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## CONTENTS

<b>Politics.</b>	<b>The War</b>
Stasjak: The Revolutionary Mass Strike of the Polish Proletariat . . . . .	William Rust: British Imperialism Strengthens its War Front . . . . .
Brian O'Neill: The Role of the De Valera Government . . . . .	J. B.: The Building up of the Imperialist Front in the Near East . . . . .
R. Bishop: The Dumbarton By-Election . . . . .	Isop: Rumania's Preparations for War against the Soviet Union . . . . .
<b>Germany.</b>	Garc: Children as Victims of the Imperialist War . . . . .
Th. Neubauer: The German Foreign Policy under the Pressure of French Imperialism . . . . .	<b>The White Guards at Work</b>
W. Keller: Severing's Police Action against the National Socialists . . . . .	Kreuger—Financier of the Russia White Guardists . . . . .
The "Pravda" on the Presidential Election in Germany . . . . .	<b>International Fight against War and Intervention.</b>
M. H.: Ernst Thälmann: "The Revolutionary Way out and the C.P. of Germany" . . . . .	V. O. The Fight against Imperialist War in Norway . . . . .
	<b>The White Terror</b>
	Charles Garris: Two Worlds—Scottsboro U.S.A.—Stalingrad U.S.S.R. . . . .

# The New Franco-British Alliance.

By H. P. Rathbone (London).

"The entire country acclaimed the agreement concluded by M. Laval with Great Britain in preparation for the Lausanne Conference. The whole of France aspires towards a general entente with that noble country. Both desiring peace based on right, France and Britain constitute, when they are in agreement, the strongest security for each other, and this dictates their duty."

In such fulsome terms did Tardieu as Prime Minister of the new French Government extend an offer for a general alliance with Britain on the 23rd of last month.

It is quite certain that such an offer would not have been made had it not been first discovered through diplomatic channels that it would be looked upon with favour if not immediately accepted by Great Britain.

What signifies this alliance between British and French imperialism? Why is it that what seemed to be an irreconcilable difference of opinion between Britain and France on reparations, not to mention other points of conflict, has now given place to negotiations for a New Entente?

Let us examine the points of conflict and agreement between these two imperialist Powers.

### British and French Antagonisms.

There is first of all the antagonism based on who shall be master of capitalist Europe, who shall squeeze the most profit out of the weaker capitalist nations of Europe such as in the Balkans, Scandinavia and the Baltic. French imperialism organises the Little Entente of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania and concludes alliances with Belgium and Poland. To this British imperialism opposes its Scandinavian bloc of Norway, Sweden and Denmark, and brings more or less into its sphere of subjugation, Portugal, Greece, Finland and Esthonia.

Second comes the growing competition between the rising industrial power of France and the declining industry of Britain. French iron and steel, French cotton goods and many other products increasingly compete with Britain on the world markets.

Thirdly there is the decade-old conflict of Britain and France as countries with huge colonies. The French empire in Africa is almost as big as the British; each wants to make it bigger. In the Near East French and British interests conflict over the oil of Mesopotamia, only to find a temporary and unstable solution in allowing each to draw by separate pipe-lines the oil of that country (Iraq). In the East too, on the western borders of China, while France tries to encroach on China from its neighbouring colony of Indo-China, Britain tries to carry out its predatory designs by inciting its vassal state of Tibet to invade Chinese territory immediately to the north of French Indo-China.

Fourthly comes Reparations. French imperialism, having gained the major share of reparations from Germany, desires to insist that the payment of these must be made before any other obligations that Germany has to face (private debts). British imperialism, which agreed to receive no more reparations and other debt payments than were necessary to pay its debts to America, is quite prepared for the cancellation of reparations as well as debts to America, especially if it can insure that the millions of private debts which it holds in Germany are paid.

Finally, there has now been added to all these the Gold question. British imperialism, forced off the gold standard, is trying to use the threat of an anti-gold bloc of countries similarly forced off gold as a bargaining weapon in its conflict not only with French imperialism, but more particularly and principally with American imperialism.

But as we shall see, these points of conflict become in certain situations **points of co-operation** between British and French imperialism such as, for example, in their mutual desire to suppress any colonial revolt, or still more fundamentally in their mutual hatred of the **Soviet Union**.

But before dealing with this in detail let us see what are the points of agreement between these two Powers.

#### British and French Co-operation.

In the first place, there is the traditional "Entente Cordiale" built up against the old European bloc which was one of the principal factors hastening the last world war. The Versailles Treaty might be taken as the consolidation of the achievements of this Entente. The disappearance of all danger of a German imperialist domination in Europe is sealed by the Versailles Treaty and its League of Nations system. This being the major instrument regulating the relations between these two imperialist Powers, France and Britain, it is in this treaty that all their points of conflict as well as their points of agreement find expression.

The Versailles Treaty not only assured the subjection of the old European Powers, but its system was directed both against the Soviet Union and against the United States.

Thus British imperialism, in its desire to strengthen itself against American imperialism, uses the League of Nations as a peace screen to conceal its predatory designs in opposition to the similar screen put forward by America in the form of the Kellogg Pact.

French imperialism, though primarily interested in the maintenance of the Versailles robber-pact and therefore of the League of Nations, tries at the same time to counter the British desire for hegemony in the League by joining with America in putting forward the Kellogg Pact as the Kellogg-Briand Pact for signature to the world.

This just shows how unstable is the nature of the anti-American bloc which British imperialism tries to build up in Europe with the objective of repudiating its debts to America.

This Pact was signed but two months before the disclosure in August 1928 of the Anglo-French Naval Compromise. The immediate cause for this "compromise" was the failure of British imperialism to fight the United States single handed on the question of naval supremacy, and the consequent ignominious break up of the Geneva "parleys" of the previous year. British imperialism thought to strengthen its hands by getting French support, but this it could only get at a cost.

This bargain on cruiser strength made with France was violently opposed by the United States, supported by Italy. After the reluctant publication, already sensationally disclosed in both the French and American press, by the British Government of some of the documents, it became clear that it was no mere naval understanding but in the words of one of the letters of **Sir Austin Chamberlain**, published in the document:

"You should add that the adoption of this suggestion, which H. M. government recognise would be a concession to their views on naval classification, would enable them to meet the French Government by withdrawing their opposition to the French standpoint in regard to army trained reserves."

But almost simultaneously with its publication the compromise was still-born "in its present form" added the "Economist" (October 22nd, 1928) significantly enough. Subsequently, of course, at the London Conference of 1930, British imperialism was defeated by America on this question of cruiser strength, except that it had one loophole, and that was, this London Naval Agreement only held good if France and Italy could settle their conflict. That conflict had never been settled. What is more, the first Lord of the Admiralty, in introducing the Naval Estimates on Monday March 7, again raises this question by stating that more light cruisers are wanted. This can be taken as a direct answer to America's threat to fortify its colonial possessions in the Pacific and comes significantly enough after the French proposal for a new alliance with Britain.

Now, two years later, the Disarmament Conference opens in the midst of world economic crisis and war in the Far East.

#### War the Capitalist Solution.

As we have already pointed out, the points of antagonisms between French and British imperialism can under certain circumstances become points of co-operation. Reparations, European hegemony, colonial rivalry, the fight for markets and finally the fight for financial dominance of the world as shown in the gold conflict, all may be resolved by war—such is the opinion of capitalism.

"So far no government has ever put an end to a crisis in any other way but the war. Such a way out may have its dangers, but there are also dangers in not trying to do this."

This statement, made to a select audience of economists in Washington on December 29th last was quoted by Comrade Litvinov in his speech for the Soviet Union delegation at the Disarmament Conference on February 25th.

It is therefore of tremendous significance that just at this period all these points of antagonism between British and French imperialism are giving place one after another to co-operation, leading up to the open offer to Britain of a "general Entente" made by the French Premier Tardieu at the end of last month, as quoted at the beginning of this article.

A "General Entente" against whom? Firstly, against the growing revolt in the colonies. Secondly, an entente which sharpens the rivalry of British with American imperialism, but thirdly, and of the greatest immediate danger, directly prepares for a **war of intervention against the Soviet Union**.

The entente for the suppression of the colonial revolt has always been in evidence as in Africa, but nowhere has it been so open as in **China** today. France openly allies itself with Japanese imperialism, the traditional ally of Britain in the latter's dastardly wholesale invasion of China. But this invasion of China is not only to suppress the Chinese revolution, not only for the purpose of carving up China amongst the imperialist Powers, but to extend the front of intervention against the Soviet Union.

In these designs the interests of French imperialism are the same as the British and Japanese; they all want to divide up China, they all want to attack the Soviet Union. But American imperialism, while it is no less desirous than the other three Powers of attacking the Soviet Union, has no wish at all to share China with any one else; for its aim is to swallow China whole, as well as to fight Japan for dominance in the Pacific. It therefore utilises the Kellogg Pact to protest against any violation etc. of the integrity of China. The American Note of January 7, is followed by the letter of **Stimson**, the American Foreign Secretary, published in the press of February 24.

Stimson's letter threatens to throw on to the scrapheap the whole of the Washington treaties and pacts, whether on China, the Pacific or on armaments in general, unless the other Powers agree with America in its view that Japan has violated its treaties, in particular the Five-Power Washington Treaty with regard to China. It threatens to fortify its positions in the Pacific and of course to start a new race in naval construction.

To neither of these requests for co-operation against Japan has the British government agreed. On both occasions it made statements to the effect that it did not consider any new action by it necessary. French imperialism also has ignored these requests.

With this open co-operation of France, Japan and Britain in making war on the Chinese people, in furthering their designs for an attack on the Soviet Union in the East, the differences between French and British imperialism in Europe are disappearing before the same objective as in China—war on the Soviet Union.

But a week or two after the declaration on February 3rd by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in favour of a "general cancellation of reparations and war debts", came on February 13 the much-boasted agreement to hold the Lausanne Conference made between Britain and France.

Now today, following the Tardieu offer of a "General Entente", comes the French offer to Britain, Germany and Italy, to co-operate in going to the help of the countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe. That is to say, in spite of the categorical and repeated assertion of Britain in favour of the cancellation of reparations, which is one of the major

points of disagreement with French imperialism, the latter but hardly two weeks later not only agrees jointly with Britain to call the Lausanne Conference on reparations, but twice over openly approaches Britain with offers of alliance. In the first case to make a "General Entente", in the second specifically in order to co-operate in the economic and political reconstruction of Central and South Eastern Europe.

It is no coincidence that this last offer comes at the moment when the whole series of pacts of non-aggression which the Soviet government has fixed up with all the Border States on its Western frontier are now being held up by Rumania, one of the original members of that instrument of French imperialism, the "Little Entente".

Just as in the Far East the British conflicts with French imperialism are giving place to an actual counter-revolutionary war against the Chinese people and the Soviet Union, so now these conflicts are also giving place to this same counter-revolutionary preparation for attacks on the Soviet Union in the West.

Similarly, just as this counter-revolutionary co-operation in the Far East intensifies the Anglo-American antagonism, so also does this co-operation intensify it in Europe.

For it is noticeable that at the very moment when the League of Nations is organising the imperialist attack on the Chinese workers, the French proposals at the Disarmament Conference for disarming the world by arming the League of Nations are warmly welcomed by a group of liberal jackals in Britain.

These jackals, eleven of them, including H. G. Wells and Sir G. Paish, are in favour of the proposals as "security, arbitration and sanctions must be considered no less than disarmament" (Times, March 2nd).

In other words they agree with Laval when he said at the time of his negotiations with the U.S.A. last Autumn:

"The French army is the army of order. It will not be dismissed. At the moment at which disorder has reached its highest point one does not dismiss the gendarmes and take away their rifles."

As the well-informed "**Petit Parisien**" asserted in commenting on these French "disarmament" proposals, France "will retain at its own disposal all the living and material forces which it needs".

The United States have been demanding of the European Powers that they disarm before it can consider the question of even modifying the debts these Powers owe it. This of course is in order to try to manoeuvre the disarming of its rivals. Therefore such a French proposal for not only no disarmament but for the actual arming of the League of Nations, which at the moment is carrying out an imperialist war in opposition to the U.S.A. in the Far East, cannot but meet with the fiercest opposition from the American imperialists.

At the same time, as the above propaganda of the Liberal jackals shows, this design to increase the fighting capacity of this robber imperialist body is now being more and more welcomed in Britain.

This new "General Entente" which Tardieu invites Britain to take part in therefore signifies not only a terrific sharpening of the antagonism between British and American imperialism, but the development of the Far Eastern war into a general war of intervention against the Soviet Union.

