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New Wave of War Provocations.

By M. Louis (Paris).

The war provocations in Manchuria are increasing. The Japanese militarists are employing such clumsy and obvious methods that even the most naive political children see through the provocations. One must admit that the military camarilla in Tokyo is neither fastidious nor inventive in its methods. Under the Sungari railway bridge, dynamite was suddenly discovered. Quite "by chance", of the two guards of the bridge, precisely the one who was a Soviet citizen was murdered. The other guard, who was a white guardist, remained unscathed. There then set in a number of attempts on the Chinese Eastern Railway. A train with Japanese troops was derailed. Everybody knows that all these attempts are the work of Russian white guardists acting on the orders of the Japanese military command. This, however, has not prevented the Chinese authorities from arresting and torturing Soviet citizens. As the police in Harbin and on the territory traversed by the Chinese Eastern Railway consist of white guardists, one can imagine what "investigations" were carried out there. The war minister of the dictator Pu-Yi, the notorious General Ma, had to come into action again. It appeared that he had again betrayed Pu-Yi, and it is a matter of course that the Japanese press maintain that he is in Blagovestchensk, on Soviet territory, and that the Soviet government is rendering him support in the organising of revolts in Manchuria. That the population of Manchuria are dissatisfied with the regime of Pu-Yi, i. e., with the bloody rule of the Japanese militarists, that partisan fights are taking place there against the Japanese militarists and their agents, can be taken for granted. The Japanese military clique in Tokyo, however, makes use of this movement for further provocation, as a pretext for sending further troops to Manchuria. Two fresh divisions are being sent to Manchuria in order to "protect the League of

Nations Commission". Here, however, the war provocateurs in Tokyo forget that they contradict themselves. They maintain that the government of Pu-Yi was set up and is supported by the population of Manchuria; that the population of Manchuria desires independence à la Pu-Yi. At the same time, however, they admit that the power of the government of Pu-Yi is only effective where the Japanese bayonets rule. But such trifles do not disturb the provocative game of the war criminals in Tokyo.

They are now endeavouring to carry out a "house-search" at the Soviet Consulate in Harbin, in order to aggravate the situation to the utmost and to provoke the Soviet Union. The white guardists, who are now being conveyed from all countries to Manchuria, are already preparing to make bandit raids into Soviet territory. The Tanaka Memorandum points out the way to the war criminals in Tokyo, and it is hardly due to chance that, simultaneously with the monstrous war provocations in Manchuria, fresh war-like operations have commenced in Shanghai.

The inner political and foreign political situation of Japan is becoming more and more acute. The gold reserves are steadily diminishing. Since the robber-attack on China, the number of unemployed has increased by a million. Foreign trade is continually shrinking. Exports to China have fallen 60 per cent. The military camarilla is aiming at ever fresh war crimes. The changes in the composition of the government resulted in a fresh strengthening of the jingo wing. The War Minister Araki, representative of the officers' league, the inner Minister Sudsuki, representative of the Japanese Black Hundreds, and the Minister for Justice Kawamuri, representative of the so-called patriotic organisations, are endeavouring to outbid the reactionary Seyūkai

people in the government in regard to war-mongering. The documents published by the "Isvestia" regarding the interventionist aims of the Japanese military clique are being more and more confirmed by the facts.

The war criminals in Tokyo are seeking fresh pretexts for provocation against the Soviet Union. Japanese warships have been sent to Kamchatka in order, allegedly, to protect the Japanese fishing boats. The fishing concerns in Japan, which have a fairly big influence on Japanese politics, wish to provoke new conflicts over the fishing rights in Soviet waters. It is known from official Japanese documents that the Japanese military clique reckons with certainty on Poland and Rumania joining in an intervention war against the Soviet Union. Precisely at the moment when the situation in the Far East is becoming more acute, Pilsudski interrupts his holiday, goes to Bucharest and conducts negotiations with the Rumanian General Staff, at which French General Staff officers are present. Precisely at the present moment a conference of the General Staffs of the States of the Little Entente, under the chairmanship of the chief of the French General Staff **Weygand**, is being prepared.

The war of intervention against the Soviet Union is entering the stage of immediate military preparation. At the same time, negotiations are going on behind the scenes at the Disarmament Conference in Geneva. It transpires that the object of Stimson's journey was to establish the "unity of Europe". We know only too well that this "unity of Europe" means the creation of the anti-Soviet bloc.

To the extent to which the climatic conditions in the Far East become more suitable for war operations, so the war provocations increase. Precisely because the imperialist antagonisms produce certain difficulties in connection with the preparation for a war of intervention, there can ensue a short period of relative standstill, characterised by the circumstance that the preparations for intervention do not assume the form of dramatic sensational events. War, however, is now being prepared not only militarily, politically and diplomatically, but also in the munition factories and transport undertakings. And precisely what is taking place now in the munition works and transport undertakings will convince the workers through their own experience and observation that the war criminals in Tokyo have their allies in Europe. Every blow against the warmongers in Europe is also a blow against the war-provokers in Europe.

Big Police Action against the German Red Sportsmen.

Berlin, 19th April 1932.

This morning the police raided the headquarters of the revolutionary working class sport organisations in the Muenz Strasse. The headquarters of the revolutionary trade union opposition are situated in the same house. All persons met with on the premises have been detained and no one is allowed to leave. The building is being searched from top to bottom. A similar search is proceeding in the headquarters of the **Anti-Fascist League**.

The Prussian Minister of the Interior, the **social democrat Carl Severing** has organised a police action throughout Prussia and about forty local headquarters of the revolutionary sport organisations, etc., are in the hands of the police. The authorities announce that after a thorough examination of the confiscated "material" they will decide whether to prohibit the organisations. The police pretend that there is ground to believe that the organisations visited represent a secret continuation of the Red Front Fighters League which was prohibited in 1929.

