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# Approaching Further Aggravation of the German Crisis.

By Th. Neubaer (Berlin).

In his speech in Stuttgart Dr. Wirth, the Reich Minister for the Interior, assured the public that there is no fear of a revolution in Germany in the coming winter, "for the government is strong enough to crush a revolution". Whether this declaration will suffice to satisfy the New York Bankers is somewhat doubtful. Doubt in the assurance given by the German Minister for the Interior will probably become stronger when the international financiers read the further sentence: The government will not let itself be taken by surprise; it has already negotiated with Prussia, Württemberg and Baden regarding appropriate measures! It appears, therefore, that the government and its Minister for the Interior, in spite of the above proud assurance, is not a little afraid of revolution.

It is quite certain that the coming winter will see the most serious crisis in Germany. The deep fissures which the earthquake of June and July caused to the structure of German capitalism have only been plastered over; not one of the serious difficulties has been overcome.

The "standstill" negotiations with the foreign capitalists have not yet been concluded. German capitalism will have to pay very high interest in order that foreign capital shall remain in the country. But in a few months (the agreement is only for six months) the question of the 5,600 million short-term foreign credits will come up again, and precisely at a time when the economic crisis in Germany will have reached an unprecedented degree of acuteness.

As regards the inner German "normalisation" of the monetary

circulation, the lists of losses of capitalist economy, the number of bankrupt undertakings are rapidly increasing, and the State is compelled again and again to intervene in order to ameliorate the worst collapses. Closing down of works, restriction of production and wholesale unemployment are still increasing. The decline of economic activity is reflected, to name only one figure, in the diminution of the number of goods-trucks in use on the national railways; they figure now at 20 per cent. below the level of last year and almost 50 per cent. below the level of 1929.

The poverty of the working class is increasing tremendously. The Institut für Konjunkturforschung reckons that in the first six months of 1931 the income of the workers and employees declined by 3,000 million marks as compared with the previous year. The sale of foodstuffs fell 8,4 per cent., and that of textiles by 16,3 per cent. compared with the year 1930, when poverty was already exceedingly great. The impoverishment of the working class also affects in turn the petty bourgeois middle classes and the great mass of small and middle peasants. In face of this increasing misery of the broad masses one can only be amazed at the optimism of the Reich Chancellor, who expects that the starving will bear with slavish resignation the fate imposed upon them by the ruling class.

But the German capitalist class is doing something more to increase the ferment among the masses. The new offensive against wages is being carried out with the greatest brutality. This has led the municipal workers — for the first time for

years — to engage in a number of obstinate strikes, in which the staffs participated in many cases up to 100 per cent, although the State Power employed the most drastic measures against them.

In addition, the fresh deterioration of the unemployment relief is becoming more and more evident. On August 15, the number of unemployed amounted to 4,100,000 as against 2,883,000 in August 1930. Of these 4,100,000 unemployed only 1,225,000 are drawing full unemployment benefit; 1,056,000 are receiving crisis benefit and 1,723,000 have to rely on poor law relief or do not receive any relief whatever. Whilst the number of unemployed receiving full benefit is continually declining, the number of recipients of poor law relief is steadily mounting.

The increasing unemployment has completely upset all the municipal budgets and caused the majority of the municipalities to become bankrupt. Although the municipalities have for over a year been carrying out the most rigid retrenchment measures (reduction of the scale of benefit, economies in the cultural budget, cessation of public works, increase of municipal rates), whereby, it is estimated, 850 million marks have been saved, their situation is disastrous. The Reich, however, which has spent millions in supporting the bankrupt private economy, has up to now refused to render any aid. On the other hand it has issued an Emergency Order empowering the provincial governments to fix at will the budgets of the municipalities, i.e., to dictate that fresh revenue be obtained by increasing the taxes of the masses and to order further reductions of social and cultural expenditure. Nevertheless it is exceedingly doubtful whether it will be possible by these means to do away with the deficits of the municipalities, which this year probably amount to 1000 million marks.

Like the municipalities, the provinces also are being drawn more and more deeply into the financial crisis in spite of all economy measures. They are now proceeding to raise the necessary means by fresh heavy burdens on the masses. Following the example of Baden, Bavaria has reduced the salaries of the employees and officials by 5 per cent., and at the same time has increased the rent tax, doubled the tax on slaughter houses, and cut down expenditures on education. These measures, which are calling forth the greatest bitterness among the population, are not yet sufficient to overcome the present crisis. Therefore the central government must render aid.

But already in the first four months of the budget year, the

Reich has to record a falling off in the revenue from taxation amounting to 582,910,000 marks compared with the corresponding period of last year, and this in spite of the fact that since April 1930 the taxes have been increased five times. It has to reckon with a total deficit for the whole year of 1500 million. In addition, in supporting the bankrupt banks it has undertaken such enormous burdens and liabilities, the extent of which cannot yet be estimated, that the financial position of the Reich is exceedingly critical.

Therefore, fresh emergency decrees, the last argument of the government, are to be resorted to. This will be the fifth attempt at restoration of the finances under the glorious government of Brüning. No concrete plans have been yet published, but one can safely expect further cuts in unemployment benefit, further reduction of the salaries and wages of officials, employees and workers employed by public bodies, increase of the turnover tax, and probably an alteration in the Rent Restrictions Act, which would mean a handsome present to the landlords and a further burden on the tenants.

At the Congress of the reformist trade unions, Herr Stegerwald, the Reichs-Minister for Labour, made some statements regarding the approaching cutting down of unemployment relief. He hinted that the financial relief would be replaced by relief in kind, which will enable the amount of benefit to be reduced, while the unemployed will be fed on thin soup in municipal public kitchens.

Reichs-Chancellor Brüning firmly reckons that the social democracy will give him the support necessary to enable him to carry out these attacks on the working masses. And he will probably not be disappointed. But he will certainly experience disappointment if he thinks that such boundless impoverishment of the working masses will remain without effect. The furious incitement against the Communist Party will not help the bourgeoisie to hold back the masses from the revolutionary movement. The social democracy, which support Brüning's policy, cannot, even though they employ the most dirty fighting methods against the C.P. of Germany, prevent the desertions of the workers from their ranks. To those who soberly observe this development it will appear as if the Reichs-Minister of the Interior, Wirth, with his bombastic words against the revolution which he will not hesitate to crush "with extreme violence", is biting off more than he can chew.

# The Overthrow of the Labour Government, and the Second International.

By H. Valetzki.

The "unforseeable" overthrow, as the leader of the French social democracy, Leon Blum, described it, of the English Labour government, means an exceptionally severe blow to the Second International.

The gloomy picture of the international social fascist parties, which are bound up for life and death with capitalism, was relieved by two bright spots — **England** and **Spain**. Here in England, the proletarians of all lands were to be shown by concrete examples how by means of democracy the power of the bourgeois State can be used to the advantage of the working people and for safeguarding their interests. In Spain, it was to be demonstrated how the social democracy, in agreement with the "progressive" elements of the bourgeoisie, is able to replace an open fascist regime by a "free-democratic regime" which should serve to defend the interests of the working and peasant masses. But since the news from Spain consists almost exclusively of reports of the bloody deeds of the social democratic government, of the crushing of workers' revolts, the Spanish card became of less and less value to the social democratic card-sharppers in all countries.

And now, like a bolt from the blue, came the news of the miserable collapse of the proud MacDonald government and the formation of a new — MacDonald government. His Majesty's government, at the head of which stood Ramsay MacDonald, the leader of the Labour Party, and which was more or less "tolerated" by the oppositional Liberal and Conservative parties, has been replaced by a government the chief of which is the same Ramsay MacDonald, but now only as a private

person, and includes, in addition to several of his Labour colleagues, leading conservative and liberal politicians. The majority of the former Labour Ministers, headed by Henderson, have parted from MacDonald and gone with the majority of the Labour Party to the "opposition".

What is the attitude of the chief Sections of the II. International to the events in England, whose unusual "dramatic" form has made a great impression on the whole world?

The leading organs of the II. International maintain silence. It is not in accordance with the custom, it is not in accordance with the structure and "statutes" of this society to "interfere" in the "internal affairs" of its various Sections.

The silence of the usually so loquacious chairman of the "International", Vandervelde, is particularly striking. Up to the time of writing his organ, the "People", published in Brussels, has not expressed any opinion regarding the London events. The reason for this is clear. For it was only a few years ago that the Belgian social-democracy, in the person of Vandervelde himself, took part in the "national" government for "saving the Franc", which government was identical with the present national government in England for "saving the pound". Vandervelde has no arguments and cannot have any arguments against MacDonald. On the other hand, he cannot as president of the International, oppose Henderson and the latest orientation of the Labour Party. Therefore, he simply waits and says nothing.

The German social democracy, whose leaders do not at the present time occupy any prominent positions in the International, can speak more openly. In accordance with their own practice, they are of course on the side of MacDonald; they thoroughly

appreciate his argument of the "lesser evil", and recognise the "advantages of a big coalition" in which social democrats participate, as against a purely Conservative government. They deplore the action of Henderson, who has left MacDonald in the lurch.

The leading article of the "Vorwärts" of August 25, states:

"MacDonald as leader of a coalition government, and Henderson as leader of the opposition against this government — truly it is not easy to get used to this idea, or to imagine what the outcome will be."

But the writer of this article is convinced that, finally MacDonald will prove to be in the right:

"The latter (MacDonald and his colleagues who have remained in the Government) will probably be able to prove that their decision represents the lesser evil regarded from the standpoint of the interests of the working class, that the economy programme of the new national government will impose far less sacrifices on the working class than if they had left the field to the Conservatives and Liberals".

Regarding Henderson, they only demand that he shall keep the English working class immune from the **Communist disruption bacillus**.

As usual, the Vienna "Arbeiter-Zeitung", the organ of the Austro-Marxists which right up to the last was the faithful lackey of MacDonald, tries to wriggle out of the difficult situation. It does not shed any superfluous tears over the fallen Labour Government. It writes:

"It had to conclude pacts and manoeuvre with capitalist parties and with capitalist means. The result was half-hearted measures which only called forth the impression of tragic irresolution. The Mine Hours Act etc., so many discouraging and humiliating failures . . ."

("Arbeiter-Zeitung" 25/8/31)

Thus it is satisfied with the turn of affairs which has put an end to the "tragic irresolution", and issues a short formula for the division of roles between MacDonald and Henderson:

"MacDonald the statesman saves the State, and Henderson the party secretary saves the party."

Both the "Arbeiter-Zeitung" and the "Vorwärts" feel the need to give expression to their appreciation of the person of MacDonald, who was for so many years their idol. The "Vorwärts" writes:

"Only our confidence in the sincerity and in the socialist conviction of MacDonald renders this way out bearable. Nobody who knows him will doubt for a moment that as a statesman he follows a categorical demand of his puritan conscience."

The "Arbeiter-Zeitung" calmly declares that MacDonald, at bottom never, never was a socialist:

"A traitor? Ah no, MacDonald has never changed his views, never betrayed his beliefs, he has always remained true to himself. Even when he preached Socialism (!) he was never a fighter for a class . . ."

MacDonald's decision to place himself at the disposal of the new "national" government, and his whole tactical turn, is strongly opposed by the parliamentary leader of the French social democracy, Leon Blum. He declares in the leading article of the "Populaire" of August 25, that he is "disturbed" by the London events, the more so as the real financial situation of England furnished no reason for this "theatrical coup". By some inexplicable means, MacDonald has become the victim of a vulgar blackmail manoeuvre such as we are quite familiar with in France. "And now the English socialist party, which only yesterday was the most powerful socialist party in the world, is exposed to the greatest danger". "MacDonald's incredible decision", wrote Blum on the following day (26/8/31), "cannot be justified on the ground of the existence of a real national danger".

Blum does not, or makes out that he does not, understand. For the development of affairs in England does not suit his policy, his style of manoeuvring in order to lead the French working class by the nose. He is afraid that the replacement of the second MacDonald government by the third MacDonald government will rather upset his plans for the election campaign next Spring.

The events in the English Labour movement, which have

brought about the change of government, and the circumstance accompanying it, mean a severe blow to the whole of the Second International. But it will endeavour to recover from this blow by making use of the "opposition" of the Labour Party for fresh cunning "Left" manoeuvres.

