilisation of the deceived social democratic masses who still follow them, represents the higher form of the united front movement. The realisation of such a united front is only possible if it is headed by the Communist advance-guard, which will guide all the concrete forms of the class struggle of the proletariat. This is the way to lead the proletarian masses into the decisive struggle for the **dictatorship of the working class**, and for this Lenin's and not Vandervelde's methods must be the guiding line in our actions.

## THE WAR

### British Imperialism Strengthens its Positions in the Near East.

By J. B.

The crushing of the revolt of the Kurds, led by Sheik Ahmet of the Barsan tribe, which engaged the attention of the British military forces for over six months, means an important strengthening of the military power of Great Britain at an important strategic point: at the triangle formed by the three countries Persia, Turkey and Iraq. The fight against the Kurds was conducted with utter ruthlessness. The official English report admits that the British troops advanced into districts which had been devastated as a result of prolonged bombardments. Big garrisons are being left in the captured territory and preparations are being made to build fortifications. There is thus fulfilled an old wish of the members of the British General Staff who are interested in war in Near Asia. In Kurdistan, which is difficult of access, a basis is being created for undertakings which are directed against Turkey and Persia and also against the Soviet Union.

These measures, however, do not complete the new British war preparations in this important area. In September next, as a result of the decision of the League of Nations to accept Iraq into the League, this country is to be evacuated by British troops with the exception of some detachments of the Royal Air Force. A few weeks ago, the orders recalling the British troops stationed in Iraq were not only cancelled, but nine big aircraft and new special troops from Egypt were sent to Iraq and distributed over the whole country. The pretext which the British High Commissioner in Iraq, Sir Francis Humphrey, made use of in order to justify the sending of fresh troops was the great excitement among the native masses, which had even spread to the native army commanded by British officers. As a result of the imperialist measures and the effects of the economic crisis, indignation against the rule of Great Britain and of the British vassal, Feisal, is increasing not only in the towns but also in the open country and among the masses of Bedouins. The British troops are to serve to crush any outbreaks of discontent. At the same time, however, the new troops which are now being stationed in Iraq are certainly busily at work strengthening the British war positions. Even in the British press it is being suggested that the formal evacuation of Iraq (solemnly promised and repeatedly confirmed) should be postponed for the time being, at least until such time when a sufficiently good land connection has been created with Egypt by the construction of the railway between Haifa and Baghdad, i. e. for a further four to five years.

The building of this railway also clearly shows the real bellicose intentions of British imperialism. Whilst it had hitherto always been maintained that this railway was to be a line "within the British Empire", negotiations are now proceeding for an extension of this railway line to Teheran, i. e. into the interior of Persia. It is interesting to note the reason which is put forward to justify the desire to extend the railway line: Persia is now flooded with Soviet Russian goods, as British and European imports in general can only reach Persia by a roundabout way round the Arabian Peninsula to the Persian Gulf. A direct railway connection creates the possibility of ousting Soviet Russian goods from the Persian market. It is therefore openly admitted that the construction of this railway is directed against the Soviet Union; it is clear that not the alleged commercial but strategic motives play the decisive role.

It is of course not sufficient for the British imperialists to build fortifications from which they can launch attacks on the Soviet Union. It is also to a great extent a question of securing the hinterland. Hence the increased activity of British policy in other parts of Asia, especially the attempts to increase the power of British imperialism in those districts through which the Haifa-Baghdad railway is to run. The British imperialists are endeavouring to get the few ports on the coast of Arabia fully into their hands. Control of the Arabian littoral means at the same time domination of the whole of Arabia. In this connection the British attempts to compel Imam Jihje—who up to now has not only rejected all negotiations with Great Britain but has also gone so far as to refuse Englishmen permission to enter his territory—to submit to their desires deserve special attention. At the same time, increased pressure is being exerted on Ibn Saud (Ibn Saud's inner difficulties are taken advantage of by the English in order to induce him to comply with their desires). The aim of British policy in this connection is to convert Ibn Saud's country into a colony directly dependent upon Great Britain.

### Occupation of the Bay of Akaba.

Moscow, 14th July 1932.

The "Pravda" publishes the following note from Rome:

The correspondent of the newspaper "Stampa" in Cairo reports that English troops, with the aid of cruisers, have occupied the shore of the Bay of Akaba (at the North East end of the Red Sea), territory belonging to the kingdom of Hedias Nedjd.

The correspondent writes that news from Amman shows this occupation of Akaba to be only a prelude to the direct occupation of the Arabian peninsula, especially the shores of the Red Sea, by the English. Akaba is one of the most important strategic points, and its occupation places the whole North East coast of the Red Sea under the control of the English. In order to understand the importance of this occupation it should be remembered that the Haifa-Akaba line from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea is to replace the Suez Canal for the English, should this latter be closed to them.

The "Pravda" comments:

At one time the port of Akaba was intended to form the terminus of a new canal through the peninsula of Sinai, to run parallel to the Suez Canal. Since Akaba belongs to the kingdom of Hedias, the English exploited the war between Hedias and Nedjd in order to occupy Akaba as early as 1925, and ranged it among the English mandatory territories of the Transjordan region.

In the following years the English endeavoured—without success—to induce King Ibn Saud to relinquish Akaba. English imperialism has recently organised a movement among the frontier tribes against Ibn Saud, for the purpose of depriving Nedjd of the frontier zone in the North, required by the English for the building of a railway Haifa-Baghdad, and have at the same time converted Akaba into a basis for a fresh English advance against the united Hedias-Nedjd, with the object of the further dismemberment of the Arabian peninsula and the crushing of the Arabian national movement.

## **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 Assassination in Serajevo.**

#### **Assassination of the Austrian Heir to the Throne and His Wife.**

**Serajevo, June 28.** As the Austrian heir to the throne, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, and his wife, the Duchess of Hohenlohe, were driving yesterday to the reception at the Town Hall, a bomb was flung at the motor car, the duke, however, succeeded in thrusting it away with his arm before it exploded. The bomb exploded after the Archduke's motor car had passed the spot.

After the reception in the Town Hall, the Archduke with his wife continued their drive through the town. A student, Gavrilo Princip, fired several shots from a browning pistol at the Archduke's motor car. The Archduke was wounded in the face and the Duchess in the abdomen. The Archduke Franz Ferdinand and the Duchess were conveyed to the royal palace where they died shortly afterwards as a result of their injuries. The assailant was arrested. ("Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung")

#### **The Assassin a "Socialist".**

**Telegram from the Governor of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the Finance Minister.**

**Serajevo, June 28, 1914.**

In spite of all the comprehensive precautionary measures, a local Serbian printer succeeded to-day in firing a shot and then throwing a big bomb at the motor car, in which His Royal Highness Archduke Franz Ferdinand and Her Highness the Duchess of Hohenberg and myself were seated, while it was driving along the Appel Quay. The bomb exploded after the royal car had passed, and caused slight injuries to the two occupants of the next car, Upper-Lieutenant von Merizzi, and Count Boos-Waldeck and, it is supposed, to some persons among the public. On resuming his journey from the Town Hall his Royal Highness wished at the same time to visit Upper-Lieutenant von Merizzi, who had been conveyed to the garrison hospital. While making this journey a Serbian student fired at close range at the motor car and hit His Royal Highness and Her Highness. According to investigations so far, it has been ascertained that the bomb thrower belongs to that Serbian socialist group which obtains its slogans from Belgrade.

**Pofiorek.**

(Austria-Hungary's Foreign Policy, vol. 8, page 208.)

#### **Report to the German Emperor.**

**Kiel, June 28.** The first news of the catastrophe was received on the imperial yacht "Hohenzollern" and was sent by the German Consul at Serajevo. The chief of the admiralty, Admiral von Müller, immediately put to sea in the "Hulda" and called out to the Kaiser, who was on board the "Meteor", the news of the assassination. The Kaiser immediately interrupted the regatta, in spite of the fact that the "Meteor" was 15 minutes ahead in the yacht race. The other yachts followed this example. The Kaiser ordered that the warships should immediately fly their flags half mast, as Archduke Franz Ferdinand was an admiral of the German fleet. The English warships followed the example, as did also the yachts.

#### **The Whole of Austria Plunged into Mourning.**

**Vienna, June 28.** Telegrams are arriving from all parts of the country telling of the tremendous shock which the news

of the assassination has caused. Festivities were cancelled everywhere. In many places demonstrations have taken place proclaiming unswerving fidelity to the Emperor and the Hapsburgs. ("Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung".)

#### **The Response in the Foreign Press.**

**Rome, June 28.** "Giornale d'Italia" writes: We believe we are interpreting the feelings of the Italian people when we express our profound sympathy for the severe loss which our ally has suffered in the premature and violent death of the heir to the throne.

#### **Russia "Profoundly Deplores the Tragedy of Serajevo".**

**Petersburg, June 29.** The "Novoje Vremja" writes: Although Russian public opinion did not count the late Archduke as a friend of Russia, it profoundly deplores the tragedy of Serajevo.

The "Rjetch" writes: "The Archduke was regarded by the Serbian patriots as the embodiment of the persistent striving of the Hapsburg monarchy for hegemony in the Balkans. The Archduke fell as a victim of the national political atmosphere which threatens Austria from without and within.

#### **Great Indignation in England.**

**London, June 29.** The "Daily Telegraph" writes: With us indignation at the deed of violence and sympathy for the mourning emperor will be all the greater as England only recently had the honour of receiving a visit from the unfortunate Archduke and his wife. His death is, we believe, a serious loss to the whole of Europe and also to Austria-Hungary.