It would seem ridiculous to suggest that half-a-dozen organisations are all the "secret continuations" of the dreaded Red Front Fighters League. With regard to the sport organisations, many of which have existed for twenty and thirty years and more, the suggestion is grotesque. However, the suggestion is also unfounded with regard to the Anti-Fascist League and the various other organisations hit.

* * *

Regarding the results of Severing's widespread police action against the working class sport organisations this evening's bourgeois press reports that nothing of any importance was found either in Berlin or in other parts of Prussia.

POLITICS

The Suppression of the Nazi Army.

By Paul Friedländer (Berlin).

Under an emergency order issued by President Hindenburg, the Storm Detachments (S.A.) and the Defensive Sections (S.S.) of the national socialists have been dissolved with all their staffs and equipment including the S.A. observers S.A. reserves, naval regiments, cavalry regiments, flying corps, motor corps, medical corps, leader schools, S.A. barracks and arsenals. These forces are headed by Hitler himself as **Osaf** (oberster Sturm Abteilungsführer). His deputy is **Roehm**, a former officer, whose homo-sexual affairs have caused a scandal in recent times.

The prohibition of the S.A. and S.S. has caused a surprise even in working class circles, because it had already so often been announced but never carried out. The prohibition represents a large-scale political manoeuvre by the Brüning government, which has achieved a certain effect.

The reasons which made the prohibition expedient at the present time are of a foreign political and home political nature. The S.A. represent an **obstacle** to an understanding regarding the reparations payments and above all to the negotiations of the German and French governments for an economic and also military collaboration. After Hitler, in his interview with the American reporter Knickerbocker, declared himself ready to carry out Germany's obligations under the Versailles Treaty and the Young Plan and after he had repeatedly emphasised his desire for a rapprochement with French imperialism, which is directly in the interests of the Rhenish and Ruhr industrialists who finance Hitler, the dissolution of the Nazi army was **necessary** and could only be **welcomed** by the Hitler leadership.

But also in regard to home politics the S.A. and S.S. have done their job as an **open** civil-war guard. The time has come when the Hitler party is ripe to be rendered "fit to govern". It was not without reason that **Severing**, the social-democratic Prussian Minister for the Interior, declared shortly before the second ballot at the Presidential election: If the Nazis become more reasonable one would not be disinclined to allow them to participate in the government. The suppression of the S.A. and S.S. gives Hitler and his party the possibility of becoming "reasonable". There is taking place an organic intermerging of the Hindenburg and the Hitler fronts. Thus the **apparent** blow against fascism, namely the dissolution of the Nazi army, in **actual fact** marks a further stage in the fascisation of Germany.

To this there should be added the circumstance that the Nazi formations were threatening to get beyond the control not only of the State authorities but also of the Hitler leadership. Things have their own logic. An army of 300,000 to 400,000 militarily equipped and trained men cannot and will not remain still. This is shown by the numerous bloody deeds committed by the Nazi civil-war troops and also the growing pressure exerted on the Nazi leaders to get them to make a coup and seize power. The Hitler leaders aroused expectations in their own party, and especially among the S.A., that the Presidential election would bring the final decision. The Presidential election has brought the decision that the Hindenburg and Hitler fronts are (by legal means) to be welded together into a great national-bourgeois front. This at the same time decided the fate of the **illegal** military formations of the Nazis. Thus the S.A. is dissolved.

For the rest, the S.A. members are to be given an opportunity to devote themselves to the service of the State by being employed as labour volunteers on the land. For the Nazi leaders this has the advantage that the S.A., even if scattered, can still exist as a reserve under the control of the junkers. It is also intended to continue the S.A. and S.S. in a concealed form as sport organisations.

The suppression of the S.A. is not only welcome to Hitler, but he knew of it beforehand. **Hitler, Göring, General von Epp** and **Röhm** have been negotiating with **Groener** and **Schleicher** for months regarding this suppression. To them it was the object of a bargain. They wished to sell the S.A. at the highest possible price. Owing to the result of the Hindenburg election, they had to accept a lower price.

Nevertheless they are now given the opportunity of becoming fit to govern.

What Hitler himself thinks about the suppression of the S.A. was revealed by Herr **Treviranus**, the Minister for Agriculture, at a speech he made at Essen on April 15:

"For the rest, I know for a fact that the **national socialist leaders are exceedingly grateful**, as they of course must be, for the removal of this danger of disturbances in their own ranks. In addition, the prohibition means for them release from an extraordinary financial burden."

Now, however, the suppression of the S.A. has had a characteristic epilogue. The newly elected Reichs President **von Hindenburg**, as thanks to the "Iron Front", and especially to the Reichsbanner Black-Red-Gold, addressed a letter to General Groener, demanding that he, Groener, should take action against the Reichsbanner! This is the reward to the social democratic and Reichsbanner proletarians who helped to secure Field-Marshal Hindenburg's re-election on April 10!

General Groener has published this letter from Hindenburg and accompanied it with a long article, in which he once again repeats the open effort which he made in his last speech in the Reichstag against the Reichsbanner, which claims to be a sort of police force, and connects with it the demand the Reichsbanner should dissolve its defence corps:

"If the Reichsbanner has been constrained in the last few months, in face of the actions of the S.A., to strengthen its organisation in preparation for eventual forcible encounters, I hope that the good sense of the Reichsbanner leaders will cause them . . . to cancel these measures in the shortest possible time."

