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The Political Situation in Spain.

After the Failure of the Monarchist Putsch. — Radicalisation of the Working Masses.

By Vicente Arroyo (Madrid).

The first act of the comedy of the court martial is over. General **Sanjurjo** has been sentenced to death and pardoned immediately afterwards. The other insurgent military leaders who have still to appear before the Supreme Court need not lie awake at nights. The pardon of Sanjurjo throws open the gates of freedom from penalty to all the monarchist military leaders who would like to overthrow the republic in the service of the large landowners and bankers, that they may establish a military dictatorship which is to pave the way for the restoration of the monarchy. The conspiracies continue, and may continue.

This conclusion of the first act of the comedy has not taken the **communists** of Spain by surprise. It was what they had expected, and from the very beginning they had warned the working masses that this would be the conclusion. The bourgeoisie could not dispense with Sanjurjo, who has headed the civil guard, the executive organ of the repression policy, both under the monarchy and under the republic, and has led this instrument of bloody terror against the starving masses of workers and peasants under both the monarchist and the republican governments.

Therefore the whole bourgeoisie, all the friends of "peace" and "order", the zealous champions of historical justice (as witness their demands for the rapid condemnation of the revolutionary workers of **Villa de D. Fadrique, Castilblanco, Figols**, etc.), have come forward to beg for the pardon of this monarchist general, although this demand signifies the discrediting of precisely that justice which they pretend to defend.

The **socialists** too were not behindhand in advancing the demand for "pardon" for the reactionary general. The first petition for pardon was entered by the **Socialist Youth** of the town of **El Ferrol!**

Only the enemies of **bourgeois** class justice, the **revolutionary workers** who have steadily opposed reaction in **Sevilla, Granada, Bilbao, Madrid**, etc., and who succeeded in shipwrecking Sanjurjo's monarchist and reactionary putsch in **Sevilla**, demanded that this reactionary putsch leader be shot, demonstrated in the streets, and declared the general strike in **Bilbao, Sevilla**, and other places, when the news of Sanjurjo's pardon was made known.

This demand for exemplary justice, put forward by the

revolutionary workers, has been replied to by the government of the republicans and socialists by shutting down of the bureaux of the revolutionary labour movement in **Sevilla**, and by the use against the workers of the batons of the storm guards and the rifles of the civil guard, which had taken part in Sanjurjo's rising, thus once more staining the streets of the workers' quarters with the blood of the revolutionary toilers (**Gallarta**).

* * *

In view of the resolute attitude taken by the revolutionary workers of **Sevilla** towards the monarchist putsch, and in view of the unanimous protest of the proletariat of Spain against the reactionary rising, a rising promoted by the government by its obliging attitude towards the civil and military elements of the reaction, the republican-socialist government followed up the latest successes by a number of demagogic measures: the discharge of 4000 civil guards who had joined Sanjurjo's rising in **Sevilla**; the announcement of courts martial and severest penalties; the proposal that the landed property of the reactionary landowners should be confiscated; the sending of all persons who had taken part in the movement, but are not legally responsible, to **Guinea**, etc.

These activities on the part of the government do not arise, as many believe, from the intention of a left wheel in its policy, or from the intention of adopting any radical attitude towards the monarchist provocations; they are simply a demagogic manoeuvre intended to bridle the discontent of the masses, who demanded from the very beginning the punishment of the monarchist conspirators. They represent an attempt to prevent the revolutionary workers from taking justice into their own hands, as they have already commenced to do in some towns (**Sevilla**, **Granada**, **Vitoria**, etc.), where they set fire to the houses and offices of the monarchists, the headquarters of counter-revolution.

The **Socialist Party** has aided the government in pursuing its aims. The action of the revolutionary workers and of the **Communist Party** has been neutralised in part by the systematic betrayal of the protest and militant actions organised by the revolutionary workers. The organ of the Socialist Party has never tired of calling for "reason", for "confidence in the government, which will call the guilty to account", and which will "take the necessary measures". The revolutionary workers and the Communist Party have not been able to combat and unmask these appeals by daily exposures, for the organ of the C.P., the "**Mundo Obrero**" has been prohibited for eight months by the republican-socialist government, and precisely on the commands of this same general Sanjurjo who has since risen in rebellion against the government.

The demagogic measures announced by the government and the socialists for bridling the action of the working masses were not and could not be carried out. The leader of the insurrection, General Sanjurjo, has not suffered the penalty imposed by the court; the monarchists suspected of participation in the movement have not been deported. (The revolutionary workers of **Figols** were deported at once.) The confiscation of the estates of these monarchists will not take place for six months, if at all, and will only be one farce more. Those who have been condemned to death, pardoned, and sent to fortress detention will doubtless soon be pardoned and re-instated in their positions. (Scarcely forty eight hours after Sanjurjo had been pardoned, his lawyer had the impudence to speak of a probable amnesty for the insurgent officers.)

* * *

The rising of the reactionary and monarchist elements has not, as some have imagined would be the case, brought about a turn to the left in the policy of the republic, but has rather contributed to strengthening its Right policy, its anti-labour policy, its policy of subordinating everything to the interests of the great capitalists, and of strangling the revolutionary workers' movement.

The government accompanies its mildness towards the monarchist conspirators by an intensification of its policy of suppression against the revolutionary workers' movement, and especially against its leader, the **Communist Party**. The prohibition of the "**Mundo Obrero**" is maintained, whilst the monarchist newspapers and periodicals are permitted to appear again. The meetings of the C.P. are banned, its functionaries arbitrarily imprisoned, the offices of the revolutionary labour movement are shut up (**Sevilla**), storm guards

(**Madrid**) and civil guards (**Biscaya**) were employed to disperse the demonstrations of the revolutionary workers when these have demanded that Sanjurjo and the other monarchist officers should be shot; the whole apparatus of force of the state has been re-inforced (last week the number of storm guards has been increased by 2500) etc.

The Spanish bourgeoisie is right in fearing the revolutionary movement. The objective conditions are accelerating the rhythm of the revolution in Spain. The republic has proved incapable of solving the economic crisis in Spain. The crisis has become acuter. Large undertakings, such as the shipyards at **Reinosa**, have discharged more than 50% of their workers. In other enterprises short time is being worked. The only undertakings in full work are the war material factories, such as that in **Trubia**. The situation of Spanish foreign trade is becoming a catastrophe.

The situation finds expression in the increased number of unemployed, who are receiving no assistance; in the lowered standards of living of the workers; in growing unrest; in great disappointment at the republic; in the growing radicalisation of the working class.

The bourgeoisie and the government are attempting to bridle this radicalisation of the working masses by increasing their repressive measures.

* * *

The bourgeoisie is no longer content with re-inforcing the official repressive organs of the state (storm guard, police, etc). It is now proceeding to equip itself with a non-official apparatus of repression.

The Radical Socialist deputy **Jaen** (for many years a follower of the Republican leader **Leroux**, and former governor of **Malaga**, where he distinguished himself by his anti-labour policy), has taken it upon himself to falsify one of the slogans of the **Communist Party**, the arming of the proletariat, which has become popular among the masses of the workers during the last few months, and has brought up the idea of an "**Armed National Militia**", which he intends submitting to parliament in the form of a bill.

The "National Militia" whose formation is intended to be armed with rifles. The socialists have already tacitly agreed to its formation. Although it is being represented as a fighting organisation against possible renewed monarchist risings, in reality it will be a new method of repression against the revolutionary workers and peasants, precisely as the Law "for the Protection of the Republic" has proved to be.

It is only necessary to remember the elements of which this "Armed National Militia" is to be composed. According to the intentions of its creators, this "National Militia" is not to be recruited from among the revolutionary workers who have occupied the foremost ranks in **Sevilla** and other large towns in Spain in the struggle against reaction, but "solely and exclusively" from among the "tried and tested" republicans and socialists for whom the leaders of the parties concerned can "guarantee", and who will then be placed under the leadership of the provincial governors.

Anyone familiar with the activities of "tried and tested" republicans and socialists in all movements of the revolutionary workers, and with their customary betrayals of this movement, knows that the new armed apparatus which it is proposed to form will be a new organisation against the revolutionary workers.

* * *

The revolutionary workers of Spain will, however, not fail to learn the lessons of this last monarchist movement, the more that these lessons are extremely instructive for the movement and its future action.

These lessons have shown the working class the following: The revolutionary workers have the power, thanks to the

23 Hungarian Workers Sentenced.

Budapest, 6th September 1932.

A number of workers arrested last year and accused of being communists were tried yesterday in **Budapest**. Two of the accused were sentenced to two years and six months hard labour each, twenty one other accused were sentenced to short terms ranging from three months to a year's imprisonment, and four of the accused were acquitted.

united front, to defeat the class enemy. The sounding phrases about "equality in the eyes of the law", still believed in by many toilers, are fairy tales. The workers cannot trust any of the promises made by governments at moments when these are in danger, for afterwards the governments turn on the revolutionary workers with the whole of the severity of the law and all possible repressive measures. If the workers are determined to assert their power and to make themselves master of the situation, they must secure their position with the aid of Soviets and by arming themselves, unless they want to be beaten again in a few days, as now. When the bourgeoisie issues the revolutionary slogans of the workers (such as the expropriation of the landowners and the arming of the proletariat), its sole object in doing so is to falsify them, to sidetrack the action of the proletariat, and to apply the same slogans against the revolutionary workers.

The Lancashire Textile Strike.

By Harry Pollitt.

Two hundred thousand Lancashire weavers are out on strike against the demands of the owners for wage reductions of 2/9 in the £ and for the introduction of the more loom system designed to throw out of employment 50% of the working weavers.

For 19 months the millowners have tried by every means to break the heroic resistance of the Lancashire textile workers to these demands. Already in 1931 the workers after five weeks mass strike forced the employers to withdraw their demands. In months of guerilla warfare under conditions of increasing economic crisis the workers in mill after mill struck against the new terms, demonstrated and picketed in masses and blocked the advance of the employers.

The fight of the Earby weavers in a little village in North East Lancashire for 12 weeks prior to July 25th against a wage cut of 7½%, led the fight which was taken up by 20,000 Burnley weavers. On July 25, the Burnley employers attempted to reduce wages, but the 20,000 Burnley weavers struck work, and to the astonishment of the whole of Lancashire, stopped every Burnley factory.

For five weeks the Burnley and Earby weavers have been on the streets fighting against the depletions of the Trade Union leaders, and the brutality of the hordes of imported police. But the will to victory was invincible.

Now the determined will to fight of the textile workers has compelled the extension of the strike to the whole country, 200,000 weavers have closed the ranks and present a solid front against the employers' offensive.

The savage police brutality, the baton charges and arrests, the ferocious application of Means Test under which thousands of unemployed have been deprived of benefit, the mass unemployment reaching 55%, the strikebreaking and splitting tactics of the trade union leaders who have repeatedly accepted the employers' policy, who agreed to more looms, who offered a wage cut of 1/4 in the £, all these methods of the textile capitalists have absolutely failed to break the fighting will of the Lancashire textile proletariat.

For two years more than 40% of them have been unemployed, the wages of those employed have averaged 38/- per week for men and 29/- for women. But the ranks are solid, and the blacklegs are few and far between and meet the determined hostility of the workers.

The Lancashire cotton workers are fighting in the front ranks of the British working class, which is menaced all along the line by a new wave of attacks on wages under the regime of the National Government, the Government which is leading and directing the most savage capitalist offensive and war preparations. The fight of the Lancashire textile workers is giving the lead to the railwaymen, menaced with new mass dismissals and speedup; to the London transport workers threatened with wage cuts and dismissals, to the printing workers, engineers, municipal workers all of whom are directly menaced by the new offensive.

The Lancashire cotton workers are worthily taking their places in the battle line of the international textile prole-

The economic and political situation of the toiling masses of Spain is becoming steadily worse. The next few months will aggravate the situation further. The bourgeoisie is making every preparation to crush all protests on the part of the revolutionary workers, and all attempts at a **struggle for bread, land, and freedom**. The revolutionary workers have learnt how to fight for their demands with the aid of the united front, under the leadership of the Communist Party. The failure of this military coup d'état has drawn a clearer line of demarcation between the camps. It has shown that in Spain counter-revolution is not yet defeated, and has reacted upon the broad masses, exposing in their eyes a number of democratic illusions, and thus giving fresh impetus to the revolution in Spain. The workers and peasants of Spain will know how to draw the conclusions from these facts, and to apply them in their struggles for the advancing revolution.

ariat which is determinedly resisting the international onslaught of the textile barons. The heroic strike and the barricade fighting of the Vienne textile proletariat, the strike of the Polish textile workers who at Bialystok fought against the fascist and military terror, the strikes of the Japanese textile workers under conditions of unheard-of repression, the preparations of the Saxon textile proletariat for strike against wage cuts—the Lancashire workers add another to these heroic class battles of the international textile proletariat.

The Lancashire textile workers look to the whole of the British and international proletariat for support in their struggle. Already the response to their appeal shows that they will not look in vain. But it is necessary to act quickly, to pour into Lancashire messages of greeting and solidarity, and money for the strike relief actions being organised by the W.I.R.

The most dangerous enemies of the strike are the reformist trade union leaders who already are negotiating behind the scenes with the employers and the government, seeking to find a basis of compromise on which to call off the strike and betray the interests of the workers.

The Communist Party and the Textile Minority Movement are ceaselessly striving to strengthen the strike front, to organise the strike, to develop relief, to develop an elected strike leadership representing and having the confidence of the striking masses. Only in this way can the manoeuvres of the strikebreakers of all shades be defeated. Increasing thousands of strikers are expressing in meetings and demonstrations their support for this line of the Communist Party and the Textile Minority Movement, and are rallying to the slogans: No Wage Cuts! No More Looms! Re-instate the Dismissed Weavers! For a Collective Agreement Embodying Those slogans!

The Opening of the British Trades Union Congress.

London, 5th September 1932.

The Trades Union Congress opened to-day at Newcastle. The report revealed that in the past year the membership of the affiliated unions had decreased by 110,000.

An official meeting was held in the huge City Hall last night, but despite all the leading lights of the trade union movement being billed to speak it was very sparsely attended.

The Communist Party held a mass demonstration in the Market Square which was attended by 2000 workers, and addressed by **Wal Hannington** and **Wm. Allan** (of the Minority Movement). A resolution was passed repudiating the class collaboration policy of the T.U.C. and calling for the building of a mass united front rank and file movement. A **Lancashire striker** who spoke got a magnificent reception, and a collection of 45/- was taken for the strikers.

POLITICS

The Franco-British Entente and Germany's Armaments Demands.

By Gabriel Péri (Paris).

For four days we have been entertained with full details as to the journey of President Herriot to the English islands of Jersey and Guernsey. We are now aware that M. Herriot spoke historical words on board the "Minotaurus", then visited Montorgueil castle, leaned against a cannon and filled his pipe, and was photographed by an English lady tourist. Truly highly interesting!

But what have been the actual aims of his journey? Doubtless many wise (and diplomatic) speeches have been exchanged in Jersey. The "Daily Telegraph" of 31st August informs the world on three questions which have been dealt with: 1. Preparations for a conference of the Danube countries; 2. disarmament and securities; 3. International Economic Conference.

Hence the meeting in Jersey follows up the Franco-British alliance policy, expressed in the Confidence Pact of Lausanne (13th July).

This pact has been interpreted very differently in London and in Paris. In London endeavours have been made to use the pact as a means of exerting pressure on U.S.A. imperialism. But at the same time all measures have been taken to put a stop to any exaggerated demands on the part of France.

However this may be, the question is one which has to be dealt with. What attitude must the proletariat take towards this renaissance of the *entente cordiale*? May it assume that the diplomacy of the pilgrims to Jersey offers a guarantee of peace?

We know what the leaders of the social democratic parties of France have replied to this question. About three weeks ago M. Eugen Frot stated in the "Dépêche de Toulouse" that the Gentlemen's Agreement between Herriot and Sir John Simon deserves unconditional recognition. And M. Blum cannot find words enough in appreciation of this heroic deed of the radicals. It may be observed that this agreement has a predecessor in the pact signed in 1928 by the since deceased Briand, and by Berthelot and... Paul-Boncour, the then social democratic deputy for the Tarn Département.

Among the problems occupying the statesmen during their romantic sojourn, a main problem has been that of the situation of Central Europe and of the East European countries, which has certainly become more acute since the time of the failure of Tardieu's Danube plans. In these countries France and Italy are rivals. And the competition of these two imperialist great powers has become obviously greater in the course of the past month. France maintains that in the interests of the *entente cordiale* it must protect its privileges in this exposed spot of Europe, where the French loans are serving to float the dictatorship of White Terror again.

We may pre-assume that the new Entente has already led to definite results in Geneva. The gates have been thrown open to armaments. The acceptance of the resolution proposed by Benes would have been impossible without the support to which M. Herriot and Sir John Simon gave their consent in the pre-negotiations. The joy of the armaments industry at these results may be imagined.

But sooner or later the Conference at Geneva will have to be re-opened. But before this eventuality occurs, Germany has given notice of its armaments demands. The German Reich demands equal rights, that is, the right to arm. It is known that a few days ago Papen forwarded a memorandum to the French ambassador in Berlin on this subject. This memorandum was handed to Herriot at the moment when the "Minotaurus" anchored at Cherbourg.

But before this important German document was published, General von Schleicher commented on it at an interview granted to the representative of the Italian paper "Resto del Carlino". Schleicher demands for Germany the right to train soldiers in every description of defence permitted by Geneva, and the right to build fortifications and armaments factories. He demands for his country military aeroplanes, tanks, heavy artillery, etc.