For the Communists and for the revolutionary workers organisations there is only one means of making use of the favourable situation and turning to account the manoeuvres of the opponents, namely, to oppose, to the "opposition" and the "Left" phrases the summons to the masses for a real fight for their interests, and to organise the masses for this fight.

## POLITICS

### The Situation in Czechoslovakia before the Municipal Elections.

By Z. Kalandra (Prague).

Quite concrete and uncontradicted news has already leaked out that the municipal elections are to be held on 27th September. In official circles however no opinion is expressed regarding this news, and endeavours are being made to hush it up and to keep the date of the elections secret as long possible.

The bourgeois-social-fascist coalition government were not agreed even two months ago as to what should be done with regard to these very inconvenient elections, which are to take place in about 75 per cent of the Czechoslovakian municipalities, including Prague. The agrarians, who as is known are the strongest party, advocated that the elections should not take place at all this year, as they are bound to according to legal provisions; they wanted to postpone them for two years by "legislative means". The social-fascist parties, on the other hand, were in favour of the elections being held earlier, i. e., before the Winter months, which the social-fascists have the greatest reason to fear. And finally, the whole government were agreed that the decision arrived at should be kept strictly secret from the public.

Time is pressing, the crisis is increasing at a rapid rate, the budget must be balanced, the big retrenchment programme must be put through. All this imperatively demands rapid action by the bourgeoisie, an immediate prelude to a fresh offensive against the workers. Therefore the municipal elections must be held as early as possible, whilst the announcement of the holding of the elections must be made as late as possible. By this means the election campaign is to be rendered as short as possible, as none of the government parties have anything to hope from it, but all have very good reason to fear that it will be made use of by the C. P. of Czechoslovakia for the purpose of mobilising the broadest masses of workers against the fascist regime.

This fear naturally increases in proportion as the crisis increases. The position of industry is becoming more disastrous every day, for the capacity of the home market is steadily shrinking and foreign trade is decreasing more and more. Wholesale discharges and closing down of factories have assumed enormous proportions of late. And it is to be expected that in the next few months the position will become much worse.

The financial crisis is assuming forms which are bound to cause anxiety to the bourgeoisie. Also in Czechoslovakia, one of the chief results of the restriction of production is the "freezing" of credits; here also the situation is further aggravated by the banks being compelled to pay back their foreign credits. The outflow of foreign valuta caused thereby has amounted lately to 50 to 60 million Czech crowns a week. In the period from May to July the stock of foreign bills in the hands of the National Bank sank by 4 to 5 million Czech crowns and the stocks of gold by 3 to 4 million Czech crowns, so that the gold cover has declined by over 70 per cent. The last big foreign investment loan has been already entirely used up, without thereby bringing about a revival of economy. And whilst there is already talk of the necessity of again coming to the aid of the banks, the negotiations over a new big French conversion loan make no progress.

The misery of the masses has already revolutionised the working class to such an extent that the social-fascist leaders

are obliged to resort to "Left" manoeuvres, as for instance the recent "demonstration strikes" in the Skoda works. For the social democratic workers wish to defend themselves against the employers' attacks. It is no wonder therefore that the social fascist leaders wish to have the elections over and done with as soon possible, in order to have their hands free again against the militant workers.

The situation is not in any way better in the agricultural districts. In many districts — chiefly in **Slovakia** and in **Carpatho-Ukraine** — it is even worse. The bad harvest in Slovakia has resulted in a pronounced famine among the rural population, who are already beginning to resort to measures of self-help. In many localities **partisan groups** have been formed who proceed to the big farms and **with weapons in hand** help themselves to what they want. It is quite understandable that in this situation the bourgeoisie have every reason to fear the sures for the working population.

The only "way out" they can find lies in the direction of a further impoverishment of the masses, to which the government intend to give the prelude on the day after the elections by a drastic economy programme. The plans have already been worked out some months ago by the Finance Minister, but hitherto the government parties were not able to come to an agreement on all the various questions connected with the economy measures.

Parliament, as already said, is to be summoned after the municipal elections in order not to be hampered by the election demagogy of the government parties. The C. P. of Czechoslovakia, however, has demanded the immediate convocation of both Houses and mobilised the working masses in order to enforce the immediate opening of Parliament. It has worked out and submitted a comprehensive programme of relief measures for the working population.

This action is closely connected with the election campaign. The Central Committee of the Party has already taken the necessary measures in order to frustrate the attempt of the social-fascist government to take the revolutionary movement by surprise by keeping secret the date of the elections. It has already published the Party election Manifesto, which contains the partial demands for the various sections of the whole of the working population, and put forward as the main slogan: "**For the Red Commune! For a Red Czechoslovakia!**", the second half of which slogan was censured when it appeared in the central organ of the Party.

In this situation the C. P. of Czechoslovakia is proceeding to mobilise the masses in order thereby to convert the municipal elections into a **surprise for the bourgeoisie**.

## The International Policy of the Dutch Bourgeoisie and the Revolutionary Upsurge.

By A. de Vries (Amsterdam).

Recent developments, and especially the revolutionary upsurge in Germany, have not been without effect on the international policy of Dutch imperialism. Holland, as a small imperialist State, has always attempted, as far as possible, to preserve its own interests not by the power of its own weapons, for the Dutch bourgeoisie is not capable of doing this, but by clever manoeuvring, by a policy which is mainly inclined towards the most powerful capitalist State at the time being, without however quite committing itself or entering into an open alliance. This is the essence of what the bourgeoisie euphemistically calls a policy of „neutrality“ or „independence“ of Holland.

Thus during the first years of the war, the Dutch Government closely sided with German imperialism without letting it come to an open fight with England. In the same way, in the first post-war years, the Dutch government became practically a vassal of the British Empire, whilst in the last few years it has made certain concessions, especially in the colonies, to American imperialism. Of late however, there is to be seen an orientation of Dutch policy to French imperialism, which can be easily explained by the fact that the French bourgeoisie is more and more acquiring hegemony on the European Continent.

This collaboration is to be seen most plainly in the colonies. The French imperialists in Indo-China and the Dutch imperialists in Indonesia have common interests in the fight against the revolution and against the Communist Parties of Indonesia, Indo-China and China. The police of these colonies, as also those of the Straits Settlements (Singapore), are working closely together against the illegal revolutionary agitation.

This collaboration has received its outer confirmation from the repeated visits of the Governor General of the Dutch colonies to Indo-China and the return visits of the Governor of the French colonies to Batavia. This collaboration was particularly emphasised on the occasion of the Colonial Exhibition in Paris. The magnificent Dutch pavilion, with its stolen art treasures, very soon fell a prey to the flames, which circumstance naturally provided the occasion for the usual calumny that the fire was the work of "Communists". This Colonial Exhibition was also visited by the Queen of Holland, and on this occasion telegrams were exchanged between the French and Dutch Governments regarding further co-operation and the common fight against the revolutionary ferment.

This rapprochement did not however remain confined to the colonies. In the last few weeks there have been increasing reports regarding the direct co-operation of the French and Dutch General Staffs for the purpose of extending northwards along the Dutch frontier the line of defence which French militarism has organised on the Eastern frontier of France and Belgium. The new director of the military academy, General van Munnikrede, is said to represent the French orientation in the Dutch army. A Franco-Belgian-Dutch customs alliance is contemplated. On the other hand, the French government is said to have now decided to take the part of Holland in the conflict between the Dutch and Belgian bourgeoisie regarding the question of connection with the sea.

Little credence can be given to the greater part of these rumours, which, of course, were promptly denied by the Dutch government.

It is certain, however, that of late repeated attempts have been made, if not to solve the serious Belgian-Dutch conflict, at least to push it in the background for the time. Belgium is and remains bound as a vassal of French imperialism by the secret military treaty of 1920 and by the close collaboration of the two armies. Precisely therefore it is remarkable that already at the beginning of the present year General Seyffardt, the chief of the Dutch General Staff, declared that the new Belgian fortifications on the Dutch frontier were not directed against Holland and that they could only increase the security of Holland against an attack from the East.

If, therefore, there can be no talk at present of an open alliance between the Dutch and French bourgeoisie, it is nevertheless certain that there has taken place an rapprochement which is no less real because it is "unofficial". The reason for this rapprochement is obvious. It is an alliance against the revolution which is feared. The French bourgeoisie is not content with having built up its first line of defence against the red danger out of its vassal States, Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia etc. It knows very well that in these countries, too, the capitalist rule is undermined, and it is therefore feverishly at work in erecting a second line of defence which in the worst case shall stop the workers' revolution spreading beyond the frontiers of Germany. And it is clear that the rapprochement of the Dutch bourgeoisie to France, both in Asia and Europe, has as its final aim the fight, together with the strongest financial and military imperialist Power for the time being, against the threatening world revolution.

This turn in Dutch foreign policy imposes upon the Communist Party of Holland the duty of making clear to the masses the full importance of this collaboration with that State which is now playing in Europe the same role of stronghold of reaction which Tsarism played before the war. And it should be remarked that in this situation the Flemish national question acquires special international importance. The mass movement in Flanders for independence and against Belgium as a vassal State of France is already now, even under its reformist-bourgeois leadership, a thorn in the flesh of the victors of Versailles. It is only the proletariat that can give a revolutionary leadership to this movement of the masses. In order to achieve this, close collaboration of the Communist Parties, and in the first place of the Dutch and Belgian parties, is indispensable.

# GREAT BRITAIN

## Who is Responsible?

By Wal Hannington (London).

The fog of secrecy which surrounded the manoeuvres and treachery which led up to the National Government is being penetrated and we now have a much clearer picture of these events.

We now know that the Budget deficiency was deliberately exaggerated in order to justify the Labour Government's plan of attack upon the workers' standards.

Let us briefly review some of the important facts which will help us to understand more clearly the criminal responsibility of the Labour Government for the present situation and also enable us to see through the role which the so-called opposition led by Henderson is playing.

During the last ten years the Capitalist Class had been making desperate efforts to arrest the economic decline of Capitalism by smashing down the wages and conditions of the working class. Two years ago the Labour Government took over the responsibility from the Tory Government for the continuation of this policy. They carried it out with equal zest and in many respects with greater cunning. The present conditions of the miners and textile workers in particular are sufficient testimony of that.

Then came the howl about the insolvency of the Unemployment Insurance Scheme. The Labour Government, faithful to the boss class, appointed the Royal Commission. In doing so they selected the personnel and laid down the terms of reference which were bound to lead to an attack upon the unemployed. In the same period they appointed the Economy Commission in a similar fashion to work out broader lines of attack upon the working class.

Mr. Snowden, in introducing his Budget in the House of Commons on April 27th, made it quite clear that he was calculating for heavy reductions in unemployment expenditure and social services, following the reports of the Royal Commission and Economy Commission. The "Daily Herald" next day emphasised this fact in thick type on the front page, with the following statement: "he also hoped for a considerable reduction in expenditure as the result of the recommendations of the Economy Committee and the Unemployment Commission".

It is quite clear from this that the attacks upon the unemployed were already the accepted policy of the Labour Government at the time when the Budget was prepared. Further, did the Labour Government repudiate the Royal Commission Interim Report, which proposed more than a ten per cent. reduction in benefits? No! on the contrary, in the debate in the House of Commons on June 22nd, Margaret Bondfield, speaking for the Government on the Commission's recommendations for striking thousands off benefit and saving £5,000,000, said:

**"The Government agree in principle with the recommendations of the Royal Commission, and they propose to place before the House proposals to give legislative effect substantially to those recommendations."**

The Anomalies Bill, which they passed, is based upon these recommendations. With regard to the other proposals of the Commission for cutting benefits, did the Government say they could not accept these? No, this is what they said:

**"The Government feel that they cannot proceed with the main recommendations of the report until they have before them the final conclusions of the Commission. I am confident that every member on these benches will support the Government wholeheartedly in that decision."**

(Margaret Bondfield's speech, quoted from "Hansard", June 22nd, 1931.)

It is clear from this that they intended to proceed with the benefit cuts once they had safely put through the first stage of the attack in the form of the Anomalies Bill.