The "Daily News" writes: The murder of Serajevo is perhaps the most outrageous of the political assassinations which have become so frequent in the last 30 years. The sympathy of the English people goes out to the royal family and the peoples of Austria-Hungary.

#### **"There is not a Frenchman Who Will not Join in the General Mourning."**

**Paris, June 29.** The "Figaro" writes: In the terrible misfortune which has befallen the House of Hapsburg, general sympathy and condolence will go out first to the venerable head of the dynasty. The grief which Kaiser Franz Joseph feels is also the grief of his people, and there is not a Frenchman who will not participate in the general mourning.

#### **Every Serb Sympathises Deeply with the Emperor.**

**Belgrade, June 28.** The news of the assassination was announced in the town in the afternoon hours in special editions of the newspapers and everywhere called forth the greatest consternation. The elated mood which dominated the public as a result of the celebration of the anniversary of the battle of Amseldorf, gave place to horror at the terrible fate of the heir to the throne and his wife. Profound sympathy is displayed everywhere for the emperor.

#### **The Magyars See in the Assassination a Historical Nemesis.**

**Budapest, June 29, 1914.** The first reports of the assassination where published yesterday in the late afternoon in extra editions of the newspapers. It is noticeable that even the highly official newspapers express themselves with ex-

treme reserve regarding the personality and the policy of Franz Ferdinand. The press in general criticises the policy of the heir to the throne. The sharpest criticism is expressed by the leading Hungarian paper "Pesti Hirlap".

It writes that the heir to the throne was an enemy to the Hungarian Constitution. In place of dualism (German-Magyar predomination in the monarchy) he wished to set up trialism. He wished to make the Slavs the ruling power in the monarchy. His whole love was devoted to the Southern Slavs. He has now got his reward. It regrets that things have turned out as they have, but it sees in it a historical nemesis. (From a report of the "Leipziger Volkszeitung".)

### The Warm Words of Sir Edward Grey.

London, June 29. House of Commons. When the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Sir Edward Grey, spoke in the course of the sitting, he referred first to the murder of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife. He stated: no foreign Minister in Europe can today view without personal feelings full of profound sincerity the loss which the Austrian Emperor has sustained; and every Foreign minister knows what a great support the life of the Emperor has been and will be to European peace. ("Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung.")

### The Military Manoeuvres in Bosnia—an Anti-Serb Provocation.

The German Ambassador at Belgrade to the Reichs Chancellor.

Belgrade, June 30, 1914. ... A considerable part of the Serbian press even speaks of the patriotic feelings of the Serbians being provoked by the holding of manoeuvres. The aim of these tactics is of course to turn aside the accusations which are being made in Austria-Hungary against the Pan-Serbian agitation which is systematically conducted in Serbia.

The undeniable moral responsibility of Serbia for the assassination will considerably damage the prestige of the country, which was only recently restored by the last two wars. The warmest friends and supporters of Serbia feel this. Thus my Russian colleague exclaimed on hearing the first news of the catastrophe: "Espérons que ce ne sera pas un Serbe." v. Griesinger.

### Declaration by the Serbian Prime Minister.

M. N. Pashitch, Serbian Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, to all Serbian Delegations Abroad.

Belgrade, July 1, 1914. The Austrian and Hungarian press are blaming Serbia more and more for the Serajevo outrage. Their aim is transparent, to destroy that high moral reputation which Serbia now enjoys in Europe, and to take the fullest advantage politically against Serbia of the act of a young and ill-balanced fanatic. But in Serbia itself the Serajevo outrage has been most severely condemned in all circles of society ... At a moment when Serbia is doing everything in her power to improve her relations with the neighbouring monarchy, it is absurd to think that Serbia could have directly or indirectly inspired acts of this kind. On the contrary, it was of the greatest interest to Serbia to prevent the perpetration of this outrage. Unfortunately this did not lie within Serbia's power as both assassins are Austrian subjects ... Serbia can on no account permit the Vienna and Hungarian press to mislead European public opinion and to lay the heavy responsibility for a crime committed by an Austrian subject at the door of the whole Serbian nation and on Serbia, who can only suffer harm from such acts and can derive no benefit whatever.

### "We Must Settle Accounts Once for All With the Serbs."

The German Ambassador in Vienna to the Reichs Chancellor.

Vienna, June 30, 1914. ... I hear quite serious minded people here express the opinion that we must settle accounts, once for all with the Serbs. They state a number of demands must be submitted to the Serbs, and in the event of their not accepting them it will be necessary to proceed energetically ...

von Tschirschky.

### Nationalist Demonstrations in Vienna.

Vienna, June 30. An anti-Serbian demonstration of about 200 German nationalist students took place at 9 o'clock this evening in front of the Serbian Embassy ... ("Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung", July 2, 1914.)

### And the Social Democrats.

In view of this terrible death of two people in the best years of their lives, everything which is affected by political considerations is put aside and only that feeling remains which the shedding of the blood of the innocent, be it in the upper or lower strata of society, always awakens.

There is something very tragic in the terrible fate of Franz Ferdinand, who stood so near to the throne, who had so long prepared himself for it, and now, when the day was approaching ever nearer on which he would ascend the throne and rule after his manner, should be killed by the bullet of a half-grown youth ... One cannot understand how this criminal deed was possible.

(Friedrich Austerlitz: "Arbeiter-Zeitung", Vienna, June 29, 1914.)

### The German Left Socialist Press.

At the bier of the Austrian heir to the throne the bourgeois journalists of Germany and Austria tear their clothes in indignation over the "cowardly murderer" to whom the heir to the throne has fallen victim. Murderers, and in addition cowards — that is their judgement. Those who do not identify themselves with this moral qualification, who seek in the first place to investigate the forces which put the weapon into the hands of the young Serbian, are suspected of sympathising with this political murder ...

The worthy bourgeois press writers are either crazy or abominable hypocrites. What right have they to judge the act, to say nothing of talking of cowardice? It is certainly more cowardly for a big Power to seek to ruin a small people, than when sons of this people, aware that they will pay for their deed with their lives, resort to assassination ... Those who regard nations as enemies, those who think only of their own interests, have no call to throw stones at the Serbian assassins.

In Germany the masses of the people know that the government is a puppet in the hands of big capital, and that it is ridiculous to believe that it is possible, by assassinating representatives of the government, to compel Krupp or the Rhinish Westphalian syndicate to abdicate in favour of the workers. This is realised by the workers themselves. But the social-political conditions in the Balkans created belief in the efficacy of acts of violence. Austrian imperialism also did a good deal to foster this belief: for years the Austrian bourgeois press advocated the policy of the strong hand towards Serbia. It was thought possible to destroy the feeling of nationality by passing sentences of imprisonment. If one side believe that they can change the policy of a people by persecuting individuals, is it any wonder if the other side assume they can intimidate the enemy by assassinations? The Vienna imperialist press directly suggested this idea to the Serbian fanatics. Has it not always maintained that Franz Joseph, owing to his advanced years, was opposed to a sharp policy against the Serbians, but that the new master would know how to bring the ragamuffins to order? Franz Ferdinand was continually spoken of as a man of the iron hand. These eulogies of the coming strong man were bound to awaken among the Serbians the thought: if Franz Ferdinand is got out of the way, then Austria will be weak. Thus, logically regarded, the bloody deed of Serajevo is the fruit of Austrian policy ... ("Bremer Bürger Zeitung", July 1, 1914.)

### Anti-Serbian Demonstrations in Agram.

Agram, June 29. Yesterday afternoon, as soon as the terrible news of the murder of the Archduke and his wife was made known to the public in a special edition of the "Obzor", a crowd, consisting mainly of students, held lively demonstrations against Serbia. The crowd proceeded from the Jellachich Square to the Serbian Consulate with cries of "Down with Serbia! Down with the vile murderers!" The police were summoned in order to disperse the demonstrators, but instead of doing so they joined in the demonstrations. ("Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung.")

### Martial Law Proclaimed in Serajevo.

Serajevo, June 29. Anti-Serbian demonstrations took place again today on a large scale. The Croat and Moslem youth, followed by a huge crowd, marched through the streets, carrying in front of them a picture of the emperor, singing the national anthem and raising cheers for the monarchy and the dynasty. ("Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung.")

## The Echo in Serbia.

Belgrade, July 3. The "Samouprava" writes: We sincerely condemn the fearful assassination in Serajevo. We likewise condemn, however, the vandalism of which the Serbian people in Bosnia are the victims . . . Unjustified suspicions have no effect on us and we disregard all threats. Only when positive charges are brought against us shall we deem it necessary to reply . . . (Havas.)

## The South Slav Patriots Come on the Scene.

Belgrade, July 5. The South-Slav nationalist "Omladina" held a meeting on July 2, at which the events following the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand were discussed and the following resolution adopted:

1. We condemn and abhor the barbarous acts of the misled crowds against the innocent Serbian and Croat population.
2. We protest before the whole civilised world against the Austrian authorities approving and supporting vandalism.
3. The "Omladina" rejoices that the attacks by the Frank party is disapproved of by the whole Croat party of the South Slav people.
4. The "Omladina" sends its greetings to all Croats, Slovenes and Serbs, who, in the face of monstrous and unjust attacks, have preserved their national pride. (Havas.)