Notice of Germany's memorandum was given some weeks

ago. And certainly it has been the object of the negotiations between Great Britain and France. The actual problem will scarcely be the prevention of renewed armaments on the part of Germany. Both Paris and London, and Paris even more than London, are well aware that this would be lost labour. What is really wanted is that Germany undertakes to make use of its arms solely according to the instructions of the French government, that is, against the proletariat of the Soviet Union. This is the essential meaning of the negotiations which have been carried on for years, and now presented with renewed urgency by Germany's *démarche*.

This suffices to show the actual significance of the *entente cordiale* as a compromise for the pillaging of Central Europe, for the protection of French militarism, for the transformation of Germany's people into a paid army for the combat against the Soviet Union.

Only a few days ago the international united front of the proletariat was formed in Amsterdam against enterprises of this character.

The Fruits of Ottawa.

By E. B. (London).

The Ottawa Conference is over. The delegates are on their way home, or are already reporting to their governments. Some of the agreements concluded at Ottawa have been published; others have not. Even in the published agreements there are many references to unpublished lists of commodities to which particular paragraphs refer. In many other cases there is no definiteness about the articles covered or the extent of the imperial preference to be given; many important questions are left open. It is therefore quite impossible to draw up any balance sheet of the effect of the Ottawa agreements on trade; but it is possible to state their general character and to estimate the "success" of the Conference in relation to the economic difficulties of British imperialism.

One of the most noticeable features in all the separate agreements is the fact that the obligations on Britain are definite and detailed, while the corresponding obligations on the various Dominions are indefinite and general. In all cases, Britain continues to give free entry to Dominions products in the case of items included in this year's ten per cent. general tariff, and to maintain existing preferences in the case of other items. But the most important items are the new items which are to be taxed by Britain: wheat in particular; and also the increased duty on foreign butter, and the regulation by quota of meat and beacon imports. This whole programme means the steady extension of British tariffs (or quota arrangements) to cover food items generally, with the necessary result of rising prices for the British workers.

And what does British capitalism get in return? In most Dominions, maintained or slightly increased preferences (as compared with foreign countries) on items which generally are not stated, but are to be fixed later. But there is nothing very new in this—though the actual rate of the preference may increase—and the main problem for Britain, competition with the Dominions industries themselves, remains practically untouched. It is true that there are vague "pious" phrases. For example, the Dominions are only to give tariff protection to industries which are "reasonably assured" of sound opportunities of success. But who is to decide which industries are in this position? The Tariff Board of each Dominion, which is also to decide a revision of tariffs to a level which will give United Kingdom producers full opportunity of "reasonable" competition with the Dominions industries. "Infant industries", however, may be protected without this limitation.

Taking all these provisions together, they amount to this: The Dominions have not given way—except in empty phrases—to the British demand for free competition with the Dominions industries. Secondly, even the special additional protective measures taken by the Dominions against British "dumping" (on the basis of the depreciated £) are to remain unaltered for a considerable time. Thus, Canada is to "consider" the "ultimate" abolition of the exchange dumping duty on British products; Newfoundland is to provide for "more favourable" conditions in regard to the valuation of the £ for customs purposes.

Taken as a whole, it can be said that the Ottawa agreements represent considerable concessions from British capitalism to the capitalist groups of the Dominions, and

"face-saving" phrases in return. The agreements are not of any substantial importance for British capitalism's problem of markets: The Dominions have made no concessions of any real significance. Ottawa therefore has not realised any step towards a "way out" for British capitalism; it registers rather British capitalism's weakness, its inevitable capitulation to the Dominions in order to maintain political unity.

Further, there is a clause in the agreement with Canada which provides that, if the preferences become ineffective owing to price changes carried out by any foreign State, the goods concerned shall be refused entry by the British Government. This is clearly directed against the Soviet Union, and is the opening step in the direction of economic boycott.

The real achievements of Ottawa, from the standpoint of British imperialism, have been a temporary check to United States influence in Canada, and to some extent the consolidation of the capitalist groups of the Empire (with the important exception of Ireland!) against the United States; a similar consolidation against the Soviet Union; and the laying of the basis for general price increases in Britain which will decrease the real wages of the British workers. And what part have the reformist leaders of the British trade unions played in this? Open support of the Ottawa conference in memoranda and resolutions, and the sending of two official delegates from the British Trades Union Congress.

But whatever little "success" has been achieved by British imperialism and its lackeys at Ottawa, the mass action of the British workers in Lancashire shows how little effect the Ottawa propaganda has had. Now that the Ottawa agreements are known, they will serve as fresh fuel for the flame of mass resistance against the National Government of Hunger and war.

The Risings in Ecuador.

By R. Kölner.

Official news from **Quito**, the capital of Ecuador, state that there has been a bloody insurrection in the army, supported by great masses of the workers, against the government under the present President, **Moreno**. The insurgents have seized the capital several times, and fire from the churches on the governmental troops concentrating towards **Quito**. Hundreds of dead are lying in the streets. The greatest munitions stores of Ecuador are in the hands of the rebels, and are being defended with varying success against the attacks of the troops faithful to **Moreno**. The insurrection has spread to other towns. The President proclaimed by the insurgent soldiers and workers, **Bonifaz**, who was elected last year but prevented from taking office on account of not being a citizen of Ecuador, but of Peru, has ordered the dissolution of the Senate.

Ecuador, on the West Coast of South America, is about as large as France, but counts according to the latest official census in 1929 only 1,786,000 inhabitants. Every climate is represented, from the tropical heat of the equator (hence the name) to the northern climate of the mountains. In **Quito**, the capital, eternal spring reigns. The population consists of 48% **Indios** (descendants of the Inkas), 30% **Cholos** (half-breeds) who lead a wretched existence, and a thin stratum of exploited **white** workers and of **white** masters. The country is rich in natural wealth, gold and oil. The fertile soil yields cocoa, coffee, rubber, cotton, and sugar cane.

But Ecuador has no benefit from its natural wealth. It does not belong to it, but to the great imperialist bandit power of the **United States**. The **gold export** in particular, which reached 2000 kgs yearly in 1929, representing a value of **one million dollars**, has been completely monopolised by the Yankees. Special contracts even rob the state of a great part of the export duties on gold. **The Yankees exercise a complete financial and political control over Ecuador**, and the country is a typical example of the formally independent but in reality completely ruled country—ruled by Yankee imperialism.

The industrial development commenced at one time has been, and is still being, kept back. The few industries which exist (sugar and textiles) work with imported machinery, imported capital, imported engineers, and in part (in the gold mines) with imported workers. The industries manufacturing the means of production (machines, tools, etc.) have in parti-

cular been completely strangled. It may be said that in Ecuador to-day not a single nail is manufactured, not a sheet of paper, not a piece of glass. The stone nut, the pagua, is sent as raw material for buttons to Thuringia, but in Ecuador no buttons are made. The country whose cocoa export was the largest in the world a few years ago is now obliged to import its chocolate. Imperialism, especially in the form represented in Ecuador, takes no interest in the industrial development of the countries which it rules. All it needs of them is that they are objects of exploitation and markets for goods.

It need not be said that a state being pillaged as Ecuador is bound to be plunged into the severest of economic and financial conflicts. The general international crisis is felt more severely under such conditions. Ecuador's finances are in a catastrophic condition.

An immediate consequence of this economic position is the constant insurrections in the army, the risings of the petty bourgeoisie against the large landowners and against the foreign imperialists, movements frequently carrying along with the broad strata of the oppressed **Indios**, and of the frightfully exploited workers of the towns. The **revolution of 1925** for instance, initiated by the army and the petty bourgeoisie, and supported by great masses of the workers and peasants, possessed a number of socialist features, but without being a socialist revolution. The army and the workers, aided by an independent revolution on the part of the peasants, deposed the President after severe conflicts, put the heads of the government in prison, and carried out a few reforms. But it was not a socialist revolution! And the leader placed in the presidential chair by the masses capitulated rapidly to the U.S.A. robbers. This bourgeois revolution, like all these South American revolutions, was not able to solve even the problems of the bourgeoisie, to say nothing of social problems.

The new President took no steps against the fundamental evil combated by the masses—Yankee imperialism—but on the contrary he called the **Kemmerer Commission** into the country. The Kemmerer Commission is a travelling Yankee commission for the organisation of finances, entrusted with the work of establishing and consolidating the political and financial dictatorship of North America in South America. This commission arranged financial matters to a certain extent, and left a certain **Tompins** behind it as official dictator (the said Tompkins was fined by a law court in 1929 for irregularities, etc. but the Supreme Court of Ecuador quashed the sentence in its fear of the Yankees). Thus the results of the revolution crumbled away like all those which have gone before. The power given by the workers to the President was turned against the workers. A wave of persecution and oppression against the workers' and peasants' movement set in, which had only one good side to it, the fact that it forced the workers to a unification of their movement.

Up to 1925 the workers' movement in Ecuador developed under isolated and scattered conditions. Now much has changed. In 1927 the **first trade union congress** took place, uniting the movement, and contributing greatly to the development of the trade unions, hitherto of a mixed nature, into purely trade union organisations. Shortly afterwards the trade unions joined the R.I.L.U. The existing socialist party applied for admission to the III. International, and was officially accepted at the Sixth World Congress of the C.I. Both movements, the trade union and the political, have meanwhile made great progress, and have developed into active

Ada Wright and J. Louis Engdahl Arrested in Czechoslovakia.

Prague, 6th September 1932.

Ada Wright and J. Louis Engdahl, the Secretary of the U.S.A. Labor Defense, were arrested in **Kladno** in the mining fields prior to a meeting. They were then taken back to **Prague** under police escort and informed that they would be deported from the country for having interfered in the internal affairs of the State and thus threatened order and security. Immediately the arrests became known a powerful protest movement arose, and the deportation order was stayed. J. Louis Engdahl was even released after he had been deprived of his passport. It is believed that the police action against the two was taken at the request of the U.S. ambassador.

fighting organisations. In the course of the last few years they have learned to differentiate among the various revolts and revolutions, and to support actively those movements which serve to further the struggle against imperialism, and to promote the interests of the workers and peasants.

That they support the present insurrection is because this movement is directed against the foreign imperialists. Up to now, it is true, these risings have not represented socialist revolutions, but they are struggles against the great imperialists, the United States or Great Britain and are therefore part of the great world-wide struggle of the toiling masses everywhere against imperialism.

An important role is played by the struggle against the

landed proprietor, the great feudal estates which form so great an evil in Ecuador. On these great estates, extending over many thousands of square kilometres, the working conditions verge closely on slavery. The last remnants of the joint economics of the onetime Inka state here defend themselves desperately against the further penetration of the private landlord. This struggle of the enslaved agricultural workers, the Indios, whose very subsistence is constantly threatened, never ceases. The agrarian reform resolved upon in 1925 was not carried out, and the struggle received fresh nourishment. One of the main tasks of the Communist Party of Ecuador is to mobilise the broad masses of the agricultural workers in the struggle against the large landowners.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

The Protection of Labour in the Soviet Union.

By A. Tzikhon.

The XVI. Party Congress of the C.P.S.U., in its Resolution on the Tasks of the Trade Unions, declared inter alia:

"The Party Congress considers it necessary that the work of the Commissariat of Labour and its organs, and of the economic and trade union organs, should be improved with regard to labour protection and the creation of healthier conditions of work in the shops and factories (especially in the heavy industry)."

Since this Party Congress the working class of the Soviet Union has attained considerable success in the development of labour safety and the protection of the workers. The means allotted for this purpose in 1932 amount to 169.5 million roubles as compared with 99 millions in 1929. In the leading branches of industry the increased expenditure is considerably greater than expressed in this sum total. Thus the amount expended for labour safety in the mining industry has increased from 16 million roubles in 1929 to the present 45 millions, in the smelting industry to 40 millions, in the transport service from 14 to 30 millions. The sum allotted in the state budget for the social insurance service has increased by 70% within three years, and is now 3.5 milliard roubles in 1932. The number of workers sent to rest homes and sanatoriums has increased from 540,000 in 1928 to 1.5 million this year.

The above recorded successes are seen most plainly in the various large-scale undertakings. The factory "Serp i Molot" in Moscow, for instance, sent 1500 persons to the day rest homes in 1928, increasing to 8000 by 1932; during the same time the number of persons sent from this undertaking to the sanatoriums and rest homes increased from 280 to 670. The sums allotted for safety devices in the works and factories have been properly applied for this purpose. In the first quarter of 1932 the chemical factory "Chelkov" had already accomplished the task set it in this direction to 32%, the factory "Cherbykov" to 34%, and the "Dynamo" to 40%. About 40% of the year's program was also attained by the factory "Krasnaya Rosa" in Moscow, and by many others.

In connection with the carrying out of the directives of the XVI. Party Congress, and of the subsequent decisions of the Central Committee of the Party and of the Council of People's Commissaries, with regard to the sharper checking up of labour protection and of the improvement of the material and social position of the workers, it may be stated that in 1931 mortality had declined by 30% as compared with 1928, whilst the number of accidents at work decreased in the Donetz District by 17%, in machine building by 5%, in the most important chemical works by 10%, etc.

In this period the mortality figures in Great Britain increased from 12.3% in 1924 to 21% in 1930. The number of suicides has increased by 20% in Germany as compared with 1925. To this must be added the fact that in the capitalist countries the social welfare service is being gradually done away with altogether (Germany, Great Britain, etc.). In New York hundreds of unemployed and their families are evicted daily: 154,000 in 1930, 199,000 in 1931.

The successes in this direction described above are possible only in the Soviet Union. Here, in the sole country of the proletarian dictatorship, where the leadership is in the hands

of the Communist Party, the toiling masses must be stimulated—in accordance with the program of the C.P.S.U.—to carry on suitable propaganda for the energetic carrying out of all the measures of labour protection. In the Soviet Union, all workers are entitled to free medical treatment, and sick pay for the duration of the illness is secure to them, as also sojourns in sanatoriums and health resorts.

In spite of all these successes, still there are some cases in actual practice in which the economic organisations and the organs of the Labour Commissariat, tend to a bureaucratic under-estimation of the political and economic significance of these measures, and to an opportunist attitude with regard to a separation of labour safety from the general tasks of production. Some undertakings fail to take the task seriously enough with respect to applying the sums allocated for labour safety for the purpose intended.

The leading staffs of these undertakings, whose task it is to ensure the carrying out of the measures for the protection of labour, do not realise that these measures form a very important constituent of the struggle for the plan of production and for the increase of the productivity of labour. The works inspectors in these undertakings have succumbed to the backward ideas of the management, and do not take energetic enough steps against the guilty parties. The Soviet power combats with the utmost energy any such disregard of the labour protection laws. The proletarian power knows no forbearance in face of offences against the life and health of the workers.

The Collegium of the Labour Commissariat of the Soviet Union has called to account the works inspector in Kulebaki, Kubarev; it has removed the head of the works inspection of this place, Tzypayev, from his position, and has reprimanded the inspector in Rubeshani, Kupchin. Further persons who have been called to account are: the heads of departments in the smelting works in Kulebaki, Bernstein and Kurbanovich; the director of the "Voikov" chemical works, Isaikin; the head fitter of the "Kalinin" Factory, Kostyakov. The manager of the reorganisation department of the factory "Krasni Proletari", Gerasimov, will have to stand his trial for failing to carry out the labour protection regulations. The departmental manager of the South East Railway, Bobrikov, and the works inspector of this railway, Moshkov, have been reprimanded for neglecting the necessary safety measures.

The main task of the labour organs during the next two to three months is to work out concrete measures for the safety of the workers in the professions involving the hardest and unhealthiest work (stokers, founders, blast furnace workers, workers below bank, chemical and leather workers, textile workers, etc.)

The initiative of the workers themselves must be utilised for carrying out all measures for the protection of labour. It is the duty of the Party Committees and factory cells to strengthen the leadership of this work. Above all, the trade unions must recognise that it is one of their leading tasks to ensure that all measures for the provision of safety and devices, and for the protection of labour, are actually carried out.

Germany

The Background of the Government Crisis.

By F. Brand (Berlin).

The second meeting of the Reichstag which was to have taken place this week has been postponed. According to press reports it will take place next week only. The President of the Reichstag, Hitler's adjutant **Göring**, has been given the right to call the next meeting at his discretion by a block of the National Socialists (Fascists), the German Nationalists and the Centre (Catholic) Party deputies. Göring explains the postponement of the meeting by declaring that Reich President **von Hindenburg** returns to Berlin at the end of the week only and that therefore the Presidium of the Reichstag will be unable to meet him before then. However, it is obvious that there are more important reasons than this at work.

The negotiations between the Hitler Party and the Centre Party have not yet come to any practical result. They were continued last week despite the fact that most of the leaders of the Centre (Catholic) Party were in **Essen** attending the "German Catholic Day". On the 1st September the representatives of both parties issued a joint communiqué concerning the negotiations in which they declared that the negotiations would be continued "with a view to securing an inner-political pacification for an extensive period". This communiqué was an answer to those newspapers which reported that the negotiations were fruitless.

If any doubts existed as to the firm determination of the Centre Party to enter into a real coalition with the National Socialists then they were dispersed by the internal discussions which took place between the Catholic leaders in **Essen**. The main problem in **Essen** was how best to fight against the communist danger. The planned coalition with Hitler was justified in the formulation: "The main struggle must be directed against communism." However, it would appear that the Catholic leaders met with no little resistance in the ranks of their own followers.

On the other hand, this time the National Socialists seem determined to make a success of the negotiations and form a coalition with the Centre Party. The leader of the National Socialist fraction in the Prussian Diet, **Kube**, explains this change of tactics following a period of violent attacks on the Centre Party by declaring that in order to obtain power his party was prepared to ally itself with the Devil's grandmother if necessary. And in a speech in the town of **Brunswick**

the Minister of the Interior for the Federal State Brunswick, the fascist **Klagges**, declared that in order to form a coalition government with the Centre Party his party was prepared to make "considerable concessions".