Then came the publication of the Economy Commission's Report, which made even more drastic recommendations than the Unemployment Commission. In order to proceed with those recommendations the Labour Cabinet had to create an atmosphere of sudden crisis in order to justify the demands which they intended to make for further sacrifices from the workers. The cabinet met and commenced to draw up its plan of attack, whilst the Press screamed feverishly about the need for quick and drastic measures. Here it is important to remember that the Tory and Liberal leaders were called in for consultation from the very beginning of the special cabinet discussions, and that the present ex-Ministers were parties to this. The workers very naturally ask the question: Why were the Tories and Liberals consulted at all. If the Labour Government had a working class policy, why didn't they convene Parliament to stand or fall by that policy?

The fact is, as we now know, the whole Cabinet were in agreement on the need for wringing sacrifices from the workers, but because of the strong feeling of opposition which was showing itself amongst the workers throughout the country there were eight out of the twenty-one Cabinet members who began to show hesitation on the extent of the cuts against the unemployed. Before the break took place 13 of the Cabinet were already agreed on the very plan of attack which is now the policy of the National Government. When the break became inevitable, nine out of the thirteen suddenly made a scuttle from the plan which they had prepared, in an effort to cover up their treachery and save themselves from the wrath of the working class Movement.

The idea of a National Government to carry through the attack was no sudden brain wave on the part of any of the Labour Cabinet. For months past they have been putting out feelers for this, and since the Economy Commission's Report was issued they have openly cultivated the idea in their speeches and writings by declaring that the Tory and Liberal Parties must take their share of responsibility along with Labour in carrying through the economy proposals.

We can all clearly remember how the Tory and Liberal Leaders in reply to this propaganda said: "the Labour Party is the Government Party, and must face its responsibilities for making good its Budget deficit. We are not the Government, but we are ready to lend our support to the Government in carrying through the necessary economies."

Henderson now poses as the leader of opposition to the National Government, and the Government of yesterday, which prepared the plans of attack upon the workers, which for two years has carried out precisely the same reactionary policy against the unemployed as the Baldwin and Lloyd George Governments did, which enforced Task Work, which compelled local authorities to wring relief debts out of the miners, which passed the Anomalies Bill, which, in short, conducted a rabid capitalist and imperialist policy, now poses as the defender of the unemployed. What irony! What cunning! What colossal impudence!

It is a move to turn the workers away from the line of mass struggle into peaceful Parliamentary channels. Even if Henderson's opposition were genuine, he knows full well that by debate in Parliament with every one of the Labour members behind him, he will be utterly helpless to prevent the plans going through.

Only by the most intense mass agitation of the unemployed and employed workers can we compel this Government to retreat. Everywhere we must have the masses demonstrating on the streets, with a fiery determination to fight with all our might against the attacks of MacDonald and his fascist Government. With increasing volume we must raise the slogans: "not a penny off the benefits", "not a man or woman off the registers", "not a penny off wages or social services", "not a penny extra tax upon the People's food".

**"Down with the National Government!"**

## The Communist Party of Great Britain on the Political Situation.

The Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Great Britain, on August 28, addressed an Open Letter to the members of the Party; in the introduction to which it points out that the present parliamentary crisis resulting in the fall of the Labour Government and the formation of a "National" Government arises directly from the deepening economic crisis of British Imperialism and the growing resistance of the working class to the capitalist offensive. The Labour Government crashed against the stone wall of working class resistance. The first large scale attempt to cut and restrict unemployment insurance brought it down. The Government did not fall because of division on policy, the Cabinet Minority did not disagree with the principle of economy, but only with one point in the Majority programme, the 10 per cent. cut in unemployment benefit.

The Open Letter proceeds:

The Cabinet resigned, but not with the object of resisting the Economy Plan, in whole or part, but of absolving the leaders of the Labour Party and trade unions from responsibility and assisting the capitalists in carrying through the attack by becoming His Majesty's Opposition with the task of side-tracking mass resistance into harmless parliamentary channels.

The fact that the formation of the "National" Government was only possible because of the sham oppositional role of Henderson and the Trades Union Congress (refusal to call masses into action, deliberate silence during vital days of political negotiation, refusal to condemn Government or Mac Donald) is the measure of what their "Opposition" will be when Parliament meets...

The events of the last few days represent the development of a further stage in the social-fascist evolution of the Labour Party, a new division of labour in order to deceive the masses who are opposed to their policy. A development made possible by the two years of Labour Government which was supported by all the leaders of the Labour Party, I. L. P. and trade unions. The present situation in Great Britain is proof of the correctness of the decisions of the 11th Plenum of the ECCI., especially with regard to the role of the "Social Democracy as the principal social support of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie", and shows the need for the energetic popularisation of the these decisions in order that the working class will be equipped to understand the situation in Britain and what policy should be pursued.

The Labour leaders have resorted to these treacherous and complicated manoeuvres because they dread the power of the working class. Accustomed for a long period to higher standards than those in other European countries, the British workers are determined to resist by all means in their power attempts to cut their wages, unemployment insurance and other social services. The strike movement in Britain is assuming enormous proportions despite the difficulties of fighting during an economic depression, and there is every indication that the strike movement will grow and pass beyond the control of the social fascist leaders...

The "National" Government has been formed not only in order to balance the Budget, but to carry out a robbery of the workers and lower middle class in all directions (wage-cuts, increased indirect taxes, huge cuts in social services, etc.) The formation of the "National" Government, therefore, signifies the introduction of a firmer dictatorship of the financial oligarchy which will take measures to mould the constitution in order to facilitate the emergency carrying out of its decisions and the suppression of mass opposition. The "National" Government marks a definite stage in the march towards Fascism, which in the words of the 11th Plenum grows "organically out of so-called bourgeois democracy" which is the masked form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie..."

The Labour Government claimed support on the grounds that it was a "lesser evil" than a capitalist government, but it is precisely the policy of the Labour Government that made possible the formation of the "National" Government. The Labour Government carried on propaganda for treating Par-

liament as a Council of State, it acted as a veiled coalition, it extended the policy of arbitration and the linking up of the trade union machine with the capitalist state, it appointed the Unemployment Commission and the Economy Committee and in the days immediately preceding its resignation, made Cabinet policy directly dependent on the decision of the Committee of Six, representing all three Parties.

**Therefore, the fight against the "National" Government is also a fight against the Labour Party which gave it birth. There can be no fight against the Government without a ruthless struggle against the Opposition.**

The task of the Communist Party in the present situation is to mobilise the active resistance of the working class on the direct simple issue of a fight against the Economy Plan, not a penny from the workers. This means the creation of the broadest possible united front for mass struggle against the Government. The fighting slogans of this campaign must be:

**Not one penny off the "Dole", not one worker off benefit!  
Not a penny off wages of the workers!  
Not a penny off teachers' salaries!  
Not a penny more tax on the peoples food!  
Down with the national Government!**

The building of the mass movement behind these simple slogans does not mean that the Party in any way neglects the carrying on of its fundamental propaganda on the revolutionary way out of the crisis. On the contrary, the Party must strongly intensify this propaganda explaining the character of the capitalist crisis, the drive of the capitalists to place all of the burdens of the crisis on the shoulders of the workers in order to safeguard rent, interest, and profit, and the Dictatorship of the working class as the only way out of the crisis. But this is propaganda which will certainly give the basic lines of the working class advance, but in the present stage of the struggle it is not the direct issue upon which the mass movement can be built up.

All of our agitation and propaganda against the Economy Plan of the National Government must be closely connected with the current struggles, especially with the economic issues at present engaging the attention of the workers, that is to say, we must increase our work in connection with the concrete situation in the various industries (miners, cotton, furnishing trades etc. etc.) with the object of co-ordinating the struggles of the working class and bringing it into the main stream of united opposition...

The Bristol T.U.C. will play an important part in the development of the political situation and subduing the opposition of the masses and preventing it from developing along mass lines. The General Council will endeavour to play the role of opposition to the National Government and its sections of the Labour Party leadership that are supporting it. It is our task to intensify work in the T.U.'s, to build the M.M. and aim at organising on the floor of the T.U.C. a real opposition that will expose the sham opposition of the General Council.

The coming Labour Party Conference must also receive great attention as the leaders will use it demagogically to attack the Government and retain the control of the mass movement... The I.L.P. which was posing as a real opposition to the Labour Party Executive, has now fallen into the background, placed itself behind the E.C. of the Labour Party and is endeavouring to court the favour of the T.U.C. This changed position of the I.L.P. makes it necessary for us to change the character of our propaganda against it, to expose the part that it plays in supporting its one time opponents and helping to prevent the development of a real mass united workers opposition...

The Political Bureau strongly emphasises that the present situation is exceedingly favourable for intensifying the recruiting campaign of the Party and winning at least 1,000 recruits by September 30th. Reply to the National Government by building up a mass Communist Party must be our slogan. Recruiting for the Party must go hand in hand with the drive for the M.M. and its development as a mass revolutionary Trade Union opposition. At the present time there is a big responsibility on every individual member. No lagging behind the mass movement of the working class!

**China****The Flood Disaster in China.**

By L. Magyar.

Such a flood disaster as that which has overtaken the Yangtse valley has never been experienced before in world history. It is not known exactly whether 60 or 80 million toilers have been affected by this catastrophe; only rough estimates are to hand regarding the extent of the disaster. 16 provinces are involved. South China has also suffered tremendous damage. But the flood disaster has caused the greatest ravages in the valley of the Yang-tse-kiang and of the Yellow River. The second largest industrial centre, and perhaps also the second largest town in the country, Hankow, is under water. Indescribable tragedies are taking place there. Electric cables, water pipes, industrial undertakings, — all are destroyed. Houses are collapsing daily. Thousands of corpses have been swept away by the streams. The whole of the Yangtsekiang has become a huge sea, miles broad, sweeping everything before it. The poor quarter in Nanking is under water. In the valley of the Yellow river, Kaifeng has suffered the most. The Western part of Anhwei is also under water. In addition, the dams of the tributaries of the Yangtsekiang and the Yellow River have collapsed. The damage caused there is not known up to the present. The rice harvest in Central China, the wheat harvest in the valley of the Yellow River are destroyed. In an area in which about 60 to 80 million people live, the peasant has sown but he reaps nothing.

Sixty to eighty million people are as good as handed over to death from starvation. Such a tragedy is unprecedented even in the history of China, which is so rich in famine disasters. From year to year these tragedies have been repeated on a larger scale: In 1927 9 million, in 1928 34 million, in 1929 57 million, and in 1930 30 million people were a prey to famine, and in 1931 60 to 80 million are faced with death from starvation. Even such god-fearing missionaries who do not wish to agitate against the imperialist robber-campaigns and the bloody rule of the Kuomintang are compelled to recognise that from 1928 to 1930, in the three North-West provinces of China alone, about 8 to 10 million people died of starvation. The province of Kiangsu has lost half of its population. Three successive years China was visited by drought. This year it is the victim of unprecedented floods. **China needs help!** The imperialists will not give help. The United States intend to place 15 million bushels of wheat of the enormous store in the hands of the Farm Board, at the disposal of China by way of loan. This will suffice to provide every starving person with 4 to 5 kilogrammes of wheat, and this only in return for payment. Nor will the ruling class of China help. The Kuomintang government, which annually squanders hundreds of millions on wars of the generals, the government of the Chinese capitalists and landlords intends to grant 10 million Chinese dollars for the purpose of "ameliorating the misery". That is to say, every victim will receive about three halfpence in "relief". **Only the working people of the whole world can aid their Chinese brothers in their need!**

\* \* \*

The agents of the imperialists, the ideologists of the Chinese counter-revolution, the petty bourgeois charlatans, the missionaries declare: it is a disaster due to natural agency. Is it really so? Is it a purely natural disaster? No, a thousand times no. What has occurred in China in this respect in the last few years is only the result of the exploitation of the country by the imperialist robbers, by the militarists, landlords, usurers and capitalists. In the last decade there have been only two good harvests, two normal years in the North West and Northern districts; in other years there has been an uninterrupted chain of drought and floods. This is due to the fact that China has been denuded of forests. Even bourgeois experts for decades pointed out that the unexampled deforestation would be bound to lead to ever fresh disasters. And in spite of this deforestation still proceeded. Nothing was done in order to safeguard the country

against these disasters. Individual peasants and villages are quite unable to carry out such afforestation. This is a task which must be carried out by the State. The State, the government, the ruling class however have not done anything in this respect, but have ruthlessly cut down the few remaining forests. This has led to a disastrous irregularity of climate, so that from one year to another China is visited by floods and droughts. In Shantung, in Ciautchow, the Germans in their time commenced afforestation, as a result of which the climate of these districts was greatly improved and normalised. Now the last trees are being felled in Shantung. This is one of the causes of the gigantic disaster which we are now witnessing.