This is nothing else but a thinly veiled **ultimatum** to the Reichsbanner. The "prohibited" S.A. will still exist in a concealed form, but the defence formations of the Reichsbanner must be finally and actually dissolved.

As a matter of fact the leaders of the Reichsbanner thereupon immediately ordered the dissolution of the defence formations. In the "Vorwärts" of April 16, the leaders of the Reichsbanner published an appeal in which they stated:

"On the orders of the Reichs-President, the national socialist party army has been dissolved. As a result, there no longer exists the necessity for the Reichsbanner to remain in a state of preparedness, which was forced upon us by the preparations of the national socialists for an attack. The leaders of the Reichsbanner accordingly order: All extraordinary defence measures in the whole Reich are to be cancelled."

These events are calculated to open the eyes of broad masses of the social democratic workers. Events have happened just as the Communists predicted. The suppression of the S.A. is merely a manoeuvre to deceive the masses. The alleged disarming of Hitler has proved to be a means of rendering the social-democratic workers defenceless. The government of the "lesser evil" has again proved itself to be a government of fascism against the working class. What Hitler could not have ventured without the greatest risk, the Brüning-Groener government has been able to carry out quite smoothly with the aid of the treacherous social democratic leaders. The social democratic leaders are the decoy-ducks of this fascist policy.

The War of the Kurds in North Iraq.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

A few days ago a member of the British Parliament requested information from the government regarding the situation in North Iraq, where fighting has been going on for some time past. The answer which he received shows that the news contained in the English press regarding a regular war against the Kurds inhabiting the district of Iraq adjoining the Turkish and Persian frontiers is in accordance with the facts. The Kurdish tribes are waging a stubborn fight not only against the Iraq expeditionary troops com-

manded by British officers, but also against British aeroplanes, and they have even succeeded in shooting one of them down.

The fights against the Kurds in North Iraq reveal the inner contradictions of British imperialism. These fights have been going on for over a decade. The Kurdish revolts, which are repeatedly suppressed by expeditions, break out with almost unvarying regularity every Spring. Even the official descriptions given by the British authorities regarding the original source of these outbreaks have to admit that the Kurdish tribes, even during the time of the war, were armed with weapons of British origin. The Kurdish Sheiks formed valuable auxiliary troops in the fight against the enemies of England in the world war. Since then, the officers of the British secret service have been continually in touch with these sheiks in order to incite them against the Turkish Republic. It has been repeatedly ascertained that English, and also French, officers were behind the revolt in Kurdistan against Mustafa Kemal Pasha, and that these revolts were intended to exert pressure on the Turkish government in order to induce them to comply with the desires of the organisers of anti-Soviet intervention.

British imperialism intended to set up an autonomous Kurdish buffer State in Iraq. This "autonomous" State, as was repeatedly emphasised in the urgent petitions by Kurdish notables to the League of Nations, was to secure the Kurdish national minority rights against the attacks of the "Arab" State by nominating special British officials in the Kurdish district and garrisoning it with British troops. The purpose of this persistent agitation for an independent Kurdish State was all too apparent. It was a question of setting up in Kurdistan a direct British administration and to have a pretext for its military occupation.

The endeavours of the British imperialists in North Iraq are, for the rest, only a part of the operations that are being carried out in all the advanced frontier districts of the Near and Middle East. The English have in a similar manner sought and obtained pretexts for separating the North-West province of India and subjecting it to a direct military dictatorship, just as in the same way the military occupation of Kashmir is already being carried out.

Just as in the other cases mentioned, the imperialist plans cannot be carried out otherwise than by making war on the native population. Owing to the desperate situation of the native mountain tribes, small outbreaks, often instigated by British agents themselves for their own purposes, develop into general revolts against which, as is shown by the case of the recent Kurd revolt in North Iraq, all means of modern war-technique must be employed.

The Iraq government is endeavouring to conceal the truth regarding the extent of the fighting in North Iraq, and the command of the British air forces only give reports regarding their own losses. So far as can be seen from the Arab press appearing in the neighbouring countries of Iraq, North Iraq is the scene of an insurrection which in extent exceeds the former insurrections. The expeditionary troops must have suffered considerable losses, judged from the great number of wounded which have been transported to the hospitals in Baghdad. The Kurdish partisan detachments, headed by Sheik Barsan, are being pursued far into the mountains. But the fighting is not confined to them. Whole Kurdish villages in which only women, children and old folk have been left behind, are being destroyed by bombs and aeroplanes and the population exterminated.

This little colonial war deserves attention because by means of it a new attempt is being made to push forward the imperialist troops into the neighbourhood of the Soviet frontiers. The British military actions in the North-West province of India mean at the same time an advance into Afghanistan territory. The military occupation of Kashmir is intended to create a basis for an attack on Tibet, and later on the Central Asiatic Republics of the Soviet Union. Through Kurdistan, Persia and Turkey are to be threatened on their most vulnerable frontiers; from there it is not far from Soviet Armenia and Soviet Aserbeijan. Already once, in 1920, British troops made this "promenade" to Baku. At that time they were forced to retreat. Behind the fights against the Kurdish mountain tribes there is to be seen a part of the preparations for the great war of intervention for which the imperialists are directly heading.

GERMANY

Fascism, Social Democracy and Communism.

By W. Knorin (Moscow).

The Presidential elections in Germany are over. Field Marshal Hindenburg has been elected President of Germany for a further seven years. Among the bourgeois parties there is none which is dissatisfied with the re-election of Hindenburg. Hindenburg was and remains the faithful executor of the policy of Finance capital.