## The Investigation in Belgrade.

Belgrade, June 29. The police here, after the arrival of the first detailed news, commenced the strictest investigations. As according to his statements the bomb-thrower Cabrinovic obtained the bomb from a Belgrade anarchist, enquiries were commenced in order to ascertain whether Cabrinovic had resided in Belgrade and what persons he had dealings with. The police discovered that the murderer Gavril Princip was often in Belgrade and associated with various persons very well known to the police, as, for instance, with a notorious Pan-Serbian agitator Nasitch, who had already played a considerable role in the Agram high-treason trial. ("Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung".)

## The Narodna Odbrana.

Budapest, Juli 2. There is serious evidence indicating that the secretary of the Pan-Serbian organisation Narodna Odbrana, Milan Pribisevics, a major in the Serbian army, took part in the assassination and that through his mediation the murderers obtained bombs from the royal Serbian arsenal at Kragujevac . . . ("Az Est".)

## The General War-Incitement Begins.

Austria-Hungary and Germany should acquire very mistrustful and energetic statesmen and generals. Both States are being more and more pushed into the background in the diplomatic field . . .

Owing to too great confidence, owing to lack of mistrust, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, of whom we hoped so much, was the victim of a fatal bullet. This can have serious results for the peace of Europe—it may mean a bad turn for the future of the Danube monarchy. The policy of the German Empire urgently calls for a great statesman. We hear the rumblings of the coming thunder.

(From a leading article of the "Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung", June 30, 1914.)

## No "Unasked-for Advice to Remain Calm and Reasonable".

The German Ambassador at Vienna to the Reichs Chancellor.  
Vienna, July 4, 1914.

. . . I wish to point out that an article like that which appeared in the "Frankfurter Zeitung" of 3rd inst (No. 182) on the assassination in Serajevo and the tension between the monarchy and Serbia called forth thereby, could be easily misunderstood. The advice contained in the article to remain calm and reasonable, and which is well worth taking to heart, will not be well received at present by public opinion here. The latter is too much excited, as is to be seen by the demonstrations which take place every evening against Serbia and Russia. In my humble opinion our press should be reserved as possible and avoid, by unrequested advice, administering a cold douche.

von Tchirschky.

("German Documents on the Outbreak of the War", vol. 1, page 31/32.)

## The War-Crime Prepared Behind the Scenes.

Emperor Franz Joseph to Wilhelm II.

July 2, 1914.

I sincerely regretted that you were compelled to abandon your intention to attend the funeral celebrations . . .

According to all the evidence at present it would appear that the assassination in Serajevo was not the bloody deed of an individual but a well-organised conspiracy the threads of which reach to Belgrade, and even if it will probably be impossible to prove the complicity of the Serbian Government, there can be no doubt that its policy of uniting all Southern Slavs under the Serbian flag promotes such crimes and that while such a state of affairs lasts it represents a constant danger to my House and to my empire.

This danger is further increased by the fact that Rumania, in spite of its alliance with us, has established a close friendship with Serbia and tolerates within its borders an agitation against us equally malicious as that in Serbia . . .

The efforts of my government must in the future aim at isolating Serbia and preventing it from growing. The first stage in this policy would be to strengthen the position of the present Bulgarian Government in order that Bulgaria, whose real interests coincide with ours, would be kept from becoming Russophile again.

After the recent terrible events in Bosnia you too will be convinced that there can be no thought of reconciling the antagonisms which separate us from Serbia.

Franz Joseph.

("Austria-Hungary's Foreign Policy", vol. 8, page 250.)

## Wilhelm For Serious Action By Austria Against Serbia.

Telegram from Berlin, July 5, 1914.

Strictly secret. I handed over His All-Highest's letter and the memorandum enclosed therewith to His Majesty. The Kaiser read them both in my presence with the greatest attention. He first assured me that he had expected serious action on our part against Serbia, but he had to confess that as a result of the statements of our Emperor he had to keep in mind a serious European complication and that he would not give a definitive answer until he had consulted with the Reichs Chancellor. After dinner, when I once again emphasised the seriousness of the situation, His Majesty empowered me to report to our Emperor, that in this case we could reckon upon the full support of Germany. He did not doubt in the least that von Bethmann Hollweg would fully share his opinion. This applies especially as regards actions on our part against Serbia. According to his (Kaiser Wilhelm's) opinion, this action must not be delayed. In any case Russia's attitude would be hostile, but he has been prepared for this for years, and should it even come to a war between Austria-Hungary and Russia, we could be sure that Germany would stand by us as a true ally . . . Szögyeny.

(Austria-Hungary's Foreign Policy vol. 8, page 306.)

## "Germany Stands as a Faithful Ally at Our Side."

Telegram from the Hungarian Prime Minister to Count Stephan Tisza.

Strictly secret!

July 6, 1914.

Kaiser Wilhelm informed our Emperor that in an eventual action we can rely upon the full support of Germany. According to Kaiser Wilhelm's opinion, we should not delay any longer in taking action against Serbia. We must not fail to take advantage of the present favourable moment. Russia is at present not ready for war and Germany stands as a faithful ally at our side.

## Austria Can Rely on Germany.

The Reich Chancellor to the German Ambassador at Vienna.  
Secret!  
Berlin, July 6, 1914.

For Your Excellency's personal information.

. . . Finally, as regards Serbia, His Majesty cannot of course express any opinion regarding the questions pending



between Austria-Hungary and that country as they are outside of his province. Kaiser Franz Joseph can, however, rest assured that His Majesty, in keeping with his duties as an ally and his old friendship, will stand faithfully at the side of Austria.  
Bethmann Hollweg.

("German Documents" vol. I. page 32/33.)

### Lichnovsky Is Still Fooled By Sir Edward Grey.

**The German Ambassador at London to the Reichs Chancellor. Secret!** London, July 6, 1914.

I visited Sir Edward Grey this afternoon and took the opportunity to discuss with him in a confidential manner the whole European situation.

I considered it necessary in the first place to point out to him that the relations between Austria-Hungary and Serbia have become very strained as a result of the assassination of the heir to the throne, and that one could not blame the imperial royal Government if, in view of the support which the conspirators, as has been proved, received from Belgrade it refused to allow this new challenge to go unpunished and demanded satisfaction from the Serbian Government . . .

Sir Edward repeated, that, as far as he knew, there was no indication of any anti-German feeling in St. Petersburg. He believed still less that Russia had any war-like intentions, he would, however, look into this question again and take the opportunity of discussing it again with me, as he cherished the desire to keep in touch with us on all questions of foreign policy.

In conclusion, I said, we knew from his declarations that there existed no agreements of a political nature between England and Russia. We had, of course, no reason whatever to doubt the accuracy of his words, but regretted all the more that rumours of a naval agreement for mutual co-operation against us in the event of war were continually cropping up . . .

Sir Edward replied . . . that he had already recently told us that there existed no new or secret agreement, but that relations between the members of the Entente were nevertheless of a very intimate character.

Lichnovsky.

("German Documents on the Outbreak of the War"  
vol. I. 41/42.)

### Russia in Reality.

**The German Ambassador at Athens to the Reichs Chancellor. Strictly confidential!** Athens, July 6, 1914.

My Italian colleague informed me in strict confidence that the Italian Ambassador at St. Petersburg has sent a very alarming report to Rome regarding Russia's war preparations. The report is very lengthy and goes into all details. Mention is also made of the enormous sums of money demanded by the Russian government, and which have been granted at a secret session of the Duma or of a Commission.

Quadt.

("German Documents on the Outbreak of the War".)

### And the Social Democracy . . .

The shots in Serajevo have attracted to the capital of Bosnia a whole swarm of Austrian police and spies, who are eagerly sniffing, round questioning people and making arrests in order to prove the existence of a Pan-Serbian conspiracy, of which, it is alleged, the Archduke and his wife were the victims. Then there will be a trial, the assassins will be hanged and the country will come to experience the iron hand of the Vienna rulers . . .

If, however, the only result of the shots fired in Serajevo is persecution, executions and the policy of the strong hand, this will be all the worse for Austria-Hungary, for then the unhappy composite Empire will be faced with still more serious shakings than is the murder of an heir to the throne: the South-Slav question is crying out for solution, and if it is not solved in agreement with Vienna, then it must be solved apart from or against Vienna.

("Vorwärts", July 3, 1914.)

## INTERNATIONAL FIGHT AGAINST WAR AND INTERVENTION

### Down with the Anti-Soviet Bloc of the Polish and Rumanian Capitalists and Big Landowners!

**Appeal of the Central Committees of the C.P. of Poland and Rumania.**

**Workers and peasants!**

The imperialist States headed by France are preparing for an attack on the Soviet Union. According to the plans of the imperialists, the Polish-Rumanian alliance is to supply the cannon-fodder for the war against the Soviet Union.

The hangman Pilsudski is the commander-in-chief of the united Polish and Rumanian armies. Under various pretexts he controls the military preparations against the Soviet Union in Bessarabia, which has been annexed by the Rumanian bourgeoisie. A permanent Polish military commission is being sent to Rumania. In Poland, preparations are already made for a festive reception of the King of Rumania. In Bessarabia and Bukovina, in Western Ukraine and in Western White Russia, strategic roads and railways are being constructed in all haste. In order to secure the rear of the white armies, the ruling class is introducing a regime of bloody "pacification", of tortures and mass murders against the toilers, against the revolutionary and national emancipation movements. These facts of the open military preparations refute the hypocritical peace phrases of the fascist ministers.

The Polish-Rumanian military alliance is before all an alliance of two imperialist, counter-revolutionary white armies for the common robbery of fresh Ukrainian and White Russian territory, for the enslavement of the socialist Soviet Republics of the Ukraine and White Russia.