The history of China is a record of uninterrupted heroic fight of the toilers against the danger of inundation. In the history of the exploitation of the Chinese workers the erection of dams against floods has played a tremendous role. The oriental despotism of the Chinese ruling classes mobilised millions and millions of peasants in order to erect and keep in repair the gigantic dams against inundations from the Yellow River and the Yangtsekiang. For decades, however, these gigantic works have been allowed to fall out of repair; nothing has been done to maintain them. Since 1911 there has been no central government whatever. The Nanking government is certainly not a central government. The militarists, who rule in the provinces, likewise do not bother about maintaining the dams: all their thoughts are directed to squeezing taxes out of the people, to taxation, usury, land robbery and wars. The policy of the imperialists has still further increased the feudal dismemberment of the country and the constant wars of the militarists. Individual peasant undertakings, individual villages are not in a position to control the whole river system. Thus it came that the old irrigation system decayed, and therewith there disappeared more and more the preconditions for agricultural production in the big districts of China. Thus it came about that the dams of the Yellow River and of the Yang tse kiang began to crack. For years the most prominent experts of China predicted that a disaster would occur if the dams were not repaired. Nothing was done. Thus the catastrophe came, which is not an elementary catastrophe but a catastrophe resulting from the exploitation of the country by the imperialists and the Chinese exploiters.

Immediately before the terrible catastrophe in the valley of the Yellow River and of the Yang tse kiang a number of generals' wars took place in China as well as various campaigns by Chiang Kai-shek against the Chinese Soviet districts. If these huge sums expended on these campaigns and wars and the huge armies had been employed in repairing the defective dams, such a gigantic inundation would not have taken place, or at any rate not on such a scale. In order to prevent any further wars of intervention it is necessary to annihilate the rule of the Kuomintang and their militarist agents, it is necessary to destroy the rule of the imperialists in China. The victorious Soviet revolution in China will see to it that by proper afforestation, by the erection of strong dams, by the restoration of the irrigation system the country is preserved from any further famine disasters.

Once again hundreds of thousands of human lives have been destroyed owing to the robber rule of the imperialists and Chinese counter-revolutionaries. 60 to 80 millions are faced with death from starvation. The Chinese workers and poor and middle peasants will, under the hegemony of the proletariat and under the leadership of the courageous Chinese Communist Party, put an end to the barbarous order of society which renders such tragedies possible. At present, however immediate help is necessary. Millions are waiting for help. The imperialists and the Chinese ruling classes are not likely to help. The toilers of the whole world alone must seek to alleviate the misery of their Chinese class brothers by means of an immediate and energetic collection campaign.

## THE WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS

### Argentina under the Control of Fish and Co.

#### The Economic Background of the Raid on the Soviet Trade Mission.

By S. Sewin (Moscow).

Argentina, the second largest Republic in South America, is an agrarian country. Industry is but feebly developed. Industrial raw materials are only worked up at home when this results in an essential reduction of the freight costs, or when the raw materials cannot be placed on the markets without their having first been worked up (frozen meat, preserved food and leather).

The typical form of landownership is big landed estates embracing in some cases as much as 75,000 hectares. Only 3.5 per cent of the area under cultivation falls to small agricultural undertakings. The land is tilled by tenant farmers.

The economic crisis and the big price drop placed the small and middle tenant farmers in a very difficult situation. Rent alone amounts to 40 per cent of price realised by the farmers for the agricultural products placed on the market. The high railway freights and the increased price of imported agricultural machinery result in the tenants having left very little over to themselves from the yield of the harvest. The prices of grain are so low that the harvest yield often does not suffice to cover the costs of transport.

Out of a population of 10.3 million, the industrial proletariat numbers 600,000 persons, agricultural workers 500,000, transport workers 100,000 etc. 160,000 workers are organised in trade unions. The split-up character of the trade unions renders the fight of the working class more difficult. Syndicalists, anarchists and reformists have their own trade unions; in addition there exist small independent unions. The revolutionary Trade Union Confederation of Latin America, which is affiliated to the Red International of Labour Unions, is condemned to illegality, but nevertheless carries on work to organise the forces of the proletariat.

As regards capital invested in Argentina, British capital holds first place with 2,020 million dollars. The amount of United States capital invested in Argentina is roughly 550 million dollars, that of other States 500 million dollars. Argentina is one of the chief arenas in the fight between English and United States imperialism. England is striving to keep Argentina as an agrarian country from which it can obtain food and raw materials. For this reason only an insignificant part of English capital is invested in industry, a greater part being invested in banks. The largest sums of capital are invested in the railways, which convey Argentine wheat to the British steamers. As the English have the monopoly of transport to the harbours, the freight charges are enormously high.

The English keep a jealous guard over their monopoly of transport. When the Americans began to acquire shares in the Buenos-Aires railway company, which connects Argentina with Chile and possesses first class strategic importance, the share-holders decided to insert a clause in the statutes of this company according to which only English and Argentinians could hold shares in it. As a counter-move, American imperialism acquired a concession for the construction of a parallel railway line from Argentina to Chile. In 1929, England refused to grant Argentina a loan of 200 million dollars for the building of high roads, in order thus to prevent a diminution of the profits of its railways and the importation of American automobiles.

American capital gained a firm footing in the light industry and rapidly obtained a monopoly in the production of energy, which it acquired from the English companies in the big towns. The electricity works in the provincial towns are almost entirely in the hands of branches of the American "General Electric Company". The United States are, in addition, the chief consumers of tanning materials, the production of which is almost exclusively the monopoly of the British firm "La Forestal". The Argentine frozen meat factories belong to the Chicago firm of Swift, Armor and Wilson. Whilst at the beginning of the present century the slaughter-houses and frozen meat factories of Argentina were in the hands of

the English, the Americans have in the meantime succeeded in gaining control of over 68 per cent of these undertakings.

Thanks of their dependence upon the English market and upon the English banks and railways, which convey their products abroad, the Argentine landowners were long orientated towards England and not towards the United States. The American preferential tariff and pseudo-hygienic laws which closed the American markets to Argentine imports, favoured the consolidation of Anglo-Argentine relations.

In the year 1928/29, Argentina, in the interest of England, supported Paraguay in its conflict with Bolivia over the disputed territory of Gran Chaco. Behind Bolivia there stood the American "Standard Oil", which possesses concessions on the Eastern slopes of the Andes and is striving to penetrate Paraguay.

A serious blow was delivered to the influence of England by the putsch carried out by the leader of the party of Conservatives, General Uriburu. The English agent, the Radical Irrigoyen, was overthrown. Irrigoyen had refused to accept loans from the United States and sabotaged all conferences of the Pan-America Union as envisaged by the Kellogg Pact. He tried to disturb the activities of the "Standard Oil". The government had already submitted to the Chamber a bill for the nationalisation of production and trade in naphtha; the naphtha trust, however, succeeded in shelving this bill in the Senate, where the radicals were in a minority.

Uriburu easily yielded to American influence. He suddenly declared that he would work together with the United States and the Pan-American Union. He had the director of the Argentine naphtha industry, General Mosconi, arrested.

The change of dictators, of course, did not in any way tend to ameliorate the economic crisis. The total capital of the firms which went bankrupt in the year 1930 amounted to 97 million dollars, as compared with 63 million dollars in the year 1928. Up to July 1931, the price of wheat dropped 45 American cents a bushel. During the first six months of 1931 the value of Argentine exports amounted to 330 million gold pesos as compared with 350 million gold pesos in 1930, and in weight amounted to 9.1 million tons, as compared with 5.3 million tons in 1930, that is to say, the price of exported products fell by 50 per cent. In the same period the income from customs duties showed a decline of 18 million paper pesos. Customs duties represent the main source of State revenue, and their decline immediately led to a reduction of the wages and salaries of civil servants. In order to reduce the danger of wholesale dismissals of State employees, the latter declared themselves prepared to work only 18 days a month. In addition, they also agreed to a 50 per cent cut in their already reduced salaries. In spite of this, 10,000 civil servants were dismissed.

Uriburu established a regime of white terror. The Communist Party is prohibited, the Communist papers also are destroyed and prohibited. In the whole of the country arrests and shootings of workers' functionaries are on the order of the day. Communists are being exiled to the icy dungeons of Tierra del Fuego and to the swamps of Chaco.

The resistance on the part of workers to the action of the government is assuming ever sharper forms. A number of powerful demonstrations of unemployed have been carried out. In July last, Rossasco, head of the police in the Avellanata district, a working class suburb in Buenos Aires, who took a prominent part in the wholesale banishment and attacks upon the workers, was shot down in a restaurant. In order to cast the responsibility on the Communists, the reactionary "Prensa" served up afresh a whole series of old forgeries bearing the signature, the "Revolutionary Organisation of Communist Soviets in the territory of Argentina".

The petty bourgeois organisations which supported Uriburu at the time of the putsch, have in the meantime gone over to the opposition. The independent socialists and the anarchists who helped the dictator to come into power are now talking of the necessity of his resigning. The ferment among the ruined small farmers is increasing. Fights between the police and students are a common occurrence. An officers' conspiracy has been discovered in the army. Uriburu, who can no longer trust his troops, has set up his own private army, "the Argentinian civil legion", numbering 15,000.

The Argentine big landowners, encouraged by outside forces, made an attempt to attribute to the U.S.S.R. the responsibility for the general misery and the economic crisis.



In the raid on the "Jush-Amtorg", Uriburu proved himself to be an apt pupil of the international gang of rascals and forgers of the type of Hicks, Hamilton, Fish and their like. Since January the newspapers and the big landowners' organisations spread their calumnies about Soviet dumping. The government rendered every possible aid in this respect by collecting through its Embassies all kinds of inventions regarding the "Red Trade Menace".

Nearly 160 employees of the Jush-Amtorg, among them many women, were thrown into prison; some of them were even beaten. Since their arrest they have been compelled to sleep on the floor, without being able to undress. The safes in the Jush-Amtorg were broken open and the account books were gone through. Of course no proof was or could be found of "dumping" and of "participation in propaganda". It is quite understandable that the shareholders of the Jush-Amtorg have in the meantime decided to cease all their purchases and commercial operations in Argentina. This decision has met with the full approval of the working masses in the Soviet Union, who are exceedingly indignant at the insolent anti-Soviet action. As a result of the cessation of the activity of the Jush-Amtorg the deficit in the foreign trade balance of Argentina will increase still further.

The situation in Argentina is very similar to that which was created in Mexico in January 1930 at the time of breaking off diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R. Under the pressure of powerful outside forces and in its desire to find a means of diverting the growing indignation of the people, the Argentine government is following the same path as that pursued by the Mexican government.

## The "Debt Moratorium" for Latin America.

By Albert Moreau.

During the last week of June, while the treasurer of the United States government — Mellon — was negotiating with the European capitalist Powers on behalf of Hoover's Plan for a debt moratorium for Germany, rumors were circulating in Washington to the effect that the head of American imperialism was "studying" a plan for a similar financial measure to be extended to Latin America. The rumors were immediately followed by an official statement by the White House which said:

"There is absolutely no foundation for the stories circulated in the press to the effect that this government is considering plans or discussions concerning South American debts."

But this statement was the conclusion of conferences held in Washington between treasury officials and representatives of the Federal Reserve System which is the stronghold of American finance capital.

As a result of these conferences, two tentative plans were suggested by the Federal Reserve Bank in order to come to the assistance of the Latin American governments, the majority of which are on the threshold of financial bankruptcy. One was to "inspire" United States bankers to advance to the leading Latin American governments sufficient money to meet their interest payments. This way, it was believed, would relieve the drain on the national budget of these governments. The other was to advance loans either directly by the American government or by the Federal Reserve Bank. Both tentative plans failed to materialise. Meanwhile, the crisis in Latin America has been further deepened with constant fall of commodity prices, the depreciation of the valuta, etc.