But the social democrats and the national socialists are also satisfied. The social democracy is satisfied because it has proved by the successful mobilisation of the masses at the elections for Hindenburg that it is necessary as a tool for the further carrying out of the policy of finance capital. The national socialists are satisfied because the big growth of their party increases their role in the carrying out of the open fascist dictatorship by finance capital.

The chief attention of all Parliamentary parties is already transferred to the diet elections in Prussia, Bavaria and Württemberg and to the Hamburg Senate elections, which are to take place on April 24.

At the Prussian elections, simultaneously with a numeration of the class forces of the bourgeoisie and of the proletariat, there will take place a competition between the social democrats and the national socialists which is to show with the aid of what parties and what measures finance capital will be able in the future to carry out its dictatorship in Germany.

The Weimar Constitution served to deceive the masses; it was a democratic phrase which concealed the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Of this Constitution, however, there is now very little left. Nevertheless, this Constitution, which helped the bourgeoisie to deceive the masses at the beginning of 1919 and to hold them back from the fight for the Soviet Power, is even now not an entirely useless scrap of paper lightly to be thrown aside "Democracy", which is becoming steadily more fascist, still remains the best instrument for carrying out the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Even now it is most expedient to carry out the liquidation of the last remnants of this "Democracy" "democratically", with the aid of paragraph 48 of the Weimar Constitution and with the aid of the "democratic" parties themselves which have the masses behind them. The Centre Party and the social democracy remain even now the business managers of the German bourgeoisie precisely because, and only because, they still have on their side the masses of the workers and petty bourgeoisie, and in the course of 13 years participation in the government have still to a considerable extent preserved their influence over these masses.

Even if already before the war, capitalism had entered on the downward path of development the bourgeoisie nevertheless was still able to carry on without the support of the social democracy. The profound shaking of the capitalist system caused by the imperialist war, the commencement of the general crisis of capitalism and a number of proletarian revolutions have shown that the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie can continue its existence only with the immediate aid of such a social support of the bourgeoisie as the social democracy has become converted into since the beginning of the war. The immediate going over of the social democratic leaders to the bourgeoisie has rendered possible coalition and purely social democratic governments, to which the bourgeoisie has had recourse in its most difficult moments.

This necessity to make use of the constant support of the social democracy is an expression of the fact that present day capitalism is a dying capitalism, which has entered the period of its general crisis.

But the present crisis and the increasing shakiness of the capitalist system, the cessation of the growth of the influence of the social democracy and its decline, which has already commenced, have compelled the bourgeoisie, in order to save their rule, to set up a fascist mass party, to proceed to a forced development of their own fighting organisations. This explains the tremendous growth of the national socialist party in the last few years.

National socialism, however, has not succeeded in penetrating the main masses of the working class. It pos-

sesses no traditions, and unites in its ranks the most varied class elements, from the Hohenzollern prince August Wilhelm to various groups of unemployed workers.

The Hohenzollern princes were driven to the national socialists above all by the fear that the successes of the revolutionary movement would rob them of those enormous sums which present-day Germany is paying out to them. The unemployed and the poor peasants who have not yet recognised the revolutionary path, have been driven to the national socialists by their hatred of the regime which has left them in the position of semi-slaves and brought them terrible unemployment, starvation and misery.

The petty bourgeois masses have been driven to the national socialists by the economic crisis, which has plunged whole strata of the petty bourgeoisie into misery. The fighting organisation of the bourgeoisie can achieve temporary successes in the fight against the revolutionary workers' organisations. But it cannot play a big role in leading the country for a long period without the co-operation and without the immediate help of such an organisation for swindling the masses as is the social democracy.

In a country like Germany, in which the proletariat forms the majority of the population, the exploiting class cannot maintain power in its hands if it is supported only by fighting organisations consisting in the main of petty bourgeois elements; it cannot do without the immediate support of the social democracy and of the reformist trade unions.

Social democracy and fascism fulfil by different methods the same social task, the task of shattering the class organisations of the workers and supporting and consolidating capitalism. But this does not in any way mean that there exist no differences and no differences of opinion between the social democracy and the national socialists, who are the largest fascist fighting organisation, that they are united in everything.

The Communists do not believe that there is no difference between a government of the social democracy and a government of the national socialists, between a government which, in addition to terror, functions **above all by deception**, and a government which, in addition to deception, functions **above all by terror**. But the Communists declare to the masses, that both the social democracy and the national socialists fulfil and will fulfil **only the will of finance capital**.

The Communists say to the masses, that the growth of fascism in Germany was possible thanks only to the 18 years treachery and the 13 years' administrative activity of the social democracy, whose policy consisted in holding the workers back from the fight and securing profits and all liberties to the bourgeoisie. The Communists say to the masses that the present attack by fascism was possible thanks only to the circumstance that the social democracy have converted the old, powerful class organisations of the German proletariat into an instrument for subjecting the working class to the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie; that the social democrats, in spite of the hysterical cry about the fascist danger, do not think of departing from this policy.

It was thanks only to this policy of the social democracy that the idea could arise of the possibility of shattering the revolutionary labour movement of Germany, a thing which neither the Iron Chancellor Bismarck, nor Wilhelm II. could ever have thought of.

Between the social democracy and the national socialists there exist differences of opinion, **but these differences of opinion are between two fractions which are striving to maintain capitalism and fighting against the proletarian revolution**.

The **first antagonism** between the social democracy and the national socialists, between "democracy" and the open fascist dictatorship, concerns the **question of the "ideology" for the working masses**. The social democrats consider it necessary to make use of the old traditions of the labour movement for the purpose of supporting the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, to claim to be "Marxists", even if there is not a trace of Marxism left in them, to rely on the Weimar Constitution which they have themselves abolished, to praise the November revolution which they have destroyed.