Reparations, financial and commercial rivalry, rivalry of the leadership of Europe, all these antagonisms in the present crisis are to be shoved into the melting pot of war against the Soviet Union.

The capitalists, after terrific attacks upon the workers of the world, are floundering still more deeply in their crisis. As the Washington economists pointed out last December (quoted above):

"So far no government has ever put an end to a crisis in any other way but the war. Such a way out may have its dangers, but there are also dangers in not trying to do this."

On the top of these terrific attacks on the workers, these imperialists are now rushing the workers and peasants throughout the world into another world war.

This is the gravest and most perilous danger facing the workers today.

## POLITICS

### The Revolutionary Mass Strike of the Polish Proletariat.

By W. Stassjak.

The 16th of March forms a new important stage in the development of the revolutionary movement in Poland, a big step forward on the way to the mobilisation of the masses for the fight for the revolutionary way out of the capitalist crisis.

A long series of powerful strike struggles which developed throughout the whole winter in the most important industrial districts and an increased disintegration in the fascist camp accelerated the growth of the revolutionary crisis in Poland. The heroic strike of 40,000 miners in **Dombrova** has already lasted a month. The fight of the timber workers of **Bialowiez** has just ended in a victory. For two weeks the glass workers of **Petrikau** occupied the factory, and the workers of the most important industrial centres (railway workers, metal workers, municipal workers, landworkers etc.) inspired by the fight of the miners, likewise made ready for a strike. And precisely at this moment, the social fascist lackeys of the bourgeoisie, the **P.P.S.**, came forward with a new manoeuvre. The **P.P.S.** proclaimed for the 16th of March a one day general strike against the new laws of the fascist government aiming at liquidating the rest of the social achievements.

What was the aim which the social fascist leaders set out to achieve by means of this manoeuvre? The central organ of the **P.P.S.**, the "**Robotnik**", in its issue of March 17, gives a plain answer to this question:

"Contrary to all rumours which called forth so much concern and excitement among our authorities, we declare that our strike was only to express the feeling of solidarity of the working class, that it was to be **only a peaceful demonstration.**"

The **P.P.S.** has already repeatedly employed this method of the "one-day protest strike". This was the case, for example, with the one-day protest strike of the municipal workers proclaimed by the **P.P.S.** on March 1st last. This strike was to give vent to the accumulated discontent and revolutionary energy, and thereby prevent the inevitably longer strike of the municipal workers in the whole of Poland.

The proclamation of the general strike on March 16 by the **P.P.S.** had also this time a similar aim. It was a clear expression of their feverish preparations to fulfil the historical role of the social democracy as chief saviour of capitalism from the threatening revolution. The **Communist Party of Poland** immediately saw through this manoeuvre and called upon the masses to frustrate it.

The counter-revolutionary and preventive character of the manoeuvre of the **P.P.S.** was clearly exposed already during the preparatory campaign for 16th of March. The **P.P.S.** endeavoured in every way to keep back from the strike every important category of workers, such as the railway workers, the municipal workers, in order in this way to break the back of the general strike.

The **P.P.S.** bureaucrat **Podnesinski** declared to the Warsaw tramwaymen that the **P.P.S.** would agree to the tramway workers participating in the strike only if the workers themselves produced 800 signatures in favour of it. At a factory meeting in the "Parovos" factory the delegation of the **P.P.S.** brought forward a resolution against taking part in the strike. At the meeting of the workers of the State tobacco factory in Warsaw, the secretary of the Central Commission of the social fascist trade unions, **Sdanovski**, proposed that passive resistance should be practised. He thereby wished to keep back the workers from street demonstrations. But his proposal was unanimously rejected and condemned.

In **Upper Silesia**, in nearly all the big pits and foundries, the traitors in the **P.P.S.** likewise opposed the strike resolution out of fear that the workers would follow the slogan of the Communist Party calling for the continuation of the strike of the metal workers and the miners in the coal basin until victory is achieved.

We have not yet any complete reports on the events of 16th of March in the whole of Poland. But the reports to

hand and the information published by the bourgeois press justify us in saying that in a number of centres the plans of the P.P.S. were frustrated and that there, under our leadership and partly under the elementary pressure of the masses, the strike assumed a revolutionary character.

In **Warsaw**, apart from the State arms factory, the stronghold of the P.P.S., the Paravoso and some other works which did not take part in the strike, nearly the whole of the metal industry (29 factories including one munition factory) struck, with the **Lilpop** and **Norblin** factories at the head, where the leading role of the Communist Party was clearly evident.

Especially in the Norblin and Lilpop works was the movement sharply directed against the P.P.S., and in reply to the decision of the P.P.S. in the Paravos factory not to take part in the strike, the workers in the two above-mentioned works on their part adopted a decision to proceed to the gates of the Paravos factory and not to allow the workers to enter. On the morning of March 16, 400 workers from Lilpop and 200 from Norblin, in spite of the fact that the leading workers among the staff were arrested, did actually march to the Paravos factory but were forcibly dispersed by the police.

In spite of the treacherous attitude of the P.P.S., the workers of the railway workshops in **East Warsaw** and also in **Lemberg, Novij, Contche, Radom, Radomsk** and other towns joined in the strike. Although the Communist Party did not succeed in drawing the municipal workers and the majority of the railway workers into the strike, the bourgeois press estimated the total number of workers who took part in the strike in Warsaw at 30 to 35 thousand. Stormy demonstrations and open air meetings took place throughout the whole day in Warsaw. Already early in the morning, about 3000 workers gathered in the Theatre Square, and as they did not succeed in consequence of the concentration of police forces in holding a demonstration, they went to a neighbouring square where a meeting took place. A Communist speaker and a number of other participators in the demonstration spoke, and in the workers' quarters demonstrations lasted the whole day.

In **Upper Silesia**, before the 16th of March, against the P.P.S. and on the proposal of the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition, resolutions were adopted and strike pickets organised in 9 pits, in order to secure the carrying out of the strike. In all, 13 pits and 3 smelting works took part in the strike. Here one can definitely say that the strike was carried out thanks to the activity of the Communists and their leadership.

In the **Dombrova** coalfield, where the general strike of the miners is still going on, the workers in all the big factories and the Jewish workers in the small undertakings went on strike.

The strike embraced also the whole of the oil industry, about 60 per cent. of the workers in **Lodz** and the neighbourhood, in **Bialystok, Cracow, Teschen** (Silesia), **Czenczochau, Vilna**; and many other towns, all transport workers in **Gdynia** and, what is particularly important, the workers in the munition factories in **Starachovitea, Ostrovete** and other towns.

An important new feature of the political situation which became apparent on 16th of March was the participation of Polish social democratic workers in the street demonstrations of the Communist Party, the elementary striving of the masses, in spite of the terror of the government and the prohibition by the P.P.S., to go on the streets. Thus, for instance, in Warsaw the workers circles of the P.P.S. of the Lilpop works adopted a decision regarding participation in the demonstration, whilst the Warsaw Conference of the P.P.S. youth on March 13, by a great majority, pronounced against the treachery of the leaders of the P.P.S.

The social democratic workers of **Cracow** demonstrated with the Communists against the fascist government and drove the P.P.S. leaders off the speaker's platform. The united front was strengthened by the joint stubborn fight against the police, during which one worker was killed and many were arrested by the police.

In **Saybusch** the demonstrating masses forced their way into the town hall. After a long and fierce fight with the police, who were also aided by the military, three dead and many wounded lay on the ground. In a number of localities the peasants from the neighbouring villages also took an active part in the demonstrations.

The leading role of the Communist Party of Poland in the strike in Warsaw, Upper Silesia and other districts, the street fights in Cracow, Zywiec, Lipiny etc., as well as the fact that about 200,000 took part in the political strike, prove that the movement was raised to a higher stage of the revolutionary mass strike, that the revolutionary mass strike confronts the Polish proletariat and its Communist Party as an immediate practical task, as the most important instrument in the present stage for mobilising the broadest masses of the people under the hegemony of the revolutionary proletariat for the fight against the fascist dictatorship, for drawing the masses into the armed insurrection, for decisive fights for political power.

## The Role of the DeValera Government.

By Brian O'Neill (Dublin).

A **Fianna Fail** ("Band of Destiny") Government (deValera Party), backed by the handful of Labour deputies, is now in power in the Irish Free State—that is, the Irish bourgeoisie is now to rule through its parliamentary republican wing. The position of the parties now, compared with 1927, is as follows:—

	1927	1932
Fianna Fail . . . . .	57	72
Cumann Nan Gaedheal . . . . .	61	56
Labour Party . . . . .	13	7
Farmers . . . . .	6	4
Independents . . . . .	15	13

DeValera's rise to power reflects the growing crisis in Ireland. **Cumann Nan Gaedheal** ("Association of the Gael") had been in office ten years, during which it ruled nakedly as the agent of the Irish bourgeoisie and the ally of British Imperialism. Its record was a foul one. During its rule, the employers attacked every section of the working class. Unemployment grew, while the amount paid in workless benefit dwindled. Teachers, civil servants, police and soldiers all came under the lash. The small farmers sank further into the morass of debt as a result of the price slump due to the agrarian crisis, while the burden of the Land Annuities they paid annually to the British Land Stock holders became heavier than ever. And every symptom of revolt was savagely attacked, culminating in the Coercion Act last September, proclaiming illegal the Irish Republican Army, the Revolutionary Workers' Groups and several other organisations.

So **Fianna Fail** climbed to power, posing as the "party of the masses, not the classes", and using the most shameless demagoguery. The chief points in its programme were:—

"1. Promote the industrial revival, securing the establishment of at least 200 new factories and the employment of an additional 80,000 hands.

"2. Secure the erection of 40,000 new houses for the proper accommodation of our people and let them at rents which the average working-class family can afford to pay.

"3. Reduce taxation by rigid economy in all branches of the public service.

"4. Improve social legislation, including better provision of Old Age Pensions and for necessitous widows and orphans.

"5. Direct the affairs of the Irish people so as to create a self-supporting and self-reliant nation."

In addition, the release of the revolutionary fighters jailed by the Cosgrave government was a big feature of their election propaganda. So, on the shoulders of the radicalised masses, and canalising their revolt, **Fianna Fail** rode to power. As the crisis toppled Cosgrave from office, it has raised deValera, who, under new forms and using new phrases, is to continue and intensify the attempt of the bourgeoisie to "hand the baby" of crisis to the masses of the people.

How swiftly the world crisis has drawn the Irish Free State into the vortex may be seen from the fact that the total trade of this Lilliputian State dropped £5,000,000 in 1931 compared with 1930. Exports (including re-exports) in 1930 were £45,745,019 and imports £56,768,702. In 1931 they were £37,070,896 and £50,468,114 respectively. The returns for January, just published, show the position further aggravated. Exports for the month were £2,329,529; imports were £3,585,278. The debit balance was £1,203,616 as compared with £563,356 in January of last year.

The capitalist Government of deValera will attempt to solve this crisis by three methods:—tariffs, "retrenchment"

and wage reductions. Tariffs are the corner-stone of the "Gaelic and Catholic Ireland" deValera hopes to build up. By building a tariff wall high enough to shut out the products of the large scale industry of Britain and other countries, he hopes to have shelter to build a number of small industries in this under-developed country. It is a mad notion, but it is the workers and the peasants who are to pay for the madness; the tariffs already imposed have increased the cost of living so that it is among the highest in Europe; the coming tariffs on the people's food and necessities of life will worsen the position. The "retrenchment" will mean, of course, attacks on the social services, already miserably inadequate. A clever piece of demagogic "window-dressing" has already been performed by the new Government: in order to give the lead to the country, the Cabinet Ministers have agreed to reductions in their salaries. With this example of self-sacrifice before them, can the Irish masses justly complain when education, health and other social services are slashed? As for the wage reductions, the employers in almost every industry of any importance have given notice of the attack. At the annual meeting of the Great Northern Railway, on February 24th, the chairman said: "To maintain wages at the present rates, is I fear, imposing on the Irish railways a greater burden than they can bear". The shareholders of the Great Southern Railway, at both their last meetings, demanded immediate wage cuts if there were to be any dividends at all. The chairman of the Dublin Tramway Company, reporting a record year at their meeting on March 1th, pointed out that British tramway workers had just received a cut, and he licked his lips in anticipation.