The native bourgeoisies of Latin America, thanks to whom American finance capital was able to bind these countries to the economic and political chariot of foreign imperialism, are desperately clinging to the hopes for the materialisation of Hoover's "moratorium" plan. The bourgeois press in Colombia, immediately upon the rumors of Hoover's contemplated plan, and even previous to them, came out in big noise looking forward to the possibility of a financial relief from the United States and British bankers. On June 24th, the "Espectador" of Bogota, displayed in big letters: "Hoover's plan can be extended to South America". The Chilean government (previous to Ibanez' fall) went even further. In the face of its inability

to pay \$ 25,000,000 as interest to the foreign exploiters, it simply declared a temporary suspension of payments, of its own will.

Why are the American government and the whole consort of Wall Street bankers so much interested to find a solution to the threatening and actual bankruptcy of some of the Latin American governments? Because the inability of the Latin American governments to make payments to the huge interests and sinking funds means that the economic and agrarian crisis which is shaking the very foundation of imperialist domination and is the cause of this inability to pay, brings these countries nearer to the revolution. It means that the oppressed peoples, driven by ruination, starvation and despair, will rise to put an end to their conditions of misery and serfdom.

A revolution of the oppressed masses will drive American imperialism and the other imperialists out of Latin America, will overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie and the landlords, will confiscate the big properties of these masters and the imperialist enterprises, will radically improve the conditions of the working class, will refuse to pay tribute to foreign bankers. In other words, the millions of dollars invested by the imperialists and their economic key positions in these countries, are in danger.

There is also another reason for which American imperialism and its government is so much concerned in this financial catastrophic situation of Latin America. British imperialism is trying to utilize the crisis in order not only to save its skin, but also to further penetrate these countries, seek for new markets as rivals of the United States capitalists. Dispatches from Washington expressed this fear when on February 14 it was reported that the "consolidation of Chile's foreign debts under British bankers would mark the first step towards London's predominance in the local financial field, a position hitherto held by American bankers".

Now the question arises: why did not the famous plans of the Federal Reserve Bank materialise? Why did not the United States bankers come forward with loans or other measures? First of all because of the economic crisis in the United States. Furthermore, the situation in Germany makes it imperative for the United States government to turn the face in that direction in an effort to save German capitalism from the proletarian revolution. The Commercial and Financial Chronicle of July 18th says on the failure of the tentative plans for a Latin American "moratorium":

"... because of financial difficulties of Germany, which created a situation that made the establishment of new Latin American credits undesirable".

American capitalism is faced with the deepening economic crisis within the United States. Since November 1929 a series of bank failures occurred. Factories, shop and mills are constantly throwing their workers out in the streets. Unemployment is increasing. More than 10,000,000 jobless. Hoover was compelled to admit greater increase of the army of the unemployed for the coming winter. In addition to this, we have the growing agrarian crisis in the "land of prosperity". The poor farmers are compelled to sell their farm products below cost. They are unable to pay their mortgages and debts. Thousands of them are ruined and there is no prospect for relief.

But the capitalists themselves admit that in case of a "debt moratorium" for Latin America, it would not even contribute to a temporary solution of the crisis. Therefore, the question is raised of new investments and loans. These new loans may temporarily avert bankruptcy. They will enable some of the governments to make payments on the debts. But these payments will have to be extracted from a more intensified exploitation of the workers and peasants of these countries.

The Latin American governments of Cuba, Argentina, Chile, Mexico, Peru, Bolivia, etc. are already indebted of more than \$ 2,000,000,000 which means a crushing burden of interests. Further loans will mean a tremendous increase of this burden upon the toiling masses.

The fundamental condition put before the governments in all cases is the promise and guarantee for the regular payments of the interests and sinking funds. This means more supervision and control by the foreign bankers and the extension of political domination by American imperialism. In

creased taxation of the working class and the masses of the toiling peasantry, the poor and middle class of the city. For the working class it means in addition the slashing of their wages, increase of the working day, speed up, lay offs, fascist terror against its organisations, etc.

The Mexican Lamont-Mantès de Oca Agreement provided for the reorganisation of the railroads through a loan extended by American bankers. The agreement was signed in July 1930. The agreement meant for the railroad workers a slash on their wages and lay offs. More than 1000 workers were discharged. The agreement was followed by a fascist Labour Code which prohibits and outlaws the strike action of the workers against the bourgeois-imperialist offensive. The Mexican bourgeoisie and the landlords, in alliance with American imperialism, have established a fascist dictatorship against the workers and peasants.

Yet, in spite of all the repressive measures, in spite of all the provisions of the agreement, the Mexican government was in default of the payment of \$ 10,000,000 a few months ago.

The inflow of foreign capital in Latin America does not in any way contribute to the development of these countries, but on the contrary, retards their growth. Foreign capital monopolises the raw materials for foreign consumption and for the industries in the capitalist countries. Oil in Mexico, nitrates and copper in Chile, tin in Boliva, etc. Chile, for instance, has rich deposits of metals to enable it to develop its home industries, but the policy of imperialism is to hinder the industrial development of the country and create a huge market for the consumption of the manufactured goods produced in the imperialist countries, such as United States and Great Britain. The imperialists consciously provide for the investment of their money in places where there is the greatest opportunity for them to extract huge interest, and help to maintain feudal relations in the village. If we see in some of these colonies or semi-colonies a more or less developed railway system in sections of the countries, it is because the railways serve as transportation of the raw materials monopolised by the imperialists.

The schemes for new loans to the Latin American governments will only permit the further penetration of imperialist robbery, will sharpen the fight between British and American bankers. The native bourgeoisie and landlords are only helping the imperialists. They are the native oppressors of the people.

The only possible solution to the crisis is the anti-imperialist agrarian revolution, a revolution of the workers and peasants, headed by the working class and led by the party of the proletariat. Only thus will the power of the landlords, capitalists and imperialists be broken. Only under a workers and peasants government will the masses put an end to their oppression and obtain their national and social freedom.

## AGAINST WAR AND INTERVENTION

### Western Neighbours of the U.S.S.R. are Preparing for Intervention.

By Rudolph

The group of small capitalist countries bordering on the U.S.S.R. on the Western frontier and forming part of the so-called Little Entente or of the Baltic bloc which Poland is busily knocking together, is engaged in feverish preparation for intervention. To the great imperialist Powers, these small countries are to play the role of cannon fodder in the pending anti-Soviet war. In the war language this means that Poland, Rumania, Latvia, Esthonia and Finland constitute the forefront of the war of intervention, that they must supply the organisers of intervention with the first line of man power.

The growth of the war budget of the countries adjoining the U.S.S.R. on the West shows clearly that the war preparations are assuming a more and more feverish character. Moreover, the budgets we give below do not comprise expenditure such as assignments for the war industry and railroad construction for military purposes, and are therefore far from complete:

### The growth of the War Budgets of the Western Neighbours

of the U.S.S.R. (in million dollars).

	1923	1928	1930
Poland	74,0	85,8	95,1
Rumania	24,2	49,0	55,0
Finland	10,5	14,2	15,0
Latvia	8,5	7,6	7,7
Esthonia	4,6	5,0	5,0
Total:	121,8	161,6	177,7

Thus, in the period of continuous "disarmament" conferences and conversations about reduction of war budgets, the war expenditure of the countries has increased in a short space of time 1½ fold.

Approximately in the same direction was also the development and construction of the military forces of these countries. In Geneva, Messrs. Zalesky and Titulesku made brilliant speeches about disarmament and winked significantly at the same time in the direction of the U.S.S.R., as the "main obstacle" to disarmament, whereas the general staffs of these countries went on developing the armies and their military power.

The numerical strength and armament of the armies of the countries adjoining the U.S.S.R.:

	Numerical strength* (in thous)		Number of guns		Number of tanks		Number of machine guns		Number of aeroplanes		
	1923	1928	1923	1930	1923	1930	1923	1930	1923	1930	
Poland	266,6	295,3	303,2	1,100	2,000	50	120	8,500	9,500	120	500
Rumania	161,0	198,0	207,8	1,000	1,700	80	90	4,500	7,500	110	280
Finland	30,5	28,6	29,0	150	150	20	25	950	950	50	90
Esthonia	14,0	14,1	14,0	60	70	20	40	500	500	15	35
Latvia	18,0	18,5	18,6	110	130	4	10	750	700	25	55
Total:	491,5	540,5	572,6	2,420	4,050	174	285	15,200	19,150	350	980

\* Numerical strength of peace-time armies.

These figures give a vivid picture of the steady growth of armaments, but they require explanation. There is a considerable difference between contemporary guns and the guns of 1923, or between the aeroplanes of 1923 and those of 1930. The fighting capacity of every fighting unit has considerably increased in these 7 years, so that, for instance, the present, 980 aeroplanes are not twice but three to four times more powerful than the 350 aeroplanes of 1923. Therefore, it should be pointed out that the actual increase in the military strength of the countries adjoining the U.S.S.R. is far greater than shown in the series of figures given by us. To demonstrate how feverishly these countries are preparing for war, one has only to compare the following figures:

With a population of 65 million, they have armies of 573,000 men.

The U.S.S.R. with a population of 160 million has an army of 562,000 men.

The inference is clear: the frenzied armaments and the high percentage of those in regular military service bear testimony of the aggressive character of the military preparations of these countries.

In order to get a full picture of this military preparation, one must take into consideration the industry, which will supply the above-mentioned armies in war time. Contemporary war presupposes not only the mobilisation of the war industry, but also the mobilisation of the whole peace industry which is converted into factories of instruments of death. The industry of Poland, Rumania, Finland, Latvia and Esthonia is well adapted to conversion into a war industry. Thus, in the course of the first year of the future war, the industry of these five countries can turn out no less than 450,000 rifles, 10,000 machine guns, 1,000 big guns, 2 milliard cartridges, 15 million shells, 1,500 aeroplanes, 1,000 tanks, etc.

Compared with the gigantic demand for all these forms of armament, the productive capacity of the industry of these countries is not very considerable, but there will be at the disposal of the armies the whole power of the two main rear bases—Czechoslovakia and Sweden. There is no doubt whatever that these two States will be the chief purveyors of guns and ammunition in the event of an anti-Soviet war. It is not for nothing that the Czechoslovakian and Swedish bourgeoisie puts up gigantic war works in its countries (Skoda and Bofors) and carries on at the same time a frenzied anti-Soviet campaign.

Preparation for intervention is not confined to the domain of official war work. It embraces also the military and political

preparation of the population. This work devolves on the various militant fascist leagues and on the social-democratic parties.

The entire front of the political activity of the fascist leagues is directed to the East—against the U.S.S.R. Their numerical strength is considerable — it is double that of the official armies. In Poland, the fascist leagues have about one million members („Streletz“, Non-Commissioned Officers' Leagues, Legionaries, etc.), in Rumania—165,000, in Finland (Schützcorps)—100,000, in Esthonia—40,200, in Latvia—35,000. Altogether the militant fascist leagues have over 1,300,000 members.

The place of honour in the political preparation of the intervention belongs to the social-democracy of these countries. The social-fascists fully support all the actions of the bourgeois governments, they vote for the war budgets, they establish special anti-Communist militant organisations (the militant P.P.S. organisation in Poland, the sport organisations in Latvia, etc.). Most of them support the Polish orientation of their governments (Rumania, Esthonia) and the anti-Soviet policy of these governments.

The war preparations of the Western neighbours of the U.S.S.R. should be carefully watched by the working class of the whole world.

## Czech Social Democracy in the Service of the War Industry.

By Prager.

Alongside the Polish Social-democrats, the Social-democratic Parties of Czechoslovakia occupy a very prominent place in the preparation of the war of intervention against the Soviet Union. Since they have entered the government, Czechoslovakia is feverishly developing into a gigantic arsenal of the anti-Soviet front, and the Czech war industry's business is flourishing as never before. Last year the clear profit of the Skoda works in Pilsen amounted to a quarter of a million kronen. From this richly laid table a few crumbs are left over for the Social-democratic commercial travellers of the war industry. For the arduous task of having participated in four sessions as member of the board of directors of the Skoda works, the Czech Social-Democratic Deputy, Pik, received the neat little sum of three hundred and forty thousand kr. in dividends.