The Polish-Rumanian alliance is an alliance of the Polish and Rumanian capitalists and big landowners and oppressors. It is an alliance of two fascist governments for the ruthless exploitation of the working class, for the smashing of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat and the peasantry in the home country and for the crushing of the emancipation movement of the suppressed nations.

Workers and peasants of Poland and Rumania! The war which the Polish and Rumanian bourgeoisie are preparing under the tutelage of France against the Soviet Union, is directed against you, against your vital interests! The new imperialist war means unprecedented misery and suffering for the toiling masses, mutilation, starvation, terror and death. Already now the whole burden of armaments is shifted on to the toiling masses of Rumania and Poland. The huge sums squeezed out of the workers and peasants, which are being used to pay the slave-debts to the French bankers and usurers, enormously intensify the effects of the crisis, increase the misery and starvation.

The Soviet Union is our socialist fatherland, which embodies the efforts and the aspirations of the toilers of the whole world. The realisation of the plans of the imperialist bourgeoisie in the fight against the Soviet Union would fling the workers, peasants and suppressed nationalities back for decades into the darkest slavery.

Therefore the Communist Parties of Rumania and Poland call upon you to fight against the imperialist war, against the Polish-Rumanian war alliance, for the defence of the Soviet Union.

We call upon you to hold mass demonstrations and political strikes on the **international Anti-War Day, the first of August**. Receive the Polish Marshals, the French and Polish generals in Rumania and Carol, the head of bloody Rumanian fascism, with revolutionary demonstrations in Poland!

Fight against the social fascist agents of the bourgeoisie, who support their imperialist policy in Poland and Rumania behind a mask of lying phrases in condemnation of war and for the autonomy of the enslaved peoples.

Be prepared to convert the imperialist war against the Soviet Union into civil war against the Polish and the Rumanian bourgeoisie, into a national war of emancipation of the suppressed nations against their Polish and Rumanian oppressors!

We oppose to the Polish-Rumanian alliance—the alliance of the oppressors, provocateurs and hangmen—our revolutionary brotherly alliance of the toilers in Poland and Rumania, an alliance which has been steeled in the fight against the common enemy, under the leadership of the Communist Parties, for the common fight: Against the imperialist war! For the defence of the Soviet Union! Against the capitalist attack upon social legislation and the standard of living of the working class! For the division of the land among the peasants! For the right of self-determination of the oppressed peoples up to separation! For the conversion of the imperialist war into civil war against the Rumanian and Polish capitalists and big landowners! For the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship in Poland and Rumania! For the workers' and peasants' government! For Socialism!

## Joint Struggle of the German and Polish Anti-Fascists against Fascism and Imperialist War.

Hindenburg, July 1932.

The anti-fascist fighting appeal of Comrade Thälmann in Hindenburg (Upper Silesia) yesterday, was a huge revolutionary frontier demonstration in which 30,000 Upper Silesian anti-fascists demonstrated for the setting up of Soviet Upper Silesia to be allied with Soviet Germany and Soviet Poland.

Many thousands of Polish miners, workers, land workers, anti-fascist fighters filled the huge square. Hundreds of Polish comrades crossed the frontier in order to listen to the programmatic speech of Comrade Thälmann on the social and national emancipation struggle, on the revolutionary path to the liberation of Upper Silesia.

**"We are not separated by any national question, by any language; we are united in fighting solidarity by the red anti-fascist flag, by the fighting banner with the emblem of the hammer and sickle."**

Ever since the Versailles Treaty, the German and Polish Communists, the Comintern in the Soviet Union have been conducting a passionate fight for the cancellation of this Treaty, which mutilated Upper Silesia. In the declaration of the C.P. of Germany on the minority question in Upper Silesia, we have proclaimed the joint international revolutionary class struggle of the Polish and German workers and peasants against social and national oppression and for the equality of both languages. Only we Communists will achieve freedom and equality for all oppressed minorities, for the toiling people in Soviet Upper Silesia.

The audience burst into loud and prolonged applause, raised their clenched fists and sang the "Internationale" after Comrade Thälmann had solemnly ended with the anti-fascist fighting oath.

## Constant Growth of the Partisan Movement in Manchuria.

Peiping, July 16, 1932.

In spite of all the reports of the Japanese press, the partisan movement in Manchuria has not only not suffered any reverse, but on the contrary is steadily growing. There has been no resumption of traffic on the railway line between Kirin and Tunhua, as was announced, as the entire district, according to the newspaper "Tsu Zuglo" which appears in Tsuchow, is in the hands of the partisan troops.

A Japanese troop-train with which the Japanese division Tamon was proceeding from Kirin to Tykuia in order to be employed there against the partisans, was blown up in the Lada-Tsaohe station, as a result of which a large number of Japanese soldiers were killed. In connection therewith a number of bombing planes were sent from Moukden to Kirin and a Japanese division was ordered to stand ready to march to Dairen. The Japanese press states:

"Things cannot go on any longer like this. The Japanese Government must resort to more drastic measures against the insurgent elements, especially in the provinces of Kirin and Tsitsihar."

According to a report of the "Nizzi Nizzi" a brigade of the army of the "Manchurian government" mutinied in the North East of Harbin. Thereupon a squadron of bombing planes was sent from Harbin to Fugdin. When a detachment of troops who had remained loyal attempted to pacify the insurgents, they were disarmed by the latter.

# THE WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS

## On the Death of Thomas Bata.

By E. Lorenz (Berlin).

Thomas Bata, the cobbler's son in Zlin in Moravia, was a special type of capitalist exploiter. Like so many of the big freebooters of modern capitalism he rose from the most humble beginnings; but he ruthlessly spurned the life of the class to which he had belonged in his youth. He knew how the starving Moravian worker is exploited; and he succeeded in exploiting him more brutally than all others. He has been described as the "Ford of the Footwear Industry". Outwardly, however, the comparison does not hold, for Bata was not of the type of industrialist represented by Ford; he was rather a salesman, a sales' organiser. But there is one thing he had in common with Ford: a cunningly thought out system of exploitation which, under the mask of "philanthropy", squeezed the last ounce of strength and energy from the nerves and muscles of the workers.

The Bata boot and shoe factory, which was founded in 1894 by his brother Anton, was based at first on the exploitation of home workers, who made house slippers at sweated rates of pay. Thomas Bata obtained from Germany the first, and still very primitive, machines. In 1904 he went to the United States in order to study there the modern methods of boot and shoe manufacture and—what was more important for him—the modern methods of American advertising. On his return he first took up the production of canvas shoes. It was the war, however, which made him one of the kings of industry.

Bata was one of those patriots who preferred to make money than to "die the death of a hero". Already in the first days of the war he obtained a big order to supply army boots, and could not "tear himself away" from this "work of national importance". That was a splendid time for Thomas Bata, when the military authorities not only supplied him with work slaves, but by brutal penalties converted them into docile tools of their exploiter. Bata became richer and richer whilst the Austria-Hungarian monarchy poorer and poorer. Already in 1917 Bata employed 4,000 workers and turned out 10,000 pairs of boots a day.

With the overthrow of the Hapsburg dynasty Bata became as zealous a "patriotic" supporter of the Czechoslovakian government as he had till then been an enthusiastic servant of the Austrian monarchy.

The factory in Zlin was enlarged and extended. The little country of Czechoslovakia was too small to serve as a market for its output. The export of boots and shoes from the Czechoslovakian Republic increased to more than 100,000 double centals and to about 112 million German marks in value. The output of the Bata works, according to his own figures, amounted to 20 million pairs a year.

The growth of the Bata undertaking was based on a system of exploitation which took into account every detail from the purchase of the hides to the sale to the retail customer. All his workers and employees, numbering about 35,000, were his slaves. It is true, there was a legal working day, but in Bata's workshops it existed only on paper. It is true, there were also recognised rates of wages, but woe to the worker who insisted on being paid according to these rates. By a cunning profit and loss system Bata succeeded in exploiting his workers and employees in a direct mediaeval fashion. The minimum wage was so low that the workers could not live on it. As compensation therefor they had a share in the "profits"; but what they gained on the one hand by sharing the profits they lost on the other by their bearing the risks of the "losses". In scarcely any other enterprise was there such a diabolical system of fines as in that of the "philanthropist" Bata. With the aid of this sweating system and of the conveyor, which he set up according to the American pattern, Bata was able to increase the output of his factory to 10 and 12½ shoes per day per head, whilst in Germany the output was still 2½ to 4, in England 3 and in the U.S.A. 5 pairs per head per day.

Zlin was a hell for the proletariat. For Bata ruled over his workers and employees not only in the factory, but was at the same time the State authority. Bata was the mayor of

Zlin! He obtained this office in 1923, and he knew how to make use of it in order to make the proletariat completely dependent upon him. As mayor he was at the same time chief of the police.

There was only one thing against which Bata was impotent, the world economic crisis of capitalism. At first it seemed to bring him only advantages. For with the reduced purchasing power of the masses the demand was transferred from boots and shoes of a better quality to the cheap lines produced by Bata. But the purchasing power of the masses sank so low that the demand for the cheaper sorts also declined. Bata was compelled to restrict his production and to dismiss workers. He attempted by a journey to India to build up a market in Asia. But these plans came to nothing. After Germany, by a high tariff, rendered the import of Bata's shoes almost impossible, France also proceeded to restrict the imports, and then England, the U.S.A. and most of the other countries increased their customs duties and rendered it exceedingly difficult for Bata to compete in these markets. Bata was perhaps able to reduce wages lower than his competitors and to increase exploitation still further, but

he was no longer able to master all the difficulties which grew up on every hand.