In addition to continuing the capitalist offensive, the Fianna Fail has another role. Launched as the parliamentary wing of the republican struggle, to it falls the task of killing that struggle for ever. Its policy is not one of fighting imperialism, but of making peace with Britain on the basis of a new agreement. And the Irish Republican Army (I.R.A.) and the other republican organisations, which dragged at the tail of Fianna Fail in the Election as the result of its promise to release the prisoners and abolish the Coercion Act and the Oath of Allegiance to King George V., have now fallen completely into its arms. For ten years the leaders of the republican movement, with all the capacity of the petty bourgeoisie for regarding forms and ignoring realities, howled against the Oath. The prisoners are free now, and the Oath will probably be abolished soon, and they are left high and dry—imperialist tribute will remain, the partition of Ireland will still exist, but for them the struggle will be over.

The republican leaders express this clearly themselves. "An Phoblacht" (The Republic) has re-appeared after its suppression under the Coercion Act. Maurice Twomey, the I.R.A. chief, writes about the new situation:

"Members of Fianna Fail express friendliness with the ideals of the I.R.A., and under their administration the movement could become what it ought to be, a normal feature of our national struggle, popularising our national ideal and encouraging the people forward to the re-declaration of a united Republic."

("An Phoblacht", 12-3-32.)

Madame Gonne McBride, Secretary of the **Prisoners' Defence League**, in the same journal even more revealingly states the abdication of the petty bourgeoisie:

"When Eamonn deValera takes over power and releases all the Republican prisoners the shame of imprisoning the men who fought for her freedom will be lifted from Ireland. The work of the Women's Prisoners' Defence League will be concluded and the 'mothers' can take a rest. The opening of the jail gates will have accomplished what machine guns and proclamations failed to do . . ."

The battle over for them, the Defence League is to be wound up; the next prisoners will be workers fighting not for phrases but for bread and freedom, but that will be no concern of the petty bourgeoisie. As the "Irish Press", the chief Government organ, says (12-3-32):

"... Irishmen of any section will no longer have to feel that the independence of their country can be established only through armed conflict in which their own fellow Irishmen will be opposed to them. The way is being opened to secure by peaceful means the realisation of our national ideals, and henceforth the responsibility to avail themselves of those means rests upon all sections

equally. There is no longer cause for anyone to believe that when the national rights are to be asserted that must be done by a protesting minority. In future that assertion of national rights will be, as it should always have been, the exclusive right of the Government chosen by the majority of the electorate."

But while the petty bourgeois leaders of the republican movement may be satisfied with this, the rank and file of the republican movement—the peasant lads and the proletarian youth who have formed the backbone of the struggle against British Imperialism—will not be content to starve under a deValera Government any more than they were under Cosgrave. The task now of the revolutionary forces is to win these genuine fighters against imperialism away from the petty bourgeois elements who are trying to shackle them to the chariot of a capitalist government, and to lead them along the path of class struggle and the final fight to end capitalist and landlord domination.

## The Dumbartonshire By-Election.

By R. Bishop (London).

The Dumbartonshire by-election was of special interest as being the first contest since the General Election in a constituency that was predominantly working-class. The other by-elections, in Croydon, Henley and New Forest were all in predominantly residential cum agricultural constituencies.

But in all four places there has been a big slump in the Tory vote since October. In the New Forest and Croydon by-elections, the results of which were declared on the same day, the Tory vote fell by no less than 33,763. In Henley it fell by 7462. In Dumbartonshire by 12,013. That is to say that in 4 constituencies, 3 of them being particularly favourable, the Government vote decreased by 53,238, on a total General Election vote of 128,993.

Within less than 6 months the **Government has lost 41 per cent** of the vote cast for it in these 4 constituencies.

In the first three constituencies, a slump in the Government vote was to be normally expected in view of the huge majorities at the General Election, which would lull many supporters into a belief that their vote was not necessary to ensure victory, but at Dumbartonshire, where it was known that the contest would be close, no such excuse can be put forward. It is evident that the reaction against tariffs as the "road to prosperity" has set in with overwhelming force.

In these circumstances one would have expected the **Labour Party** to have shown an advance, at least on their deflated figures of last year. Yet the contrary is the case. In the New Forest, the Labour Party vote fell by 1,995 on the General Election figure, at Croydon by 761. In Henley, where 3,809 votes were polled at the General Election, the by-election was left uncontested. In Dumbartonshire the Labour Party vote fell by 2,770. In these four by-elections **the Labour vote decreased by 9,335**, on a total of 37,363, a percentage of **24**.

These figures show clearly that the Labour Party is not restored to the confidence of the workers. That, to an even greater degree than at the General Election, they realise that the Labour Party offers no way out of the morass in which they find themselves.

In Dumbartonshire the **Communist Party** polled 2,870 votes. The constituency is one of the most difficult in Britain to fight. It stretches 100 miles in length and is 20 miles wide. It goes by the side of great lakes and over mountains, communications are very bad. It is in part industrial, derelict industrial mainly, in part agricultural and in part bourgeois residential. Prior to the Election the Communist Party existed in only one small part of the constituency, the Vale of Leven. In the rest, even the other industrial parts, the Communist Party was only a name, and its policy unknown. That in these circumstances nearly 3,000 votes should have been collected is no small thing. Throughout the campaign **the war situation** was kept well to the front and linked up with the struggle of the unemployed, of whom there is a larger percentage than in any other Scottish County, and the struggle of the employed workers too.

As a result of the campaign, Communist Party groups have been set up in areas where previously the Party was non-existent, and the existing groups have been greatly strengthened.

Whilst the vote seems small in comparison with the Labour and Tory votes, the workers who rallied round in the fight



were in no way disheartened. On the night of the day when the result was declared, a mass meeting was held in the Vale of Leven. A thousand workers packed the hall to suffocation. Tremendous enthusiasm prevailed and 69 recruits were won for the Communist Party.

The Dumbartonshire by-election underlined the increasing antagonism of the workers to the National Government with its policy of starvation and war. It has stressed the fact that the fine phrases of the Labour Party are cutting no ice—that their record in office still stinks in the nostrils of the workers. It has laid the basis for a mass Communist Party in Dumbartonshire and the intensification of mass activity there. It is significant that following the declaration of the Dumbartonshire poll, "**Reynolds**", the Sunday newspaper of the Co-Operative Party (the close allies of the Labour Party) reports:—

"Labour's defeat in Dumbartonshire has hastened the decision of a group of Labour ex-M.P.s to secede from the Party and support Mr. MacDonald in the National Government. Their action has been prompted by what one of their leaders described yesterday as 'political realities'."

"Labour will be in the wilderness for years to come", he said, "The result at Dombarton proves that."

The rats are preparing to desert the sinking ship. In these circumstances the Communist Party has a tremendous chance once and for all to establish itself as the recognised leader of the whole British working-class in the titanic class struggles that lie ahead.

## GERMANY

### German Foreign Policy under the Pressure of French Imperialism.

By Th. Neubauer (Berlin).

The foreign policy of the German bourgeoisie consists at present merely in waiting to see what the other countries do. Of the "era of active foreign policy" started just a year ago with the proposed customs union with Austria, nothing remains whatever.

There is very little said now in Germany about the disarmament question since the German proposals at Geneva were buried in the Commission. The Geneva Conference has adjourned for a month's Easter holiday. The bourgeois public of Germany has hardly noticed this.

The complete impotency of capitalist Germany has been clearly displayed in face of the **Lithuanian advances in the Memel district**. The mere fact that fascist Lithuania ventured to adopt such a policy was exceedingly humiliating for the German bourgeoisie; but still more was the fact that the German government had to refrain from any independent action while the imperialist Powers dealt with the Memel question in negotiations lasting for months. Brüning's threat, in his speech in the Reichstag, that the Reichs government would at the given time not shrink from reprisals, has not made the slightest impression in Kovno, which is only to be explained as due to the fact that the Lithuanian government can feel sure of French support. If this is the case, however, then the collective step of the governments of France, England and Italy as signatory Powers to the Memel agreement of 1923 will also scarcely make a great impression in Kovno. The declarations which the Lithuanian Foreign Minister **Zaunius** made on receiving the Note from the Powers are not calculated to increase the hopes of the German bourgeoisie of a speedy settlement of the Memel conflict in their favour.

The German bourgeoisie are now threatened by a new foreign political danger from the **South-East**: Tardieu's plan for a Danube Federation, the counter-part of the German-Austrian Customs union project. Just as Herr Brüning and Curtius wished to "rescue" collapsing Austria by affiliating it first economically (and of course, as a result of the economic union, also politically) to Germany, so Tardieu's project aims at uniting Austria together with Hungary in the bloc of French vassal States, and thereby finally cut it off from Germany. This would mean the complete encirclement of Germany by French imperialism.

It is significant that the Brüning government does not venture openly to oppose the Tardieu Plan. Following the example of England and Italy, it has accepted the French proposal in

principle and hopes that the rivalry among the three leading imperialist Powers in Europe will help it to wreck Tardieu's plan.

In addition to the French there is also an **Italian Danube Plan**, which aims at uniting Austria and Hungary economically and attaching them to the economy of Italy. Italian imperialism would thereby be able considerably to strengthen its position as against the Little Entente, which is under the control of France. But it is clear that the Italian Danube project lies just as little in the interest of German foreign policy as the French project. England also appears to be pursuing its own plans in regard to the Danube States. It is interesting to note that, as the "Times" now reports, already two months ago England proposed a customs union of the five Danube States—and certainly not for the purpose of still further strengthening French hegemony on the Continent. As the Danube countries, with the exception of Austria, are drawn ever deeper into the disastrous crisis owing to the lack of markets for their agrarian products, England entices them with its big sales market, whilst it holds out to the bankrupt economy of Austria the prospect of financial support.

Thus instead of one Danube project there are now four; a sign how, with the progressive world crisis of capitalism, the imperialist antagonisms in Europe also become accentuated. The German bourgeoisie are unable in this question, which is of such great importance for their political and economic interests, to conduct any independent foreign policy, but have to follow in the train of Italian imperialism.

In view of this situation of German foreign policy, the prospects for the **reparations conference** announced to take place in June are anything but bright. On the one hand the situation of capitalist Germany, its economic and financial collapse, has become so threatening, that it cannot wait much longer. On the other hand French imperialism's courtship in London has not been without success; and in Rome also Tardieu has made such tempting offers, as for example parity of the Mediterranean fleets, that the Reichs government can rely even less than formerly on the support of these governments.

After Brüning's reparations policy has got stuck in such a hopeless blind alley, **Adolf Hitler** has come forward as a "rescuer", and the Chancellor will certainly pay him with thanks for his services. On March 12, the day before the election of the Reichs President Hitler declared to the American journalist **Knickerbocker**:

"I shall by no means immediately cancel all emergency orders of the Brüning government, and I shall just as little declare at once that the Treaty of Versailles is cancelled. The emergency orders, and also the Versailles Treaty, have given rise to facts which one cannot simply alter by abolishing the emergency orders and tearing up the treaty. We shall cancel these emergency orders when we have created something that can be put in their place; and the Versailles Treaty will be settled when, at a new Conference, another Treaty will be concluded in its stead."

That is a policy of fulfilment such as Brüning and even Breitscheid would conduct. Why should not Reichs Chancellor Brüning stand on this platform which the leader of 100 per cent "nationalism" has adopted?

All the reparations questions, Danube Plans, Memel conflict and disarmament manoeuvres interest the German capitalist class less than quite another question of foreign policy, namely, the **new world war** which Japan has commenced by its action in China and Manchuria. It is a fact which throws a glaring light on the "patriotism" of the German bourgeoisie, that the German capitalists are touting for war contracts at the Japanese Embassy in Berlin—from these allies of French imperialism, and that they grovel before the Japanese commissions which are now visiting the German factories with a view to placing orders. The German capitalist class has no more ardent desire than that this war shall last as long as possible in order that it can earn as much profits from it as possible.

The press of the German bourgeoisie repeatedly states with cynical candour that the Japanese war is directed against the Soviet Union, which is still designated by the Reichs government as a State with which it is on friendly terms. Joy over every fresh criminal provocation by Japanese imperialism against Soviet Russia characterises the real attitude of the German bourgeoisie to the Soviet Union. The whole of the social democratic press and the press of the reformist trade unions join in the chorus of capitalist incitement against the first workers' State. The last number of the "Textile worker" states:

"The Social Democratic Party of Germany, and also the trade unions, have stood for an understanding with the democratic countries of Europe, namely with France, in order by means of understanding to get rid of the burdens of war and to achieve the freedom of the peoples. Russian foreign policy seeks to prevent this policy of understanding. They wish to derive advantage from the disputes of the West-European countries, to consolidate their dictatorship over the proletariat. The German people is to become the plaything of Russian interests.... We must completely frustrate this policy of the Russian rulers.... The German workers must not forget that the Moscow dictatorship befores the workers just as much as that of the bourgeoisie. Both are nothing else but a contemptible regime of violence."