Parallel with this interesting development another equally interesting development is taking place; the so-called bourgeois left is wheeling more and more openly into the camp of von Papen. This development was demonstrated most obviously in the reports of the democratic **Ullstein** and **Mosse** press on the **Berlin "Stahlhelm" ("Steel Helmet") parade**. The **Ullstein** and **Mosse** newspapers took up an extremely friendly attitude to the "Stahlhelm" and treated them as though it was a reliable republican guard instead of a reserve army of the coup d'Etat politicians. Obviously a section of the German bourgeoisie regards von Papen and his "Stahlhelm" hordes as "the lesser evil" compared with a Hitler-Brüning coalition.

Naturally, the **Social Democratic Party** is joining in this new constellation. A number of provincial social democratic newspapers had already proclaimed the von Papen Cabinet as "the lesser evil", and now comes the central organ of the party, the "**Vorwärts**", and writes on the 30th August:

"It is very difficult to decide which is the greater danger: the von Papen Cabinet or the entry of the National Socialists into the Cabinet via a coalition with the Centre Party."

Thus, Germany's bourgeoisie is once again marshalled in two camps: on the one hand the National Socialists and the Centre Party and on the other hand the German Nationalist Party with its praetorian guard the "Stahlhelm", the "left-wing" bourgeoisie, the Social Democratic Party and the reformist trade unions behind the von Papen government. What are the economic differences behind this new constellation?

Germany's heavy industry (or by far the greater part of it) is behind the von Papen Cabinet. One of its most important dailies, the "**Deutsche Bergwerks-Zeitung**", praised the "Economic Program" of the von Papen government to the skies in its issue of the 30th August and wrote:

"That is the policy for which the 'Deutsche Bergwerks-Zeitung' has been working for years."

On the 4th September it continued its praise and wrote:

"What nationalist Germany has been propagating for years is now being put into practice in the most daring fashion by the von Papen Cabinet."

The other organs of German heavy industry, for instance, the "**Rheinisch-Westfälische Zeitung**", write in a similar strain in favour of von Papen. This enthusiasm is understandable when taken into consideration with von Papen's "Economic Program". This program puts the wage-tariff system out of action and gives the employers the opportunity for new wage cuts and at the same it seeks to bring the industrial reserve army of unemployed into movement in order to depress the wages of those workers who are still at work. This is one of the most important demands of heavy industry, and it was again formulated at the **Düsseldorf** conference of the "**North West**" Industrial Group a little while ago which demanded without any beating about the bush that the wage-tariff system should be put out of action and the unemployment "welfare" scheme "reformed".

The von Papen Cabinet has now put this demand of the industrialists into action, and they are correspondingly grateful as also are all other sections of Germany's employing class which benefit from the gift of 2,2 milliard Marks made by the von Papen government in the form of tax premiums to the employers. Further support for von Papen comes from those employers who hope for advantage from the new customs duties increases put into operation last week by the von Papen

Fifty Thousand on Strike in Poland.

Warsaw, 5th September 1932.

Over fifty thousand workers are now on strike in Poland. Over 2,000 dockers and seamen are still on strike in **Gdynia**, about fourteen thousand are out in the Polish oil industry in **Drohobycz** and **Boryslaw**, twenty thousand textile workers are on strike in **Lodz** and the neighbourhood, about ten thousand miners and metal workers in **Silesia** and the **Dombrowa** Basin.

Warsaw, 5th September 1932.

The strike situation in the Polish harbour **Gdynia** is critical. The strikers have succeeded in preventing scab labour by energetic picketing and have even resorted to violence. **Martial law** has been declared in the dock districts, and police reinforcements are on the way from **Thorn** and **Posen**. It is also expected that troops will be sent as the authorities intend to force a resumption of work with scab labour under all circumstances. In the meantime the negotiations have broken down.

Cabinet. There is no doubt that with these measures the von Papen Cabinet has greatly extended its originally very narrow economic basis and won the support of powerful sections of the German bourgeoisie which formerly supported Hitler or Brüning. This is also undoubtedly the reason why the so-called left wing of the German industrialist bourgeoisie is now so openly supporting the von Papen Cabinet.

However, the von Papen Cabinet has not succeeded in satisfying all sections of Germany's bourgeoisie at once. A section of Germany's industry will be unable to gain any advantage from the new wagecuts, either because it is simply not in a position to increase the number of its workers or because it is technically unable to exploit the industrial reserve army sufficiently owing to the fact that it needs specially trained workers. And then there are those sections

interests of the exporting industries and the agrarians in this matter.

Are the differences in the camp of Germany's bourgeoisie likely to lead to a conflict? A section of the bourgeoisie obviously fears this possibility, and the democratic "**Frankfurter Zeitung**" (probably under the influence of the **I.G. Dye Trust** which is a big shareholder in the newspaper) does its best to persuade both parties to accept a compromise and proposes a **combination Schleicher-Brüning-Hitler** as the best solution! This is the standpoint of Germany's "democrats". It is very unlikely that such a weighty proposal originates from the editors of the "**Frankfurter Zeitung**", and it must be assumed that influential circles are behind it. The difficulties of such a "solution" of the government crisis seem overwhelming at the moment, but it must not be forgotten that Germany's bourgeoisie is entering the coming hunger winter with the greatest anxiety and would be prepared to do almost anything in order to avoid a dangerous conflict in its own ranks. Its fear of the rising revolutionary wave in Germany which receives a new impetus from the coming wage cuts, will do much to draw all sections of Germany's bourgeoisie together.

At the moment, of course, these are no more than future possibilities, and no one can prophecy with any certainty whether they will materialise or not. Nevertheless it would be very wrong of the workers to regard the existing differences between Papen-Schleicher-Hugenberg on the one hand and Hitler-Brüning on the other as in any way fundamental and indissoluble.

Mass Anti-War Demonstration in Paris.

Paris, 3rd September 1932.

A great anti-war meeting took place yesterday evening in Paris in the **Salle Bullier**. It is calculated that over forty thousand workers came to the meeting which was one of the biggest demonstrations Paris has seen for a very long time. Many thousands of police were on duty, and it took several hours for them to clear the streets.

The great meeting was opened by **Henri Barbusse** who was welcomed with tremendous applause. Amongst the other speakers were **Sen Katayama**, the veteran leader of the Japanese workers, **Professor Dana** of Harvard University, **Marcel Cachin**, the leader of the Communist Party of France, and **Willi Münzenberg** of the W.I.R.

* * *

Paris, 3rd September 1932.

According to a later report the collisions which took place between the police and those thousands of workers who were unable to gain admittance to the **Salle Bullier** were much more serious than at first supposed. Forty workers and many policemen were injured as a result of the collisions. The main fighting took place after the meeting started between nine and eleven o'clock.

of Germany's capitalist class whose credit demands have not been sufficiently satisfied by the von Papen Cabinet.

Still more energetic opposition against the von Papen Cabinet comes from the agrarian junkers. In order to further the interests of the exporting industries von Papen was compelled to reject the demands of the agrarian junkers who would like to see industrial Germany "self-sufficing", a standpoint expressed in the new political catchword "**Autarkie**". Further, industrial and bank capital compelled von Papen to reject the demand of the junkers for interest conversion, whilst at the same time the agrarian employers will enjoy little advantage from the 2.2 milliard subventions. As a concession to the agrarian junkers the von Papen Cabinet has increased a number of customs duties, but the junkers are not satisfied with this, and the **Landbund (Agrarian League)** through Count **Kalekreuth** has made energetic and reproachful representations to the von Papen Cabinet, pointing out that the agrarian interests have by no means been sufficiently considered.

The pressure of these agrarian junkers was so strong that the leader of the **German Nationalist Party, Hugenberg**, was compelled to address a letter to von Papen (naturally, the terms of the letter were previously agreed upon) demanding that the interests of agriculture should be given greater consideration and that a contingent system for all food imports should be introduced. In his answer von Papen promised to fulfil the wishes of the agrarians as far as possible. However, he will have no easy task in harmonising the opposed

Papen's Economic Emergency Decree Signed.

Berlin, 5th September 1932.

The Economic Emergency Decree drawn up by the von Papen Cabinet, whose main tendencies were revealed by von Papen in his recent speech in Münster, was signed by Reich President von Hindenburg to-day and will be put into operation to-morrow.

The new Decree provides for further wage cuts, for a further reduction of social benefits, and, above all, for a fundamental attack on wage tariffs as an institution. On the other hand the Decree offers the employers special premiums, tax facilities and other measures representing further big possibilities for profits.

Yesterday's "**Rote Fahne**" writes:

"The von Papen program represents a new general offensive against the elementary and vital interests of the working class... Irrespective of party affiliations the workers must join together in the anti-fascist front and defend themselves."

General Schleicher Uses Strong Language.

Berlin, 6th September 1932.

The **Königsberg "Allgemeine Zeitung"** publishes the contents of an interview between its representative and the Reichswehr Minister von Schleicher. In reply to a question of the interviewer concerning Schleicher's future plans for the reorganisation of the Reichswehr, General von Schleicher answered:

"I can only say that Germany will under all circumstances take those measures which are necessary for its national security."

In reply to the interviewer who queried: "Under all circumstances?", General von Schleicher declared energetically:

"Yes, under all circumstances. We are not prepared to tolerate being treated as a second class State any longer."

The War

The Role of Canada in Imperialist War Preparations.

By H. Gray (Toronto).

The whole policy of the present **Bennett Government** in Canada is one of intensified preparations for imperialist war and particularly, intervention against the Soviet Union.

In relation to the predatory attack of Japanese imperialism against the Chinese people and provocation for an intervention on the Soviet Union, Canada's Government is definitely pro-Japanese. It gives direct, though concealed, aid to Japan. To justify its pro-Japanese position and conceal its real imperialist aims to benefit from the partitioning of China and an armed attack against the Soviet Union, it asserts that Japan is merely annexing additional territory necessary for her overpopulation, as a "legitimate historical mission".

At the **Imperial Economic Conference** in **Ottawa**, the war policy of the Bennett Government was expressed very clearly in the aggressive position of Canada's delegation, which amounted to an **open demand for intervention against the Soviet Union**. In his opening speech, Premier **Bennett** pointed to the necessity of war as a way out of the crisis and indicated the readiness of the Canadian bourgeoisie to immediately enter the war:

"The plan we must achieve will lead us through this world period of reorganisation and change. So when we find our orderly progress opposed, and when our social and industrial existence is threatened, it is our common duty to provide the safeguards which will leave us free to go forward on the course we have decided to be the right one—state-controlled standards of living, state-controlled labour, state-aided dumping dictated by high state policy conflict in theory and in practice with the free institutions of the British Empire. The subordination of the individual right and liberty to a national economic plan affronts our whole idea of national development. We must be active in the defence of our institutions. We must put before all else our peace and happiness."

("The Gazette", Montreal, July 22, 1932.)

Canada led the dominions at the Imperial Economic Conference in demanding that Great Britain break off trade relations with the Soviet Union. This is a continuation of the anti-Soviet war policy pursued by the **Conservative Bennett Government** during the last two years. They were the first government in the world to place an embargo on Soviet goods, they refused a 25 million dollar Soviet order for agricultural machinery, and many others, they have made repeated representations to the British Government that the latter should have English purchases of wheat and lumber made from Canada instead of the Soviet Union, etc.

When the Conservative Government came into power after the Federal Elections in July 1930, the world economic crisis had already embraced Canada. It was expressed in a decline in production and in foreign trade, particularly in exports of wheat which dropped by 225 million dollars in 1929, an increase in unemployment, etc. The **Conservative Party** won a decisive majority in Parliament on a most demagogic programme—the leading slogan of which was "Canada first, the British Empire second and the rest of the world third"—by which Bennett promised to "blast a way to the foreign markets on a world-wide-basis with any exportable surpluses" and "to end unemployment". The policy of the Conservative Party was one of high, and in some cases prohibitive, tariffs against industrial imports particularly, but also against agricultural imports.

The **Communist Party** correctly estimates that this sharp change in the policy of Canada's bourgeoisie was a direct result of the world economic crisis, and in turn, contributed to further sharpening the crisis. On the one hand, it sharpened the contradictions between Canadian and British imperialism, as well as between Canada and the United States and the other dominions, and led to a **further aggravation of the Anglo-American conflict** and an **intensification of war preparations,**

especially against the Soviet Union. On the other hand, it meant a vicious offensive against the workers and toiling farmers, economic and political.

The relatively lower tariff policy of the **former Liberal Government** corresponded to the period of the most phenomenal growth of Canadian industry and extension of foreign trade, during which Canadian wheat held the foremost position in the world and Canadian industry expanded its exports in such commodities as minerals (about 90 per cent of world's nickel is produced in Canada), pulp and paper, automobiles, etc., reaping high super-profits as a result of the high technical level of Canadian industry and also as a direct result of the policy of the Canadian bourgeoisie to grab a larger share of the markets of the British Empire.

The following data are indicative of this growth. While during the last period of Canadian "prosperity" from 1925 to 1928, world production of wheat increased by 13%, Canada's wheat production rose by 35%; coarse grain, world increase 5%, Canada's 21%; coal, 5 and 33; petroleum, 24 and 88; zinc, 25 and 70; manufacturing, various lines 7—103% and 18—217%; developed water power, 17% and 43%, and foreign trade 3% and 26% respectively.

This rapid development of Canada's industry in the period of the general crisis of capitalism represented an example of the uneven development of capitalism and a simultaneous sharpening of the basic contradictions of Canada's capitalism. It was accompanied by a deepening agricultural crisis, increasing disproportion between the expanding production and shrinking markets, growing structural unemployment, capitalist rationalisation, etc. The development of Canada's industry undermined British capitalism. The present world crisis liquidated the conditions of the growth of Canadian industry and brought into bold relief all the essential features of the crisis of Canada's capitalism. The agrarian crisis led to the impoverishment of hundreds of thousands of farmers and a great shrinkage in the home market. Owing to the development of Canada's industry during a short period, to the very rapid growth largely on the basis of great investment of foreign capital, Canada's capitalism is an extremely highly developed monopolist capitalism.

These special features of the present economic crisis in Canada give the basic explanation for the beginning of a tariff war both against Great Britain and the United States, with whom the imperialist interests of Canada's bourgeoisie clash. The budget of the defeated Liberal Government, in 1930, aimed at regaining Canada's wheat market in **Great Britain** (where **Argentina** had replaced Canada as the main source of agricultural imports) by placing several hundred British commodities on the so-called free-list, and slightly raised the tariffs against imports from the U.S. The policy of the present Conservative Government has been the practical liquidation of the free list for British goods, especially affecting the English textile industry, and the raising of high tariffs against U.S. exports, for which Canada is the largest single foreign market. As a result of this and reprisals on the part of the United States, Canada's trade with that country has dropped by 60 per cent compared to 1921.

The index of industrial production in Canada fell to 94.3 in March of this year, or to the level of May, 1922. The highest point reached in May 1929 was 182.7 and the lowest since the war, 77.2 in June 1921.

The value of field crops, which fell from \$948,981,000 in 1929 to \$631,593,000 in 1930, was only \$431,251,000 in 1931. The value of all agricultural products dropped by 22.4% during 1931, compared to 1930.

The enormous drop in foreign trade is shown by the fact that while in 1929 the value of imports were \$1,298,992,692 and exports \$298,338,430, the corresponding figures for 1931 were only \$628,095,512 and \$617,243,023. The April 1932 imports of \$29,800,000 were less than 60% of last year's figures, only 40% of the 1930 figures and 30% of the totals for 1929,

and exports, even lower at \$26,957,000, were only 50% of the 1930 figures and 40% of the 1929 figures.

The annual business of the Dominion, which rose to well over 2500 million dollars up to 1929, has receded to slightly over 1000 millions. In 1931 alone purchasing power dropped in by over 20 per cent.

The official index of employment in April this year stood at 87.5, compared to 102.2 in May 1931, and 111.4 in May 1930. According to a report at the **Political Science Association**, the number of **totally unemployed** is 726,000, or about 37 per cent. of all those working for wages and receiving salaries. Actually about 50 per cent. of the workers are totally unemployed, and the number of **partially unemployed** reaches tens of thousands. There is no state insurance for unemployment, and the already meagre relief is being continually cut. The employed workers are subjected to repeated attacks on their wages, which have been cut from 10 to 40 per cent. and in some cases even more. With the prices of agricultural products far below the cost of production on an average farm, hundreds of thousands of farmers are destitute and starving.

In order to further its **anti-Soviet war policy** and prevent the toiling masses from seeing the real causes of the crisis, the Bennett Government tried to make the most out of the **international slander campaigns against the Soviet Union**. "Forced labour" and "dumping" on the part of the Soviet Union were given as the reasons for the low price and small demand for Canada's wheat, lumber, etc., and this lying propaganda was accompanied by the war-like act of placing an embargo on all Soviet goods, from which only furs have since been exempted.

The prominent Canadian militarist **Cockshutt**, discussing the remedies for the present crisis, clearly expressed the war aims of the Canadian bourgeoisie, when he openly stated that in a war which was the only way out, Canada could take the line followed by the U.S.A. imperialism in the last World War and benefit by regaining its position as a foremost exporter of wheat, capture new markets for lumber and other commodities, such as metals, etc. He summed up by saying:

"We need another war—to clean up on Moscow."

Canada's bourgeoisie boasts of following a very "farsighted" policy in relation to the Soviet Union. They criticise

How the Social Democracy Fought Against War.

Vandervelde: "As a Socialist I am for War to the End".

"I have come to you to-day to speak of the war, to speak in favour of the war. As an international and socialist friend of peace I am in favour of war to the end. I feel anger with those of our comrades who want to make peace. No! Not until the crime has been followed by its punishment..."

(Vandervelde at a speech in Paris on the 18th April 1915.)