The national socialists, the German nationalists and their allies are of the opinion that these attempts of the social democrats to cloak themselves in the garb of revolutionary Marxists benefit the real Marxists and revolutionaries, the Communists. Therefore it is necessary to put an end to the phrases about Marxism, the class struggle and internationalism, to retain only what is absolutely necessary and unavoidable, a "socialism" which has been converted into a

national "socialism" standing above the classes, which leaves private property in the hands of the exploiting class and promises the workers "das dritte Reich".

The second difference of opinion concerns the question of the organisational methods of subjugating the working class to the interests of the bourgeoisie.

The trade unions, which at one time were organs of the class struggle, have not by a long way ceased to enjoy the authority of class organisations among the working masses, and are still regarded by a considerable portion of the working class as organs for their defence. With the aid of the theory of the "lesser evil" and the corrupt bureaucracy, the social democrats have succeeded in utilising these organisations as social supports of the bourgeoisie.

The bourgeoisie are now beginning to doubt the capacity of the social democracy and fear that the working masses which are in these organisations will become a reservoir of power for communism. The social democrats are persistently endeavouring to show the advantages of their methods as compared with the methods of direct fascist violence.

The third series of differences of opinions are differences of opinion regarding the "apparatus". The social democracy has created a tremendous cadre of State, trade union, and co-operative employees and officials, Parliamentary deputies and municipal councillors, who form an exceedingly important part of the labour aristocracy in Germany.

The national socialists have gathered into their ranks a great number of former Hohenzollern officers and officials, considerable strata of intellectuals, whose oppositional attitude is due to the circumstance that they have not all been able to get comfortable jobs under the present regime. Their aim—to live in the service of the State—cannot be achieved unless the social democrats and other "Republicans" are expelled from the State apparatus.

These differences of opinion do not in any way mean that the social democrats and the national socialists are irreconcilable opponents. On the contrary, the character of even these differences of opinion shows the possibility of reconciling them and using both parties simultaneously for the purpose of rescuing the bourgeoisie.

Wherein lies the difference between the present "democracy" and the open fascist dictatorship?

The essence of the "democracy" of Severing and Braun consists in making use of the organisations, which were once organs of the class struggle, for the maintenance and consolidation of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by doing away with all democracy within these organisations. The social democrats expel all active class-conscious elements from the mass organisations and utilise these organisations as strike-breakers, hold back the workers from the fight by telling them stories about the attack of reaction, the hopelessness of fighting and the danger of a fascist putsch, and employing methods of direct terror in the fight against the real revolutionary class organisations of the proletariat.

The essence of the "democracy" of Severing and Braun consists in preserving, in form, the "democratic" achievements of the working class (freedom of the press, of meetings, strike and universal suffrage), whilst the freedom of strike is not used and the freedom of the press and meetings are converted into freedom for the supporters of capitalism. For with such a utilisation these remnants of the achievements of the working class can only help the social democracy to deceive the workers.

The difference between "democracy" and the open fascist dictatorship consists in that the open fascist dictatorship will increase the terror by transferring to the military and police apparatus a part of the function which the apparatus of the social democratic organisations hitherto fulfilled with "social methods". For the purpose of fulfilling these tasks, the bourgeoisie have created the fighting organisations and the political apparatus of the national socialist party.

The chief meaning of the fight between the various groups within the German bourgeoisie, and before all between the national socialists and the social democrats, turns on the question, how far such an alteration of the methods of State administration accords with the interests of the bourgeoisie, to whom must the bourgeoisie give the preference in the conduct of State affairs: to the old, experienced social democracy and catholic Centre, aided by the fascist fighting organisations, or to the fascists, who will work together with the Centre and rely upon the experience and the actual aid of the social democracy.

The Prussian elections possess great importance in regard to the solution of this question, which is a complicated one for the bourgeoisie.

Only the Communists are conducting a real fight against fascism. They know that the entry of the national socialists and of the German nationalists into the government will result in a strengthening of the terror and a deterioration of the economic situation of the masses, a worsening of the conditions for the work of the Communist Party, the withdrawal of the elementary civil rights of the workers. Nevertheless they cannot for a moment support the social democrats, who shout hysterically about the fight against fascism and at the same time destroy the workers' organisations from within and deliver the working class over to fascism. To mobilise, organise and weld together the forces of the proletariat for the fight against the bourgeoisie, for the overthrow of their dictatorship, that is the sole guiding line followed by the Communists.

To organise the fight against the exceptional laws, against wage cuts and against the fascist terror, on the basis of the united front from below, to win the workers away from the social democracy, to weld them together into independent revolutionary class organisations—that is the only way to win the majority of the working class and the only real method of fighting against fascism.

Therefore the Communists come forward quite independently at every election and cannot enter into any bloc or agreement with the social democracy. They must expose the treachery and deceit of social democracy.

The social democrats declare that the Communists want Hitler to come into power. It is precisely the social democracy that prepares the way for the open fascist dictatorship, that disarms the proletariat. The social democrats point out that the proletariat has become weaker, whilst in reality it is increasing in strength every day. They talk about the attack of counter-revolution, while at the same time they say nothing about the growth of the forces of revolution. They write about the mobilisation of the national socialist storm detachments during the presidential elections, but a dozen times express their confidence in General Groener, who has allowed this mobilisation. The social democracy has throttled, and continues to throttle, every strike of the workers against wage cuts and dismissals; it is now discussing the question whether Hitler should be admitted into the government.

The Communists have already lost hundreds of fighters who have been foully murdered by the fascists. They know that an open fascist dictatorship would demand still more victims from their ranks. No thinking Communist could for a moment entertain the idea of allowing the most naked reaction to come into power on the pretext that this would aggravate the situation and then it would be easier to overthrow the whole regime.