Thus social fascism wishes to help the bankrupt German capitalist class to incite the German working class against Soviet Russia and against their own class interests, so that they shall produce war material and if necessary serve as cannon fodder for the imperialists against their Russian class brothers. Social fascism, which can pursue no other policy than that of its bourgeoisie, takes part with it not only in the bankruptcy of its foreign political hopes but also in the criminal incitement to a new war.

## Severing's Police Action against the National Socialists.

By W. Keller (Berlin).

On Thursday March 17, the Prussian police, acting under the direct orders of Herr **Severing**, the social democratic Prussian Minister for the Interior, carried out a large-scale action against the national socialists. Police searches took place in all the offices of the party and at the houses of many higher functionaries of the national socialists. The remarkable thing about these measures of Severing was that they took place four days **after** the Presidential election. Already before the 13th of March, the day of the election, the Communist press and also other newspapers published reports of civil-war preparations by the Nazis. In spite of the fact that the house searches took place so late and that most of the incriminating material was smuggled out of the way by the Nazis, sufficient was found to prove beyond all doubt that the Nazis had been making preparations for a putsch.

According to the reports of the social-democratic press and other papers supporting the Hindenburg front, the police action brought to light proofs of serious preparations for a putsch by the Nazis of the 13th of March. In addition to many weapons, plans were found envisaging a military encirclement of Berlin and other important strategic points by the Nazis storm detachments. It was further ascertained that these plans were carried out in the night of 13th March. Secret orders regarding the arming, transport and provisioning of the storm detachments were confiscated.

The social democratic press was simply bubbling over with joy on account of the "energetic" action of Severing against the Nazis. The papers contained column-long reports to the effect that proof was furnished of high treason by the national socialists. But apart from the stage thunder everything remained quiet. Not a single arrest ensued. Hitler himself immediately protested in an impudent declaration against the action of the Prussian government, and pointed out that **Groener**, the Minister for the Interior and the Reichswehr, had been informed of the mobilisation of the storm detachments. On March 18, Groener made an official declaration in which he stated it was quite true that he had been informed **beforehand** by Hitler's chief of staff regarding the mobilisation of the storm detachments. The conclusion of this official declaration reads as follows:

"The fact that election day passed off quite peacefully has proved that the view of the Reich Minister of the Interior was correct. As regards the reports which appeared in the press in the last few days regarding the mobilisation of the storm detachments and the intentions to carry out a putsch, this was all old news."

Four workers were murdered by Nazis on election day and many were injured during attacks by national socialists. And in face of these facts Groener states that the election day "passed off quite peacefully". This declaration of Groener

was published by the national socialists and the rest of the Right radical press with unconcealed malicious joy. To crown it all, on the evening of March 18, Groener received Hitler's emissaries Göhring and Frank and had a "confidential talk" with them. The organ of German heavy industry, the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" correctly appraises this fact and writes with glee:

"One would not be far wrong in seeing in the fact of this reception a fresh repudiation by Groener of the investigations of the Prussian police."

In face of this action of Groener the "Vorwärts" and the organs of the Hindenburg front at once began to sing in a very low key. Thus the "Vorwärts" of 18th March wrote:

"No one thinks of prohibiting the Hitler party either in Prussia or in the Reich. It has the fullest freedom of movement."

Not a single paper of the Hindenburg front demands the prohibition of the Nazis. Hitler feels so secure under the protection of Groener that he has brought an action against the Free State of Prussia and the Minister of the Interior Severing. To crown it all, on March 21st **Severing** delivered a report to **Brüning** on his action, and according to all newspaper reports, complete agreement prevails. The bourgeois press announces with great satisfaction that "all reports regarding a conflict between Groener and Severing are pure inventions."

Groener, Brüning and Severing have arrived at an understanding. Nothing will be done to the Nazis. The loudly-advertised action against the national socialists has come to nothing, as was to be foreseen. The whole affair has proved to be an election dodge which had as its object, in view of the Prussian elections on April 24, to make out to the social democratic workers that the social democratic Ministers are taking "energetic action" against the Nazis.

The exposure of this manoeuvre will help the social democratic workers to realise that fascism can be defeated only by the united front under the leadership of the Communist Party of Germany.

## The "Pravda" on the Presidential Election in Germany.

Moscow, 17th March 1932.

In its to-day's leading article, dealing with the Presidential election in Germany, the "Pravda" writes:

The present Presidential elections are taking place in an exceedingly tense political situation, due to the extreme intensification of all outer and inner antagonisms. The bourgeoisie are exerting all their forces in order to stay the development of the prerequisites of the revolutionary crisis. They are increasing their offensive against the working population and are more and more going over to the open fascist dictatorship. The nationalist, the fascist parties are carrying on a desperate demagoguery in order to keep back the masses from the proletarian revolution. It is characteristic of the transition of the bourgeoisie to the open forms of the fascist dictatorship that the most reactionary candidate at the Presidential election in April 1925, namely, the monarchist and Hohenzollern General, Hindenburg, has now become, as the social democracy proclaims, the "candidate of the advanced part of the bourgeoisie against its reactionary part", the candidate who, it is alleged, stands for the remnants of the bourgeois "democracy".

In spite of the danger threatening the capitalist order as a whole, in spite of the general going over of the bourgeoisie to the methods of the open fascist dictatorship, there nevertheless exist considerable differences among the bourgeoisie in regard to the question of the methods and forms of the fight for the way out of the crisis and in regard to the question of the methods of maintaining influence over the masses. In spite of long negotiations and bargaining, the bourgeoisie did not arrive at an agreement in regard to the candidature of Hindenburg, this main candidate of the whole of the bourgeoisie including its main social support, the social democracy. In addition to their chief candidate Hindenburg, who is to be elected, the bourgeoisie found it necessary to put forward the openly fascist candidature of Hitler, as a direct threat to the revolutionary workers and for the purpose of pacifying the nationalist elements who are dissatisfied with

the existing order. The bourgeoisie also needed a third candidate—Colonel Dusterberg. This candidate represents in the main the policy of finance capital, which is not immediately allied with either the national socialists or the social democrats, but relies upon the one as well as the other without compromising itself before the masses by an open bloc. Three candidates, who are united in their open fascist convictions, three candidates of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie against the working class, must have demonstrated the fascist unity of the German bourgeoisie towards the revolution. At the same time, these candidatures offered both the social democracy and also the national socialists the greatest possibility of mobilising the broad masses of workers, peasants and petty bourgeoisie in support of the bourgeoisie.

The triple candidature of the fascist bourgeoisie was faced by one workers' candidate, the candidate of the Communist transport worker, Thälmann. Nevertheless, in spite of the clear confrontation of the class forces, the bourgeoisie obtained 32 million votes compared with 5 million cast for the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. This election success of the bourgeoisie is due, in the first place, to the fact that the Hitler people succeeded in deceiving broad masses of the petty bourgeoisie and the peasants as well as a certain section of the unemployed by radical phrases, by claiming to be the rescuers from the Brüning-Hindenburg system which is unbearable for the working masses, and secondly, owing to the fact that the social democracy was given the opportunity of making a hysterical outcry about the threatening fascist danger and the threatening civil war in the event of a victory of Hitler. The social democrats thereby concealed their alliance with fascism, and hence they succeeded in mobilising large masses for Hindenburg. Hindenburg and Hitler, who at bottom are synonymous, were represented by the social democracy to the politically unexperienced masses as being antagonistic. The cry about the Hitler danger was made use of by the social democrats, whilst the cry that Hitler would destroy the Brüning system was made use of by the national socialists.

Thanks to this double manoeuvre, the national socialists succeeded in getting broad strata of the petty bourgeoisie, peasants and backward workers who are dissatisfied with the existing order to vote for Hitler whilst the social democrats succeeded in inducing the mass of their electors to vote for Hindenburg. Considerable masses of the social democratic workers who are more and more turning away from the social democratic party, but even to day still cannot think of a revolutionary way out of the crisis, have followed the slogan of the social democracy and voted for Hindenburg, in the belief that they thereby prevented the open fascist dictatorship. Thus in spite of the profound ferment in its ranks, the social democracy has succeeded, with the help of the bourgeoisie, in swindling the masses once more. Nevertheless the revolutionary front has grown and become stronger.

It would be a mistake to compare the figures of the Presidential election with the result of the Reichstag election in 1930. At the Reichstag elections it was a case of an ordinary Parliamentary election, a choice between the programme of the political parties struggling for power. Now, however, it was not only a question of voting for the Communist Party, but also thereby recognising that the main buttress of the bourgeoisie and the chief aider of the fascist terror is the social democracy; that fascism and social fascism are twins. In this election it required much greater class consciousness of the worker to vote Communist than it did at the Reichstag election.

If we survey the whole period which has elapsed since the Presidential election in 1925, it becomes evident that we can only compare the present elections with the referendum which was held in Prussia on August 9, 1931, where it was likewise a question of the fight against the social democracy as the social support of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Viewed from this standpoint the Communist Party of Germany has achieved a great success in rallying round it five million electors who are ready, under any conditions, to proceed against the bourgeois front in its entirety, and who are aware that the social democracy is the main social buttress of the bourgeois order and that unless it is shattered there can be no successful proletarian revolution.

At the election on March 13 the Hindenburg front received fewer votes than at the Reichstag elections, but in addition to the consolidation of the position of the Communists the elections have also resulted in an enormous

increase in the number of votes cast for the open fascist party, the national socialists. There is no doubt that not only petty bourgeois and peasant masses voted for the national socialists, but even certain sections of the unemployed and groups of backward workers who have been disappointed by the policy of the social democracy and hate the present system. These masses of petty bourgeoisie peasants, employees, officials and unemployed still believe to-day that the national socialists constitute the force which can change the existing system but they do not understand that these changes will be directed against themselves and against their own interests.

The political and tactical line of the C.P. of Germany was the only line corresponding to the interests of the working class. By continuing this line the Communists will still more drastically expose the social democracy as the social support of the bourgeoisie, by showing to the masses the whole danger of the liberal contrasting of the social democracy with the national socialists, and exposing the policy of the lesser evil. The Communists are the only worthy organisers of the fight against the fascist dictatorship.

The masses must come to realise in the actual fights led by the CPG, that it is not a question of contrasting the national socialists with the social democracy, but that it is a question of either the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie (which includes the national socialists and the social democracy) or the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Communists are clearly aware that the success of the Nazis in the village and among the petty bourgeois strata in the town was possible only because Communist agitation among these strata was still quite inadequate, because the Communists have not yet proceeded to real and serious work among these masses of toilers.

The Communists are equally aware that the fact that the social democracy, at the first ballot, have succeeded in retaining the main cadres of their electors, is a sign that the Party had not carried on sufficient work to expose social fascism, its preparations for a new war and intervention and its theory of the "lesser evil". The Communists are aware that this is likewise the result of insufficient work by the Party in rousing class struggles against the dictatorship of bourgeoisie. The Communists do not consider it necessary to make a great outcry over their success. They have no reason to underestimate the importance of the five million proletarian votes which were cast for Comrade Thälmann against fascism and against the social democracy, for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Party will achieve further successes in mobilising the workers of Germany for the proletarian revolution by developing the political and economic fight against wage cuts and reduction of unemployment benefit, against the emergency decrees of the Brüning-Hindenburg government, against the preparations for new imperialist war and intervention, against the carrying out of the fascist dictatorship in Germany and for the establishment of the power of the exploited class.

## Ernst Thälmann: "The Revolutionary Way out and the C. P. of Germany".

By M. H.

(Conclusion.)

Simultaneously with the constantly deteriorating economic situation in Germany the carrying out of the fascist dictatorship assumes the sharpest forms. The various political, economic and social repressive measures of this fascist policy are put through by the Brüning-Groener government by means of a peculiar system of reciprocal utilisation of the social democracy and the Hitler party, whereby the social democracy constitutes the main social support of the bourgeoisie.

The national socialist movement—which is mainly recruited from the petty bourgeois masses, employees and civil servants, whilst the industrial proletariat keeps aloof from it—must be regarded as the mass basis of Hugenberg and the German nationalists as the most conscious portion of finance capital.

Whilst the social democracy is more and more approaching Hitler fascism, the latter asseverates its adherence to legal methods and openly adopts the platform of Brüning's foreign policy.

In our struggle against the carrying out of the fascist dictatorship, against an eventual Hitler government it must be sharply opposed the mistake of designating a Hitler govern-



ment simply as an open dictatorship or instead of fighting against the Brüning-Severing system, to wait for an approaching so-called decisive struggle against a Hitler government. Only by means of the sharpest struggle against the Brüning-Severing policy, against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, is it possible to wage a serious mass struggle against Hitler and Hugenberg.