"To make peace now would be treachery to our country, would be to bow the knee to Prussian militarism, would be to declare the freedom of Europe bankrupt. A precipitate peace would mean the arming of the peoples to the teeth and would be followed by new wars.

To make peace now would mean that the democratic countries of the west would be unable to defend themselves against the predatory governments which have attacked them.

To make peace now would mean that our allies would lose at the decisive moment the great advantage they hold in military strength, riches and right.

War has been forced upon us. We would not continue to support the war for one moment should it develop into a war of conquest. But so long as German soldiers are in Antwerp, Brussels or Liège, so long as they are in our provinces and in the départements of France, both French and Belgians are united in the declaration: 'We shall not treat with the enemy so long as he is on our territory'.

However, I am in a position to assure you with the certainty that I shall not be contradicted by events, that a day of joy is approaching which will compensate in full measure for all our sufferings..."

(Vandervelde's "King's Birthday Article" in the "Belgisches Dagblad" on the 15th April 1916.)

other countries for trading with the latter and thus helping it to carry out the Five Year Plan of Socialist Construction. While admitting that they suffer temporarily from refusing to trade with the Soviet Union, they state that in the long run this policy is in the interests of Canada's imperialism, as they are not helping to build up a giant that will later crush them.

The **Imperial Economic Conference at Ottawa** served as an important step in carrying further the attack on the workers and toiling and oppressed masses throughout the Empire and in strengthening the Empire war front against the Soviet Union under Britain's leadership.

"We may not be able to do all that we are asked, but we can certainly do something", stated **Lord Hailsham, British Secretary for War**, when asked by an interviewer in Ottawa, whether or not Great Britain can give the full embargo asked for by Canada and Australia on Soviet wheat, lumber, etc.

During the last few years military appropriations have been greatly increased by Canada's Government. The **Liberal King Government** already increased these by 20 per cent. by 1929, and there have been further increases since. Over 50 per cent. of the Federal budget goes for paying the debts of the last war and the preparations for the coming war. While the standing army of Canada only numbers about 30,000, she maintains a non-permanent militia of 200,000 men and supports various semi-military organisations, embracing tens of thousands of young men and students. The naval forces are small, but continually strengthened. Special efforts are being made to build up a powerful air force by the feverish construction of military planes and a great increase in commercial aviation, accompanied by the construction of aerodromes and airship bases, etc.

As in other capitalist countries, the war industries in Canada are the only ones which increase their output. Besides the great military significance of the Canadian metal mining and smelting, numerous chemical plants, artificial silk and rubber factories have been newly opened up and are in full operation.

Canada's bourgeoisie is spending all it possibly can to build its own military forces, and the relative weakness of these does not in any way prove the demagogic speeches of the Canadian representatives in the **League of Nations** and the international conferences that Canada is following a peace policy, which are so extensively and approvingly quoted popularised by the **Social Fascists** and various shades of **pacifists**. The financial position of Canada sets definite limits to the carrying out of her ambitions in more extensively arming herself and compels her to depend on the British war machine.

Canada's position in the Pacific enables her to play an important role in the imperialist conflicts in the **Far East** and in the **Pacific Ocean**. She is making tremendous efforts to find markets in the East. Her pro-Japanese position is explained by the fact that since the beginning of the war situation in the East wheat exports from Canada have increased to **Japan** and **China**. Shipments of scrap iron and some other materials are being made to Japan.

The **domestic policy of the Bennett Government** definitely serves the interests of its war policy. The increased political reaction and wave of terror against working masses, outlawing of the **Communist Party**, mass arrests and deportations, are used to carry through the economic offensive of the capitalist class on the workers and toiling farmers, and make possible the imperialist preparations for war by attempting to weaken the revolutionary front of class struggle led by the Communist Party.

The Japanese Advance in Yehol Continues.

Shanghai, 1st September 1932.

The Japanese are continuing their operations in the Chinese province of Yehol. They are meeting with no resistance of any kind from the Chinese authorities. The only resistance is being offered by guerilla troops. The Shanghai Chinese press reports that the governor of Yehol, **Tan Yui-lin**, is steadily retreating before the Japanese and at the same time is hampering the activity of the guerilla troops by arresting their leaders.

International Fight against War and Intervention

After the World Congress Against War.

What Next?

By George.

The World Congress Against Imperialist War was a deed, and, what is more important, the initiation of fresh deeds.

It was constituted as a deed, as an impressive and militant demonstration, by the fact that over two thousand delegates from all countries and continents expressed clearly and passionately their determination to fight to the utmost of their powers against imperialist war. It was, constituted as a deed by the fact that behind these delegates there stand millions of toiling human beings, who have commissioned these delegates in tens of thousands of public meetings to proclaim their readiness to fight against imperialist war, and have demanded of the congress that it should point out to the masses the way, the methods, the means of this struggle. The breadth and depth of the movement backing up the Congress imparted to its conferences the character of a militant action.

The Congress was further given the character of a deed, an action, by the fact that its actual convocation demanded the breaking down of the innumerable obstacles laid in its way by the imperialist governments and their confederates. The refusal of visas permitting the attendance of the representatives of the working masses and of the intellectuals of the Soviet Union, and the brutal attempts at sabotage on the part of the leaders of the II. International—upon whose shoulders there lies the task, above all, of ensuring the "moral" preparations for the war—all this merely emphasised the fear felt by these elements at the development of the movement surrounding the Congress.

The Congress was given a special significance by its composition and by the collaboration of its participants. Besides the consistently revolutionary workers and peasants, whose ideological and practical standpoint towards imperialist war is determined by Leninism (and who composed numerically only something over one third of the delegates) there were numerous workers and employes **belonging to the social democratic parties and reformist trade unions**, who had refused to obey those leaders who presumed to "prohibit" the formation of fighting unity against war. And there were numerous representatives of the sincerely anti-war intellectuals, who have grasped the fact that collaboration with the toiling masses is the pre-condition for any effectual war on war. There were representatives of the national revolutionary movements, driven by the logic of their own struggle into the broad anti-imperialist front. There were bourgeois elements of pacifist trends of thought and feeling, disgusted by the hypocrisy of the "pacifism" of the League of Nations. There were friends and admirers of the Soviet Union from many camps, urged forward by the imperialist threats against the mighty work of socialist construction to take an active part in its defence.

The composition of the Congress was not communist; many of the speeches given tended to pacifist trains of thought, and contained naive and sometimes mistaken proposals and suggestions. Many of the speakers whilst showing an instinctive understanding for the causes and the mechanism of imperialism and its wars, lacked consistency. The communists present opposed to this their well thought out and tested analyses and conceptions. But the point upon which all the participants in the Congress were agreed was in regard to the means to be opposed both to the imperialist warmongers in the preparatory stage of the war and during the war itself—the conviction that all sincere opponents of war must join together for joint action, and that this action must not consist of words, but of decisive mass deeds. And this was the reason why the Congress remained unanimous to the end, in spite of the various tendencies and traditions of its participants; these participants were one and all filled with the idea of the immediate danger of the extension of the wars already begun into an intervention war against the Soviet Union and into a world war, and

not one single participant permitted any personal doubt or misgiving to divide him from the congress.

The Congress was a deed. It was an **aggressive blow dealt** at the warmongers, at the general staffs, against Geneva, against the imperialist camouflagers of the war preparations. It dealt a severe blow against the leaders of the II. International, whose ranks have been encroached upon and shaken by the might of the movement initiated by the congress. It may be anticipated that the measures taken against this movement before the congress will now be applied more energetically than before. **The enemy will take up a counter offensive.** Not only in the form of brutal police and juridical persecution, either openly fascist or "democratically" veiled. Not only in the form of dirty slander drives against the Congress, and against its participants and champions from the different countries. Not only by attempts to induce the disaffection of vacillating participants or adherents and to regain them by intrigue and intimidation. But also by means of increased "pacifist" declarations and declamations, "left" manoeuvres in the style of the notorious Zürich resolution, or even by hypocritical offers of a "united front" from above. Everything possible will be undertaken to break through the real united front formed by the congress.

The Congress was a deed, and above all it **initiated further deeds.**

Now we must go forward with redoubled and tripled effort—measured by the energy applied in the preparations for the Congress—and continue the work of carrying out the obligations undertaken before the Congress by all its participants. The Permanent Committee for the Struggle Against Imperialist War, elected by the Congress in place of the Initiative Committee, has undertaken the task of keeping a sharper watch on the preparations being made for fresh imperialist crimes, to expose them before the eyes of the whole world, and to unmask the manoeuvres carried out to conceal them. It is its task to support with the utmost energy the struggle against war danger and against war in all countries.

But the centre of gravity of the struggle lies in the countries themselves. The national initiative committees must be transformed into permanent organs for carrying on war against war. They must contain not only personages whose public activities have won them the glorious title of active opponents of war, but at the same time representatives of the organisations who are anxious to be the bearers of the war against war. The national committees must be given a broad sub-structure in the form of multifarious fighting committees—local and factory committees, etc.—against imperialist war. And therefore the greatest attention must be devoted to those undertakings whose nature renders them of vital importance for the preparations and carrying out of war.

The work confronting us is organisational, ideological, and practical. The Congress has paved the way widely in all directions. It is the task of its participants and those who delegated them, and of the hundreds of thousands and millions already gathered around them, to continue the work.

How the Social Democracy Fought Against War.

Albert Thomas At His Post.

"For the second time the government of the Republic appeals for the assistance of one of us. We give our comrade Albert Thomas authority to answer in the affirmative and to take over the weight of responsibility which is offered him under the urgent necessity of national defence. . ."

(The Permanent Administrative Commission of the French Socialist Party and the Socialist Fraction in the Chamber of Deputies, Published in "l'Humanité" on the 22nd May 1915.)

The Special Conferences in Amsterdam.

By Paul Friedländer.

The Amsterdam Anti-War-Congress does not mark the close of the struggle against imperialist war, but strikes the preliminary note of this struggle. The effects radiating from the congress will spread profoundly and widely. That such effects are possible to a very great degree, is proved by the composition of the congress alone, by the variety and multifariousness of the organisations, professions, social strata, and even political opinions represented. In spite of these differences it was possible—apart from the weak and negligible attempts at disruption made by a small handful of Trotzkyists—to form a united front which represents not merely a

How the Social Democracy Fought Against War.

"Onward to Paris! Onward to Paris!"

"The clouds of heaven are hanging low over the French Republic. The German armies are advancing closer and closer. The iron ring is closing in nearer and nearer on Paris, and the day on which the great town will be completely surrounded by the German arms is so near that it can already be reckoned . . .

The French people should not let themselves be deceived by a torrent of pathetic words, by the whining assurance that England will come to their aid, the same England whose mercenaries have been swept aside like chaff in the wind before the power of the German people in arms, that the Little Father will extricate his armies from the iron bands of the German armies. These are nothing but empty phrases destined to strengthen the confidence of the French people and spur them on to exert the last ounce of energy. Such an effort cannot come from physical need; it can only come from the unshakeable faith which right alone can impart.

The painful realisation that the French people are not equal to resisting the might of Germany cannot be eliminated by any Tzar . . .

Like the terrible sound of the last trump sounds the shout which plants itself from one German army to its neighbour: Onward to Paris! Onward to Paris!"

(The "Arbeiter-Zeitung", the central organ of the Social Democratic Party of Austria, on the 5th September 1914.)

temporary united front of the days of the congress, but a permanent fighting alliance against the imperialists and their lackeys and confederates.

The deepening and extension of the fighting front against imperialist war, and at the same time the preparations for practical small-scale work, were made the subject of a number of special conferences held in connection with the plenary sessions of the congress in Amsterdam.

A trade union conference, more important than all the other special conferences, for the reason that here the key industries are concerned and therewith the key positions of the workers, dealt with the problems of work in the factories and trade unions. Chief attention was devoted to the armaments and chemical industries. This conference was attended by numerous delegates belonging to the Free Trade Unions and social democracy. Directives were laid down for energetic smallscale work in the shops and factories.

An appeal was issued to the workers, women, and trade union members in all countries. This appeal stigmatises in particular the role played by the International Trade Union Federation, whose leaders announced in Zürich, in words, that boycott and militant measures would be taken at the outbreak of war or even if the war campaign were continued, but who have in reality not stirred a finger, in spite of the bloody massacres in Shanghai, in spite of the occupation of Manchuria by the Japanese imperialists, and in spite of the increasing war preparations against the Soviet Union, but are on the contrary doing their best to thwart the efforts

of those fighting against imperialism and war. The manifesto formulates the slogans of the workers organised in trade unions, in the struggle against a new massacre of the peoples, and for the protection of the Soviet Union and of the Chinese people.

A women's conference afforded opportunity for the fate of the women during and after a war to be described in all its horror, and for the tasks thus incurred for the mobilisation of the women to be characterised. Among the speakers at the women's conference there was a war widow who described the "gratitude of the fatherland" as follows: 36 marks monthly for herself and her children. Those who cannot save the money for the rent out of this are thrown mercilessly into the streets. This was one example out of many. The women have resolved to work energetically not only in the Permanent Committees, but in their own organisations, against imperialist war.

A conference fertile in results was that of the physicians, taken part in by physicians from almost all European countries. An "International Society of Physicians Against War" was founded, with headquarters in Berlin and Paris. An International Physicians' Bureau will compile systematically the facts of the effects of war on the health of the peoples of the different countries, and issue directives for the struggle of the physicians, who must ally themselves with the working class.

A peasants' conference gathered together 60 peasants' delegates from nine countries. A former deputy of the (Catholic) People's Party of Italy, Miglioli, and a representative of the European Peasant's Committee, Nieburg, gave addresses. After a lively discussion, taken part in by 15 delegates and enabling a useful exchange of experiences to be made, a unanimous appeal was made to the working peasantry, the peasant women, and peasant youth, in which the pledge is taken to continue the struggle under the banner of the Anti-War Congress. A number of social and economic demands of vital interest to the peasantry were linked up with the main slogan of the struggle against imperialist war.

Other conferences of no less importance were those of the war victims, who have still to present their bill to the ruling class for what is owing to them from the last war, and of the youth delegates, who as the next war and cannon fodder must be the first to throw themselves into a position of defence—and have already done so—against the threatening blood bath, and for their lives and their class interests. A conference was held by the authors attending the Congress, writers recognising the hegemony of the working class in the struggle against the imperialists.

Since the Congress and the conferences are now over, the next step is to develop work for enlightenment, combined with practical activity, in the various political, trade union, and cultural associations, both on the local and the factory basis. Here specialisation is important. If this small-scale work is carried on perseveringly, a broad rampart can be formed against which the waves of the imperialist storm will break in vain.

How the Social Democracy Fought Against War.

Kautsky: "The International is a Peacetime Weapon."

"The present war shows us the limitations for the influence of the International. We deceived ourselves when we thought that the International would be able to secure a united attitude on the part of the whole socialist proletariat of the world during a world war. Such an attitude was only possible in individual and particularly straightforward cases. The world war has split the socialists into various camps, for the most part various national camps. The International is unable to prevent this.

That is to say, the International is not an effective weapon in times of war, it is essentially a peacetime instrument."

(Karl Kautsky in the "Neue Zeit", of the 27th November 1914.)

The Labour Movement

The General Strike of the Miners and the Intensification of the Capitalist Crisis in Belgium.

By F. Coenen.

Brussels, 1st September 1932.

The **Mixed Commission for the Metal Industry**—heavy industry and machine building—meeting on 26th August, adjourned indefinitely after this session. The official communiqués simply state that joint steps are to be taken to approach the government, but the nature of these steps is not stated. It is however a fact that the industrialists, in the course of the sessions of the Mixed Commission, made known their decision to carry out in the metal industry the wage cuts postponed in July. They stated that the situation was now such that the wage cuts envisaged no longer sufficed, unless the metal industry received subventions from the government (the government could compensate itself by annulling the unemployment benefit of various categories of workers). The whole press has preserved silence on these demands of the employers. But it may be assumed that the steps to be taken in approaching the government relate solely to these demands. That the wage cuts have been postponed is thanks only to the fact that **the miners' strike still continues**, and that the bourgeoisie is anxious to evade the danger of a joint strike of the coal and metal workers.

For in spite of the governmental communiqués stating that the miners' strike is on the verge of collapse owing to an alleged mass resumption of work, the press is obliged to admit that this hoped for resumption of work has not taken place in reality. Where weakness has been shown in the fighting front, the militant spirit has now been increased tenfold among the strikers by the élan of the revolutionary workers who resolved to carry out with the utmost energy the fighting line resolved upon at the national conference of the strike committees in **Seraing**. The pickets were activated. The pits were blockaded by groups of miners, often to the number of 2000 to 3000. In **Beyne-Heusay** for instance there were severe conflicts with incorrigible blacklegs, who received a salutary lesson. A picket striker was however seriously injured by a knife stab. The gendarmerie hastened to the aid of the blacklegs, and arrested several strikers. Another conflict took place in **Montegnée**, where the mounted gendarmes attacked 2000 miners with their drawn sabres; these miners were blockading the "Good Drinkers" pit. Similar conflicts may be recorded all over the various coal fields.

The reformist leaders are seeking to manoeuvre. They are making skillful efforts at "contact". They assert that they are the best "servants" of the miners, and that their sole wish is to act as straightforward intermediaries between the strikers, the government, and the employers. But everywhere where they succeed in not being whistled down and driven away, they at once propose the treacherous arbitration system, which however, the miners now know enough to reject indignantly.

These traitorous activities on the part of the reformist leaders are accompanied by the utmost brutality of action on the part of the gendarmerie against the growing activity of the strikers. The miners at first incarcerated in the prison at **Mons** have been transferred to **Ghent**, in order to make room for the fresh victims of the bourgeoisie. Within the last few days the courts have again sentenced strikers to a dozen years imprisonment for small offences.