The Communists have declared a thousand times that **there is only one enemy which must be overthrown, namely the bourgeoisie.** In order to overthrow the bourgeoisie it is necessary that the majority of the working class exert all their efforts. The social democracy holds the workers back from the struggle. It helps the bourgeoisie and is therefore the chief enemy **within the working class**, and unless it is shattered the bourgeoisie cannot be overthrown.

The Communists are ready, without a moment's hesitation, to set up a **united front with all social democratic workers** who wish to fight for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. They must fight against the social democracy, above all because the social democracy is the main social buttress of the bourgeoisie, because it is impossible to vanquish the bourgeoisie without having crushed the social democracy. Only people who wish by cunning deception to bring about a capitulation of the workers to the bourgeoisie could propose an agreement with the social democracy.

Only the Communists are conducting the fight against fascism. The chief task in this fight is to win the majority of the proletariat and to prepare it for the deciding class battles.

The Communists, by setting up their own organisations, are thereby at the same time conducting a fight against the destruction by the social democracy from within, of the mass organisations which are in its hands. The Communists expose the submission of the social democracy to the fascist State and the conversion of the reformist trade unions into strike-breaking organisations. The Communists will place themselves at the head of the working masses in order, with all

their forces to protect the workers' organisations against the fascist conspiracy.

Utilising the entire apparatus of the bourgeoisie and of the bourgeois State, the social democracy still succeeds by lies and slanders in maintaining its hold of the masses. The present stage is a stage of the fight of the Communist Party for winning the majority of the working class. The forces of the proletariat are growing. An indication of this growth of the revolutionary forces of the proletariat of Germany is the circumstance that the counter-revolution is compelled to seek a sharper weapon against the revolution than that which the deception by means of the theory of the "lesser evil" represents; it has to supplement persuasion with the revolver in order to prevent the going over of still larger masses to the camp of revolution.

Red Prussia—for a Free Socialist Soviet Germany!

Appeal of the Central Committee of the C.P. of Germany to the Social Democratic Workers, Trade Unionists and Reichsbanner Comrades!

Berlin, 19th April 1932.

Today's "Rote Fahne" publishes an appeal of the C.C. of the C.P. of Germany, from which we publish the following extract:

The historical decision for the overthrow and the annihilation of capitalism is inevitably approaching. We say to you, social democratic class comrades: You must not stand aside in this historical hour. The shattering of capitalism, the progressive crisis of the ruling exploiting system reduces the working masses of Germany to a level of misery such as has not existed for a century.

The social democratic party leaders tell you to accept with patience and submission all the privations and burdens of the present, for things will get better one day. The reformist trade union leaders tell you to put up with every wage cut, to accept calmly every worsening of your conditions.

The national socialists, this party of the employers, practise the wildest terror against the working class under the very eyes of the Prussian coalition government. They can only render the misery still greater, the suffering more cruel, the slavery of the masses more unbearable.

There is only one party which says, openly and plainly to all workers, that capitalism must be overthrown in order that the proletariat can live and shake from its shoulders the horrors of the crisis.

We call upon you to wage a fearless, proletarian fight for your urgent daily demands against capitalism and all its lackeys. We call upon you ruthlessly to break with all capitalist exploiters, with all pro-capitalist parties, with all deceitful capitalist manoeuvres. We come before you quite openly as the only anti-capitalist party in Germany. Socialism is not a thing of the distant future!

Social democratic workers! You all see with profound indignation what acts of insolence and violence the Hitler bands are allowed to commit against the working class in present-day Germany. Thousands of you have borne yourselves bravely, shoulder to shoulder with the Communist workers, in the fight against the fascist storm detachments. But your leaders, your Ministers, your police presidents do not want any mass fight against fascism. They call on you to keep quiet. They forbid you to demonstrate in the streets, the same as they do us. They say to you: "Hindenburg will vanquish fascism." Or they say to you: "The Prussian police will keep fascism in check."

The suppression of the Storm Detachments is only on paper and only serves as a cloak for the further intensification of the fascist policy against the working class.

Nothing would be more fatal than to believe in the fraudulent promises of your leaders. Hindenburg, who during his whole life has fought for reaction, Hindenburg, who has now called upon Groener to take action against the Reichsbanner, Hindenburg, the Hohenzollern General, will always stand on the side of the fascists against the workers. And the Prussian police? Have you not yourselves experienced time and again how the police officers act together with the Nazis?

Only the red united front of the militant working class can repel fascism. Only the united mass struggle, the ruthless consistent class struggle of the German proletariat can defeat

fascism completely and finally. We Communists propagate with all the means at our disposal the immediate setting up of the red united front for the waging of the class struggle against capitalism. We are the only anti-fascist party.

We Communists do not make you any cheap promises! We do not show you an easy road to happiness! We show you the way of struggle, but it is the way of victory, the way of Socialism.

We summon you to the common fight along with the Communists and non-Party workers against mass dismissals, for higher wages, for bread, for measures providing work for the unemployed.

Close your ranks! Do not let yourselves be intimidated by coercive measures of your leaders! Think of the great traditions of the socialist labour movement in Germany, of the testament of Marx and Engels, of Bebel and Liebknecht, who taught you for decades: the emancipation of the working class can only be the work of the working class itself!

Forward to the fight! The victory must be ours! For the red united front! Red Prussia for a free socialist Soviet Germany!

The "Crisis Congress" of the Reformists.

The Bankruptcy of a Social Fascist Manoeuvre.

By Th. Neubauer (Berlin).