It must be stated, however, that in spite of the revolutionary upsurge, in spite of the great achievements of the Party in a whole number of spheres, we are lagging behind in our revolutionary work in face of the offensive of the bourgeoisie and its fascist policy.

In view of the fact that the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat for the capitalist or socialist way out of the crisis has become greatly accentuated, that the preconditions for a revolutionary crisis are rapidly growing, it is our revolutionary duty to expose this lagging behind ruthlessly and with Bolshevik self criticism and by increased activity to bar the capitalist way out of the situation.

The slogan of the people's revolution, i. e. of the proletarian socialist revolution, remains the strategical main slogan; and the most important strategical prerequisite for its realisation is the winning of the majority of the proletariat, i. e., those masses which are of decisive importance for the revolutionary class struggle.

Our honest revolutionary struggle for the national emancipation of the toiling people of Germany from the Versailles chains is in no way contradictory to our proletarian internationalism. On the contrary, for we are the only party in Germany which is really and determinedly fighting against the fulfilment policy. (Hitler openly declares his readiness to pay the "private debts" and also the commercialised part of the Young tributes) We are the only party which can emancipate the German proletariat from the yoke of world imperialism, for national emancipation is inseparably linked up with the social emancipation of the toiling people. (Hitler, who supports capitalism, also supports the Young slavery.) One cannot fight against the Young slavery when one makes a furious incitement against the only government in the world which did not sign the Versailles Treaties, the Dawes and Young pacts, but fought against them from the outset: the government of the Soviet Union. (The Hitler party is competing with the social democratic party in anti-Soviet incitement.) Thus one cannot really fight against the Versailles treaty and the Young slavery without unfurling the banner of internationalism.

Our strategical main slogan: win the majority of the proletariat, not only means to get the masses to declare their sympathy for the Communist Party, but to lead the decisive proletarian strata into the fight for capturing political power.

The aim of our agitation and propaganda must therefore be to expose the demagoguery and manoeuvres of the social democracy and the national socialists, to promote the fighting will of the masses, to develop and increase all forms of proletarian resistance to the offensive of the bourgeoisie, to every fresh step of fascisation.

The underestimation of the economic fights and their political character is the main cause of our weaknesses. And yet the political mass strike remains the most important and decisive weapon for the struggle of the proletariat in the present stage of development. The development of all economic struggles to the greatest extent is a precondition for the political struggle and its enhancement.

Proceeding from this point of view a complete turn must be made in our factory work, for up to the present we do not possess a sufficiently strong basis in the factories. Further, all possibilities were not exhausted in regard to our work among the millions of unemployed, where the most favourable objective preconditions for this work exist.

In all these spheres of work the revolutionary united front policy is the main link in the chain of the proletarian policy in Germany for developing the mass struggle and increasing the preconditions for a revolutionary crisis.

An integral part of our whole revolutionary work is the ideological offensive which was initiated in the Party. For the struggle for the purity of the Marxist-Leninist theory in the Party means at the same time the practical fight for carrying out the class line of the Party.

The serious mistakes and deviations in our theoretical literature prove the necessity of much greater vigilance on

the theoretical front, Bolshevik irreconcilability and intolerance to all influence of the social democracy, the overcoming of the last existing remnants of Luxemburgism and Trotzkyism in our ranks, the sharpest struggle on two fronts.

Our propaganda work must become a real part of our whole revolutionary work and policy of our Party; it must assume a mass character (the main attention must be concentrated on the factory nuclei), become the real bearer of Marx's-Leninism and be governed by the requirements of the present situation.

Our newspapers must become real mass organs of the proletariat and really reflect the proletarian life. They must, however, particularly the "Rote Fahne", be raised to a higher ideological level.

By improving our agitation and propaganda, as well our work in all spheres, the lagging of the subjective factor behind the objective possibilities will be liquidated.

## DOCUMENTS OF MARXISM

### Speech of Karl Marx on the Paris Commune.

Moscow, March 18, 1932.

The Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute has published a hitherto unknown speech by Karl Marx on the Paris Commune from the Protocol of the General Council of the I. International, in which this speech is reported in very condensed and abridged form. Karl Marx delivered this speech on May 23, 1871. The Protocol states, citizen Marx declared:

He feared that the end was near, but the fight would be only postponed even if the Commune is overthrown. The principles of the Commune are eternal and cannot be destroyed. They will again and again be placed on the agenda until the working class has achieved its emancipation.

The Paris Commune was vanquished with the help of the Prussians, who act as the Gendarmes of Thiers. The plan for destroying the Commune was drawn up jointly by Bismarck, Thiers and Favre. Bismarck had declared in Frankfurt that Thiers and Favre had requested him to interfere. The issue of the fight shows that he was also prepared to do everything to help them, provided it did not endanger the lives of German soldiers—but this not because he valued the lives of German soldiers when it was a question of profits, but because he wanted a still greater collapse of France in order to be able to plunder the country all the more.

He allowed Thiers to gather together more soldiers than was provided in the agreement, whilst he permitted food to pass through to Paris only to a limited extent. That is an old story. The upper classes always unite to hold down the working class. During the war between the French and Norman knights in the eleventh century, it came to a revolt of the peasants. The French and Norman knights immediately forgot their inner quarrels and united in order to crush the peasants' revolt. As an instance of how the Prussians perform police duties, it should be remembered that the Prussians occupied the town of Rouen where they arrested 500 persons on the pretext that they belonged to the International.

The International fills the bourgeoisie with dread. Count Jobert, a dried up mummy, a minister of the year 1834, a man who became known because he demanded severe measures against the press, declared in the French National Assembly that it must be the first duty of the Government after restoring order to investigate the activity of the International and to destroy this organisation.

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At the same meeting of the General Council of the International the question of the protest of the General Council against the bestialities of the Versailles and of supporting the refugees from the Commune was dealt with. Speaking on this point Karl Marx declared:

"We can expose the activity of the Versailles Government, but we cannot submit a protest to it, because this would mean addressing ourselves to a Government which we designate as a government of robbers."

## The War

# British Imperialism Strengthens its War Front.

By William Rust (London).

The recent session of the Assembly of the League of Nations revealed very clearly the role of the League as a war-making machine and the increasing activity of the "National" Government in helping Japan in its war on the Chinese people.

The British Foreign Minister, Sir John Simon, not only resisted the criticisms which the smaller Powers directed against Japan, he also utilised the opportunity in order to discuss a new agreement with France on the question of the anti-Soviet bloc and the fight against America on the question of War debts and Reparations.

Simon first of all explained that the Assembly could not discuss Manchuria because a Commission was now investigating the position there. (Incidentally, at that moment the Commission was being feted in Tokyo!) Throughout the entire proceedings, Simon showed a peculiar anxiety to keep Manchuria out of the discussion and to convey the impression that insufficient facts were at hand in order to make a decision on any aspects of the imperialist war.

Why this anxiety? The argument about the Commission is obviously a mere subterfuge which cannot be justified even by the previous decisions of the League itself. The plain fact about Manchuria is, that it is under Japanese domination and is being used as a base for war preparation against the Soviet borders. The great legal luminary, Simon, resorted to the cheap lawyer's trick of arguing that a Commission has the case in hand precisely in order to avoid an open discussion on this plain fact.

But Simon at the same time also unwittingly exposed the true purpose of the Commission, which, far from being a source of information regarding the situation in Manchuria, is used by the leading statesmen in order to prevent that situation from being known and discussed.

The thin diplomatic veneer covering Simon's pro-Japanese attitude can be so easily seen through that even the Geneva correspondent of the Liberal "Economist" could not refrain from observing that:—

"Sir John Simon's insistence on the importance of keeping an open mind until the Assembly is fully informed suggested that he cannot say whether China invaded Japan, or Japan invaded China" (March 12th).

Later in the proceedings, Simon made the following profound statement on the role of the League:—

"The first duty of the League was mediation. The League could not pronounce a judgement on matters in controversy but it might make a declaration reaffirming the fundamental principles of the League" (March 8th. "Times").

Dear, dear, what is this "controversy"? Only the fact that an imperialist war is raging in the Far East for six months, that tens of thousands of Chinese men, women and children have been massacred and that the frontiers of the Soviet Union are threatened. To describe this opening phase of the world war as a "controversy" upon which judgement cannot be pronounced is nothing else than thinly concealed encouragement to Japan to go ahead with its murderous war plans.

This is so obvious that the already mentioned correspondent of the "Economist" is again moved to protest. He writes:—

"Nothing has been more striking or more painful during the proceedings of the Special Assembly than the disquiet caused by the role played by Great Britain and the other Big Powers on the Council.... There is a general suspicion that Manchuria is being sold for peace and quiet in Shanghai and that the so-called impartiality of the Great Powers is an excuse to avoid as long as possible, if not altogether, a pronouncement against Japan." (March 12th.)

It is, of course, characteristic that the Liberal "Economist" limits its comments to such misgivings. But the workers cannot leave the matter at that. Fighting is not raging at the moment but there is no "peace and quiet" at Shanghai. The Japanese remain in occupation and the Chinese people continue to suffer untold horrors from the war devastation. The meaning of the agreement between France, Britain and Japan on the Shanghai question is clearly revealed in the "peace" terms which these

Powers are now trying to force on China and which have been accepted by the treacherous Kuomintang Government.

They provide for the retention of Japanese forces in Shanghai itself and the abandonment of the Chinese boycott of Japanese goods. The Chinese troops are to be held back in the positions 12-15 miles from Shanghai to which they were driven by the Japanese advance.

In other words, the proposal put forward by Britain and the other Powers are that the anti-imperialist struggle of the Chinese people is to be broken and decisive military positions are to remain under imperialist control.

The deal over, Shanghai which gives Japan a free hand in Manchuria, fits in admirably with the war plans of British imperialism. Japanese imperialism well understands that its job is to organise provocation against the Soviet Union.

This anti-Soviet policy pursued by Simon in the East—was strengthened by the discussion which he had with Tardieu on building up the anti-Soviet bloc in Europe. The bitter words between France and Britain over war debts and reparations have now given way, at least for the time being, to fulsome declarations on the necessity for cooperation and understanding. "The whole of France aspires to a general entente with that noble country, Britain" said Tardieu on Feb. 23rd.

Whether this "general entente" will be set up on a lasting basis is by no means certain but Britain has already agreed with the main outlines of a scheme for the formation of a Danube Federation, i. e. the creation of an Eastern European bloc of states, as an integral part of the French military system organised on the continent against the Soviet Union. If there was any doubt as to the meaning of the secret conversations between Simon and the French delegation at Geneva it has been finally dispelled by the leading article in "Le Temps" of March 10th which after referring to these conversations, writes:—

"Consideration of the important problems of the present day make it clear that the harmonising of French and British policy is the basis of any solution. Whatever the question may be, whether reparations, the debts between nations, 'frozen' credits, disarmament, security, the reconstruction of Central Europe or the relations between the civilisation which is called 'capitalist' and the pseudo-civilisation of the Soviets, no permanent solution can be found without such an agreement (my italics). If the two great Powers act separately... the forces of disruption and destruction will make their way in."

To complete the picture it is only necessary to emphasise that the war policy of British Imperialism against its imperialist rivals and the Soviet Union also goes ahead quite independently of France. Britain occupies a dominating position in many of the European states (Estonia, Latvia, Finland, and Lithuania) as well as France. Hungary is a well-known sphere of British influence. In the Near East British military preparations are being speeded up. The aerodromes in Persia and Iraq can be used as a base for the bombing of the oil wells of the Soviet Union. Afghanistan and the N.W. frontier of India, which border on the Soviet Union, are recognised points of attack and British military and air force activity have been greatly increased during recent months.

British Imperialism is building its war front against the Soviet Union in all parts of the world.

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## Anti-War Demonstrations in France.

Paris, 21st March 1932.

Powerful demonstrations against imperialist war and in defence of the Soviet Union have been held in Paris and in the industrial areas in the North of France under the leadership of the Communist Party. At the same time these demonstrations were a protest against the murder of workers by the police.

Over 4,000 workers demonstrated in the suburbs of Paris headed by Comrade André Marty. The police made no serious attempts to interfere with the demonstrations.

## The Building up of the Imperialist War Front in the Near East.

By J. B.

In face of the rapid approach of imperialist intervention in the Far East, little attention is being paid to the activities of the imperialists in the **Near East**. It is to be observed, however, that side by side with the war actions in the Far East and in connection with the efforts to encircle the Soviet Union from all sides, the building up of the anti-Soviet front in the Near East has made further progress in the last six months.