No wonder that Herr Pik and all his Social-democratic club colleagues of Czech and German nationality gave without much ado their consent to the conclusion of a French loan of fifty million dollars, although, or rather because, it was quite openly mentioned that this money is to be used for military purposes, above all for the development of air militarism. Once more someone from the Skoda works has a hand in this game, namely, the chief director, Herr Löwenstein, who carries on in Paris negotiations regarding this loan with the Schneider-Creuzot bank and with a French bank which is connected with the explosives and poison gas works in Czechoslovakia.

But with all their kind services to the French armament capitalists, the Social democratic leaders are also good patriots, and concerned first of all about the profits of their own bourgeoisie. That is why they are in favour of Czech bank capital having a bigger share in the Skoda affairs, and why they consent in parliament to the fusion of three banks (one of which has failed and is recuperating at the expense of the state) into one Czech bank, to the purchase of most of its shares by the state, and to a deposit of three hundred million kr. without interest in this bank. Deputy Pik raised his hand also for this, and thereupon the chairman of the Board of Directors of the Skoda works took the chair at the general meeting of the bank.

And whatever else was demanded by the armament capitalists, be it the throttling of strikes in the arms and ammunition factories or the construction of new railway lines in Slovakia, in order that the enormous quantities of arms and ammunition manufactured in Czechoslovakia could be rapidly transported to Poland and Rumania, — found ready support from the Social-democratic Ministers and Deputies, from Party and trade union secretaries.

They have already voted twice, since they are again in the government, for the state budget according to which over 2000 million kr. — a fifth of the whole state expenditure — are to be used for militarism, and just eight days after the hypocritical appeal of the Executive of the Socialist Labour Inter-

national: "to fight against any increase in military expenditure, against any development of armaments", they gave their consent to the exceeding of this budget by seventy three million crowns.

In the ranks of the bold champions of "peace", the Czech social-democratic deputy Srba takes no doubt first place. His chief concern is development of military aviation. At a debate on the state budget, he demands a larger grant for aviation, and his wish is acceded to immediately, this grant for 1931 being raised from 86 to 150 million kr. He also demands the establishment of a new aerodrome in East Slovakia, where an aviation centre should be created. Though the direction of this aviation policy is obvious, Herr Srba lays special stress on the danger to the Eastern parts of "our" republic and declares: "Our republic cannot be left without defence, as long as there are dictatorships in Europe which rest on masses of illiterates". Furthermore, he is seen in May, 1931, as chairman of a manifestation-congress of generals, manufacturers and bank directors for the development of aviation, and he also heads a deputation of this society to the Premier Uderzal to whom a memorandum with these latest class struggle demands of social democracy is presented. An edifying picture, to be sure!

The social democratic leaders also advocate introduction of premilitary training for the youth, only that it is to be called obligatory state physical training in which the social democratic gymnastic organisations can to a great extent co-operate.

But against whom is all this directed? Naturally, against the Soviet Union! The numerous drives which the social democratic leaders of Czechoslovakia have always supported without any scruples and have even participated in them, are sufficient evidence of this. With blood and iron is to be accelerated the advent of the day when—according to the words of the representative of Czech social democracy in the Executive of the Second International, Soukup—"The gates of Russia will be open to us". This is also the hope of the Russian counter-revolutionary emigrant gangs who are many thousand strong and have found a hospitable home in Czechoslovakia. With the consent of the social democratic leaders they receive financial support from the State treasury (tens of million crowns), are given posts in the civil service, and are allowed to have military organisations. During his recent inspection tour through Czechoslovakia, the Russian general, Miller, must have been delighted with this humaneness.

In addition, one has only to mention the full support given by the social democratic leaders to the foreign policy of Herr Benes, a policy closely allied with the aims of bellicose French Imperialism, the same Benes who dared to say that the Soviet Union is the disturber of peace, while his diplomatic underlings rejected in the disarmament negotiations the proposals of the Soviet Union regarding real disarmament, and the picture of the subservient social fascist agents of Czech militarism and war industrialists is complete.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### The Capitalist Terror against Negro Workers in the U.S.A.

By Maxim Gorky.

The capitalists and their faithful servants—the social-democrats and fascists, the Churchills and Kautskys, all the human reptiles without which capitalism cannot exist, all of them accuse the "Bolsheviks" of the Soviet Union that they wish to "destroy culture". The bosses of the bourgeois press have given it a slogan: "Fight against the Bolsheviks, against communism, fight for culture!"

Naturally, capitalism has something to fight for. Its "culture" consists of a series of institutions which act with perfect freedom for the purpose of defending and justifying the absolutely unlimited power of a parasitic minority over the working majority, over the workers, peasants and petty-bourgeoisie. Its culture consists of lying schools, lying churches, lying parliaments, a lying and slanderous press; its culture is the police, which is given the right to beat up the workers and murder them.

The characteristic features of the cultural life of the bourgeois countries consist of street fighting between the police and the workers, the growth of suicides from starvation, the develop-

ment of petty thieving as the result of unemployment, the growth of prostitution. This is not an exaggeration. The news columns of all the bourgeois papers are filled with such facts. The "cultured" capitalist world is in a state of unceasing war with the working class, a war which grows more bloody every day. The war of the rich and well-fed against the hungry and the poor is carried on by weakening the working class which is striving towards a determined fight throughout the world, by seizing the most active people from its midst, imprisoning them or murdering them, and at the same time by attempts to terrorise the masses of workers, condemning innocent persons to death as in the case of the murder of Sacco and Vanzetti.

At the present time in the town of **Scottsboro** in America, a drama is being unfolded which recalls the case of the two Italians who, after being sentenced to death, were held for seven years in jail waiting for the day when they would be taken to the electric chair. In Scottsboro, 8 young Negroes have been sentenced to death. They are also innocent. They were seized by the police haphazardly, they did not know each other, but nevertheless they were sentenced to death. This was done to scare the other Negroes. This murder is a "preventive measure". It is being done because the Negro masses are more and more being drawn into the revolutionary movement, are showing their solidarity with the white working masses. They are taking an active part in the struggle against American imperialism. The bourgeoisie are terrified at the spread of the spirit of revolt among 30 million Negroes — workers and peasants — and are making every effort to crush the growing militancy of the Negro masses, using their weapon of the white terror against them.

This can be clearly seen from the bloody events at **Camp Hill**, Alabama. This case increased the campaign of the working class of the whole world against lynching and in defence of the Negro workers of the United States, and emphasised its importance.

The Negro share-croppers in Tallepoosie County, Alabama, this year formed an organisation. It has a militant character, and actively participated in the Scottsboro campaign. Some weeks ago, it called a meeting of its members in a church to protest against the Scottsboro trial. The landlords mobilised 400 police and armed fascists, and attacked the church. During the attack, the leader of the organisation, **Ralf Gray**, was severely wounded, and his comrades carried him home. When the fascist band found out that Gray was still alive, they surrounded his house, burst in and shot him in bed at the very moment when a doctor was examining his wounds. While hunting for the responsible workers of this organisation, the fascists looted many Negro cabins. Four Negroes were taken into the forest and lynched. 55 Negroes were arrested on a charge of murder. Five responsible workers were charged with attempted murder. Sheriff Young, the head of the fascist gang, was severely wounded when the heroic Negroes were defending themselves.

Take the prison in **Harlem**, Kentucky, at the very centre of the East Kentucky coal field, which is the source of the wealth of the biggest corporations in the country, and which brings starvation, poverty and death to the miners, their families and children. About 100 miners have been thrown into the dark cells of this prison. Some of them are charged with murder and are threatened with the electric chair. Many are accused of belonging to gangs, others are charged with criminal syndicalism because they spoke at meetings. Three months ago the miners declared a strike for the purpose of improving their beggarly conditions. Governor Sampson sent the police against them, the mine owners sent bands of armed fascists, sheriffs and police against the strikers. They were instructed to crush the strike, and for this purpose they used bombs and machine guns. As the result, 31 persons were killed — 18 miners and 13 soldiers and fascists. The miners captured 6 machine guns with ammunition and looted the provision store of the company, seizing the food for their starving families.

18 miners are threatened with death and 50 with long prison terms, 16 miners' homes have been burned. The eviction of miners' families from their houses is continuing till the present time.

In Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Ohio, where 40,000 miners are on strike, the Negroes form the majority. Among the 600 miners who were arrested on July 6, the majority are Negroes. When arrested they were beaten up and tortured.

The American Section of the International Red Aid (I.L.D.) has made the Scottsboro trial into an international matter. For the first time since the American civil war, the merciless exploitation of the Negroes by the ruling classes of the U.S.A.

has been discussed on an international scale. The demand for a delay of 90 days which was put forward by the American Section of the I.L.D., was supported by a storm of protest from all over the world. From the U.S.S.R., Great Britain, France, Australia, Cuba, Austria, Germany and many other countries, thousands of resolutions were sent demanding the liberation of the 8 Negro boys at Scottsboro. The American Embassies in Germany and Cuba were besieged by thousands of worker demonstrators. Well-known scientists and writers — Theodor Dreiser, Einstein, etc., took part in this campaign.

The 8 Negro youths are lying in the prison at Scottsboro, faced with the electric chair and daily receiving reminders from the guards that they will soon go to the chair.

The campaign throughout the world must be increased. Not a meeting, not a demonstration must take place, not a single leaflet or I.L.D. paper must be issued without a call to the masses to act against the white terror which is being used by the American imperialists to crush the growing indignation of the Negro masses in the U.S.A.

The proletariat of all countries protest against the murder of their brothers, not, of course, because they expect to convince the capitalists that they should not kill! The proletariat must protest against murders, but they must know that murderers cannot help murdering, and that they will kill the best people. The capitalists are defending their dollars, and for them dollars are more valuable than any man, whoever he may be.

The working class of Europe and America must protest against single murders of workers by capitalists.

The best, the most reliable and easiest attainable form of preventing this slaughter is for the masses of revolutionary workers to join the Communist Party. The Third International is the real leader of the workers because it is a workers' international. It will not betray them. It recognises the inevitability of only one war — the proletarians of all countries against the international band of capitalists, against the people who live on the labour of others.

## The Trial of the Communist Party of Syria.

By El Sourî (Beirut)

The trial of six Syrian communists commenced on 18th August, before the Court Martial at Beirut. **Madeyan** and **Tadig Dadorian** were sentenced to three years' hard labour each, **Georges Rached**, **Panos Tramaissiau** and **Agob Berbédrossiau** to two years' hard labour each, and **Missah Karamahian** was acquitted. Counsel for the defence was the French communist deputy **Berthon**. Telegrams expressing solidarity were received from a number of towns in Syria and Asia Minor. The trial has made a deep impression in Syria and the Near East, and the influence of the Communist Party on the masses is growing.

The accused were arrested in March last. At that time the French police in Syria hastened to declare that the Communist Party of Syria had been liquidated. But the C. P. of Syria, to the great chagrin of the imperialists, is now stronger than ever. The founding of the Communist Party of Syria in July 1930 and its activity since then have greatly helped to frustrate the plans of the imperialists to enslave the people of Syria still further.

A part of these plans has already been realised. The pipeline from Mosul conveying the French share of oil has been laid to the Syrian port of Tripoli; the cultivation of cotton has increased from 90 tons in 1920 to 2320 tons in 1930; French capital invested in Syria amounts to more than 6 million francs; the exports from Syria to France amount in value to 86 million francs a year and the imports from France to Syria amount in value to over 200 million francs a year. Syria is swarming with French soldiers. Considerable military works have been carried out on the North East coast of Syria. It is planned to build a railway line from Tripoli to Nakura on the frontier of Palestine, whereby the Paris—Constantinople—Tripoli line will have connection with Cairo, to build a railway from Tripoli to Abu Kermal along the length of the pipeline to Mesopotamia, to enlarge the harbour of Beirut from 40 to 70 hectares and to carry out big irrigation works in order to promote the cultivation of cotton, etc.

In order to carry out their plans the French capitalists are striving to come to an understanding with the native bourgeoisie. The present French High Commissioner, Ponsot, has been

methodically pursuing this aim since 1927. Ponsot has created a "holy alliance" between imperialism, the feudal landowners, the compradores and the former Turkish high officials for the purpose of throttling the Syrian revolution.