A few days ago the Minister of Labour, **Heyman**, had another interview with the employers and reformist leaders. These latter had decided beforehand that in view of "the inadequate results" of the quota negotiations with regard to the import of coal from Germany, the general strike of the miners would continue. The negotiations between the Chairman of the Miners' Union, **Delattre**, and **Heyman**, came to no result. It is not unlikely that in the next few days the Minister of Labour will propose a new "arbitration award", probably one which will be a repetition of the regulations contained in the previous rejected agreement.

The political situation in Belgium is by no means calculated to enhance the prestige of the government. The Chamber has been convened much sooner than intended. It will meet on 6th September. The cabinet session held yesterday was not agreed on the tactics to be pursued for the financial restoration of the state. The President of the Cabinet, **Renkin**, was of the opinion that far-reaching financial authorisation should be demanded of the parliament, enabling the government to keep its head above water by means of emergency orders, and possessing the advantage of not compromising the social democratic "opposition".

The necessity of taking financial measures of an extremely unpopular nature, as they involve the civil servants, the small pensioners, and the petty bourgeoisie, has aroused among the Liberals and Flemish clericals a growing tendency for the carrying out of the immediately urgent financial measures, and for the dissolution of the Chamber. Therefore on 6th September the government will submit to the Chamber a bill granting it the absolutely necessary credits: the consolidation of the ten years' bonds, the issue of treasury notes to the value of 500 million francs running three to six months, issue of loans to the value of 1.5 milliards. A total therefore of three milliards in finance credits, almost all to be raised by "national" finance capital (though foreign capital may be called upon), but still not even sufficing to cover the budget deficit.

Other measures envisaged are: fresh salary cuts for the civil servants, the railmen, the pensioners who have been disabled at their work, the war pensioners; fresh retrenchments in social welfare service, increase of indirect taxation, etc; and finally a number of measures, such as are being taken all over the world by the bourgeoisie in its determination to save itself out of the crisis at the expense of the toiling masses.

All these measures were to have been submitted to the "representatives of the people" in October. But in view of the impending elections these representatives would prefer that these unpopular financial measures should be submitted to the decision of the new Chamber.

Should it turn out, at the parliamentary debates which the government calculates will last from 6th till 9th September, that the clerical-liberal majority is inclined to give away, in order to be able to make a more effectual attack later on, then the Chamber will probably be dissolved, and the general elections will take place at the end of October. It is true that the social democrats are not much attracted by this possibility, for they are possessed by the fear of the "communist danger", and no less by the fear of their own inability to accomplish anything more than the bourgeoisie. For this reason they have not been able to accept the offer of financial capital to participate in a "national" government.

It must, however, be stressed that **Vandervelde** pointed out at the time, perfectly rightly, that the revolutionary strikes in July and the general strike of the miners would have consequences for the future which cannot be foreseen or imagined to-day. These consequences are finding expression in the chaos of the crisis which is pressing down on the bourgeoisie more and more disastrously day by day; and they may also be seen in the disruption of the parliamentary forces, which are now only held together by the fear of the judgment of the people and of **communism**, and in the inevitable commencement of the collapse of social democracy, the twin sister of the bourgeoisie, now dragged with the bourgeoisie in capitalist anarchy and crisis. All the demagogic manoeuvres which Vandervelde is now endeavouring to apply will scarcely be able to avoid these "unforeseen consequences."

The Lancashire Strike.

By R. Bishop.

London, 1. September 1932.

Close upon 200,000 weavers are on strike in Lancashire against a wage cut of 2/9 in the £ on wages averaging 38/- per week, against more-loom and for the re-instatement of those workers who have been victimised in the long drawn out struggle against more looms. In a few of the smaller centres, mainly in the Manchester area, a decision has been taken to remain at work, but almost everywhere else the solid response to the strike call is amazing in view of the intense poverty that prevails.

The mills that were running in the strike towns on the opening day of the struggle have almost all been closed now by the strength of the mass picketing. The employers have been forced to abandon for the time being any attempt to keep the mills open in the interests of public peace and order.

The determination of the weavers to win is tremendous, as is their refusal to listen to the talk of arbitration which is being broadcast by the employers and the reformists. They have compelled their officials to call the strike and they are watching them sharply to see they do not betray it. At the same time they are building their strike committees to ensure that it shall be impossible to betray the strike, as they will have the power in their own hands.

On the very eve of the strike the Deputy Lord Mayor of **Manchester**, a Labour Party Councillor, suggested himself as mediator, and negotiations were opened between the employers and the unions to find a basis for postponing the strike and re-opening discussions. In face of the resistance of the workers the reformists were unable to discover a formula which would not have been instantly repudiated by the workers, and so after five weeks of struggle in **Burnley** the general weavers strike commenced on 29. August. But the Labour Party have redoubled their efforts to secure arbitration, calling loudly on the Government in the form of **Ramsay MacDonald** and **Sir Henry Betterton** (the Minister of Labour) to act.

The whole machinery of the Labour Party and the Union Congress is being mobilised to this end. The most impudent form this has yet taken is a telegram sent by **Joe Compton**, Labour ex-M.P. for Gorton, who in the last Parliament was chairman of the Lancashire group of Labour M.P.s, to the King, asking him to get the Government "to use their good offices in the cotton dispute".

All classes of Lancashire people, continued this telegram, "look to His Majesty's Ministers to attempt a settlement of a ruinous industrial upheaval. Nothing but outside intervention from the highest quarters can bring the disputants together".

This scandalous telegram was given place of honour in yesterday's "**Daily Herald**" and is officially backed by the National Labour Party.

But the strikers know what Government intervention means. They remember how, when the spinners were on strike in 1929, the Labour Government intervened, with the result that the strikers lost 6¼ percent of their wages.

The workers know that intervention means an arbitration court with a capitalist chairman having the casting vote. They know that intervention means wage cuts, more looms, more unemployment and abject slavery.

The Trade Union Congress and the Labour Party refuse to undertake a national campaign to collect relief for the strikers. They refuse even to undertake a campaign to explain to other workers what the weavers are fighting for. Their whole energies in this connection are devoted to securing a betrayal of the strikers by means of the intervention of the King and the National Government.

They are fighting to prevent an extension of the strike by the entry of the quarter million cotton spinners who are at present balloting on a similar wage cut.

The weavers strike is of decisive importance for all workers in Britain. The militancy being displayed is bound to have a big effect on the spinners' ballot which is pending, on the preparations of the London busmen for strike action, on the struggle of the railway workers against the Pooling system and the consequent mass dismissals, on the fight of the unemployed against the Means Test and on the general struggle of the working class against the new "economies" that are being prepared.

The strike represents the fighting spirit of the workers, which is steadily higher, and is the highest expression of the mass struggle against the policy of the ruling class represented by the National Government.

The extent to which the Lancashire struggle is extended and developed has an important bearing on the whole political situation. The tremendous mass opposition of the workers has compelled the reformist officials to adopt all kinds of manoeuvres. The reformists are trying to substitute the "re-instatement of victimised more-loom strikers" as the issue instead of the wage cuts. The question of re-instatement is a burning one to the workers, but in exposing this manoeuvre, the militants under the leadership of the **Communist Party** have to be careful not to replace the one with the other, but to use the one to strengthen the fight for the other. There is not the slightest doubt that the previous activity of the C.P. and the Minority Movement among the Lancashire workers, and the sustained agitation during recent months, has had a big effect in developing the present strike struggle and stiffening the resistance of the workers.

It must be admitted, however, that, so far, the influence is in the main an ideological one. The strike movement is still under the leadership of the reformist officials. The activity of the Party and the M.M. has been tremendous, their influence has steadily grown, their approach to questions of strike strategy has greatly improved, but the progress to building up a real independent leadership is slow. Largely this is due to weakness in working inside the trade unions, where the time is ripe for a tremendous oppositional movement developing. The union leadership is doing all it can to make the holding of union meetings as infrequent as possible, because they are afraid of the hostility they meet with.

Because of the isolation of the revolutionary opposition from the unions it has been impossible to lead the struggle of the union members against the treacherous bureaucracy. There are other reasons, but this is perhaps the most important. Another weakness has been the concentration of the militant forces in **Burnley**, which means a deplorable weakness in the other towns where the dispute is now raging. It is significant that in those towns where the officials managed to get majorities for staying in and where there is no strike are precisely those towns where there has been no Party or M.M. agitation or preparation.

Big efforts are being made to remedy the defects in the campaign of the **Revolutionary Opposition**. Whilst every effort is being made to mobilise the greatest activity among the strikers themselves, a much wider effort than ever before is being made to win the support of the widest masses of workers outside of the cotton industry and to intensify the work among trade union members. The fight for the building of strike committees at every mill is being speeded up, whilst a serious effort is being made to get united front of the **W.I.R.** organisation in the strike area with the Relief Committee set up by the **Burnley Trades Council** on the basis of giving relief to unionists and non-unionists alike, of **W.I.R.** Strike Relief Committee members being allowed to work jointly with members of the Trades Council and all **W.I.R.** contributions to the Relief Funds being acknowledged in the "**Daily Worker**" in their name.

Of the militancy of the strikers there can be no possible doubt, they have shown it in every possible way in the protracted struggles of the last three years. Of the importance of the struggle also there can be no doubt. Nor can there be a scintilla of doubt that the reformist leadership is awaiting the opportunity to put forward a formula which will give them the opportunity to betray the struggle.

In these circumstances the duty of the revolutionary workers is clear. They must sharpen the fight against arbitration, every ounce of energy must be exerted to develop the struggle, each situation must be carefully analysed as it arises, the correct slogans must be put forward to mobilise the workers, and the methods of work must be so adapted as to bring the broadest mass of workers into activity and struggle.

This is the task that revolutionary workers have set themselves, and by accomplishing it they will transform the ideological influence that they have won by their past work into the organisation of a strong revolutionary oppositional movement with its roots dug deep down in the trade unions and in the masses.

The Situation of the Working Masses in the Capitalist Countries

The Situation of Germany's Proletariat.

By Peter J o t t k a s (Berlin).

(Conclusion).

7. The Position of the Rural Proletariat.

There is no group of the proletariat so subjugated as the rural proletariat. It "must" bear simultaneously the serfdom imposed upon it by capitalist big agrarians and by the feudal lords of the nobility. There is no stratum of capitalism containing so much of the form of economies preceding capitalism as that still obtaining on the large landowners' estates. The great agrarians are not only the capitalist employers exploiting their wage slaves to the utmost. At the same time they are the original feudal lords, the owners of "serfs", regarding the rural proletarians as their personal property, keeping a watch that the daughters of the agricultural workers do not go to the towns but remain to work for them, deciding when the children can go to work, etc. As feudal lords they have been able to prevent almost entirely in the country the introduction of those social-political measures which afford the industrial workers at least a slight protection.

We append excerpts from correspondence received from agricultural workers, each exposing a special aspect of the wretched situation of the rural proletariat:

"On this estate the conditions have long been so disgraceful that they should be publicly investigated. The workers, who are not paid monthly except for one man, are sent home with the starvation wage of 13 marks, after 60 hours of the severest physical work . . . A woman has been engaged to feed the milch cows and the young cattle. She has to feed three cows and about 25 young animals. She receives 6 hours payment weekly, at the princely rate of 18 pfennigs."

60 working hours weekly—and an hourly wage of not quite 22 pfennigs for the men—but the woman is paid 3 pfennigs per hour.

Another agricultural worker reports on a special trick played by a large agrarian, one frequently resorted to, and throwing considerable light on the feudal conditions:

"The estate owner T., finding that if he paid the customary 28 pfennigs per hour he no longer gained the usual profits enabling him to pay for his extravagances, engaged the workers, whom he had hitherto employed as day labourers, as domestic servants. These victims of exploitation are now forced to drudge for 12 to 14 hours daily for a weekly wage of 6.50 marks, or to starve, since the rural council of U. declares itself unable to pay any unemployment benefit.

Before and after the harvest, in bad weather, etc., there is no chance whatever for the proletarian women living on the estate farm to find any employment. They have the possibility of taking meals in the farm labourers' kitchen (where the menus naturally differ from those for the landowner's table), and for this 3 marks weekly are deducted from the man's wages so long as the woman is out of work. Still, he receives the gigantic wage of 3.50 M for the 70 to 85 hours which he has worked during the week.

The question of feeding the children is to be solved by curtailing the quantities shared out to the parents."

We now see clearly what it means, this combination of feudal and capitalist exploitation. The agricultural workers are utterly swallowed up, bound hand and foot, with their wives and children, in the agricultural process of production. They have to work for incredible wages and incredible working hours, and at the same time the women and children are directly involved in the same process of exploitation. Besides this, the big agrarians have still further possibilities of classifying the agricultural workers in working categories no longer open to the industrial employer—thanks to the organised forces of the industrial proletariat. No industrialist can engage his workers as domestic servants and pay them correspondingly lower wages.

Even more frightful than the exploitation of the men is the exploitation of the women, who play a much greater role in agriculture than in any industry. An agricultural worker correspondent reports:

"It is not only in dusty factory rooms and musty offices that young proletarian girls are the victims of sickness and disease. There is a gardening undertaking here in L. Street, where young girls are exploited for starvation till they literally drop down in the garden from weakness. From 5 o'clock in the morning till 11 o'clock at night they have to drudge at this work, for scanty meals and M. 1.16 daily.

This means 17 hours of work for M. 1.16. And yet every radish which the girls would like to eat with their more than modest evening meal has to be paid for.

A few weeks ago one of these girls went to the doctor; she was unable to work, but did not know what was the matter with her. The doctor examined her, and gave his opinion: complete under-nourishment, caused by over-exertion and poor and insufficient food."

Girl textile workers bring 4 or 5 marks home with them after work ing for 48 hours—girl workers in the country collapse from overstrain and lack of nourishment. Town and country—everywhere the same frightful exploitation. Town and country—there is only one way out: the overthrow of the capitalist system of exploitation.

And not only the men—not only the women—the young people too are subjected to the most brutal of exploitation. In the country the children are set to work much more directly than in the industries, and the large agrarians derive mighty profits from their work. An agricultural worker correspondent reports, from an estate belonging to a National Socialist:

"The Halle 'Volksblatt' reports on 26th March on a lessening of unemployment in Zscherben, and states that the unemployed agricultural workers have been re-engaged for the spring work. The social fascist 'Volksblatt' could not have dished up a greater swindle. In actual fact it is not unemployed, but school children, who have been engaged for the spring work. Little girls between the ages of 10 and 14 have to toil from early till late with mules and horses. This is a perfectly unheard of exploitation of the children . . . The tenant farmer is the junker from the Rusches estate at Halle. When the parents of these children, who are themselves agricultural workers, protest against the children's work, the farm manager Kretzner replies: 'If the children stay at home, you can stay at home with them!'

Children as substitute for adult agricultural workers. They are paid less, and the profit is greater. That on the other hand this throws the adult worker out of employment does not concern the landowner at all.

Children have to perform the hardest labour. And if parents will not allow it—then the parents are threatened with dismissal. And these know very well that they will never find work again.

Each of the agricultural worker correspondents' letters above cited reveals a different aspect of the brutal working conditions under which the agricultural proletariat exists. Each letter shows the enormous power in the hands of the landowners and great agrarians, forcing the agricultural workers into the most frightful of slavery.

What does one of these agricultural worker correspondents say: It is not only in dusty factory rooms . . . no, it is not only here, but out in the rural districts too cruel exploitation holds the proletariat in profoundest misery. A common "fate" which must and can be overcome by common action: by the anti-fascist action of all the exploited, under the leadership of the proletariat, against capitalism, for the overthrow of capitalism.

8. The Position of the Unemployed Proletariat.

There are 5 million unemployed workers to-day, even according to the official statistics, whose incompleteness in this respect we have already dealt with here. With their families this makes 12 millions. Two thirds of the unemployed are in the "prime of life" between 21 and 45 years old. Between 21 and 45 years—formerly strong, upstanding men and women, half of them married. To-day they are but shadows of their former selves—barbarously hit by the capitalist system. Many of them have been without work for years. They have learned to give up the idea of work—so long as the capitalist system obtains.

The German Annual Conference of Town Councils (Deutscher Städtetag) has made an inquiry as to the length of unemployment among the unemployed on Public Assistance in several of the larger cities. Here are the results:

From the unemployed as a whole, the following had been without work for six months to a year: in Halle 10%, in Munich 14%, in Hamburg 18% and in Hanover 22%.

Percentage of total unemployed from one to two years: in Munich 24%, in Hanover 35%, in Halle 48% and in Hamburg 52%.

Percentage of total unemployed from two to three years: in Hanover 14%, in Hamburg 18%, in Halle 27% and in Munich 38%.

Percentage of total unemployed more than three years: in Halle 2%, in Hanover 3%, in Hamburg 4% and in Munich 11%.

Indeed, there are in Germany, not one or two but hundreds of thousands who have been out of work for more than three years. Many of them are not included in the inquiry of the Städtetag at all, which does not know of their existence for the simple reason that they no longer report to the Labour Exchange at all.

More than three years without work—unimaginable horror! Why rise each morning to live anew the day's misery? Why live at all? To scrape together once more a copper or two in order to buy a couple of dry rolls, to ward off starvation in order to go through the same process on the following day. Those who hold on are heroic fighters, those who not only continue to live but to work—to work in the fight for the future of their class, in the fight against the system, that system which has made them what they are: outcasts from society.

For those who have been without work for one or two years the misery is the same.

The unemployed live four to five in a room, down in the cellar where it is damp and gloomy, up in the garret where in the summer it is boiling hot and in the winter freezing cold, in the tenements, where the plaster is falling from the walls, where there are great gaps in the roof and in the walls, where the wallpapers are in rags.

Many more than half of them have no bed of their own—they have long since been forced to sell it.