The military occupation of **Kashmir** by British troops is very significant. It appears that the revolt in Kashmir was used by the British General Staff as a pretext in order to convert this country, which is of great importance to the operations in Central Asia, into a basis for operations. In the fights which are going on in the North West Province of India the British forces, as is now officially admitted, are continually crossing the frontier into Afghanistan, and hints are not lacking which point to an intended military attack against Afghanistan under the pretext of driving the Afridis out of their hiding places. In **Persia** the British imperialists are carrying on a direct incitement against the Soviet Union.

The acceptance of **Iraq** into the League of Nations is to be regarded as a particularly cunning manoeuvre of the imperialists. British imperialism has not only not weakened its positions by this sham concession, but has made itself stronger. From the key points of Mosul, Baghdad and Basra, which are still under British control, pressure can be increased against Persia and also against **Turkey**; a number of new oil concessions have again been granted to British firms, and this means feverish development of the oil reservoirs which are so necessary for the purpose of conducting war.

In **Syria** the French, following the example of Great Britain in Iraq, are attempting to stabilise their rule. After bloodily crushing a popular rising which broke out at the end of December in connection with the Parliamentary elections, ordered by French imperialism, the French have set up a sort of sham people's representation, which as party to agreements with the imperialists is to play the same role as the pseudo Parliaments in Iraq and Egypt. It is a question of the Anglo-French bargaining going on behind the scenes whether the puppets of the French in Syria shall dance according to the desires of the British Colonial Office or according to the desires of the Quai D'Orsay.

Also in **Palestina** and **Transjordan** attempts are again being made to bring about agreements with the Arab feudal chiefs, while at the same time the Zionist policy is maintained as the chief support of British imperialism. The capitulation of the Arab national reformists is to be sealed by a sort of Round-Table Conference.

Finally, the English are endeavouring, by strengthening the dictatorship of Sidky Pasha in Cairo, to secure the defence of the **Suez Canal**, which will be of great importance in the event of war. Intensive preparations for war are being made throughout the whole territory of **Egypt** and **India**.

It must be pointed out, however, that the resistance of the masses is becoming continually stronger and continually threatens to upset the imperialist plans. The poverty of the small peasants, the city workers and artisans and the masses of Bedouins is (as the British and French reports are obliged to admit) continually increasing and is still further augmented by the ruthless predatory measures of the imperialist Powers. Tax strikes, not only of individual villages but of whole districts, are becoming more frequent in India and also in the Arab countries and in Egypt.

As the military superiority of the imperialists prevents general outbreaks, one of the most characteristic means of spontaneous defensive action is the establishment of partisan detachments, in which the impoverished peasants and Bedouins unite. The imperialist press is compelled to publish alarming reports concerning the growth of "robbery and brigandage". No less important is the fact that in spite of all the counter-measures of the imperialists, the workers' organisations are still developing and increasing in strength.

Whilst any underestimation of the danger of war threatening the Soviet Union from the South-East would be very dangerous, it must be pointed out at the same time that the revolutionary forces of the peoples in the countries of

the Near East oppressed by imperialism would make use of such an adventurous move of the imperialists in order to fight against the imperialist yoke in a movement which in extent would exceed all previous movements. It is specially significant that the attempts of the imperialists in connection with Pan-Islamic slogans to carry on agitation for "rescuing" the Mohammedans from "Soviet persecutions", have proved futile. Even the moderate Arab newspapers saw through this agitation as an imperialist manoeuvre.

Among the masses, however, sympathy with the Soviet Union is increasing—a fact which, among others, is expressed in the recently issued slogan: Send fellahin delegates to the Soviet Union!

## Rumania's Preparations for War against the Soviet Union.

By Isop (Bucharest).

Rumania's role as the henchman of French imperialism in encircling the Soviet Union is well known, and it suffices to take a cursory glance at its military preparedness.

Rumania maintains a standing army of 300,000 men. If we include the police and the other defensive troops, this number reaches half a million. The expenditure on the army swallows up two-fifths of the regular budget. In 1931 the expenditure on the army amounted to 15,000 million Lei. For the year 1932, owing to the economic crisis, this sum has been reduced to 11,000 million Lei, which does not include the secret fund for expenditure on armaments. During the past twelve months the extension of the war industry has been proceeding at a feverish pace, and new strategic railway lines have been built. Three quarters of the budget for road building were devoted to the building of military roads in the Moldau district and in Bessarabia. Bessarabia has been converted into a garrison district. A modern military air force has been set up. The Rumanian fleet has also been strengthened.

The economic crisis has caused indescribable misery and poverty in the past year. Hundreds of thousands are unemployed. The workers who are still employed receive the most miserable wages. The clerks and employees have not received any pay for months, the workers no wages, the war widows and war invalids no pensions. There is a great ferment among the peasants, who are hopelessly in debt.

The Rumanian bourgeoisie fully realise that with such human material a campaign against the Soviet Union can easily end in disaster. Therefore, frantic efforts are being made to prepare the working masses and also the suppressed nations for war.

The first and most important measure in this respect is the conversion of the agrarian debts, by means of which it is intended to reduce the debts of the peasants by 50 per cent. and the interests to 4 per cent., while the peasants are to be granted a period of 30 years in which to pay off the principal. In return for this, the peasant will be made an ordinary wage slave, as during the whole of this period he will have to cultivate his land according to orders.

But there are also other facts which show us how the masses of the people of Rumania are to be won for the war against the Soviet Union. For example, simultaneously with the Japanese advance in the Far East, there has set in an increasingly furious and open war incitement against the Soviet Union.

This war incitement set in at the commencement of the Riga pact negotiations in January last. Already at that time Rumania rejected the Soviet proposal to conclude a non-aggression pact. In order, however, to conceal the real intentions behind this action and to cast the blame on to the Soviet Union, the Rumanian government made a number of manoeuvres aiming at convincing the people that the aggressor is on the other side of the Dniester.

The Soroka affair was arranged. A campaign of incitement was launched against the revolutionary movement. Every militant workers was regarded as a spy of the G.P.U. Distributors of leaflets in which the unemployed demanded work and bread and protested against the war, were branded as dangerous secret agents. The press published sensational "discoveries" of munition dumps and war plans. Special leaflets and placards were issued calling upon the Rumanian

people to defend themselves against the Bolsheviks who want to take Bessarabia away from the mother country.

These acts of provocation are now being systematically continued. Every frontier guard found dead on the Dniester is a victim of Soviet Russian emissaries. Bombs and explosives are "found" in the trains, and the bomb-layers are "G.P.U. agents". The frequent train derailments are "caused by the Bolsheviks who go about the country seeking to do harm to the Rumanian people". Reports are published every day of "mass murders of Moldavian fugitives on the other side of the Dniester", allegedly committed by Russian frontier guards. It was recently reported that near Tighina, Moldavia, refugees, among them women and children, were murdered on the ice. The newspapers devote whole columns telling of the heart-rending wails of the wounded and dying that could be heard from the ice.

The collection-campaign for the hungry counter-revolutionaries is accompanied by open war incitement. The Rumanian chauvinists, who wish to deprive 8 million people of the national minorities of their nationality, spread lies about the Moldavians in the free Moldavian Soviet Republic being deprived of their nationality.

This campaign to stir up war feeling against the Soviet Union is assuming ever more concrete forms. On February 26, an interpellation was made in Parliament regarding the "happenings on the Dniester", in which the government was asked to adopt immediate measures against the Moldavian Soviet Republic. It was moved that a protest Note be sent to the League of Nations as well as to all friendly governments. **The social democrats openly joined in this war incitement.**

On March 6th, there was held in Kishinev a mass meeting of the demobilised Bessarabians, the so-called "Ostasi" the Bessarabian white guardist partisan troops, who with the aid of the Rumanian army crushed the revolutionary population and occupied the country. The meeting was presided by the governor of Bessarabia, General **Rascanu**. There were present in addition all three Bessarabian Ministers in the Jorga Cabinet. The whole affair had the character of a war demonstration against the Soviet Union. General Rascanu appealed to the Ostasi, who already in the years 1919 and 1920 had fought under his command for the "emancipation of Bessarabia", to be ready. Similar language was used by the other speakers.

A systematic agitation has been commenced throughout the whole country on the initiative of the relief committee for refugees from the Moldavian Republic which has been formed in Kishinev. Similar Committees are now being formed everywhere, and their task is to stir up war feeling among the people by pointing to conditions said to obtain in the Moldavian Republic. On March 13 there was held in Cluj, in Transylvania, a pro-war meeting organised by this Committee in which all bourgeois parties participated.

The Rumanian war makers are also endeavouring to win at least the bourgeoisie of the national minorities for the war against the Soviet Union. This is the object of the tour made by the Minister for National Minorities **Brandsh** in the Ukrainian speaking districts, where the Minister listened standing to the singing of the Ukrainian national Anthem, which up to recently was still prohibited. One can thus find an explanation for the cautious but ever more obvious abandonment of anti-semitism by the leading fascist circles. There is little need to emphasise that the fascists of Rumania, above all the "Garda de fier", are the chief war inciters against the Soviet Union. They are organising military manoeuvres with gas attacks and instructing the population in the use of weapons.

In spite of all these provocative endeavours it must be recorded that the war incitement meets with little response among the broad masses of Rumania. They have seen through these manoeuvres. The sympathies of the working population and of the oppressed nations are on the side of the Soviet Union. The peasants declare quite openly that they know what they will do when weapons are once placed in their hands. They know that the enemy is in their own country. The anti-war campaign is led by the Communist Party of Rumania with the aid of the national revolutionary organisations. Their slogans are enthusiastically received by the masses of the people. The anti-war campaign is linked up with the every-day struggle. The working people of Bucharest, Constanza, Kishinev, Galatz, Cluj and other towns

demonstrated on the streets against the war machinations of the imperialists. On many occasions it came to spontaneous demonstrations of the people for the Soviet Union and against war, as for instance in Oradea Mare, where on the occasion of a lecture at the People's University, the whole of the audience broke out into cries of sympathy for the Soviet Union. Similar events occurred in other places.

The revolutionary movement in Rumania will give the proper answer to the war inciters at home and abroad.

## The Japanese Reply to the Questions Submitted by the Soviet Union.

*We publish below a telegraphic report of the declaration made by M. Hiroto, the Japanese ambassador in Moscow, to the questions submitted by Comrade Karachan. The hypocritical excuses and denials of the diplomatic representative of the Japanese warmakers, to which all the known facts give the lie, expose themselves.*

Moscow, 21st March 1932.

It will be remembered that a little while ago the Vice-Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, **Karachan**, put a number of questions to the Japanese Ambassador in Moscow, **Hiroto**, concerning the activity of the Russian emigrant white Guardists in Manchuria, concerning the nature of the new State set up in Manchuria and concerning violation of the Treaty of Portsmouth. Hiroto promised to place the questions before his government and deliver an answer at a later date.

The answer presented by Hiroto yesterday denies that the Japanese authorities in Manchuria have provided the Russian White Guardists in Manchuria with any direct support. It also denies numerous reports in the Soviet and foreign press concerning the increased activity of the white guardists with Japanese protection. The declaration confirms in particular the statement issued on the 27th February by the Japanese military authorities in Tokio to the effect that all reports concerning support said to be granted by the Japanese military authorities in the organisation of a white guardist division whose task it would be to attack Soviet territory, are baseless. The same report declares that the Japanese authorities are prepared to take sharp measures against any elements which should attempt to carry out a provocative policy under the cover of the Japanese forces, should the report of the existence of such elements be in accordance with the facts.

Hiroto also assured **Karachan** that the Kwantung army was closely observing the activity of the white guardists and would be prepared to take all necessary measures, should their activity be directed against the Soviet Union.

With regard to the new State Hiroto declared that in the event of it fulfilling its obligations, guaranteeing the safety of the lives and property of Japanese subjects, and of its showing itself willing to maintain friendly relations with Japan, then the Japanese government would welcome such a government. Hiroto informed **Karachan** that Japan had not yet recognised the new government and was observing the course events would take.

Referring to the Treaty of Portsmouth Hiroto declared that his government could see no violation of this Treaty in the transport and concentration of Japanese troops on the Chinese Eastern Railway in view of the fact that these troop movements were not of a strategic nature, but purely for the protection of the lives and property of Japanese citizens. The Japanese troops had been compelled to take over the defence of the line because in connection with the events in Manchuria the original guards had disappeared. On the 3rd March, however, the Japanese troops had handed over the care of the line to the Kirin troops. Hiroto declared that the Japanese government had loyally abided by the Treaty of Portsmouth and that it would continue to do so. Japan had no strategic aims (!) on the Chinese Eastern Railway and had no intention of leaving its troops there.