Particular excitement was aroused when Bata made use of the German press in Czechoslovakia in order to conduct a campaign against the Czech banks, because they did not "act fairly in the matter of granting credits". Everyone concluded from this that the king of Zlin must be in serious credit difficulties. There were rumours that he was obliged to seek foreign financial help in order to overcome his difficulties. Fresh rumours cropped up when Vavrecka, the Ambassador of the Czechoslovakian Republic at Vienna, was appointed General Director of Bata's undertaking. It was inferred that the government had had to come to his assistance.

In the meantime the business management has, it is true, published a statement declaring that the position of the company is absolutely sound. But Ivar Kreuger published a similar statement eight days before he committed suicide.

Bata is dead, but the hell in Zlin has in no way altered. Bata was a particularly brutal type of exploiter, but there are thousands of smaller Batas in all capitalist countries. They will only disappear when the hell of capitalism is abolished.

## Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

# Achievements and Tasks of Soviet Agriculture.

By M. Molotov.

Moscow, July 15, 1932.

At the Third Ukrainian Party Conference Comrade Molotov, who was greeted with loud applause by the delegates, delivered in the name of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. and of the Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union a great speech in which he dealt mainly with the questions of agriculture, especially in the Ukraine. At the commencement of his speech, Comrade Molotov showed that the basis of socialist construction is the policy of socialist industrialisation of the country, and that huge successes are to be recorded in the unswerving realisation of this policy. At the same time, however, it must be stated that in some cases the gigantic tasks of industrial development had so engaged the attention of our organisations and their leadership, that not sufficient regard had been paid to the question of promoting agriculture. This was the case also in the Ukraine.

Such state of affairs, however, is not permissible, for the Bolsheviki must always keep in mind that unless agriculture is promoted it is impossible to develop industrial production at a shock-brigade tempo. After pointing out that the pace of industrial development of the last few years had been possible only on the basis of a rapid development of the collective farms, Comrade Molotov pointed to a number of difficulties which the last year had brought to five of the largest districts of the central and lower Volga, to the South Urals, West Siberia and Kasakstan, in the shape of drought. This drought made it necessary to supply these districts with seed and partly also with bread corn, as a result of which the districts in question were able, in the main, to fulfil the tasks set them in regard to the sowing campaign. It was only thanks to the fact that in our agriculture the collective farms are playing a larger role in supplying grain to the market that it was possible for such State help to be rendered to districts affected by the drought, and that in the other districts there was no decline to be recorded in the area under cultivation as a result of the drought. The example of the fight against the results of the drought last year shows the whole difference between the present situation, when the collective farms predominate, and the period of the year 1921, when the small individual farms still predominated.

This year the prospects of the harvest are considerably more favourable than last year. So far as one can judge from the reports up to the present, one can reckon that this year the harvest will exceed that of last year by 500 million poods.

The results of the sowing campaign witness to the victory of the collective and Soviet farms, which together embrace four-fifths of the area under cultivation. The Soviet Union is now firmly on the path of socialist development of agriculture. The victory of the Soviet and collective farms has entirely upset the calculations of our class enemies and their

political agents, the social revolutionaries, the Mensheviks, Trotskyists and Right opportunists. A striking example of this is furnished by the Ukraine, in which 70 per cent. of the peasant farms, which are united in collective farms, have cultivated 81 per cent. of the cultivated area. After describing the extraordinary development of technical cultures, Comrade Molotov continued:

We must nevertheless take into account the existence of such facts as the non-fulfilment of the sowing plan this year in the Ukraine. The sowing-campaign this year was not fulfilled, and in numerous districts, owing to mistakes which were committed in the bringing in of the harvest, difficulties arose regarding the food supply. As regards a great number of the collective farms of these districts this state of affairs has not yet been overcome. This shows great defects in our organisation in the Ukraine in regard to the leading role in promoting agriculture, especially in regard to the leadership of collective farms. We must self-critically recognise that the Bolsheviki in the Ukraine have not mastered their tasks in the recent period. We organised thousands of collective farms but were not able to guarantee the requisite practical leadership of their development; we are also unable to secure the practical leadership in the carrying out of such fundamental agricultural campaigns as the harvest and grain procuring campaigns.

Comparing the greatness of the tasks of industrial construction with the promotion of agriculture in Ukraine, Comrade Molotov continued:

How much more difficult is our task in agriculture in running thousands and thousands of collective farms which have been organised in the last few years. This is shown particularly in the example of the Ukraine. The Ukraine, however, occupies such a prominent position in the agriculture of the Soviet Union, that any failure to pay attention to the questions of Ukrainian agriculture leads to serious results.

Comrade Molotov pointed out that at the commencement of the sowing campaign the leading organs had no proper idea of the great difficulties of this campaign in the different districts, above all in the Winniza and the Kiev districts, and that in places the Party line had been distorted. Reports regarding the bad state of affairs on the collective farms and in agriculture in general repeatedly arrived too late at the leading Ukrainian organs. The discussion at the Conference showed that the necessity of a thorough improvement in the work of the village party organisations had in no way been sufficiently recognised. There must be recorded the unsatisfactory state of affairs in the practical leadership of many district organisations of the C.P. of the Ukraine and of its C.C. in regard to agriculture, from which there must be drawn the necessary Bolshevik conclusions as to a

determined change of the whole work in the rural districts and a fundamental improvement of the whole leadership of the collective farms.

Comrade Molotov stated that attempts are to be observed to hide the faults of the work in agriculture in the Ukraine and to impute the blame for the bad results of the last grain-procuring campaign to "outside" causes. The last decision of the C.C. of the Party characterised the main causes of the mistakes and shortcomings as follows:

The main fault of our grain-procuring campaign last year, before all in the Ukraine and in the Urals, lay in the fact that the plan for procuring grain was divided among the districts and collective farms and was not carried out in an organised manner, but elementarily, according to the principle of equalitarianism, mechanically, and without regard to the situation of each district, of each collective farm. This must be particularly borne in mind in regard to the Ukraine in view of the grain-procuring campaign of our new harvest which has already begun. For the Bolsheviks the task consists above all in realising the faults and mistakes of their work in the past period and mobilising the Party organisation, as well as the masses of the workers, in order to overcome these faults and mistakes, and at the same time everything must be done to fulfil the tasks set the Party, which is quite possible in view of the reduced grain procuring plans this year.

The C.C. of the Party and the Council of People's Commissars published special directives for the organising of the harvest campaign, in which the fight against losses in bringing in the harvest is indicated as being the central task. Further, the Party specially pointed out that those collective farms which organised the work successfully, shall receive a greater quantity of grain for their own requirements. All this furnishes prerequisites for better work on the collective farms and an increase in the output of labour.

In concluding this part of the speech Comrade Molotov said:

The securing of the fulfilment of the tasks in regard to supplying grain, as well as consolidating the collective farms and improving the well-being of the collective farmers, depend on to what extent we succeed this year in improving the organisation of the harvest campaign, securing the working up of technical plants, strengthening the fight against losses and permitting no bargaining in and misappropriation of corn, improving the organisational work on the collective farms, more firmly welding together the functionaries of the collective farms and explaining to them, as well as to all collective farmers, the tasks confronting them. No retreat or vacillations of any sort in regard to the question of fulfilling the tasks decided by the Party and the Soviet Power. Direct all forces in fulfilling these tasks and to repelling the kulaks and the speculators as well as the Right opportunists, the "Lefts" and the Trotzkyists.

In that part of his speech dealing with trade by the collective farms, Comrade Molotov emphasised that the development of this trade not only did not run counter to the task of consolidating the collective farms organisationally and economically, but it can and must do much to help in this task, it also meant not a relaxation but a further intensification of the fight against the kulaks and speculators. In this connection Comrade Molotov spoke of revolutionary legality, the strict observance of which in the village is of special importance to-day for the maintenance of the principle of eligibility, as well as for preventing unlawful disposal of the property of the collective peasants and impermissible methods of commanding in regard to the collective farms. An increased supply to the village of industrial goods, which, for instance, must in the third quarter of this year be more than doubled compared with last year, is of special importance for promoting agricultural production. An increased control of the actual distribution of these supplementary quantities of goods in the village is necessary.

After briefly outlining the most important tasks regarding the tractor and machine stations, and training leaders for the collective farms, Comrade Molotov once again pointed out that an all-round improvement and promotion of the collective farms, especially in the Ukraine, is not only of great economic but also of special political importance. The class enemies within the country (kulaks, speculators, counter-revolutionaries and saboteurs) are endeavouring to take advantage of the mistakes in our work in the rural districts during the past period in order to disintegrate the

collective farms and to demoralise their members. The class enemy on the other side of the frontier of the Soviet Union sets his hope on taking advantage of the mistakes and faults of our work for his own purpose, before all for the purpose of accelerating and commencing imperialist intervention. We must remember that these attempts have increased recently.

All this demands of the Bolsheviks in the Ukraine a decided improvement of their work in the rural districts, above all in the leadership of the collective farms. Comrade Molotov concluded his speech with the words:

Our positions in agriculture were never so strong as they are at present, when the Soviet farms occupy the leading position. Thereby all the calculations of the counter-revolutionaries of every kind have been finally upset and the hopes of the Mensheviks, of the social revolutionaries, the Trotzkyists and Right opportunists of the impossibility of the victory of Socialism in the agriculture of the Soviet Union have been brought to nought. It is necessary, therefore, to repel with all the greater determination all the grumblers and fault-finders who are incapable of a real fight for the promotion and socialist transformation of agriculture, who cannot fight like Bolsheviks for the victory of Socialism.