The "Crisis congress" for which the leaders of the German General Trade Union Federation had prepared for months with all the means of propaganda and agitation at their disposal, turned out a complete failure. The social fascists had hoped that in return for the great services rendered by them to the Brüning government on the occasion of the Presidential election, Hindenburg and Brüning would show their gratitude by supporting the manoeuvre of the reformists. The social-fascist press had already announced that Reichs-Chancellor Brüning himself would address the "Crisis Congress". Brüning, however, did not turn up, but instead sent a letter, saying he could not be present, the reading of which aroused great dissatisfaction among the trade union bureaucrats.

But the workers also did not put in an appearance. The organisers of the Congress had taken every precaution only to admit the delegates to the last Trade Union Congress which took place in September 1931 in Frankfurt, and the Reichstag building in which the Congress was held, was shut off from the public by a cordon of police.

Leipart, the President of the Trade Union Federation, and Eggert, the vice-President, in their reports repeated all the demagogic phrases which have recently been published in the social fascist press regarding the possibility and necessity of providing work for the unemployed. They demanded the 40-hour week without wage compensations, which of course would mean a wage reduction of 18 per cent. They talked about the possibility of providing work for 2 million out of 6 million unemployed, but left the question of financing their project unanswered.

Moreover, Stegerwald, the Minister for Labour, destroyed any hope of financing by the State, because "this would be inflation".

A new programme for providing work? Is there anything new in it? Are there not already innumerable decisions of the Reichstag regarding the construction of new roads, dykes, etc., which up till now have not even been started? Why have not the reformists, who are the most faithful support of the Brüning Cabinet, insisted on the execution of the Reichstag decisions regarding the construction of new roads, etc.? There is only one answer: Their new programme for providing work has but one aim,—to deceive the working masses once again.

Leipart spoke in pathetic tones of the grave economic and social catastrophe which has plunged the masses into unbounded misery. Have not the social democratic party and trade union leaders assisted the German capitalist class and the Brüning government in throwing the working masses into the economic and social catastrophe? Have they not accepted all the emergency orders which reduced the wages and salaries, cut down unemployment benefit and social welfare, increased the taxes and customs duties?

Leipart is compelled to admit that the employers are planning a fresh offensive against wages, that they have given notice terminating nearly all the collective agreements

by April 30th, and that the arbitration courts of the government have already pronounced awards involving cuts of 10 per cent. and more in the workers' wages.

Stegerwald replied to his social fascist friends. He was very pessimistic regarding the economic future of Germany. He once again defended the wage-cutting policy of the Brüning government, and in this respect referred to the example of Great Britain and the United States. He boasted that the Brüning Cabinet had brought about a reduction of 2,500 million marks in the budget by cutting down the salaries and pensions of the State and municipal workers. There exist

in Germany great possibilities of work, but money is lacking. Stegerwald rejected all the proposals of the social democrats and accepted only the reduction of wages by means of the introduction of the 40-hour week.

It is only the Communist Party, in alliance with the revolutionary mass organisations, in particular the Red Trade Union Opposition, which is interested in informing the masses of the true state of affairs. It will exert all its forces in order to expose the treacherous social-fascist demagogy, to rally the masses in the red united front and to lead them into the fight.

The War

Defeat the New Attacks by the Imperialist-Kuomintang against the Chinese Soviets.

By C. F. Lo.

The revolutionary struggle of the Chinese masses has entered a new period since the decisive defeat of the 3rd Anti-Communist campaign of Chiang Kai Shek with the active support of imperialists last year: the strengthening and extension of the Soviet Power and Red Army and their growing influence and sympathy among the broad masses throughout the country, the increasing workers' and peasants' struggles in cities and villages, and especially the nationwide anti-imperialist wave which is developing together with the agrarian Revolution under the leadership of the Soviet Government for the complete overthrow of the bourgeois-landlord regime of the Kuomintang and imperialist domination and for the complete national and social emancipation of China. Alarmed by this powerful growth of the Revolution in China, and the inability of its tool, the Kuomintang, the imperialists now attempt to crush it by open armed partition of China. The occupation of Manchuria, Shanghai, etc. by Japanese imperialism is the beginning of such an attempt, despite of the imperialist antagonisms especially between Japan and U.S. This new policy is clearly revealed by the words of the Japanese Association in China in a pamphlet, entitled "Presenting Japan's side of the case". It wrote:

"... This movement has grown to such proportions that it now menaces the very existence of the nation. We called it Communism in order to rally world opinion to the support of the National Government in its desperate struggle to preserve the fiction of its power and its international obligations . . . Intervention! Only by creation of at least four or five distinct compact States can the danger be now averted."

"Communism is the chief danger in China" (Inukai). "Intervention"! All imperialist Powers agreed on this point, so did their lackeys, all the fractions and cliques of the Kuomintang and its allies. Wang Chin Wei, political leader of the Laoyang Government (formerly the Nanking Government) emphatically condemned the popular demands: "National Mobilisation against Japan", "Immediate declaration of war against Japan" as "empty", "impractical" and "impossible" etc. (Tientsin Takunpao, March 13). Chen Chi Tang, leader of the Canton Government, issued a manifesto, declaring that "the question of fighting the foreign danger and the inner enemy must be equally stressed" and that the "anti-Soviet District campaign can destroy the connection between the Soviet Union and Communism in China" etc. (Shanghai Shunpao, March 9).