With regard to the concentration of troops on the Soviet-Korean frontier, Hiroto did not deny this but declared that the concentration represented no threat to Soviet territory. The troops in question were no more necessary for the protection of the frontier and had not been strengthened since the re-opening of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union.



## Children as Victims of the Imperialist War.

A Timely Reminder.

By Caro

The German Archive for the Welfare of the Youth has recently concluded an investigation of the child misery caused by the last war. The results of this investigation have been submitted to the delegates to the so-called Disarmament Conference in order that they shall adopt suitable measures to prevent a new war. Whilst the delegates of the imperialist war-makers trouble very little about the shameful results of their criminal policy, the working masses of all countries have cause to consider the blessings of the last world war. It is necessary to refresh the memory of that generation of workers which took part in the last world war, and at the same time enlighten the generation of young workers regarding imperialist war in order that they shall resist with all their might the outbreak of a new war.

In the above-mentioned report the misery suffered by the youth in Germany during and after the war is shown by numerous examples. Before all, attention is called to the fate of the war orphans and the children of war cripples and invalids, whose number amounts to 2,300,000. Even to-day there are 1,800,000 children in Germany who lost their breadwinners during and through the war, and therefore have to be maintained out of the public funds. In actual fact this number is probably much higher, as the Republic avoids its obligation more and more in this respect. As the coming imperialist war will in the first place be directed against the civil population of the towns, the children will be victims not only in losing their fathers but will also be regular victims of battle. Already to-day thousands of innocent Chinese children are the victims of the Japanese air-attacks in the Far East.

Whilst millions of children were plunged into desperate misery and poverty owing to the loss of their fathers, further millions of children have sustained irreparable harm, both physically and mentally. Whilst the children of the possessing class received their normal diet, the children of the working population were insufficiently fed, clothed and cleaned. The shortage of milk was so great that even the new-born babies could not obtain milk. There was also a lack of meat and fat, bread and potatoes, shoes and clothing. Even in the year 1921, it was ascertained as a result of an inquiry addressed to the lowest classes of the elementary schools, embracing only 40,000 children, that 17.2 per cent of the children had insufficient underclothing and 11.4 per cent insufficient outer clothing as a result of the war. During the war it was hardly possible to obtain medicine for sick children. In the baby clinics there was a lack of all articles necessary to satisfy the most modest requirements.

During the war it was altogether impossible to ascertain the physical weaknesses of the children, as most of the doctors were engaged on military service and the government, for political reasons, forbade the publication of any statistics regarding public health. The results of the food shortage were plainly evident. The average weight of the town population sank by 20 per cent. Children and young people were seriously hampered in their growth, while their ability to learn showed a noticeable decline. At the same time the shortage of teachers rendered it impossible to provide a normal education for the children and young people.

Infantile mortality in the working class quarters increased rapidly as an immediate result of the food shortage. In the year 1917 the mortality of children under one year amounted, in round figures, to 35,000, from one to five years 30,591, and from 5 to 10 years 19,920, i. e., an increase of 55 per cent. compared with 1913. Permanent undernourishment caused an enormous increase of tuberculosis and rickets. Nearly all the children suffered from rickets, which they had no power of resisting. The results of these years of undernourishment of the children are still to be seen to-day.

To the serious damage to the health of the working class children there was added the general mental and moral harm. The children were left to themselves, as the fathers were in the trenches while the mothers were making munitions. The children were left to run about the streets, did not attend the schools, which were frequently used for military purposes or closed for weeks on account of shortage of fuel. Child work in the armament factories increased enormously, the war-profiters exploiting the children in the most shameful manner.

The results of the war were also to be seen in the increase in juvenile crime. In the year 1913, 54,155 juveniles were sentenced; in the year 1920 their number had increased to 91,170. In 1914, the Berlin Juvenile Court dealt with about 1,100 cases, in 1918 on the other hand with 4,680 cases. In the year 1913, crimes against property were committed by 26,572 juveniles; in the year 1917 by 41,833. Thus the imperialist war drove the youth onto the path of crime.

The last imperialist war brought indescribable misery to the working class of all countries. The wounds of this war are not yet healed, and already the capitalists, in the interests of their profits, want to start a new world-conflagration. Millions of workers' children are again to be robbed of their parents, delivered over to starvation, physical deterioration, destitution and to the poison-gas and incendiary bombs. The working masses of all countries, seriously bearing in mind the frightful results of the last war, must take care that their children shall never again become the victims of imperialist war.

## THE WHITE GUARDISTS AT WORK

Ivar Kreuger — Financier of Russian  
White-Guards

Berlin, March 19, 1932.

The war now being waged by Japanese imperialism for the dismemberment of China, and for the annihilation of the Chinese Soviet districts, the immediate war-preparations of the imperialist Powers against the Soviet Union fill the Russian White Guard with fresh hopes of winning back their "Lost Paradise". They are offering their services to Japan and to the other imperialist Governments, and they are being gladly accepted. The formation of white guard regiments in France, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary etc., the close relations of the Japanese Embassies with white-guardist circles, the transport of white-guard troops to the Far East, the role of the Russian white guard in the occupation of Manchuria and in the intervention-provocations against the Soviet Union are all well known facts.

But who finances these counter-revolutionary bands? They are financed not only by the imperialist governments, whose representatives at Geneva talk about peace, but also by individual big capitalists such as the British oil king Sir Henri Deterding and the late Ivar Kreuger, the Swedish match king. That this is so is shown by interesting revelations contained in a leading article of the "**Bergwerkszeitung**", the organ of heavy industry, of March 18 entitled "Kreuger—the Opponent of the Soviets". The article gives a number of exact details of how the Swedish match king, who recently committed suicide out of despair on account of the bankruptcy, of his world trust, by his policy of granting loans obtained the direct or indirect monopoly of the match trade in 19 different States, how he attempted to oust Russian match exports, and how he was completely frustrated in his efforts to play an economic-political role also in the Soviet Union.

Regarding this the "**Bergwerkszeitung**" writes:

"The result was that his (Kreuger's) hostility to Soviet Russia assumed more and more a political character. Kreuger declared quite openly in a report to his chief company, that he considered it not only impossible to grant a loan to Soviet Russia but also not at all desirable, and with this declaration joined the camp of the enemies of the Soviet Union. It is no wonder that he began to be interested in all the endeavours of the political opponents of the Bolsheviki... No wonder that one day Kreuger lent a willing ear to the numerous political proposals against Soviet Russia which were continually submitted to him, and attempted, by means of his financial influence with so many governments, to link up the fight over matches with high political and military affairs. As a matter of fact, already in the last few years such problems were necessarily of decisive importance for Kreuger... We know that he inflicted an annihilating defeat on the Russians in the Far East by preventing them from selling matches to Japan and was about to add Manchuria



and China as the final keystone to his world-embracing monopoly. And Kreuger saw the battlefield in Manchuria as a not uninterested spectator, even if in the last few months he was unable, as a result of his difficult financial position, to comply with the financial wishes of the Russian white guardists to any adequate extent as he himself would perhaps have wished."

Thus a bourgeois paper exposes with cynical candour the threads which are spun by the imperialist governments and their financiers and big capitalists in order to organise the intervention war against the Soviet Union.

## Recruiting of Russian White Guardists for Manchuria

Warsaw, March 21, 1932.

The information regarding the recruiting which is being actively conducted in Poland of Russian white guardist emigrants for Manchuria, is completely confirmed. There recently took place in the offices of the white guardist so-called "Russian Public Committee" in Warsaw, a meeting of members of this Committee, at which the white-guardist General Simanski delivered a report on the action of the Japanese in the Far East, "which is directed against Bolshevik Russia and in no way threatens the Russian national interests". The General informed his hearers that the leaders of the white emigrants in France also adopt the same standpoint. Simanski's speech is connected with the recruiting campaign which is being conducted in many localities among the white emigrants in Poland.

In Gdynia there is a despatching office where the foreign white-guardists, not only from Poland but also from Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, come together and from there are sent by ship to Cherbourg and from thence to the Far East.

## Austrian Press on Manchurian Situation.

Vienna, 19th March 1932.

Referring to the proclamation of the new State in Manchuria the Harbin correspondent of the bourgeois daily newspaper "Neue Freie Presse" writes:

"Everyone here feels that the future is threatening and uncertain. Relations with Russia are becoming increasingly complicated and uncomfortable. The Japanese have drawn up a detachment for the protection of the railway which consists entirely of White Russian emigrants. Long dead and buried times are resurrected when these men march through the streets in their old uniforms. Thousands have volunteered to join this troop. And the Soviets are asking to what end these troops have been drawn up. Is it really only intended to protect the railway? The Soviets regard the establishment of a flying school for young emigrants with the same mistrust. 150 young fellows are being trained in it. People are talking of the tremendously increased activity of the white guardists.

## International Mobilisation for the Struggle against War.

### Holland

20th to 27th March: Anti-imperialist fighting week.

27th March: People's Congress against imperialist war and the Dutch imperialist government.

### Switzerland

3rd to 9th April: Anti-war week.

### France

24th to 31st March: Fighting week against the war.

### Denmark

28th March to 3rd April: Anti-war week.

3rd April: Red Day against imperialist war.

### Germany

6th April: Anti-war day.

The names Semyonov, Horvat and Kusmin go from lip to lip. Many Wrangel officers have arrived from Paris, it is reported. The Japanese are openly talking of their preparations for war against the Soviet Union. Espionage and counter-espionage are to be met with in every hole and corner."

"And added to this there is the rebellious attitude of the Chinese frontier divisions in Manchouli. They maintain the closest connections with the Red Army over the frontier. The opinion is widespread that dangerous developments are to hand and that the spring will bring big events with it."

## INTERNATIONAL FIGHT AGAINST WAR AND INTERVENTION

### The Fight against Imperialist War in Norway.

By V. O. (Oslo).

Norwegian capitalism has a great interest in the war in the Far East not only on account of shipping but also on account of other economic interests, and especially on account of the secret war industry, the electro-chemical industry.

The electro-chemical industry in Norway is strong. The big company "Norsk Hydro" belongs to the I. G. Farben Industrie, and under "normal circumstances" produces fertilisers for agriculture. Recently, however, the entire works have been given over to the production of war material. In one factory, Heröya, 150 tons of nitrate of sodium are being produced daily. The products are sent to France, which, as is known, is the greatest supplier of war material to Japanese imperialism. Owing to the dismissal of 400 workers, it nearly came to a strike in the Heröya factory. Thanks to the manoeuvres of the reformist leaders, however, the strike was rejected by 160 votes against 103. The reformist leaders thereby openly support war. The chairman of the reformist trade union in Odda, at a trade union meeting, expressed the wish that the war in the Far East would last a long time so that the Norwegian workers could thereby obtain work. He thereby expressed the common wish of the Norwegian capitalists and the reformist leaders.

Material for imperialist war purposes is also being produced in other factories belonging to the "Norsk Hydro". The managing director of the "Norsk Hydro", Axel Aubert, has just returned from Paris where he has settled the question of import licences. At present licences have been granted for the importation of 15,000 tons of nitrate of sodium.

In view of these facts and recognising the full seriousness of the international situation, the Communist Party of Norway has strengthened the campaign against war. A mass meeting of dock and transport workers in Oslo decided to refuse to transport or handle any munitions and war material for the war against China and against the Soviet Union.

An anti-war week was held in Norway from the 15th to 22nd of March. District conferences of the most important districts in Norway took place in the last few weeks. At these conferences decisions on the anti-war campaign were adopted and concrete plans set up for strengthening the campaign.

In Oslo and Akershus the seamen and dockers held a number of meetings. The question of the war danger was also raised in a number of trade union organisations thanks to the revolutionary trade union opposition. In Oslo itself the whole party organisation was mobilised on the 20th March and mass meetings were held in various parts of the town.

In Oestfeld a number of meetings were held by the paper workers. These workers had decided to join the anti-war campaign. A meeting took place in Frederikstadt which was attended by over 1,000 workers. After the meeting the workers marched to the offices of the local authorities and demonstrated in favour of the demands of the unemployed.

In the important industrial towns in the district Skien og Telemark big anti-war meetings took place. The meetings in Skien, Porsgrund and Brevik were particularly big.

In the district Trondelag und More meetings of the unemployed workers and of the working women were held. An anti-war meeting of the transport workers took place in Trondheim on the 19th and members of the workers sports delegation which has just returned from the Soviet Union

spoke. Good anti-war meetings were also held in a number of other towns in the district.