The Bolsheviks in the Ukraine must rearrange their work in accordance with the new situation and the new tasks in the promotion of agriculture. Unshakably certain of their victory, the Ukrainian Bolsheviks will honourably master the task of promoting agriculture, achieve the fulfilment of the tasks set them in the sphere of agriculture, and solve the task of consolidating the collective farms and promoting the Soviet farms. To mobilise in a Bolshevik manner the Ukrainian party organisation for the fulfilment of this task—therein lies the chief task of the All-Ukrainian Party Conference of the C.P.S.U. (Loud applause).

## THE WHITE TERROR

### A Suppressed Letter from Gertrud Ruegg.

Shanghai, 15th July 1932.

The Shanghai "Evening Post" publishes a letter from Gertrud Ruegg to her defending counsel Fisher. The letter has been suppressed by the Chinese authorities, and is dated 8th July: She writes:

"The first words addressed to us by the Chinese authorities, when we were delivered into their hands in August 1931, were a threatening demand that we should admit our alleged crime, or we should never see the light of day again. But how could I confess to having taken part in the May day demonstration in Shanghai in 1930 when I was in Berlin on that day! How could I confess to having written a letter to my husband from Singapore on 27th May when I had never been in Singapore.

After our money and various trifles had been taken away from us, we were taken to the Nanking military prison. As a "special privilege" we were placed in the hospital, where there were hundreds of people sick of typhus, tuberculosis, and venereal disease. The drinking water was never boiled. It was brought in in dirty wooden casks, and the sick prisoners had to scoop the water out in their own vessels.

As the only woman among 1500 prisoners, I was put in a place like a garage, with a stone floor, and the roof with holes in it in several places. On rainy days I could not find a dry spot. My request to be given a dry room was refused by the prison director, who declared that I was there by the special command of the Kuomintang and he could do nothing.

In consequence of my stay in this prison, where mattresses and pillows have never been heard of, and where the prisoners freeze in the winter, I was attacked by severe neuralgia; my husband got rheumatism and had to spend a month in bed. When the weather got so cold that the water in my cell froze, I was allowed no warm clothing. This position of ours was not due to any malicious attitude on the part of the prison manager, but was on the orders of the Kuomintang. In the midst of a severe attack of malaria, when my temperature was 40 degrees centigrade, I was forced to appear before the judge. The Chinese authorities, whilst perfectly informed as to my state of health, demanded that I should confess my alleged shameful deeds. They tried

to provoke me by saying: "Your husband has just declared to us that he is the representative of the III. International in China. There is no sense in your denying it." During the hearing the police officer banged threateningly on the table with his heavy bamboo stick.

At the beginning of November we were put in chains, without any previous warning. We were even deprived of those fundamental rights which are enjoyed by the Chinese prisoners, that of communicating with friends and seeing our child. Our books and all warm clothing were taken away. We slept on the bare floor and lived on rotten food. After being for 3 months in the hands of the Chinese military authorities, we were obliged to resort to a hunger strike, and demanded that we should have the same rights as the Chinese prisoners, at least the right to see our only child, left in Shanghai. After we had been hunger striking for some days our chains were removed, and we were allowed to see our child. After we had been transferred to the civil prison our treatment was much better. Why do the Chinese authorities insist on holding the trial in Nanking? It is obvious that this is for the purpose of depriving us of defending counsel, and of deceiving that public opinion which has been aroused about our case.

It is very probable that the ministry of justice has already decided upon the verdict and the penalty in advance, and it is obvious that these will be in accordance with the demands of British imperialism".

Gertrud Ruegg enumerates a great many incidents of the brutal treatment accorded to her and her husband. Her letter concludes:

"Terrorised by the Chinese authorities, deprived of defence and all rights, we will rather die than be exposed to such treatment further, 13 months of threats, chains, bamboo sticks, and severe illness suffice".

In conclusion Gertrud Ruegg appeals to Fisher to have the letter published, and to let the public know all this and the other incidents known to him. "Humanity, and not the Chinese judges, will have the last word to say in this matter. We die peacefully, for we are sure of this".

In another letter Gertrud Ruegg states that she and her husband have commissioned the barrister Vincet to take care of their child, and expresses the hope that "all the known and unknown friends, whose resolute protests have reached our ears even in our Chinese prison, will take care of our son, and will help him to become a sincere fighter for a better world".

## Rueggs Taken to Hospital as Result of Mass Protest Wave.

Shanghai, 18th July 1932.

Ruegg and his wife were released from prison last night on security. They were first taken to the house of Suntsilin (the widow of Sunyatsen), and then, always with a strong military escort, to the Nanking Drumtower hospital.

Reuter reports that the demand of the accused for the trial to be transferred to a Shanghai court will "probably" not be granted, and that the Shanghai court declared itself incompetent in this case last year, and sent it to the Nanking court martial.

The ministry of justice publishes a declaration intended to refute the accusations of cruel treatment and illegal action against the Rueggs—"as rumoured by certain Berlin organisations". Both the formulation that the transference of the trial to Shanghai is "improbable", and the attempt at justification against the allegedly "unfounded" indictment of cruel treatment, show that the international protest campaign has forced the Nanking government to retreat. Therefore the continuation and intensification of the campaign is necessary, in order that the Rueggs may be liberated entirely from the hands of their gaolers.

## Holland Greets the Scottsboro Negro Mother.

By J. Louis Engdahl.

Holland's radio audience is served by two broadcasting stations. One of these is V.A.R.A. (United Labor Radio Association) controlled by the Dutch social-democrats. It was a far cry from the Scottsboro meetings, forbidden, broken up by the Socialist police in Germany, to the Socialist invitation to Mrs. Ada Wright in Holland to speak over their radio.

Thus the Scottsboro appeal was broadcasted through the air for the first time in Europe.

It was clear that this manoeuvre of the Socialists in Holland followed closely on the heels of the lead given by the chairman of the Second Socialist International, **Emile Vandervelde**, in opening his arms to the Scottsboro Mother in Brussels, and his heart to the cause of the Negro boys facing the electric chair. **Het Volk** (The People), central organ of the Social-Democratic Party of Holland, featured the Scottsboro case with pictures but omitted mention entirely of the **International Red Aid**.

How deliberate this actually was became crystal clear with the translation of the Scottsboro Mother's appeal over the radio, when the social-democratic translator provided by the station itself and who had been given an advance copy of her speech, declared that it was the Socialists who had come to the aid of the Scottsboro Negro boys and were defending them and once more omitting all mention of the International Red Aid.

The basis for this campaign of deception was to be found in the tremendous mass support of the Scottsboro campaign in Holland as revealed in the demonstrations held in **Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Delft, the Hague**, and even in the farming districts of Friesland, in north Holland, in St. Anna Parochie, Beets and Appelscha. The Social-Democrats had already recognised the mass influence of the International Red Aid in Holland by declaring that any social-democrats joining the International Red Aid would be expelled from the Social-Democratic Party.

In **Rotterdam** the police denied the workers the right to demonstrate in the streets following the great meeting. The possibilities of such demonstrations became clear in **Amsterdam** where fully 10,000 workers marched through the streets to the Postoffice Building following the mass meeting in the great hall of the Diamond Exchange. The meetings at Delft and the Hague were unprecedented.

The response that swept over **Friesland**, the northern agricultural district of Holland, however, was a revelation. Friesland was one of the seven original free states of Holland. As an independent free state it was the first to recognise the independence of the American colonies following the war of independence against Great Britain, 1776.

As an indication of its gratitude the new nation sent a tablet which still rests in the wall of the capitol of Friesland, at Leeuwarden, bearing the inscription: "Memorial of Gratitude from the United States of America to the State of Friesland for Its Recognition of the Independence of the United States—1785."

All of the Scottsboro mass meetings held voted unanimously to send this tablet back to the United States government at Washington, as the murderer and jailer of workers. They demanded that **Garret Roorda**, Communist Party member of the provincial parliament, raise this question officially and ask that this demand be approved. Similar demands were made during the Sacco-Vanzetti campaign in 1927, but failed because of lack of social-democratic support. The issue has returned anew demanding that the Socialists again take a position.

The Scottsboro issue will be raised in the Dutch Parliament by the two Communist members, **David J. Wynkoop** and **Louis De Visser**. The parliament of Queen Wilhelmina's government, headed by the Catholic Centre and its coalition of Christian parties, contains a social-democratic opposition of 26 out of 100 members. It will be forced to take an open stand on this issue.

It is significant that many of the meetings in Holland were organised by the Negro workers now living in Holland, but who had come from Surinan, the Dutch West Indian Negro colony. A native of **Indonesia**, the Dutch East Indian colony, also spoke at many meetings, thus bringing forward the bloody oppression of coloured peoples in the colonies of Dutch imperialism.

The Scottsboro Mother's visit to Holland coincided with the wave of indignation sweeping the working class masses of the country over the police murder of the agricultural worker, John DeYonge, during a demonstration against wage reductions for agricultural workers. DeYonge was first wounded by the police and then fatally stabbed through the heart by a police sabre. Out of a town of 7,000 population more than 3,000 came to the funeral, with delegations from Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Haarlem and other cities.

Thus the workers of Holland feel the oppression at home, develop closer unity with the outraged masses in the colonial countries, and bring the Scottsboro persecution to their very doors. During the meetings addressed by the Scottsboro Negro Mother more than **1,000 applications for membership** poured in, the Amsterdam meeting alone yielding 350 members. The Scottsboro Committee of liberals and intellectuals was also strengthened at a special meeting presided over by Professor G. Mannoury of the University of Amsterdam.