The trade union movement has been strictly prohibited. Several workers have been imprisoned in the fortress of Kadmus for having organised a trade union committee in Beirut in 1928. 11 other workers from Zahli have been imprisoned because they protested against the dissolution of their trade union in 1930. In Lebanon alone no less than 130 newspapers have been prohibited.

The imperialists are endeavouring to extend their positions by an agreement with the Syrian bourgeoisie, which is represented by an organisation known as the "Kutle Wottania", which, since the closing down of the Constituent Assembly of Syria has been carrying on a stubborn fight against the imperialists. The leaders of this organisation have shown themselves ready to come to an agreement. This agreement, however, is not easy, for the idea of independence is very strongly rooted in the Syrian people. Therefore, in order to carry out this agreement it is necessary to break the activity of the masses. To a certain extent this has already been done: less by the activity of the imperialists than by the action of the nationalist leaders who have constantly preached passivity. In the middle of 1930, Ponsot, having considered the moment arrived for carrying out his plans, proclaimed the final constitution of Syria, then went to Paris on leave.

It was then that the Communist Party of Syria appeared on the scene. Its first act was to expose the plans of the imperialists and the intentions of the nationalist leaders. The Communist Party of Syria has roused the anti-imperialist spirit of the people; it has awakened new forces among the workers and peasants; it has raised new questions which have been hitherto neglected in Syria, including the question of the agrarian revolution.

The results of the activity of the Communist Party of Syria are considerable. In the course of the year's activity of the Party numerous strikes have taken place. Movements of the people, such as the boycott of foreign concessionary undertakings have shaken the whole country. Finally, anti-imperialist demonstrations were held in Tripoli, which were organised by the Communists in spite of the resistance of the nationalist leaders.

The position has thereby been completely changed. The nationalist leaders were obliged to resort to fresh manoeuvres in order not to lose their influence. For this purpose they submitted conditions for their participation in the Syrian Parliament envisaged by the Constitution.

Whilst, however, negotiations are still going on between the nationalists and the imperialists, the latter have launched a fierce attack against the Communist Party of Syria. When Ponsot returned in November last he issued a decree under which revolutionary propaganda is punishable with 5 years' hard labour. In June last he issued a decree forbidding all meetings. It came to wholesale arrests and trials. Severe sentences were pronounced. Torture became a system. The persecution of the Communist Party of Syria has been crowned by the trial of the six Communists before the Military Court in Beirut. In spite of all the terror, the Communist Party of Syria is gaining ever greater influence among the exploited masses of Syria.

## Against the Torture of Political Prisoners in Poland.

Appeal of the International Red Aid

Moscow, 22nd August 1931.

The Executive Committee of the I.R.A. has issued the following appeal to all toilers of the world:

Raise the sharpest protest against the barbarous treatment of prisoners! Rescue the political prisoners! Out of the dark dungeons of fascist Poland, in which more than 10,000 political prisoners are pining, out of the prisons of Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Esthonia, out of the prison hells of fascist Italy, out of the

countries of "democracy" which are becoming more and more fascist, the echo of the heroic and arduous struggle reaches us which the imprisoned revolutionary heroes are waging against the inhumane treatment.

On the order of the Pilsudski government, the political prisoners in Poland are being placed on a par with the ordinary criminal. In Latvia, a new penal code is being introduced which is much more cruel than the old Tsarist penal code hitherto in force. In Finland, the revolutionary workers are treated like robbers and bandits. In Italy, the best representatives of the proletariat, like Lo Sardo and Gazzotti, are miserably perishing in the damp dungeons; Gramsci, Terracini, Hofmaier and a thousand other prisoners are threatened with death from starvation or death from disease without any medical aid, or violent death at the hands of the fascist murderers.

This worsening of the prison regime, this new savage attack of the bourgeoisie against the proletarian fighters, these orgies of cruelty in the prisons are the immediate expression of the terrorist policy of the bourgeoisie, which in the whole world is becoming more and more fascised.

This is considered by them to be the only means in order to stop the rising revolutionary wave, to break the counter-attack of the capitalists to cast upon them the results of the crisis, i.e., misery, hunger and unemployment. This is a link in the chain of preparations for the new imperialist war and intervention; this is part of the plan to annihilate the most courageous and most determined fighters of the red front who oppose the blood-thirsty interventionist intentions of the imperialists.

Our fighting brothers and sisters who are torn from our midst and isolated in cells and dungeons, the unarmed political prisoners are conducting a hard and heroic fight against ill-treatment and outrage. The political prisoners are raising their protest against the humiliating and inhuman treatment and are carrying on hunger strikes.

This fight must meet with response and support in the whole world, everywhere where in the hearts of the proletarians there is hatred against the exploiters and oppressors, where the intentions to prepare a new world slaughter and a new attack upon the Socialist fatherland of the international proletariat is evoking profound indignation and protest.

Working men and women! Unemployed! Toilers in town and country! Raise your voice in protest and in defence of your imprisoned brothers!

## Canadian Government Aims Blow at Communist Party of Canada.

By Thos. A. Ewen (Toronto).

On August 10th, Federal, Provincial and City police raided the National Offices of the Communist Party of Canada, the Workers' Unity League of Canada and the homes of the Secretaries of both organisations. The office of the **Worker**, the official organ of the C.P. of C. was also raided, and all materials, books, files, etc., in every instance seized.

Attorney-General Price of Ontario and Federal police issued warrants for the arrest of six leading members of the C.P.; Comrades **Buck, Carr, Bruce, Boychuck Hill** and **Ewen**, Comrades **Bruce** and **Carr** were arrested in Vancouver under instructions of the Federal department of police and are being brought back to Toronto, bail being refused in Vancouver. Comrades **Buck** and **Boychuck** were remanded and bail set for all at fifteen thousand dollars each. All comrades are charged with criminal-syndicalism under sections 98 of the Criminal Code. This section was placed on the statute books of Canada following the Winnipeg 1919 General Strike, by Order-in-Council, and was later incorporated in the "War Measures Act". On the 11th Comrades **Mike Golinsky** and **Tom Cussiack** were arrested on charges of vagrancy, which were later changed to criminal-syndicalism and the same amount of bail demanded.

This latest act of the Starvation Bennett Government is aimed directly at decapitating the revolutionary movement of the Canadian workers against the starvation policy of Bennett and making them amenable to further reductions in wages and living standards.

In July Bennett demanded from the House of Commons a **blank check and full dictatorial powers to relieve unemployment.** His Unemployment and Farm Relief Bill brought forward two weeks later and passed by the Commons, gives full authority to Governor-General-in-Council administration, and places its main emphasis on the maintenance of **"peace, order and good government"**, and the **wholesale deportation of all agitators.** His Unemployment Relief scheme worked out in collaboration with the Provincial Governments and Provincial Premiers provides for the opening of semi-military labour camps in Northern Ontario and other provinces, where the unemployed will be conscripted after thorough individual examination and registration has been completed. The Minister of Public Works, Findlayson of Ontario, magnanimously states that this is not forced labour—but all who do not accept will receive no relief, either from the municipalities or the Province. In the fight for Non-Contributory State Unemployment Insurance and immediate relief, the Communist Party of Canada, and the revolutionary Unions of the W.U.L. presented the main obstacle to Bennett's starvation programme. The growth of influence of the C.P. and its turn to mass work since the Enlarged Plenum, and the steady numerical growth and fighting resistance of the W.U.L. Sections, forced the latest arbitrary act of the Bennett regime. The August 1st, demonstrations and the ready response of tens of thousands of workers to the call of the Communist International against imperialist war and the street fighting in **Vancouver**, where a number of policemen were sent to hospital, helped to force the Bennett government into the open in an attempt to declare the C.P. of C. and the W.U.L. illegal organisations.

The sensational revelations made by the sewer press constitute an endorsement of the Bennett policy against the Communists, and an attempt to consolidate "public opinion" in support of the Imperialist war plans against the Soviet Union. Pages of sensational revelations are spewed out daily on the fabulous sums which have been sent to the C.P. direct from Russia to foment dissatisfaction and discontent among the populace. Not only is the C.P. of C. supposed to be in receipt of these sums, but the reptile press seeks to link these sensational discoveries up with the Ukrainian Farmer-Labour Temple Association and the Finnish Organisation of Canada, mass organisations of Ukrainian and Finnish immigrant workers as direct subsidiaries of Moscow. By such lies and slander, the press hopes to stimulate the deportation of all foreign-born workers who refuse to starve quietly, as well as to prepare with inflammatory propaganda the ground for war against the U.S.S.R.

The raid on the National Office of the Worker' Unity League and the home of the Secretary has a deeper significance than the mere fact that the Secretary happens to be a Communist. The steady building of the Unemployed organizations (N.U.W.A.) under the leadership of the W.U.L.; the affiliation of the Alberta miners to the W.U.L. by referendum vote; the republication of the "Nova Scotia Miner" and the forward movement of the Miners of N.S. against the Lewis regime of the United Mine Workers company union; the affiliation of the Burnaby and Victoria Unemployed workers organisations to the W.U.L., organisations that originally came into existence through the efforts of the social democrats to develop their electioneering machinery at the expense of the starving workers; the open request of the British Columbia Fish Protective Association for affiliation to the W.U.L.; the solid opposition of the N.U.W.A. (Unemployed) to the I.L.P. Woodsworth, Heaps, McInnis, Windsor, etc.: these are the real reasons why the Bennett Government strikes at the W.U.L. simultaneously as at the C.P., in the false hope, expressed by his Ontario Attorney-General Price — "to get at the root of Communism and wipe it out of existence".

The Canadian workingclass will fight to the last man against this open banditry of Canadian Imperialism. In the fight for the legality of the Communist Party their hypocritical covering of democracy will be torn to shreds, but legal or legal the Communist Party of Canada will retain the leadership and organisation of the Canadian workers in spite of court edicts and class legislation. The Revolutionary Unions of the W.U.L. are already mobilizing for the fight under the slogans of **freedom of speech, press, assembly and organisation.** The blow at the C.P. of C. and the Canadian Section of the R.I.L.U. will serve to still further cement the organisation of the workers into a solid front against Bennett's fascist dictatorship and fascist terror.

## PROLETARIAN YOUTH MOVEMENT

### Appeal of the Young Communist League for International Youth Day.

Working youth of the whole world! Be prepared to march on the XVII. International Youth Day! The working youth will celebrate this fighting day with greater fighting determination than ever; in spite of the prohibition of demonstrations in various countries, in spite of the Fascist terror in Poland, in Italy and in the Balkans, they will march against the measures of these governments and against MacDonald's attacks on wages and unemployment benefit. Also in China, Indo-China and India the youth are proceeding to take part in International Youth Day in the fight to do away with the double yoke of the native and of the foreign bourgeoisie.

The working youth of the whole world, upon whose shoulders the burden of poverty and misery presses the heaviest, the youth who are most severely hit by unemployment, the youth in the factories whose starvation wages are being cut down still further, are ready to attack the strongholds of capitalism. The youth of all races and nations proclaim with this XVII. International Youth Day their readiness to protect the Soviet Union. They demonstrate their fighting determination and their readiness to defend the Chinese, German and Polish revolution against world imperialism.

The young generation of the socialist Soviet Union, which has won its free socialist future on the side of the working class and under leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, is rendering brotherly aid to the militant youth of the whole capitalist world. At a time of victorious advance of Socialism and of strengthening of the front of socialist construction, this Soviet Youth will, in the name of the XVII. International Youth Day, set up its new collective undertakings. New factories are being set going, new wheels of socialist industry are beginning to turn, magnificent tractor stations stand ready to commence work with the XVIII. International Youth Day.

The capitalist and socialist worlds confront each other with irreconcilable hostility. Rotten capitalism, which is doomed to perish, has only poverty and misery for the working youth and drives them to disaster. In the country of the victorious Soviets there is growing up a free socialist type of human being, to whom, with the tremendous growth and advance of Socialism, the future of Socialism is assured. Foaming with rage, the capitalists of all countries look at the Soviet Union; they are preparing for war and to crush the socialist fatherland of all workers.

One of the truest servants of this system is the Socialist Youth International and the reformist trade union bureaucracy. With phrases about democracy and peaceful growing into Socialism, they practise the most shameful treachery against the working youth, prevent every fight and incite to war. None of them, including the bourgeois and fascist youth organisations, is able to show any way out for the youth; they lead them into greater misery, into still greater poverty.