In the morning, on awakening, the misery begins—breakfast: a few dry crusts, for the children perhaps a little margarine or jam. From breakfast time onwards the family is hungry. The children go to school—when they have sufficient to wear.

The father wends his way to the Labour Exchange. He has half an hour's walk. His shoes are in holes. The heat of the pavement burns his soles.

Economy at the Exchange. Formerly it meant a few minutes to the corner. Now it has been combined with another. Therefore, the half an hour to walk. A part of the employees have been dismissed, for that reason the period of waiting at the office is so long.

The queue stretches down into the street. He meets his comrades in misery—discussion begins, but often they are too weary, too indifferent, even to discuss.

Sometimes one must wait an hour or two, even more, before the business is over. The meal is being cooked at home? Cooked? No—there is only warm food once per week at home—the rest of the time there is only bread and coffee. Only the children occasionally get fried potatoes. Bread and potatoes—these are the chief forms of nourishment.

Here is the household budget of an unemployed worker, the needs for a week—they no longer apply as they are already several months old, and in the meantime a new Emergency Law has still further cut down the rates of assistance, but it will suffice to show those who know how to read a picture of frightful misery.

| | Marks |
|---|-------|
| Rent | 5,50 |
| Party and T.U. dues | 0,50 |
| Clothing, mending | 1,59 |
| Bread, potatoes | 5,00 |
| Meat, sausages | 1,26 |
| Margarine, lard | 1,20 |
| Milk, cheese, eggs | 2,02 |
| Other articles of nourishment | 1,16 |
| Pulses, vegetables | 1,10 |
| Fruit, salads | 0,00 |
| Beer, cigarettes | 0,00 |
| Books, pleasures | 0,00 |
| <hr/> | |
| Weekly expenditure | 19,33 |
| Daily expenditure | 2,76 |
| Per head: | 0,55 |

(Note: The nominal worth of a mark is 1 shilling.)

The family consists of an unemployed father, the mother, also unemployed, and three children aged 12, 5, and 3 years.

Fruit and salads are an unknown luxury for the family. In order that the children may have a little milk the father denies himself beer and tobacco. About a quarter of the expenditure, practically half of the total spent on food, goes for bread and potatoes.

Bread and potatoes are the main forms of nourishment for the unemployed—they do not suffice as means of nourishment, they fill the body with wind, but they give a certain feeling of repletion (albeit, unhealthy!), they fill an empty hole.

One more example—like the other, it has long since been surpassed. The family receives to-day only three quarters of what they got a few months ago. Let us take their budget at a time when they received "much more" than they get to-day:

| | Marks |
|--------------------------------|-------|
| Rent | 4,10 |
| Insurance | 0,50 |
| Union, Party | 0,90 |
| Clothing, mending | 2,20 |
| Bread, potatoes | 4,15 |
| Meat, sausages | 1,60 |
| Margarine, dripping | 2,00 |
| Milk, cheese, eggs | 2,15 |
| Fruit, salads | 0,25 |
| Pulses, vegetables | 0,10 |
| Beer, tobacco, books | 1,00 |
| <hr/> | |
| Weekly expenditure | 18,95 |
| Daily expenditure | 2,71 |
| Per head: | 0,68 |

The man is unemployed, so is the mother, the two children as 10 pfennigs (Penny farthing) were spent on pulses (beans,

The main supports are again bread and potatoes—as much as 10 pfennigs (Penny farthing) were spent on pulses (beans, peas, etc.) and vegetables, on fruit and salads "even" 0,25 marks.

To-day it is already different: The vegetables, fruit and salads have gone, beer and tobacco have also as good as disappeared from the family budget, cheese and eggs are no longer there, and the milk ration for the little ones has been terribly reduced. Meat and sausages—on Sunday a couple of slices of sausage, but that is all. Against that must be set one field in which the expenditure has increased. Yet more has to be spent on bread and potatoes.

It is necessary, at least, to have a feeling of "satisfaction" sometimes, and for that reason there is more dry bread, more dry potatoes, eaten.

The children waste away. The majority remain alive at least. But what do they look like! Poor little rickety beings. And the father, he is emaciated or bloated, both alike unhealthy, both alike harmful to the working strength. It is the same with the mother.

In this way do the unemployed proletarians live—lost for ever under capitalism. Their only hope, their only rescue, is the destruction of the capitalist system, a socialist society.

9. The Situation of Proletarian Youth.

Approximately one million young workers are unemployed in Germany at the present time; many of them have never worked in a factory. Tens of thousands have had to abandon their apprenticeships—the undertaking in which they worked has gone bankrupt. Will they ever be able to finish apprenticeships?

And yet the unemployed youth have much better chances of getting work than the other unemployed. Hundred years ago grandfather, father, and son all worked in the same factory—to-day the father is among the oldest if the son is already working. The average age of the workers is much less. Adult work is being replaced more and more by youth work. The young workers accomplish almost as much—the machine has made the skill of the old and experienced worker superfluous. And the young workers are paid much less than the adults. To employ young workers enables the employer to gain profits more rapidly. Therefore out of the factories with the old workers—and in with the young ones!

The National Committee of the R.T.U.O. has instituted an inquiry into the situation of young workers in the factories. The proportion of young workers was also ascertained. A few examples follow:

| Enterprise | Total No. of Workers | Under 21 Years |
|--------------------------|----------------------|----------------|
| Machine building works | 1900 | 600 |
| Aeroplane factory | 1000 | 325 |
| Shipbuilding yard | 650 | 200 |
| Needle factory | 350 | 130 |
| War materials factory | 170 | 130 |
| Machine building factory | 120 | 70 |

Many of the departments of these undertakings give the impression of factory schools—there is scarcely a worker over 21 years of age.

And the wages of working youth? Truly these guarantee the profits of the employers, in a manner otherwise possible only in the colonies. Let us see what the factories pay:

| Enterprise | Hourly wages for young workers |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| A cigarette machine factory | 12.5 pfennigs |
| Machine building works | 12.5 pfennigs |
| Precious metals factory | 12.0 pfennigs |
| War materials factory | 4.2 pfennigs |
| War materials factory | 3.1 pfennigs |

3.1 pfennigs hourly wage, and this in a war material factory, where profits are higher in any case than in the other industries!

The inquiry of the R.T.U.O. extended to approximately 50 enterprises, large and small, in North and South, East and West, in the metal and textile industries, in the food and in the cardboard industries the most multifarious undertakings and branches of economics were questioned, but everywhere the same answer was received: The workers employed are young workers to a greater proportion than ever before, and wages are lower than anyone could have imagined they could become.

What do the young workers do with these wages? They can buy themselves a few cigarettes—even a glass of beer occasionally. But there can be no thought of living on their own earnings. Most of them receive so little that they can contribute nothing to the household.

The young proletarians in the shops and factories have only one advantage over the young unemployed—at least they are learning something, they have something to do. They need not look for work. But this is all—they are almost as much a burden on their families as if they were out of work.

They have work. Truly, there are tens of thousands of young workers who can tell a tale about this work. In almost 15% of the undertakings reporting to the R.T.U.O., the young workers had to work more than 48 hours—whilst in other places short time, 24 hours, is being worked. In one metal factory 54 hours are worked, in an agricultural undertaking 10 hours daily, and in a film and rayon factory the drudgery is carried on for 64 hours weekly.

64 hours a week—whilst 1 million young workers are waiting for work. Capitalist madness!

And not only long working hours—young workers are not yet “grown up”, they must be “educated”, that they learn “the seriousness of life”. No consideration need be ac-

corded to them, no self control need be exercised towards them, they may be tormented and beaten. The young workers report from their work places:

“What is it like in the Krupp workshops? In the apprentices workshop 29 the apprentices are severely exploited. This is supposed to be a training workshop. In this department the foremen J. and G. have the command. Beatings and obscene language are the order of the day. Only recently an apprentice was maltreated with a driving belt till he bled from mouth and nose.”

“In the machine building works in Hainichen there are still 12 apprentices employed, 1 worker who has finished his apprenticeship, and 1 foreman. It may be seen from this that the undertaking is keeping going by means of apprentices. These apprentices were informed that this year they would have no holidays. An apprentice who protested against this and asked for his holiday received the answer: ‘You can have as much holiday as you want, but no money.’ This means permanent holidays.”

A report from an armatures factory states:

“After working hours the apprentices are employed for all kinds of work—carrying ash boxes weighing hundred-weights, sweeping the courtyard, clearing up, and the like. If they refuse they have to put up with the bad language and beatings of the foremen! Often the apprentices have to go with the practical work after working hours.”

The “fate” of working youth in the epoch of the decline of capitalism is frightful. Many hundreds of thousands are out of work. And those who have work? Are they any better of than those who are out of work?

Whether out of work or employed, the situation of the youthful proletarian is alike frightful, and will be so long as the capitalist system rules.

10. The Situation of the 100,000 Task Workers in the Work Camps.

The problem of unemployment and of the provision of work is one of the central problems of Germany's capitalism. 7 to 8 million unemployed! The effects of this unemployment, where they threaten the capitalist system, are to be abolished or at least neutralised—and invariably at the expense of the toilers! As antidote to the parliamentary effects of unemployment the government plans a raid on the franchise of all the unemployed. This is simple enough. But how is it going to abolish unemployment itself?

It need not be said that the only methods coming in question are those which cost the ruling class nothing, or even bring it some profit. And such an ideal method is the compulsory labour service, which forces the unemployed worker to work for starvation wages, for mere pocket money, and which serves at the same time as machinery for undermining the wage rate agreements, as an iron broom sweeping all fully paid workers who can possibly be dispensed with out of the undertakings, to be replaced by the task workers, or to reappear themselves at their old work places in the character of task workers.

The pre-conditions for this compulsory labour service were laid down by von Papen on 16th July in an enactment on “voluntary work service”, followed on 2nd August by the regulations for carrying it into execution.

The enactment explains the object of labour service as follows:

“The voluntary labour service gives the young German the opportunity of voluntarily performing serious work in common with others for the use of all, and at the same time of improving himself both physically and mentally and morally.”

Public bodies, associations, institutions, and undertakings are entrusted with carrying out the labour service. A special paragraph states:

“Besides the bodies providing the work, such bodies or persons are to be entrusted with the carrying out of the labour service as are peculiarly suitable for the work of organising and providing for the labour service volunteers.”

This paragraph refers quite obviously to the Nazi Storm Detachments and the Steel Helmet association as organisers of the labour service.

The task workers are not liable to social insurance, and are protected by the labour safety regulations, only if "the nature of the work renders it necessary". This means that in actual practice the task worker is cut off from all social insurance.

The regulations for the carrying out of the labour service make it possible for the compulsory service to be extended at will, for the regulation stating that the term of service may only last 20 weeks, or in special cases 40 weeks, is neutralised by the clause that in "special cases" this regulation may be set aside.

Drill to prepare the young people to take their place as soldiers, and the crushing out of all proletarian class spirit—these are the aims to be attained by "taking as example the exemplary organisation of the old defence forces".

The wages paid the young task workers (in general 25 years is the highest age for the voluntary labour service) are not to exceed 2 marks per working day. There is no limit set on the downward side.

* * *

100,000 young workers employed at starvation wages—no, they are not wages at all, but "pocket money". Just what the profit-greedy capitalists have been looking for.

At first it was stated that the "voluntary labour service" was only going to undertake extra work: road making, agricultural amelioration, laying out of sports grounds, etc. But the youth and sport associations, and the public works bodies, were speedily followed by all manner of ecclesiastical and "charitable" institutions, who had work to offer the "labour volunteers". And now a definite change of front has taken place, and the industrial capitalists and great agrarians have become the direct exploiters of the task workers.

What mighty profits are in prospect! 2 marks a day maximum wage, and generally less! To be sure the latest regulations state that the task workers may only be employed on "extra" work. But what is "extra?" The "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" explains precisely what "extra" means:

"The conception of 'extra work' applied to this work is to a great extent only a function of the amount of

wages... The higher the agreement wage rate, the greater of course is the circle of 'extra' opportunities of work, and the greater the necessity of work schemes applicable outside of the standards of the wage rate agreements."

It is perfectly clear. The employer simply declares: The wage rate of the agreement is so high that I cannot have the work done. If he now receives task workers in place of the discharged workers, that is, in place of the workers whom he would have had to engage for this work, then the work which they perform is "extra" work, because the employer has declared that he would not have the work done at all by workers paid on the wage rate agreement.

This interpretation of "extra" work throws open the gates for the exploitation of the "voluntary labour service" to the industrialists and great agrarians, and permits them to get rid of the workers paid according to agreement. The workers engaged under the wage rate agreements will be thrown ruthlessly into the streets and replaced by the labour "volunteers"—unless the original workers are prepared to work for the same "pocket money".

Reports are already coming in daily of the substitution of the paid workers by compulsory service labour. Forestry workers in Bavaria, railway track workers on the State Railways, have already been replaced by task workers.

By means of depriving young people of any assistance whatever, and putting the utmost pressure on their parents, many youths will be forced into the labour service. To other young people the labour service represents a refuge from the want and poverty of their homes, and the vain search for work.

The "voluntary labour service", which has already laid its hand on 100,000 young workers, and which will extend to millions after the introduction of compulsory labour service, is nothing more nor less than a new and especially dangerous method of fascisation employed by the ruling class: By means of the labour service it is preparing for war, intensifies exploitation beyond all measurement, and endeavours to kill the proletarian class spirit.

In the International

New Tasks of Mass Work.

By O. A.

The whole present international situation peremptorily demands of the Communist Parties of the main capitalist countries a radical change in the form and methods of Party work. A characteristic feature just now is the transition of the ruling classes of the main capitalist countries to new and sharper forms of attack on the working class and its Communist vanguard.

The struggle against the Communist Party, as carried on now in Germany and Czechoslovakia, has a series of peculiarities which, unfortunately, our Parties do not always take into account. In Germany and in Czechoslovakia the pressure of the state machine on the Communist Parties of these countries grows literally from day to day, especially in the last months. Several times already the situation was such that one could expect the suppression and dissolution of the Communist Party in the next few days.

However, this did not happen, for in Germany, as well as in Czechoslovakia the repressive measures were not aimed directly at the Communist Party, but affected various mass organisations which are in these countries the connecting link between the Communist Party and the masses (Y.C.L., I.L.D., W.I.R., Red Trade Unions in Czechoslovakia; Free Thinkers' Organisations, Revolutionary Sport Organisations, Y.C.L. and "Rote Fahne" in Germany). But the Parties remain for the time being legal. In Germany the authorities have gone farther: While allowing the C.P.C. to remain legal, they occupied the premises of the Central Committee of the Party and confiscated the printing press which prints the "Rote Fahne", without prohibiting the latter.

The meaning of this tactic is self-evident: It lulls the vigilance of the Party, weakens its connection with the masses

and, finally, facilitates the subsequent suppression and complete destruction of the Party.

How must our Parties re-act to the present tactic of the ruling classes?

1. They must carry on on a large scale an explanatory campaign among the masses; they must tell them again and again in a popular form what the bourgeoisie wants just now. In the course of this explanatory work the Parties must make use of all concrete facts connected with the offensive of the reaction against the revolutionary organisations of the working class and peasantry. This explanatory campaign must go on hand in hand with energetic and persistent work for the mobilisation of the masses in defence of those among them who are the victims of judiciary and police persecution.

2. The competent organs of the Party executive must mobilise immediately the fractions of all the revolutionary mass organisations, so as to prevent a repetition of the shameful affair of Germany's Free Thinkers. All these attacks of the ruling classes can be repulsed by a strong mass protest movement, but one must be also prepared for the worst, namely, failure.

3. Having in view such an eventuality, the Communist Parties have to develop now intensive work in all the opponent mass organisations (especially in the reformist trade unions). This work has always been absolutely necessary, because there are in the opponent organisations (especially in reformist trade unions) many "conscientious" reformist and social-democratic proletarians who must be brought over to the revolutionary side in countries such as Germany and Czechoslovakia, if we are to capture the majority of the working class. The Communist Party must maintain strong legal and

semi-legal positions in the shape of revolutionary mass organisations—trade union, sport, co-operative, cultural and educational, etc.—and also in the shape of strong fractions and revolutionary opposition groups in mass organisations that are in the hands of our opponents.

4. Finally, the Parties must take the initiative in forming a multitude of local, district, factory, sport, co-operative, cultural and educational organisations, organisations of the type of factory mutual aid funds, juridical consultation bureaux, etc., (for the formation of which no permission of the authorities is required), everyone of these organisations with a strong Communist revolutionary kernel. With the support of such a network of mass organisations (it must be as complete as possible), legal and semi-legal, Communist Parties need not be afraid of anything.

While making full use of all legal and semi-legal possibilities, the Communist Parties, just as the C.P. of Germany, must not leave for a single moment out of account that already before the formal suppression of the Party the wave of repression against Party activity is growing.

Therefore, the structure of Party organisations and the methods of Party work must **immediately** be changed so that all main organs of the Party apparatus shall have a broad basis in the masses and that all mass actions of the Party shall be carried out with the driving belts of the legal and semi-legal mass organisations. As long as the Party remains legal, the legal apparatus and the premises of the Party committees must remain with signboards, addresses accessible to all, in all reference books. Special comrades from the midst of Party members known to the police must be appointed for work in the legal section of the Party committees. Furthermore, the re-grouping of Party forces must be such that all Party activists known to the police be mainly grouped in the existing legal and semi-legal local organisations.

The Party apparatus itself must be considerably reduced numerically and reorganised. In the beginning of this year the Communist International advised the U.S.A. and British Communist Parties to do away with departments in the Party committees. At that time this was aimed at redundant Party apparatuses in the Communist Parties of these countries. Just now this instruction could be very well applied to a number of other countries, in the first place, to countries such as Germany and Czechoslovakia.