Similar meetings were also held in the **Vestlandske** district and in **Bergen**. The anti-war committee of the seamen has issued an appeal for a strike against the transport of war materials for imperialist Japan. The question of the war danger was raised in a number of other trade unions. Anti-war committees on the broadest possible basis are being organised.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Norway has issued a great amount of agitation and propaganda material against imperialist war, including a special pamphlet.

## British Workers Demonstrate against War.

London, March 21st, 1932.

Six thousand workers from all parts of London participated in a demonstration in **Trafalgar Square** yesterday against imperialist war and for the release of the Meerut prisoners.

Five contingents marched in from North, South, East and West London. Nearly 1000 workers marched from East London alone, with two bands at the head of the contingent. A decorated "Daily Worker" lorry was prominent in the North London contingent.

Among the numerous speakers from the Communist Party, the Engineers Union, the Furnishing trade Union, the tram section of the Transport and General Workers Union there was also an Indian and a Negro worker, both of whom got a magnificent reception from the crowd.

A lively incident occurred during the speech of Len Wincott, one of the leaders of Invergordon. He recognised among the crowd **Duff Copper**, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry for War. On pointing Cooper out the whole crowd booed him. Cooper attempted to leave the meeting. Quickly a strong force of police hustled him off, with his female companion. A hostile crowd followed him as far as Waterloo Place.

The resolution which was passed with great enthusiasm, calls for the withdrawal of all imperialist forces from the colonies, the stoppage of the transport of troops and munitions to China, the defence of the Chinese revolution, the guarding of the Soviet Union from imperialist attack, the release of the Meerut and Garhwali prisoners.

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In the pouring rain yesterday, one thousand **Glasgow** workers marched with bands and banners to the Japanese Consulate to protest against the imperialist war. The Consulate officials refused to receive a deputation and a strong cordon of police guarded the building. The demonstrators marched back to the centre of the city and a big protest demonstration was held.

In **Bristol**, a demonstration of one thousand marched through the city to the Horse Fair, where a protest demonstration was held. By the time the meeting started the demonstrators numbered close upon ten thousand workers.

In **Dundee**, five thousand workers packed the Caird Hall, the largest hall in the city, to suffocation.

At all the meetings and demonstrations the necessity of organising action against the war-makers was stressed.

## Chinese Seamen Strike against Japanese Arms Transport.

Berlin, 21st March 1932.

The German steamer "Koblentz" is lying in Hamburg harbour. On Saturday armoured cars, barbed wire and other war materials were loaded onto the vessel which was then to have left for the Far East. The crew of the "Koblentz" consists chiefly of **Chinese seamen**. These seamen then went on strike and refused to do their work so long as the war materials remained on board. 75 dockers on the quay in question declared their solidarity with the striking Chinese seamen and also laid down work.

Immediately the strike began the police of the social democrat Schoenfelder appeared on the scene and cut off the vessel from all communication with the shore. The harbour workers organised a spontaneous anti-war demonstration in the docks. The owners and the police are doing their utmost to secure a return to work.

# THE WHITE TERROR

## Two Worlds — Scottsboro U.S.A. and Stalingrad U.S.S.R.

By Charles Garriss (New York).

The Alabama Supreme Court has confirmed the sentence of death passed on the **eight Negro working youths** by the circuit court in Scottsboro, Alabama, and has fixed April 6th as the date when they will die in the Electric Chair. Just as in the historic Sacco and Vanzetti case, and now in the trial of the Harlan, Kentucky coal miners, and in their consistent ignoring of the demand of the masses to free Mooney and Billings, American capitalist justice stands exposed before the whole world as the hideous monster that it is. This case does not represent an unusual event in the lives of the Negro toiling masses. Rather is it a daily occurrence. That these eight Negro boys have not been already executed or turned over to an insane mob of white landlords and business men to be fiendishly tortured to death is due only to the mass pressure and protests of the toiling masses the world over under the leadership of the Communist International and International Red Aid.

The facts of the case are simple. On March 27th 1931, nine Negro unemployed young workers searching for work were taken off a freight train by an armed mob and thrown into prison. The day following their arrest they were charged with "raping" two white prostitutes who had also been found on a different wagon of the same freight train. Fifty days later, April 10th, in an atmosphere of lynch terror, with a mob of ten thousand incited by landlords, business men, the church and press, howling for the death of the nine boys, and "defended" by two drunken lawyers, members of the Ku Klux Klan\*), who cynically and openly helped to convict them, eight of the boys were sentenced to death. The trial of the ninth was postponed to a future date due to the fact that by this means the ruling class attempted to give the semblance of a "fair trial" to the case.

American capitalism, finding itself in the throes of the deepest crisis in its history, is taking the most violent and desperate methods in the attempt to extricate itself. In the U.S.A. to-day there are more than 12,000,000 unemployed workers, while 8,000,000 more are working only part time. The only "relief" available to the starving masses is bourgeois charity. Millions more work under hellish conditions in the factories, shops and mines. Drastic and sweeping wage-cuts are taking place, the working day is being lengthened, the speedup is being intensified, and the standards of living of the masses are being worsened from day to day.

The crisis has found the most acute expression in the **Southern States**, bringing intense suffering to the toiling masses especially to the Negro toilers. Millions of Negro peons, share-croppers and tenant farmers are slaving under the worst forms of capitalist forced labour; the Negro agricultural workers work under indescribable conditions, from sun-up to sun-down, receiving as low as 25 cents to 50 cents per day. The Negro sharecroppers and tenant farmers, tied to the land by debts, robbed by the double book-keeping of the white landlords, are compelled to slave from year to year with hardly a chance to escape their bondage. They become virtual property of the landlords. If they attempt to escape they are brought back in chains, tortured and forced into worse slavery. Woe to the Negro worker who even asserts his most elemental rights as a human being, or the Negro share-cropper who dares to question the white landlords honesty in his book-keeping. A sudden and horrible death is sure to befall him.

The acute **agrarian crisis** has resulted in the intensification of the misery of the toiling masses of the countryside. The fall in the price of cotton by \$854,000,000 in 1931 compared with 1929 has greatly accelerated the impoverishment of the masses in the Black Belt where cotton is the chief product. The landlords are now seizing practically the whole of the crop as their share. A wave of bitter discontent is sweeping throughout the South and particularly in the Black Belt. Individual gun battles between Negro and white share-croppers and tenant farmers

\*) A fascist terrorist organisation viciously anti-Negro. Also directed against militants, jews and all who are not 100% Americans.

on the one side and the white landlords on the other, are a regular occurrence. In **Arkansas** the starving Negro and white farmers demanded and secured food at the point of the gun. In **Camp Hill**, Alabama, the Negro share-croppers organised in the revolutionary Share Croppers Union, compelled the landlords to extend the relief which was threatened to be withdrawn, and heroically defended themselves from the white boss mobs who attempted to lynch them.

The lynch justice, segregation and Jim Crow laws, which have so far acted as a weapon in the hands of the ruling class in keeping the Black and White masses divided, are being broken down by the growing revolutionary movement led by the Communist Party and Red Trade Unions.

The weak and parasitic Negro bourgeoisie has hastened to show its servility to the American white imperialists. Negro reformist organisations of the type of the National Association of Advancement of Coloured People, the Urban League, and others, are carrying on the most vicious and calumnious attacks against the Communist Party and the International Labour Defence (American Section of Mopr) which is leading the defence of the eight Scottsboro victims.

Misery, unemployed, starvation and death stalks the countryside. The increasing activity of the Negro masses in the developing class struggles in the U.S.A., in strikes, demonstrations, in the struggle for unemployment relief, and for national liberation, is striking terror into the hearts of the ruling class. The Negro and white masses are uniting as never before and are striking back at their oppressors. To stop this growing unity, to stem this rising tide of revolutionary struggle, the white ruling class of the United States are resorting to the most brutal terror. Scottsboro is symbolic of this reign of terror.

\* \* \*

In the summer of 1930 in **Stalingrad, U.S.S.R.**, two American white workers, poisoned by the white chauvinist propaganda of the boss class of America, were sentenced to two years imprisonment for striking a Negro worker. Later this sentence was changed to deportation from the Soviet Union.

In the U.S.S.R. where all forms of capitalist oppression have been eliminated with the result that there no longer exists a basis for chauvinism, elements such as these are ruthlessly dealt with. During this trial in all the factories throughout the Soviet Union meetings were held by the workers denouncing this act of white chauvinism and demanding the most severe steps to be taken against those guilty of this act.

These are the two worlds. On the one hand, Scottsboro in the U.S.A., the country with the highest capitalist "culture", with its intense exploitation and robbery of millions of the toiling masses and ruthless suppression of a National Minority.

On the other hand, in the other world—Stalingrad, U.S.S.R., the only country where the workers are in power, where with the continued successes of the mighty five year plan and the rapid construction of a socialist society, the well-being of the toiling masses reaches ever-higher levels. Cooperating in this task of the construction of socialism are many National Minorities within the borders of the U.S.S.R. who live as equals, in peace and unity, exercising their right to self-determination.

This tremendous contrast between the two worlds exercising as it does a profound revolutionary influence upon the working class and oppressed peoples of the whole world, is one of the chief reasons why, to-day, the imperialist powers of the whole world are preparing at a feverish pace a **war of intervention against the Soviet Union** in order to crush this vanguard of the oppressed peoples of the whole world.

The present offensive against the toiling masses and the reign of terror now raging in the U.S.A., exemplified most clearly in the recent murders of the striking miners in Harlan, Kentucky, the killing of the unemployed in Detroit, Chicago and Cleveland, and the two members of the National Executive Committee of the Y.C.L., in the tremendous growth of lynchings and the proposed measures to drive the Communist Party of the U.S.A. and all revolutionary organisations into illegality, all constitute parts of the general drive of American imperialism in its efforts to extricate itself from the crisis at the expense of the masses, and its preparations for war in the East and against the Soviet Union.

Under the leadership of the I.L.D. the toiling masses both black and white are being mobilised in defence of the eight Negro boys, against lynchings, and all forms of white terror

employed by the American ruling class against the toiling masses. But the fate of these eight Negro boys and the struggle for liberation of the Negro masses in the United States, depends not only on the toiling masses of America but also on the toiling masses of the whole world.

Now, as never before, must the international solidarity of all the oppressed and toiling masses be welded in bonds of steel!

**Demand the unconditional release of the eight Scottsboro working youths!**

**Down with the brutal white terror of American imperialism!  
Defend the Soviet Union—the inspiration of the Oppressed peoples of the whole world!**

## SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

### The Development of the Handicraft Co-operatives in the Soviet Union.

Moscow, March 21st, 1932.

The handicraftsmen of the Soviet Union are now almost completely organised in co-operatives and are undergoing a revolutionary development of their mode of production, their method of life and their culture. Compared with the old artels of pre-revolutionary times the social composition of the handicraft co-operatives has become quite proletarian and the well-to-do sections are more and more disappearing from them. There is a strong participation of the women and youth in these co-operatives and the youth in particular are working actively in co-operative work and, under the leadership of the Young Communist League, they have already set up numerous model co-operative undertakings.

In the handicraft co-operatives the working conditions are quite different from those in the artels. There the handicraftsmen had to work under the most difficult conditions which were injurious to their health. The working day lasted 12 to 16 hours and sometimes even longer. In the present organisations of the handicraftsmen the working day is 8 hours, sometimes even only 7 hours; young workers work only 4 to 6 hours.

The main task of the handicraft co-operatives consists in putting the trade on a collective basis, transferring production from the private small workshops to the common co-operative big halls of a factory type, with modern technical equipment and hygienic conditions. With the general reconstruction of industry, there is also taking place a rapid collectivisation of small trade. On the 1st October 1927, only 19 per cent. of all members of the handicraft co-operatives worked in common workshops; on the 1st October 1930, their number had already risen to 56.8 per cent. of the membership, i. e. to 930,000 persons. By this means the handicraft co-operatives are successfully carrying out the transference of the backward forms of small production into the mechanised big industry.

Under the rule of capitalism the transition of small production to big industry takes place by means of the ruin and impoverishment of millions of small producers.

The means of the artels of the small producers in the Soviet Union are derived from the members' contributions, bank credits, saving deposits of the members etc. The capital of the artels, the capital investments are continually increasing.

These material successes are the result of the systematic employment of the existing means, the mobilisation of the inner resources, the systematic utilisation of raw material, procurement of raw material, utilisation of waste material etc. In the last few years the handicraft co-operatives have made great achievement in the organisation of their production. They transferred the trading operations, i. e. the sale of their products, to the States trade or to the various consumers' co-operatives, and concentrated their attention on their production activity. In particular they set themselves the task of supplementing State industry. Of late the specialisation of the artels have greatly contributed to perfecting their production.