The only way out of the crisis of capitalism is the proletarian revolution, the way of the October revolution of 1917. The only way out is the way of struggle under the leadership of the Young Communist International, the fight against the accursed capitalist system. It is under these slogans that we are marching on the XVII. International Youth Day. Whilst the Young Socialist International is uninterruptedly declining, the millions of young Communists of the whole world are advancing successfully. Social democratic, Christian and non-party young workers, come to us! Forge the revolutionary united front under the banner of Karl Liebknecht and Lenin!

Reply to every wage-cut with strikes for your demands. Fight against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Join the ranks of the battle-ried Y.C.I. Fight in the sense of the testament of our great dead, in the sense of all the victims who have fallen in the fight against the capitalist system in all countries. Forth to International Youth Day.

Long live the fight until victory!

Long live the Communist International, the General Staff of the proletarian revolutionary army of the whole world!

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

# **The Tasks of Socialist Construction and the Soviet Youth.**

By I. R.

In a few weeks we shall celebrate the 14th Anniversary of the October Revolution. A new generation has grown up in the Soviet Union. But the hopes attached to this new generation, the demands placed upon it are very great. It is rightly expected of it that it will fulfil the transformation of life on a higher historical scale, for it is the generation of Socialism.

The whole mental outlook of the proletarian youth in the Soviet Union, their activity and development, their imagination, their emotional life are inseparately bound up with Socialist construction.

It is known that the shock-brigade movement, which is playing such a great role in the realisation of the Five-Year Plan in four years, arose in response to the initiative of the youth. The youth are in the front line in the fight for socialist reconstruction and also in the field of cultural revolution. With the youth there is always enthusiastic readiness to overcome any difficulties. Socialist competition and shock brigades have become the chief methods of the youth, and characterise their new socialist attitude to work. **The Communist youth, however, are already identical with the young working class of Soviet industry in general.** The slogan of organising the whole of the working youth by the Young Communist League will be realised in a short time. On April 1 last, the Young Communist League numbered 3,384,756 members, of whom 49.2 per cent are agricultural and industrial workers.

One of the greatest tasks facing the working class of the Soviet Union at present is to overcome the shortage of labour. Immediately after publication of the decision of the Council of People's Commissars regarding this question, the young members of the collectives and the members of the nuclei of the Young Communist League in a number of factories (in Leningrad, Moscow, North Caucasus, in the Urals and White Russia) set themselves the task of bringing a great number of members of collectives into industry by International Youth Day. The factories are concluding treaties with collective farms in which the latter pledge themselves to release their superfluous workers to take part in socialist industry, while the factories undertake on their part to render technical aid to the collective farms. The young workers' nuclei undertake the task of seeing that these agreements are carried out and that the conditions of living of the workers are improved; they also engage in liquidating the technical backwardness of the workers coming from the country districts. This work is now proceeding at a tremendous rate.

For it is the young workers who are forcing the realisation

of the "Third Decisive Year Loan" and the work of preparing the counter-plans for 1932. The young workers are performing exemplary work in the carrying out of the industrial and financial plan. The young Communists carried out "a month for discovering inner resources" in the "Electrosavod" in Moscow, and effected a saving of 100,000 roubles. In the Leningrad factory "Electro-Silo", the working youth organised a "month of fight against waste" and brought in 200,000 roubles. There is an inexhaustible number of similar cases, all proving that the proletarian youth of the Soviet Union are performing a conscious indispensable, organised work for socialist construction.

In the fight against fresh shortcomings and difficulties the Soviet youth adapted themselves most rapidly to a **new sort of work.** After the historic speech delivered by Comrade Stalin at the Conference of Soviet economists, Youth brigades for combating the lack of personal responsibility were immediately formed in most of the factories. These brigades exercise strict mutual control and make themselves responsible for machinery and material. In every factory one comes across at the entrance, the "red and black board". On the first is indicated the successes, on the latter all the faults are ruthlessly enumerated. One often sees photographs or caricatures of the workers who are held up to blame. In many factories the youth organise public trials of "idlers", i. e. of those who stay away from work without sufficient reason. They carry on a courageous fight against drunkenness on the part of the old workers and for strict labour discipline.

In the textile mills in Ivano-Vosnessensk it was the young working women who first went over to a functional division of labour, in accordance, with which 5 working women serve 24 looms and thus effect a considerable saving of labour power.

The Communist Youth are no less active in the sphere of cultural work. This year the Young Communist League of the Soviet Union has sent about 250,000 of its members into the so-called cultural army, which has the task of liquidating semi-illiteracy in town and country in the shortest possible time. The youth have also taken over the patronage of the elementary schools which in the year 1930/31 are proceeding to carry out compulsory school attendance. At the present moment the youth are carrying out intensive work in preparation for the new school year. It is necessary to provide the schools with sufficient teachers, materials and fuel, to improve the school rooms, to organise the feeding of the school children etc.

## **International Conference on the Unemployment Question and Work in the Unemployed Movement.**

Prague, 25th August 1931.

A few days ago there was held here an international Conference of representatives of the Communist Parties, of the red Trade unions and of the revolutionary Trade Unions Opposition in the capitalist countries, which dealt with the questions of unemployment and work in the unemployed movement.

The Conference heard the reports from representatives of the various countries, and discussed the means for conducting an improved, more lively work on a broader scale among the unemployed, the best fighting methods and the putting forward of the most important international demands, which have to be specialised for every individual country, in the fight against the capitalist starvation campaign and for securing the standard of living of the working class and of the unemployed in particular.

As far as the reports dealt with the question of unemployment, there is to be recorded a further increase in unemployment

in all capitalist countries. Even in France, which at present plays the part of banker of the capitalist countries, the unemployed figure has passed the first million, although the French government has issued special instructions to the employers to introduce short time work as far as possible. The number of workers on short time is estimated at 3.3 millions. In England, under the MacDonald government, unemployment has increased from 1,800,000 to 2,700,000 millions. In Germany the number of officially registered unemployed reached already on 15th August 1931 4,100,000.

The reports on the work among the unemployed were the object of strict self-criticism. In these reports the question of applying the revolutionary united front, the setting up of a close fighting alliance between the factories and the Labour Exchanges, the organisation of struggles to obtain the most necessary means of subsistence, as well as the organisation of permanent and systematic work among the unemployed, played the chief role.

In the latest campaign for improving hygienic conditions the youth are working with the greatest energy under the slogan of "fight against dirt". Youth brigades are being formed to inspect the dining halls, factory kitchens, wash-places etc. Young women Communists, with their red kerchiefs, make the round of the halls, corridors and yards and scold and call to account those who infringe the sanitary regulations. They work from early morn till late at night on the factory and wall newspapers, in the workshop and red corners. They are overloaded with functions, but nevertheless they work full of enthusiasm. They go from factory to factory, from the towns into the village, they are everywhere.

Three and a half million young heads and hearts in the service of one cause! Who can doubt their success?

## Millionaires must not be Inconvenienced. Better let Millions of Workers Starve.

Maxim Gorky on the Article of Vandervelde Against Lord Lothian  
(From his letter to the workers of Magnitostroi.)

The capitalist world is decaying, it is at its last gasp. It has no longer any forces of its own to revive it, having apparently completely used them up. This world keeps its place mechanically, by inertia, relying only on the brute force of the police and the army—not a very reliable force, because most of the soldiers are proletarians, and although their heads are packed with rubbishy middle class prejudices, nevertheless their revolutionary class-consciousness cannot fail to grow under such circumstances. The world social revolution is not a fantasy, but is an inevitable and impending event. In Europe, in addition to the support of the army and the police, the capitalists are supported by the social-democratic "leaders" and by a certain section of the workers who are browbeaten by the "leaders" in their strivings for honour and power. The conduct of these "leaders" is becoming ever more despicable. Take this example. When Lord Lothian, who came to the U.S.S.R. with Bernard Shaw, returned to England, he said:

"The Russian revolution contains an idea which will have a tremendous influence on the future development of mankind. We are faced with the question of how to adapt it in our own circumstances", i. e. in England.

The head of the social-democrats, Vandervelde, wrote an article against Lord Lothian, stating that

"if the privileged world begins to reason like Lothian, the time for the overthrow of capitalism will come very soon".

In these words of the "leader" of the working class, there is no sound of pleasure, but there is plainly evident the sorrow of an old lackey who fears that his master may tomorrow fire him. "Socialists" who preach to the capitalists "you are not holding your class position strongly enough", are fully worthy to be branded with the shameful name of traitors to the working class. What do the words of these "Socialists" amount to after all? "Millionaires must not be inconvenienced. Better let millions of workers starve". — This is what they say. The capitalist world is decaying and the poisonous emanations from its corpse affect all those who willingly or unwillingly serve its inhuman interests, its strivings—already impotent—to convert the flesh and blood of workers and peasants into gold. Disintegration is rapidly going on also among those "socialists in words" whom the working class not long ago considered as their friends and leaders. Now the working people of the whole world are beginning to understand with ever greater clearness that they have only one friend, teacher and leader, who will not betray them. This leader lives and works in the Union of Socialist Republics. And it is not an individual, but the firmly welded consciousness of their historical class task on the part of the collective body of millions of workers.

## BOOK REVIEWS

### A Handbook for the Class Struggle in America.\*)

By Harry Gannes (New York).

There is a vast mass of material available for the study and understanding of American imperialism. However, this is not available for the workingclass, as it is usually contained in hundreds, even thousands of obscure, difficult-to-read volumes of government reports, statistical tomes or in expensive books that the workers have neither time nor desire to read.

In 1929 the capitalists, under the leadership of Herbert Hoover, now president of the United States, attempted to collate some of this material and draw a balance. This was done in the form of the report entitled **Recent Economic Changes** in two volumes. The subsequent sharp crisis made the conclusions of this book sound ridiculous. A worker could never find any answer to such questions as: "What is American imperialism?" "Who rule the United States?", or "What are the programmes of the political parties?" even if he had the patience to go through the hundreds of dull, tedious pages of this book.

The Socialists for some time have issued a yearly handbook (The American Labor Year Book). Twelve volumes of this have been issued. Since the Russian Revolution these have progressively sunk to the level of official apologies for the American Federation of Labor and the social fascist programme of the Socialist Party.

During the present crisis The American Labor Year Book has been a great help to the capitalists in confusing the workers on the cause and progress of the economic crisis. They go to the trouble to reprint at great length the admittedly false census figures on unemployment, without at the same time giving the workers a correct figure for unemployment. The material of value is suffocated in a pack of officials' lies.

Now an attempt has been made to present to the American workers a handbook that gives the most important facts of American imperialism, the social, economic and political conditions affecting the workingclass in a readable and readily usable form. The result is surprising.

The **Labor Fact Book** just issued, even though it contains only 222 pages, is undoubtedly the most valuable single fact book ever issued in the United States for workers.

It not only gives all the basic statistical and economic material presenting a clear picture of the material background of American capitalism and the class forces but it links them together with a good political understanding. The book is divided into ten sections as follows: 1) Material background of the United States; 2) Present Day Imperialism; 3) Finance capitalism in the United States; 4) Industrial Workers in the United States; 5) farmers in the United States; 6) workers organisations and struggles; 7) the employers' offensive; 8) The Soviet Union; 9) Government and political parties; 10) Reformist and revolutionary internationals. The materials chosen are of the best available. The arrangement and editing is to facilitate use by workers. The concluding chapter "A Few Information Sources" is valuable in stimulating the worker to read for himself and supplement the information contained in the book by current reading, telling him the best available sources. There is a good index for ready reference.

The book has one great defect, however, and that is its failure, in discussing the labour movement in the United States, to expose the role of the Musteites and the Conference for Progressive Labor Action. At the very moment the book was issued they were an important factor in the coal strike in West Virginia as well as in the textile strike in Paterson. This failure leaves the book with a big gap on an important issue. The Socialist Party is branded for what it is, but there is not a word about the Rev. A. J. Muste, the Brookwood Labor College, the Conference for Progressive Political Action, nor any of the Muste unions.

\*) Labor Fact Book, prepared by Labor Research Association; published by International Publishers, 381 Fourth Ave., New York City; price 85 cents.