## IN THE R.I.L.U.

### The First W.U.L. Congress and its Tasks in Canada.

J. Gray (Toronto).

The first Congress of the **Workers Unity League** meets in a situation which is characterised by a further deepening of the economic crisis in Canada, as part of the present world economic crisis.

The wider dictatorial powers assumed by the Bennett government "to deal with any emergency" represent a closer integration of finance capital with the government for a further attack upon the living standards and political rights of the workers and toiling farmers, and an intensification of the preparations for imperialist war and intervention against the Soviet Union.

The capitalist offensive on the working class is intensifying. Under the leadership of the Bennett government and at the dictates of finance capital, a wage-cutting campaign affecting every industry is being carried through. During the last six months, the civil servants, railroad workers, miners, building trades workers and even workers employed in those industries which up to now have suffered less from the crisis, such as gold mining, have suffered **wage-cuts** from 10 to 20 per cent. This has been accompanied by further mass lay-offs, and the introduction of various speed-up and rationalisation schemes (re-allocation in mining, improved technique on the railroads, etc.), resulting, in some cases, in increased hours, and a general increase in part-time employment. The number of totally **unemployed** has reached the tremendous figure of 750,000, amounting to about 50 per cent of all workers. In an effort to balance the federal, provincial and municipal budgets, the meagre relief to the unemployed is being cut to the bone, and the working masses are burdened with increased direct and indirect taxation.

In order to carry through its wage-cutting offensive against the organised as well as unorganised workers and its starvation programme regarding the unemployed and destitute farmers, the capitalist class has intensified political reaction and terror against the working class and its revolutionary organisations. In its attempts to stifle the growing resistance of the large masses of workers against the capitalist offensive and strike a blow at their revolutionary organisers and leaders in the Communist Party and the revolutionary unions, the capitalist class has outlawed the Communist Party in the Province of Ontario; sentenced eight of its outstanding leaders, including the National Secretary of the W.U.L., to prison terms totalling thirty-seven years; murdered three Estevan striking miners and wounded a score of others; smashed workers' demonstrations with increased violence; and arrested, jailed and deported hundreds of working men and women for working class activity.

Together with these fascist measures of suppression, the bourgeoisie carries on an intensive campaign of social demagoguery, trying to assure the masses that "there is freedom of speech, etc., for all who do not advocate force and violence", and to bolster up the prestige of the "democratic" parliamentary institutions, etc. In this, as in their offensive against the working class generally, the capitalist class are being assisted by the increased "left" manoeuvres and demagogic phrases of the social-fascists and the treacherous trade union bureaucracy, who are experiencing increasing difficulties in holding on to the leadership of the workers, due to the growing radicalisation and militancy of the masses and to their repeated betrayals of the workers' interests.

In an effort to offset the revolutionising influence of the Soviet Union and the communists on the workers, the social-fascists conduct systematic propaganda about "planned economy", "socialism" and their theories of a "peaceful solu-

tion". They have introduced a bill in parliament to amend Section 98 of the Criminal Code under which the Communist leaders were imprisoned in Toronto, thus hoping to head and divert the mass struggle for its repeal. With regard to unemployment, they have supported a bill introduced by the liberals for contributory unemployment insurance, a bill for settling the unemployed on farms, and proposed the formation of a "peace army" composed of unemployed receiving 1.10 Dollar a day "to save their morale". The growing discontent among the unemployed workers in the reformist unions and the influence of the unemployed movement led by the Communist Party and revolutionary unions has forced the trade union bureaucrats to begin organisational work among the unemployed. At the same time, their "left" manoeuvres are being more clearly exposed as the means to assist them in helping the capitalists' attacks (e. g. the railroad wage-cut, Nova Scotia miners building trades, etc.). They even openly advocate the acceptance of wage-cuts with the excuse that "half a loaf is better than none".

In this situation, there has been a growing radicalisation and willingness of the workers to struggle, manifesting itself in an increase of the number of strikes from 67 in 1930 to 88 in 1931. The strikes in the last period have been more sustained and stubborn and in most cases — 49 out of 88 — successful or partially successful. The W.U.L. is taking a leading role in developing and leading the strikes. However, with the exception of mining and lumbering the W.U.L. has failed to organise struggles in the basic industries. Out of the 16 strikes during the first two months of this year, 11 were under the leadership of the W.U.L., 3 under reformist leadership and 2 were spontaneous. The majority of the strikes were against wage-cuts, speed-up, bonus systems, etc. Twenty per cent of the strikes were for increased wages.

Other manifestations of the growing resistance of the workers and toiling masses to the offensive of the capitalists and the government are the militant struggles of the unemployed for immediate relief and non-contributory unemployment insurance, the mass campaigns and demonstrations for the legality of the Communist Party and against police terror and mass deportations, and the increasing feeling of insecurity among the employed workers.

The **First National Congress of the Workers' Unity League** is faced with the **central task of organizing a broad united front struggle of all workers against the capitalist offensive, wage-cuts and mass lay-offs, for immediate relief and non-contributory unemployment insurance, against the terror and deportations and for the legal existence of the revolutionary unions, against imperialist war and for the defence of the Soviet Union.**

During the recent months there has been an undoubted increase in the influence of the W.U.L. and an improvement in its activities. It has independently organised and led a number of successful strikes and unemployed campaigns for immediate relief, against cuts in relief, evictions, etc., and for non-contributory insurance (municipal, provincial and national Hunger Marches, beginning of broadening out on to the neighbourhood council basis), and some of its organisations have grown numerically.

This improvement must, however, be considered together with the fact that the W.U.L. has been unable to utilise to the maximum its forces to establish close connections with the broad masses, who are becoming more militant, for the development of decisive resistance against the capitalist offensive, particularly failing to organise struggles in the basic industries (mining, railroads, pulp and paper, etc.). The main reasons for these failures of the W.U.L. are: 1. A sectarian tendency in approaching the workers, expressed in formally calling upon them to join the W.U.L. unions and to organise and strike, set up committees of action, etc. 2. Lack of consistent work in the factories, mines and mills. 3. Weak work in the A.F. of L., A.C.C. of L., Catholic and other reformist and reactionary unions. 4. Failure to develop united front actions from below. 5. Failure to raise correct demands (Alberta, Nova Scotia, Estevan). 6. Failure to analyze and widely popularise the lessons of strike struggles.

A glaring example of the sectarian tendency is to be seen in the attitude of "The Nova Scotia Miner" towards the opposition movement in the U.M.W. of A. ("Action against the wage cuts and the dismissals is impossible while Lewis remains at the steering wheel", May 7th.) This is a complete negation of the line of independent leadership and the united front.

The failure to understand and apply the united front tactic represents a serious weakness, hindering the growth of the revolutionary trade union movement. The Congress must in a most decisive manner fight against all sectarian tendencies.

The struggle for the unorganised and organised workers, and for wresting them from the reactionary leaders can only be successful, providing the members of the W.U.L., are able to put before every worker the question as to how he is to defend his wages and his working day, etc., in practice, how to organise the resistance to the attack of the bosses, and the forms which the collective movements of the workers are to assume. All rank and file workers, regardless of their political views and the organisation to which they belong, must be approached in a comrade-like fashion, so as to draw them into the joint struggle against the employers. Together with this, there must be carried on a thorough and simple exposure of the reformist trade union leaders and their manoeuvres by contrasting their words with their actions in the course of the struggle. It is necessary to explain to the working masses the difference between the united front of the reformist leaders for the support of the employers and the united front from below of the workers, in some cases also including the workers elected to the local executive committees of the reformist unions, for the vital demands of the workers against the employers.

In the form of organisation and the name of the united front organs it is necessary to display the greatest flexibility, as what is most important, is that these organs are formed for the struggle against the employers, that they are elected by and consist of workers of various tendencies, and that they will not substitute the W.U.L. unions.

The work of the W.U.L. unions must be measured in the future by their ability to draw into the struggle the members of the reformist and other reactionary unions and the unorganised workers.

The lessons of the recent strike struggles in Canada and other countries must be discussed at the Congress in a most critical and simple manner and widely popularised among the workers, in order to avoid all mistakes in the preparations for and in the conducting of, as well as completing, the future struggles rapidly approaching.

In the **Fraser Mill strike** we have an example of a successful mobilisation of the striking workers, in unity with the unemployed, under the leadership of an elected strike committee and the participation of all the workers in drawing up the demands. As a result of this, considerable successes were achieved (increase in wages) and the revolutionary Lumber and Agricultural Workers' Union was consolidated and strengthened throughout the district.

While considerable successes were secured for the workers in the **Estevan strike**, the mistakes and bureaucratic distortions of correct strike tactics prevented the full utilisation of the possibilities. The strike committee was not an elected one and representative of all the miners. In the desire to have an Anglo-Saxon strike committee, some of the militant and capable foreign-born miners were excluded from leadership in the strike. The demands were actually concealed from the strikers for a certain period and then presented from the top without a discussion on them with the strikers. They were later changed without consultation with the workers. A mistake was made in raising the recognition of the union as the main demand. The strike leadership failed to organise a united front of the strikers with the farmers who were sympathetic and supported the strike by supplying food, etc., and to organise the miners' wives and children who displayed great fighting enthusiasm.

The lessons of these and other strike struggles have not been utilised to show how strikes should be conducted. The successful strikes have shown that not only is it possible to win strikes during the crisis, but that the W.U.L. unions have also succeeded in strengthening their organisational position.