Party Committees, as collective elected organs of the Party leadership in the intervals between congresses and conferences, remain. One must consider the advisability of reducing the number of members in Party committees, so as to make them less unwieldy, and more adapted to meeting in situations of all kinds. Otherwise, Party committees will not function properly, will be in fact replaced by the bureau or even the secretary, whereas at the present juncture, when the Parties must expect to go through many trials, collective work by the Party leadership organs is particularly important and essential. Collective work within the Party committees must go hand in hand with a clear division of labour and strict personal responsibility of every member of the Party committee for the sector of Party work allocated to him.

We, on our part, would like to propose the following approximate scheme for division of labour in the Party committee:

1. The secretary organises the connection with the higher and lower Party organisations; he also prepares Party committee and bureau meetings, and is responsible for the fulfilment of the decisions of the Party committee and the higher Party authorities. It is desirable that the secretary of the Party committee should also keep up the connection with the Y.C.L. The secretary has at his disposal a small body of activists to help him carry through his work (work in the premises of the Party committee, finding suitable premises, being in charge of addresses, records etc.).

2. Responsible comrades for the publication of Party literature, and for its dissemination. They have assistants with regard to organisation of transport and circulation of literature. Every assistant in his turn organises a special body of activists to help him carry out his work.

3. The treasurer organises the collection of membership dues and the various financial transactions of the Party (collections, sale of literature, paid lectures, etc.). The treasurer organises a body of "financial activists" (it is advisable that collectors of membership dues should at the same time keep account of the numerical changes in the Party organisation,

note when members re-enter or leave the Party, in what circumstances this takes place, who leaves, who enters, etc.).

4. Responsible comrade for the organisation of the legal, the legal apparatus and the premises of the Party com-

5. Comrades for anti-war work.

6. Responsible comrade for the work of the Party in legal mass organisations, and consequently also responsible for the organisation of fractions in mass organisations.

Party activists known to the police be mainly grouped in the organs.

8. Secretary of the corresponding Y.C.L. organisation.

This is of course only a provisional scheme which must be applied in accord with concrete conditions, and with the peculiarities of the position of every separate Party organisation. Care must be taken that every Party committee should have a well organised connection with the fractions of the most important mass organisations, and with the nuclei of the most important factories. When transferring the best Party activists to mass organisations (trade unions in the first place) for energetic work there, they must be given to understand that their chief work is in the factories—transfer of the main work on the factories and formation of strong factory nuclei basing on the broad cadres of new Party activists united in several legal and semi-legal mass organisations. Factory Party nuclei must, on their part, be directly connected with the corresponding Party committees.

Work in legal and semi-legal mass organisations is bound to produce positive results, provided it follows the general Party line—concentration on the most important factories. But this will be possible only if our comrades make factories their main field of work, if they create there a body of sympathising activists around the factory Party nuclei.

Various Questions of the Reorganisation of the Trade Union Work of the C.P.G.

By O. Bever.

In connection with the changes in the general situation in the country the C.P. of Germany is just now considering the advisability of improving the methods of Party work, and applying new ones especially, in connection with the trade union work of the Party.

The Party must get ready without delay for big fights with aggressive fascism, by means of well developed mass work organised on Bolshevik lines, it must offer strenuous resistance to all attempts to drive it underground, and disorganise it through terrorism. It is impossible to solve such important tasks without giving an enormous impetus to the trade union work of the Party, and especially without putting more vim into Party work within reformist, as well as within various other trade unions.

One cannot successfully resist the offensive of the employers and the political reaction without drawing into the struggle millions of proletarians who belong to reformist trade unions and are under their ideological and organisational influence. And this again cannot be done without really strengthening enormously the work within the reformist trade unions. On the other hand, should the direct work of the Party be prevented, it will have to give a further impetus to revolutionary mass work in the reformist trade unions and their various auxiliary organisations, such as factory savings banks, sport, cultural and educational societies, co-operatives, etc. so as to maintain and menace its influence on the masses of workers. But this can be more easily attained if the Party makes up its mind to take up immediately in good earnest strenuous work within the reformist trade unions.

The first question the Party will have to solve in this respect, is—how to approach more successfully than before the reformist workers. The solution of this first question requires energetic struggle against perversion of the directives of the V. R.I.L.U. Congress regarding the organisation of the R.T.U.O. and Red Trade Unions.

A functionary of the Ruhr Red Miners' Union (formerly a Party instructor) said in his report on the work of the Red Trade Union in his district that there are only unorganised workers in the R.T.U.O. there, and as to the members of reformist trade unions, it is impossible to draw them into the R.T.U.O., as they are not willing to pay membership dues,

and do not want to take R.T.U.O. membership cards. In this concrete case we have in a monstrously exaggerated form views that are prevalent among comrades in Germany who participate in revolutionary trade union work, and yet nothing is more harmful than such views. The basis, and if one may say so, "the supreme law" of organisational construction for the Communist Party at the present juncture is application of forms and methods of constructive Party work and revolutionary mobilisation of the masses capable of facilitating and contributing to a more speedy and complete drawing in of broad masses into the struggle, and of making more easy leadership in all the revolutionary demonstrations of the masses.

This must be precisely the guiding "rule" for all Party organisations and trade union fractions in their search for more suitable organisational forms and methods of work in the reformist trade unions. Therefore, when considering the means of drawing members of reformist trade unions into the R.T.U.O., we must not be guided by the question whether these workers are willing or not willing to pay special membership dues and hold R.T.U.O. membership cards. According to the decisions of the V. R.I.L.U. Congress, it is not on such lines that we must try to bring them to our way of thinking. The main and most decisive thing is: to draw reformist workers into the general joint struggle against the class enemies, and it is only in the course of this, and in the trend of the struggle itself, that we must work for organisational consolidation, which again requires enormous perseverance, and flexibility if we are to strengthen the practical united front from below on the basis of concrete tasks of further joint struggle.

It is self-evident that when approaching the constructive R.T.U.O. work in this manner, numerous and extremely various organisational forms will crop up, from the loosest organisational without any definite regulation, for instance, in the form of periodical conferences with these workers so as to get their support for the demands or measures put forward by the R.T.U.O., of joint action at the factory and trade union meetings and conferences, down to forms provided for by the decisions of the V. R.I.L.U. Congress.

When the V. R.I.L.U. Congress made these decisions, it assumed that there are in Germany already tens of thousands reformist workers ready to join the R.T.U.O. as full fledged members and pay special membership dues. But certainly this did not and **does not mean** that in cases when reformist workers, dissatisfied with their leaders and prepared to join our struggle, do not yet agree to such an organisational form of the R.T.U.O., looser and more flexible forms are not to be used for the organisation of oppositional elements. On the contrary, one can well imagine that there are several oppositional groups in the same reformist trade union organisation, outwardly unconnected, and yet united from within on the strength of common struggle through Party members and sympathisers belonging to these groups. With regard to the first organisational method of approaching reformist workers, it is of the utmost importance to make full use of meetings and conferences called by the reformist trade unions, in order to bring forward their concrete and carefully thought out and prepared proposals regarding joint struggle by workers of all tendencies.

Some comrades are afraid that participation in reformist meetings is tantamount to bringing forward proposals and may be applying the opportunist tactic "Zwingt die Bonzen!". This erroneous and opportunist tactic was brought forward by the Brandlerites who linked thus up with the negation of the independent role and tasks of the Communist Party in the leadership of the left movement and strikes. Evidently, one must go to reformist meetings and conferences without the idea that it will be possible to revolutionise a certain number of trade union bureaucrats. One must go there in order to expose the reformist trade union bureaucrats by concrete facts, organise those who are dissatisfied with the reformist leadership around concrete demands of joint struggle also in order to fight for every elective post, etc.

In this connection our comrades should bear in mind that when speaking at reformist meetings and conferences they should use arguments based on concrete common tasks connected with the joint struggle of to-day and to-morrow. Moreover, they must not merely refer to such and such decisions of the Comintern or the R.I.L.U., of the Communist Party or the R.T.U.O., but by calling attention to these decisions, they must be able to persuade the workers that these decisions

are necessary and in keeping with the workers' interests. It is of the utmost importance to make use of all possibilities for the establishment of contact with the masses of reformist workers directly in the factories, and also at all meetings, conferences and deliberations held by the numerous auxiliary organisations of the reformists trade unions, such as mutual aid societies, consultation bureaux and so on and so forth.

The Joint Struggle of Employed and Unemployed Workers.

By Müller.

The last big strike in Czechoslovakia again shows the incorrectness of the anti-working class talk of the reformist trade union leaders and renegades about the impossibility of successfully carrying through a strike at a time when unemployment is so great.

The Czechoslovakian miners' struggle and also some earlier strikes in the various countries, among others in Germany, show that the unemployed when they are in the revolutionary class front are not strike-breaking elements, but actively co-operate in the strike struggles against the class enemy. In the daily struggles inside and outside the factories, there is a good co-operation of the fighting forces of the employed and unemployed workers, and this strengthens the revolutionary labour movement.

Two examples from the practice in Czechoslovakia should transfer some experiences which show that co-operation between the employed and unemployed workers can be achieved, that it has proven its worth, and that it is the necessary work of the Party and the revolutionary trade union movement to further and better shape this co-operation.

In the largest factory of war materials in Czechoslovakia (Skoda, in Pilsen) 13,000 workers were still employed up to the 15th of April of this year. Of these 13,000 workers about 6,000 were forced to take an involuntary vacation as a result of intensified rationalisation, changes and postponement in production. Part of the workers had to stop work one week a month and another part, two or even three weeks a month. The workers did not receive any compensation for the time lost either from the factory or the State. During the period from the 15th of April to the 1st of May of this year, 4,500 workers were discharged.

Our revolutionary organisations were better able to organise the mass work against the dismissals **outside** of the factory than in the Skoda factory itself. However, it became clear here that there was a lack of a strong Party and trade union organisation, as well as of cadres, which had to give the movement the necessary impetus and leadership. Under these circumstances, the slogan to have a protest strike against the dismissals on the 10th of April did not bring about a strike. However, a number of mobilisation measures were carried through in the factory by the revolutionary organisations and they found support among the masses of the workers.

In the factory committee, our red factory councils declared themselves to be against any dismissals whatever. In the department meetings which were called, the red factory councils defended their position, and in the discussion the workers approved the position of the red factory council. Our factory and also our red trade union paper took up the struggle against the dismissals particularly strongly. Besides the papers leaflets were also issued from time to time in this struggle.

Big demonstrations of the unemployed and the workers who were on leave without pay were organised in the city and outside the factory after work, in support of the movement of the workers. The demonstrations which were, for the most part, not permitted and were illegally prepared for, were well attended. Among the participants there were not a few workers of the type which we had not seen at our demonstrations up to then. Social Democrats and non-Party workers demonstrated together with the Communists.

The demonstrations, however, were not only directed against the dismissals in the Skoda Works but were also for the demands of the unemployed.

The numerous and big demonstrations which evoked sympathy from the entire toiling population of the town to an extent never before experienced in Pilsen, forced the social democratic municipal administration to approve some of the

demands of the unemployed. This mass movement gave an impetus to the mass work among the unemployed, as well as to the work carried on in the Skoda Works, and increased the influence of the Party and the red trade unions. One of the expressions of this growth was the strong participation in the demonstration of the revolutionary organisations on the 1st of May in Pilsen and the comparatively poor participation in the demonstrations of the social democrats.

Up to the 1st of May of this year, Bata in Zlin still employed about 10,000 to 12,000 men and women workers, and it seemed to many as if the factory was spared from the economic crisis up to the beginning of 1932. When a few hundred workers were discharged during Bata's absence, the whole factory staff thought that on his return from India where he had gone to discover new opportunities for export, all the former workers would re-instated. They only thought that the works management could not carry on the business without friction when Bata was away. However, he returned, and there were even more discharged than before.

As no trade union organisation was tolerated in the works, and only a small number of workers belonged to trade unions, the workers discharged by Bata are not entitled to state unemployment benefit (payment of state benefit pre-supposes trade union membership,—Ghent system). The Red Trade Unions have brought forward the demand that the payment of unemployment benefit should be effected through Bata. This demand was accompanied by a letter to the Social Welfare Ministry. This letter, signed by 240 discharged Bata workers, demanded payment of state unemployment benefit at Bata's expense. For the first time, 300 Bata unemployed demonstrated outside the works.

By these demonstrations and actions the municipalities were compelled to support the unemployed. For instance, the demonstration of the workers of the Otkowitz firm resulted in the discharged workers being employed on road making.

The revolutionary organisations organised also the struggle for the housing of the workers. A considerable number of workers live in the factory flats. The workers families, even after the bread winner had been discharged by Bata, were allowed to remain in the factory flats. By a cunning wage system Bata deducted every week a definite amount from his workers earnings. The worker or his dependents received this part of the wage only on his discharge from the factory, and at his death. As after their discharge from the Bata factory the workers received this money, they were able to continue to pay for the flat for a little while. But most of the workers spent this money for their and their families upkeep during the long period of unemployment, and there was no money to pay the house rent. The workers were to be evicted from the factory flats. As Bata was also mayor in the Zlin borough, and the whole committee consists of his followers, an attempt was made to simply send off to their homes the discharged workers who have no money.

So far it has been possible to frustrate Bata's measures, owing to the determined conduct of the workers. Meetings were held in various localities in the neighborhood of the factory, and unemployed as well as employed workers were mobilised against Bata's measures.

The unemployed action in Zlin and neighborhood had a strong influence on the Bata workers. Unfortunately, the members of the revolutionary organisations in the factory were very passive. Although our comrades in the factory thought it impossible to win their members for the Red Trade Unions owing to ruthless persecution, the unemployed action induced the workers to come on their own accord to the offices of the Party and trade union, so as to join the red unions.

Although the Party and trade union leaders couldn't for a whole three months come to an agreement regarding the further publication of the factory newspaper, the Bata workers came to the Party and trade union offices and demanded the factory newspaper for sale. When they could not get any copies, because the paper was no longer published, they grumbled and some of them became very excited.

One can see that in both militant movements the Communist Party and Red Trade Union organisations have been able to mobilise the unemployed and bring them into the struggle.

The revolutionary organisations have failed to consolidate these successes organisationally, they failed to get hold definitely of the unemployed.

There was a certain under-estimation of the difficulties of factory activity in these movements on the part of the Party and trade union organisations, as well as retreat in the face of them.

In the Skoda Works the work among the members of opponent trade unions was carried on very inadequately. In both enterprises the struggle against ruthless factory terror was neglected.

A very important point is that in both militant movements the united front principle was lacking. There was no united front organ elected by the workers in factories and labour exchanges.

The Party or the Red Trade Union of the factory or locality led the movement without sufficient support from the lower nuclei. In the Pilsen Skoda Works the local Party committee was the sole leader of the movement. The Party nucleus in the works played only a subordinate role, not to mention the trade union group which was only informed about the work to be done.

In the Bata enterprise the secretary of our Red Union issued all the instructions for the movement. The Party and trade union members were not called together in order to influence the movement.

The Unofficial Movements in the British Trade Unions.

By John Mahon.

Recent months have witnessed the development of a number of "unofficial" movements in some of the most important unions in Britain.

In the **Amalgamated Engineering Union (A.E.U.)** (154,000 members) the **Members Rights Movement** has grown steadily since September 1931. It was formed in order to fight for the re-instatement into the union of some 22 members of the **Minority Movement**. These members were expelled by the union Executive Committee, composed of full time officials. A pretext for the expulsion was found during the struggle against the wage cut of July 1931. The branches to which some of these comrades belonged, and which were strongly opposed to the action of the Executive, took the initiative in approaching other branches and forming the **Members Rights Movement**.

The Movement is strongest in **London** where it has the support of 90 branches out of the 110 branches of the union. It has a Central Committee and four area committees in London, all composed of delegates from the supporting branches, and financed by these branches. This movement has also influence in **Glasgow** and **Manchester**. Speakers were sent to branches, literature was issued and meetings and conferences were organised.

In May 1932 the Executive Committee of the A.E.U. which had several times unsuccessfully attempted to frighten branches away from the **M.R.M.**, officially instructed the chairman and secretary of the **M.R.M.** to disband it under pain of expulsion from the union. The Central Committee of the **M.R.M.** replied by refusing to disband and extending its activities.

In the **Building Trade Unions**, especially the **Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers (A.S.W.)** (116,000 members), during 1931 there developed the **Builders' Forward Movement**. This was formed through a conference of trade union branches convened by the **Building Workers M.M.** The **Builders' Forward Movement** was led by a central committee in **London**, consisting of elected delegates from supporting branches. It developed considerable activity and was responsible for mobilising a considerable number of branches in the fight against the proposed new wage agreement of 1931 in which worsened conditions were proposed by the union leaders. So great was the opposition that the reformist leaders were compelled to take a ballot, and they were defeated by a great majority.

The **Builders' Forward Movement** was again successful in mobilising many branches to defeat the official proposals for amalgamation of the building unions into one union. This amalgamation would have completely abolished trade union democracy and strengthened dictatorship. The ballot resulted in turning down the scheme by votes 69,612 to 39,058. Since the autumn of 1931 the activity of this movement has somewhat declined.

In the **British Iron Steel and Kindred Trades Federation (B.I.S.A.K.T.A.)** (59,000 members) a powerful movement

embracing 62 branches in the **South Wales** district developed around the question of the fight against the reformist officials proposals for increased contributions, increased pensions for officials and other financial questions.

In the **Boilermakers' Society** (62,000) one of the most reactionary unions in Britain, in which the Executive first adopted a ban against the election of members of the Minority Movement to any official positions, an unofficial committee with the support of 23 branches was set up in **Glasgow** in April 1932. This committee was elected after two delegate conferences had been held and circularised all the Glasgow branches with proposals aiming at a complete change of policy in the union on questions of general policy and trade union democracy.