The W.U.L. Congress is faced with the task of concretely estimating the situation with a view to determining the perspectives of the coming struggles and working out immediate programme and plans for the concentration of work in preparation for struggles in definite industries, districts and factories. Programmes of concentration should be drawn up for the following industries: railroads, coal and metal mining, pulp and paper, metal, textile (especially for the youth

and women), and lumbering and agriculture. In order to attain the maximum results in concentration work, there must be a corresponding distribution and promotion of cadres and forces.

The winning of the leadership in the economic struggles requires a deep penetration into the factories and reformist unions. Real mass work must be carried on in the factories, mines and mills for the uniting and rallying of the workers around their day-to-day needs and demands and the struggle against reformist leaders, blacklisting, discrimination, etc. The W.U.L. unions and their members must show themselves to be the most devoted and skilful champions in the struggle against every attempt to cut wages and worsen conditions, and prove that the W.U.L. is the persistent organiser of the united front of all workers willing to fight against the employers. The Congress must clearly and in great detail discuss how to build factory, mine and mill committees and opposition groups and how to develop struggles on the basis of experience.

While considerable achievements can be recorded in the work among the unemployed, there are serious weaknesses which must be rapidly overcome. There is insufficient mobilisation of the 750,000 unemployed for immediate relief and unemployment insurance; and the unemployed councils are not yet firm United Front organs closely connected with the wide masses. The basic immediate task is the development of the widest United Front movement on the Neighbourhood Council basis, and the closest unification of the struggle of the unemployed and employed workers.

This must be the reply of the W.U.L. to the attempts of the capitalists to split the ranks of the unemployed and break down their resistance to the hunger policy of the government. The reformist trade union leaders make demagogic proposals for insurance, etc., (even favouring non-contributory unemployment insurance — Jimmy Simpson), and organise unemployed associations and conferences and the charity, relief agencies and fascist organisations increase their activities. The work must be intensified among the unemployed who are under the influence of these boss agencies to win every unemployed worker for the United Front struggle.

For the unification of the struggle of the unemployed and employed workers it is necessary to organise joint struggles for demands reflecting the interests of both. In addition to mobilising the unemployed for the support of strikes and the employed for the support for the fight for relief and insurance, foremost among the issues on which this joint struggle can be organised is the fight against dismissals and for shorter working hours without reduction of wages. In this connection attention must be paid to the traditional attitude prevailing among some sections of the workers regarding the division of work (coal-miners, needle trades workers). The movements arising on this basis must be transformed into struggles against short time, the lowering of wages and dismissals, and for immediate relief and unemployment insurance, through firmly taking up leadership and clearly and patiently explaining to the workers that such "equal division of work" only assists the bosses and places the burden of the crisis on the workers. We must show to the Canadian working class the real class content of the policy of the Canadian government, which is nothing but a continuation and a reproduction on a national scale of the economic offensive of the bosses. Especially must we unmask the real class character of the suppressive measures and actions of the government against the revolutionary organisations (outlawing the C.P. of C., the mass arrests and deportations, etc.) as direct support of the government in the capitalist offensive against the workers. It is our task to link up the immediate economic demands of the employed and unemployed workers with the struggle against political reaction and police terror and for freedom of speech, press and assemblage, thus drawing the workers fighting for their economic needs into a struggle against the capitalist government and the whole state machinery. Systematic educational work must be carried on among the unemployed to raise their class-consciousness and fighting ability.

The Congress must in a most self-critical manner, reveal the organisational weaknesses hindering the growth of the W.U.L., in order by correcting them to make possible the rapid development of its unions into mass organisations. Here a root weakness is the absence of daily activity and firm organisational basis in the factories, mines and mills. A second major weakness is the lack of work and opposition groups in

the reformist unions, which contain hundreds of thousands of workers who cannot be won for the W.U.L. from without. Thirdly, there is an insufficient consolidation of the factory, district and national leadership, and they have insufficient connections with the masses. The provisional character of the leadership must be done away with and the election of leading committees and their responsibility to the membership established throughout the W.U.L. A collective leadership must be developed and this must follow the line of giving concrete instructions and stimulating activity and self-criticism by means of personal contact. All the members of the leading committees must work directly in the factory committees and opposition groups, taking up concretely the problems arising therein. The election and promotion of new forces to the district and national leadership must be undertaken immediately in view of the depletion of cadres due to arrests and deportations. The most active members in the factories, mines and mills and among the unemployed must be charged with leading work and the old and experienced comrades must give them the maximum assistance. Measures must be taken to educate the active members by organising classes, etc., in theory and especially in practical mass work.

The press of the W.U.L. must in the future play a greater role by widening and developing its circles of factory, mine, mill and unemployed correspondents. The central organ must give leadership to the Union, factory, and unemployed press through a self-critical discussion of the weaknesses and shortcomings of the W.U.L. work.

The W.U.L. has the task of mobilising the whole working class for the daily struggle **against imperialist war and intervention** against the U.S.S.R. The fact that the whole capitalist way out of the crisis leads to war and that the capitalists' attack upon the workers' wages and conditions and political rights is an integral part of their war preparations, must be explained in simple and concrete terms. It is necessary to combat and expose the social-fascist and reformist demagogy and pacifist propaganda. The work must be directed towards developing concrete mass actions against the imperialist war policy of the Canadian government and the manufacture and transportation of war materials.

By militantly and actively organising and leading the workers in the day-to-day struggles, the W.U.L. must transform itself into a powerful mass organisation, capable of fulfilling its role in the mobilisation of the workers in the fight against the capitalists and their reformist agents for the revolutionary way out of the crisis.

## OUR PROBLEMS

### Urgent Questions of the Work of the C.P. of South Africa.

(Letter from South Africa.)

By J o h n s.

(Continued.)

#### Forms of the Mass Struggle for an Independent Native Republic.

The national-reformists and opportunists in the Party considered that the revolutionary struggle could not achieve freedom and independence for the African peoples. The national-reformists could only see the power of imperialism and could not see the weakness of imperialism—the proletarian revolution, the U.S.S.R. and the mass movement in South Africa. In 1929 the Party called on the masses in a revolutionary manner to fight for their freedom and rights, not by means of petitions to Parliament and the other organisations of the oppressors, but by a direct struggle against the slave laws, by mass violations of them. The Party called on the masses to burn passes on **Dingaans Day**. Thousands of workers in various towns responded to the call of the Party and burned their passes, thus stating that they would act the same way both with the laws which Herzog's Government was

trying to pass and with all the serf and slave laws of the imperialist government. Under these conditions the burning of passes was a form of mass revolutionary struggle for an independent native republic, for freedom, for land, for the improvement of the life of white and black workers. It would seem that the Party was bound to see the limited significance of the burning of passes, to explain to the masses the necessity of other more effective and higher forms of struggle. The burning of passes had the aim of struggling against the pressure of the slave owners, orientating the masses to the revolutionary struggle, mobilising the masses for mass activity against one of the most pernicious of laws. However, it would be a mistake to single out one of the laws, one of the calamities and not the worst one, and make it the centre of all the activity of the Party.

The Party had to take the path of mass action, but these direct slogans and appeals, while in the long run helping towards the aim of the struggle for an independent native republic, should have arisen from the direct needs of the masses, should have been real and urgent for the masses. Instead of passing on to a new form of mass struggle, once the old forms were out of date, the Communists converted the burning of passports into a virtue. A theory began to go round in the Party that anyone with a pass is not a genuine Communist. It is known that without a pass it is impossible to move about or to get work. What sort of Communist was that who could not move about, work and earn his living, and all because of the notion that "a Communist must not have a pass". This is a distortion and not conscious reliable Communist activity in rousing the masses to the struggle.

However, while stubbornly clinging to worn out and harmful slogans which isolate the Party and separate it from the masses, the Party did not put forward sufficiently and concretely the **struggle for an independent Native Republic**, did not determine how the masses should struggle for it in every locality and at the given moment.

In our **May Day Manifesto** there is the appeal: Not one peasant or labourer to sign the contract; refuse to pay hut tax and poll tax; drive the recruiters out of the reserves, refuse to pay debts to the European landlords, traders and government.

All these appeals have the character not of appeals to the masses but to individuals, not calling for the organisation of mass non-payment of taxes but for personal heroism.

The revolutionary movement must arouse and develop personal heroism. Our movement will be strong and stable if the majority of its supporters, convinced of its truth, are prepared for heavy sacrifices for the success of the struggle. But personal heroism is great and powerful only if it is connected with the general mass movement and the mass struggle. We must strictly distinguish between direct calls to the masses for action and our general agitation which explains the necessity for overthrowing the regime, the repeal of any particular law, etc. Always and under all conditions Communists are irreconcilable opponents of slave laws and all exploitation, and they are consistent supporters of the destruction of all exploitation through the revolutionary mass struggle. But it is not always and not every slogan which can be taken as a slogan of action. In order to call the masses to any particular form of mass struggle, to any particular action—strikes, refusals to pay taxes, etc.—we must have conditions in the form of the readiness of the masses for this action and the activity of the vanguard to be at the head of these masses. The readiness of the masses can only be known by maintaining constant everyday contacts with them, through agitation, the press, the trade unions, etc.

The Party did not think which forms of mass struggle had matured for action, which forms of struggle must be prepared for, and which forms of the struggle need only to be explained to the masses, and how to call the masses to such actions. We must call the masses to this, prepare them to organise their forces, but to call them immediately to carry out some slogan of the mass struggle we must take into account the circumstances and the degree of preparedness and training of the masses. We must not throw out slogans wildly, discrediting them, undermining respect for the Party on the part of the masses. This is the lesson which we brought out. (To be concluded.)