In the **Furnishing Trades Association (N.A.F.T.A.)** (18,000 members) in February 1932 some branches in **London** took up a struggle against the Executive proposals to cut down benefits and increase contributions. The proposals were defeated in the ballot, several delegate conferences were held. A London Rules Committee was set up with support of 23 branches. It developed activity also outside London. The Executive threatened its secretary, a M.M. member, with penalisation, but the Committee declared its confidence in him and proposed him as candidate for the rules revision conference.

All these unofficial opposition movements are fairly well ing opposition of trade union members to the policy of the machine. There are contacts between the leadership and the branches, financial support for the leading committee. None of these movements have any official connection with the **Minority Movement**. In all cases the M.M. has active members in their leadership with varying degrees of influence.

All these movements represent an expression of the increasing opposition of trade union members to the policy of the reformist leadership of the trade unions. They are formed by the trade union branches, and represent a revolt of the lower organs of the trade unions against the central executive committees.

The issues upon which this revolt has hitherto taken place, were: wages, labour conditions, trade union democracy, financial questions. As the situations develop these movements have to broaden their issues, for example the N.A.F.T.A. movement in dealing with the financial situation of the union formulated a policy which raised the whole question of the struggle against the employers' offensive; the Glasgow boilermakers who wished to fight against the E.C. proposals on increased contributions found that this question was inseparable from the rights of the union members which are infringed by the E.C. dictatorship, and from the fight against industrial peace. The Members Rights Movement of the A.E.U. in its fight against the threats of the E.C. explained to the branches that these threats were not unconnected with the danger of new wage cuts in the industry.

The strength of these movements consists in the fact that they organise large numbers of the union members around concrete issues. It is, however, important, as shown by the brief experience of their existence, that this struggle results in broadening their outlook. To consistently struggle to attain these objectives means that they increasingly develop from a limited trade union opposition to a revolutionary trade union opposition.

The tasks of the **Communist Party** in regard to these movements are important tasks. Through its organised fractions in these movements the Party must work to increase the class-consciousness of the trade unionists supporting them.

Through these movements the Party can penetrate into many factories and trade union branches where at present it has no foothold. But this work requires first and foremost that the Party fractions should fully acquaint themselves with the situation in the union and in the industry and should be able to carry on the discussion inside these movements in a way which will win the trade union branches. So far the Party has not taken this line. While a few comrades working in an individual manner have taken a leading part in the development of these movements, the general Party membership has remained passive, and the leading Party Committees have not taken steps to mobilise them.

Examples of this passivity are to be seen in the **Building Trades** (out of 200 Party members in the industry in London, 180 were not taking part in the trade union work), and in the **A.E.U.** (with 100 Party members in the London A.E.U., only two are elected to the committee of the M.R.M.); total under-

estimation and ignorance of the unofficial movement amongst the steel workers from the part of the district leadership.

There are also tendencies to advocate the liquidation of these movements on the grounds that they were an alternative to the M.M. This tendency was expressed in the Party particularly in relation to the movements in the A.E.U. and the building trades. It represents the sectarian tendency to refuse to have anything to do with workers who are not 100% in agreement with the Party, and to refuse to work in the reformist trade unions. There was also the tendency to regard these movements as rendering unnecessary the formation of groups of individual workers (M.M. groups) in the factories and in the trade union branches.

The resolution of the 8th Session of the Central Council of the **R.I.L.U.** formulated clearly the line of development of these movements:

"The R.I.L.U. adherents must understand that the M.M. must concentrate its entire force on struggle for the day to day demands and living needs of the working class. It must organisationally embrace the workers in the revolutionary trade union opposition in the most varied forms. The existing opposition movements are to be developed and thoroughly utilised for the creation of a unified revolutionary trade union opposition."

The Communist Party of Latvia in the Struggle for Partial Demands.

By Austra.

The economic crisis in Latvia deepens from year to year. In 1931 industrial output fell considerably, and so did prices of agricultural produce; there was a considerable reduction of foreign trade and financial disorganisation. In connection with the deepening of the economic crisis the offensive of the bourgeoisie against the standard of living of the workers has been given an impetus: wage cuts, introduction of a longer working day, worse conditions of labour, failure of sickness funds, etc.

In the winter of 1931-32 there were about 40,000 unemployed in Latvia, whereas the total number of industrial workers in Latvia is about 75,000. All this is accompanied by growing reaction in politics and by interventionist tendencies with regard to the U.S.S.R.

Simultaneously, the dissatisfaction of the workers grows, and above all revolutionary resistance on the part of the working class to the offensive of the bourgeoisie becomes more intense.

The most important task of the **Communist Party of Latvia** consists in taking this movement under its leadership, and in contributing to its expansion.

At the 8th Congress of the C.P.L. and also at the C.C. Plenums and provincial conferences, the Party was in the first place faced with the task of leading the struggle for the defence of the partial demands and needs of the workers. Before the C.P.L. looms big the task of strengthening its activity in factories. The existing connection with the factories is still very inadequate, and is far from guaranteeing in every case the necessary leadership in the struggle of the workers for their economic and political demands. However, despite inadequate connection with the factories, the C.P.L. has after all a certain amount of experience in organising and leading the struggle in the factories.

In 1931 the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade unions led most of the 42 strikes that broke out. Most of the strikes led by the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade unions ended in partial success for the workers. One of the biggest strikes, that of the boot makers, ended almost in complete victory for the workers. They succeeded in repulsing the employers' attack on their wages. This strike had been well prepared by the revolutionary trade unions, as well as by the Party. A series of manifestoes were issued at the right moment, verbal agitation (individual and at meetings) was carried on on a large scale. The preparation and conduct of the boot-makers strike was discussed at Party meetings, at the meetings of the revolutionary trade unions, etc. During the strike strike committees were elected, and these committees were

very active and watched carefully the development of the strike. They upheld the revolutionary spirit of the strikers.

This strike has shown that the C.P.L. can lead strikes successfully and mobilise the workers around its slogans. But the C.P.L. has not made the most of its possibilities in the other strikes that have taken place.

It must be pointed out that, despite some attainments in organising partial struggles especially around the workers economic demands, the C.P.L. and the revolutionary trade unions have been remiss in leading the militant movement and the strikes. One must say in the first instance that the Party nuclei have not yet taken up the work seriously enough. Party nuclei frequently let go by favourable situations for development of the struggle in defence of the demands of the workers. It even happens at times that nucleus members take it into their heads that in the period of deep economic crisis a strike cannot be successful because the employer has nothing to give, and indulge in other opportunistic tendencies of this kind. There must be ruthless struggle against such tendencies.

Owing to inadequate connection with the factories, Party committees and revolutionary trade unions frequently have to organise the economic struggle of the workers from outside, sending revolutionary literature to the factories, or, through friends there, calling the workers to a meeting. This is due to the fact that there are frequently no Party nuclei in the factories and that the revolutionary trade unions have not succeeded in entrenching themselves there. The task of improving the leadership of the economic and political movements and strikes of the Latvian workers is closely connected with the improvement of the work of the nuclei, which demands better contacts with the factories. The illegal conditions in which the C.P.L. and the revolutionary trade unions have to work, demand colossal efforts in order to overcome the difficulties with regard to getting a foothold in the factories by developing the struggle of the workers of these factories.

The Party and the revolutionary trade unions must work hard to secure leadership in the struggle of the unemployed and also in that of the farm labourers. In 1931 and in the winter of 1932 the Party was at the head of several demonstrations of the unemployed. But most of these demonstrations still lack adequate preparation. There are still very few elected unemployed committees, capable of organising and heading the struggle of the unemployed under the leadership of the C.P. In April 1932 there was a spontaneous demonstration of the unemployed in **Precum** where it came to a scuffle between them and the police and local authorities. This unemployed demonstration was of a mass character, but unfortunately neither the Party nor the revolutionary trade unions took a lead in it.

The Party is only just beginning to work among the farm labourers. In 1931 the Party called several farm labourers conferences, to discuss questions connected with organising the farm labourers and with the economic struggle. Owing to the inadequate work of Party nuclei in the villages and the almost complete absence of revolutionary trade union organisation for farm labourers, one cannot report progress with regard to drawing these workers in the economic struggle. A serious defect is the small number of farm labourers in the ranks of the Party.

The last Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P.L. appraised the position and work of the Party organisations, and points out in its resolutions the necessity of mobilising all the forces, in order to strengthen the Party and revolutionary trade unions, as well as the R.T.U.O. in the **large factories** and in the transport service, also among the unemployed and the farm labourers. To attain this, an impetus must be given to the work of the trade union groups in the factories, and to the work of the Party nuclei. The last C.C. Plenum declares that the capture of the factories demands more energetic organising work, a decisive change and acceleration of the tempo of the work, concrete leadership, and concrete tasks to be set to provincial and district organisations, to every Party nucleus and every member of the organisation, as well as systematic control over fulfilment.

By strengthening in every possible way its organisations, by improving the work of the nuclei, by organising and heading the movement of the workers on the basis of the united front from below the Communist Party of Latvia will be able to rally the masses of workers for the revolutionary struggle.

The Work Among Women On the First Place!

By P. Brupbacher.

The work of the R.T.U.O. among the women workers, one of the most important fields of our mass work, is up to the present still receiving insufficient attention and systematic guidance through the factory nuclei and the R.T.U.O. groups.

We can record some improvements in the practical work among the women workers in the factories in Germany and in Czechoslovakia. It is therefore important to reveal the forms and methods of this work so as to extend it to other spheres and countries.

Together with the delegate meetings in the factories, which is the best method of mass work of the Party among the working women, for involving non-Party women workers and those who are under hostile influence, and which play an extremely important role for the organisation of systematic work in the enterprises, day-to-day mass work must be organised by the R.T.U.O. groups in the factories.

With the constantly worsening condition of the women workers and the great, growing possibilities for revolutionary work as a result of the radicalisation of the workers, it becomes clearer than ever how little the factory groups are linked up with the masses of women workers in the factories, what little concern the factory groups of the R.T.U.O. and the Red Trade Unions show for the women workers in their daily work, and how seldom they support and put up demands for the women workers and how little they mobilise the working women for the struggles on the basis of day-to-day work.

The working women's commissions in the factory groups of the R.T.U.O. have proven to be an important method for the establishment of contacts with the women workers and for their mobilisation. There are a number of examples which show that such commissions of working women can play an extremely important role in the preparation and launching of strikes.

The example of the Kaas factory (Berlin) shows us how such women's commissions can be organised and the first steps that they have to make: In the Kaas factory three women workers were delegated to the conference of working women in Berlin. After their return from the conference, they made a proposal at a meeting of the workers to elect a commission of women workers of the factory and declared themselves as prepared to be the first ones to accept if they are nominated. A commission of seven women workers was elected which, at a general meeting of all the workers, organised reports on the abuses in the various departments and drew up the grievances of the women workers in a programme of demands which was also accepted by all the workers.

Under the pressure of the unanimous decisions of the workers and of the energetic work of the working women's commission, the management was forced to approve the demands for the installation of ventilators, but, at the same time, it threatened to discharge the members of the working women's commission. A newly convened meeting of all the workers decided upon the enlargement of the working women's commission and to go out on strike in case of victimisation, so that the management had to again give in to the fighting spirit of the workers. Further, the working women's commission organised the sale of the "Working Woman" (the women's paper). It awakened the interest of the women workers and succeeded in immediately winning permanent women readers. In the strike which later took place in this factory, the working women's commission played a very active role.

We have another example in Ostheim (Württemberg). The working women's commission drew together the best working women in each department of the factory for discussions. At this time the firm switched off the electric light in the hallway and hung up a single kerosene lamp. This lamp produced a discussion on the day after the conversations with the working women in the various departments of the factory. The working women's commission was successful in having the carrying through of the factory meeting, against the will of the reformist factory council, demanded by all the workers in the factory.

Unfortunately, up till now we still have working women's commissions in only a small number of factories.

There are great shortcomings and weaknesses in the work of the working women's commissions that are already organised. Very often such commissions are left to themselves and they then fall apart again. Most of the time the working women's commissions are not linked up with the broad masses of the working women of the whole factory, and their activity is poor. But the particularly important role of the commissions lies precisely in their wide connection with the working women, in the creation of a broad body of activists among the women workers, the building up of support for the R.T.U.O. in all the departments and work-rooms, etc.

Very often there is even resistance offered by the factory groups of the R.T.U.O. against the organisation of such working women's commissions. Thus, for example, in Czechoslovakia where we have up till now only had a small number of commissions of working women in the factories, the leadership of a factory group in a metal factory three times rejected the organisation of a commission of working women, despite the fact that the working women themselves had already given their approval for the election of such a commission.

In the decisions of the E.C.C.I. on the work among women in the Central European countries, the importance of the organisation and guidance of the work of the R.T.U.O. among working women was particularly stressed. The carrying through of conferences of working women in the various branches of industry in preparation for various actions, movements and struggles, was also specially pointed out.

We have only had information from Germany on the carrying through of these tasks. Such conferences are also being carried through in Czechoslovakia. The R.T.U.O. together with the women's departments of the Party have succeeded in carrying through eight conferences of women textile and metal workers in the Lower Rhine. The conferences worked out a programme of action. At the same time, these conferences were taken as the starting point for the organisation of permanent delegate meetings in the factories that were represented and of the working women's commissions in the factory groups of the R.T.U.O. The important thing at these conferences is the fact that each individual delegate was elected by the working women of her factory and thus an important preliminary condition has now been created to extend the connections with the working women and entrench ourselves organisationally through the workers' delegate meetings and commissions of working women.

Besides that, two conferences of women chemical workers in the Halle-Merseburg District, two conferences of women factory workers in the District of Saxony and a conference of women textile workers in Hamburg were carried through. The conferences of the women factory workers of Film Wolfen and Wasag and the factory conferences of the I.G.-Farben in Leverkusen are of special importance. The latter were prepared in an entirely new way, through meetings of very small groups, meetings in homes, through visits of the women workers in their homes, as hitherto there were almost no contacts with these women workers and they are very intimidated by a highly developed factory spy system.

The conference at the I.G.-Farben in Leverkusen was carried through absolutely illegally. This new method is also important for the factory work among women of all the Sections of the C.I. For that reason the description of the preparation of this conference which is given in the "Party Worker", the organ of the C.C. of the C.P.G. for functionaries, is interesting.

In preparation for this conference, the women's department, together with the Party nucleus, called a meeting where the various questions were discussed. Seeing that they had fifty addresses of working women, it was decided to visit these women in their homes so as to win them over for participation in the conference. Through some sympathetic women workers, the women comrades who were to do this work acquainted themselves with the necessary factory information so as to immediately have some points of contact in their discussion with the women workers. In the conversations with these women workers it became clear that they are very much intimidated by the spy system in the factory, and they proposed that the conference should not be held in Wiesdorf, as originally planned, but in Opladen. And that was also done.

In preparation for the conference of the women chemical workers of Film Wolfen and Wasag, four house meetings were held in Bitterfeld in which from four to thirteen women workers participated, and house meetings were also held in Wolfen, Grepin and Jessen. At a meeting in preparation for a department meeting, at Film Wolfen 32 out of 60 women workers attended. After the conference at Wasag's house meetings are now again being held with the delegates.

The examples of the factory conferences of the women chemical workers of Film Wolfen and Wasag and I.G. Farben in Leverkusen, are so important, therefore, despite the fact that only a very small number of women workers have as yet been involved, because this work, if it were systematically carried further and upon a wider basis, firstly, shows the way how through meetings with small groups, with individual department meetings, contacts can be established with the broadest masses of women workers, and systematically extended and deepened. Secondly, it discloses how one can link up legal with illegal methods in practice.

Meetings of women workers in the factories occur very seldom, and we have no example of where they take place regularly. What is the cause of that? Apart from the double burden which the woman worker has to bear in the factory and at home, fear of spies, etc., sufficiently thorough preparation and organisation of these meetings is lacking most of the time. In most cases we have not got a far-flung body of women activists in the factory who can draw all the women workers to the meetings.

Besides that, in the large enterprises where the workers number thousands, it is a very complicated thing to carry through a meeting of the workers of the whole factory. At such meetings, at best, only the smallest and most active part of the workers are involved. But it is precisely the most backward, the reformist and christian women workers who remain aside. Here we must extend the experiences of these conferences, the carrying through of house meetings with small groups of women workers and meetings of individual departments for our constant work. Conferences of women workers of a factory can become a good method for our permanent work.

In all our work we must strive to place the main weight of the work in the departments and, if they are too large, in the sub-departments and individual work-rooms, etc. We must succeed in building up a nucleus of women activists, women delegates, etc. in each department, in each work-room. Only in this way will the R.T.U.O. succeed in having a better approach to all the women workers of the factory.

Working women from a large, important factory in Berlin where women's work is now growing, organised an exchange of experiences with women functionaries and women workers of such factories where the work is still weak.

The woman's department of the C.C. of the C.P.G. has for this purpose put women factory workers and functionaries of the Party and the R.T.U.O. from important large enterprises in Berlin in touch with important enterprises in the provinces. A woman functionary (nucleus organiser for the work among women, red factory councillor, chairman of the working women's committee, etc.) devotes herself to the factory nucleus of an important factory in the provinces, keeps it informed by letter of the experiences of her work, on the basis of the information which she receives above the conditions in the factory which has been assigned to her, she gives practical advice by giving practical examples of her work and in that way helps along in the work of this factory. When such work is well organised, a rapid transfer of experience is attained as well as the constant contact of the Women's Department of the C.C. with a number of factories which gives it the possibility to better orientate itself to the factory in all its work.

The examples, forms and methods of work which have been mentioned here by no means exhaust the possibilities for the organisation of incessant work in the factory, but they give a miniature picture of those practical steps which, if extended and deepened, will also be useful in other spheres and in other countries for the organisation of extensive, systematic work among the women workers in the factories.