Therefore, it is no wonder that the very 35 days of heroic resistance put up by the soldiers, workers, students and city poor of Shanghai to the Japanese attacks were days of intensified preparation of all the Kuomintang generals for war against the Soviet Districts and the Red Army. The "Peace Negotiations" in Shanghai are intended to cover up the betrayal of the Kuomintang and signify the beginning of the new and fourth Anti-Communist Campaign. The new government of "national catastrophe" at Laoyang became the government of fresh new national betrayals and the

vanguard of the counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Power of the Chinese toilers, which has been already started on all the fronts: in Kiangsi, Hunan, Hupeh, Fukien, Honan, Anwei, Kwangtung, etc.

All the Kuomintang generals are equally energetic in betraying the national interests, in suppressing the mass revolutionary struggles, and in preparing war against the Soviet Districts. Chang Shiao Liang with an army of 300,000 surrendered Manchuria without a struggle. Chiang Kai Shek, who in a short period of one year carried through three unsuccessful anti-communist campaigns with 700,000 soldiers, refused to send any substantial support to the anti-Japanese fighters in Shanghai. The Laoyang Government also busied itself only with the problem of suppression of Communism. Describing the chief activities and problems of the Laoyang Government and the 2nd Plenum of the Kuomintang, the correspondent of the Takunpao on Feb. 25 wrote the following:

"Three important problems were before the Government and the Plenum: the new capital and development of the North-west, the establishment of the National Military Council, and the Suppression of Communism . . . On the third problem, one responsible government official revealed that the government decided to retain the 4th Army Corp of Chang Fa Kwei in Hunan and Kiangsi to suppress the Reds . . . Szechwen generals petitioned to enter Hupeh, Canton generals to enter Kiangsi; all want to fight the Reds."

While silent on the heroic self-sacrifice of the soldiers in Shanghai, the 2nd Plenum of the Kuomintang sent a special telegraphic greetings to anti-communist troops in Kiangsi (Takunpao, March 7).

In Hunan, General Ho Chien concentrated 5-6 divisions in the South and 3 divisions in the East. The province was divided into 8 anti-Communist regions. (Takunpao, Feb. 8). Further, "Ho Chien strictly instructed the magistrates, captains of local forces of the landlords to take energetic measures to organise anti-communist volunteer battalions" (Manchu pao, Feb. 23). "It is determined to crush the Reds within 3 months" (Takunpao, Feb. 25).

In Hupeh, several Anti-communist special conferences have been held. In the last Conference, it was decided to appropriate \$10,000,000 (Mex.) to finance the campaign by additional taxes on salt, land, and goods, etc. The province was divided into five big regions with one higher commander each, and further divided into 24 districts. (Takunpao, March 7). There are 29 brigades in the Western part including the Szechwen troops. Generals Lu Hsiang and Lu Wen Hwi accepted the command of the forces at the rear and said that more troops will be mobilised from Szechwen (Takunpao, March 5).

In Honan a special Southern Anti-communist Commission was set up. In his declaration general Chang Fong, the commissioner, stated that "to pacify the internal disturbances

is a prerequisite to resisting the foreign danger" and that "these bands can be easily crushed if the necessary support is given to us", (the Manchu News, February 15th). The party and the Government Conference has decided to add 50 cents more to every tael of land tax to finance this campaign (Takunpao, March 6th).

In Anhwei special anti-Communist conferences were held. The Northern twenty-one districts have been divided into six anti-Communist regions. Besides the regular government troops, local forces were also strengthened (Takunpao, Feb. 3rd) around the Soviet district, between the borders of Hupeh, Honan, Anhwei, there were about twelve divisions of the Kuomintang army and thirty aeroplanes.

In Kiangsi there are about 8 divisions of the Kuomintang army. The military governor **Shun Shi Hwei**, ever since the occupation of Manchuria, deplored that "attention must also be paid to the internal enemy" and asked for reinforcements (Takunpao, Feb. 25). Reinforcements are now coming from Laoyang, Hunan and Canton. The Ironside 4th Army Corps of **Chang Fa Kwei** (who made more declarations to "help General Ma" and "to fight Japan", etc.) is moving now through eastern Hunan to Kiangsi.

The Canton clique does not lag behind. On Feb. 18, about 35 generals participated in a special conference at which it was decided to dispatch the 1st Army Corps to Kiangsi and another two divisions to Fukien with General **Yu Han Mu** as the commander, and part of the Custom duties will be used to finance the campaign. (Takunpao, March 14). One air squadron was sent to Fukien and another one to Kiangsi (Feb. 27).

The National Military Council was established on March 12, Chiang Kai Shek again accepted the chairmanship of the Council on March 18. General **Chen Chi Tang**, accepting the Generalissimo of 6 Provincial Anti-communist forces, issued an appeal to his Army of 140,000 urging them to "avoid the snares of Communism".

Thus, the Kuomintang has troops, aeroplanes, gunboats, money, and everything ready to wage war against the Soviets and Red Army of the Chinese workers and peasants, but nothing to resist Japanese attacks!

This counter-revolutionary war has not only been well prepared militarily but also ideologically. It was prepared under various national and social demagogic cries such as "peaceful unification against foreign danger", "to fight foreign danger we must first crush the internal enemy", "Communists break the National Anti-Japanese United Front", etc., and other slanders against the Communist Party. Every means of deception and demagoguery is used to cover up its betrayal, to destroy the anti-imperialist movement, and to create the ideological basis for war against the Soviet Districts. For this purpose a Special Anti-communist Planning Commission was created in the ministry of the Interior. "Besides the responsible members of the Ministry, many specialists are invited, and at a meeting it was decided to divide into brigades to work out a comprehensive anti-Communist plan from the political and economic aspects." (Takunpao, March 13).

Simultaneously with this war, the Kuomintang government is waging another campaign of white terror against the anti-imperialist movement, particularly against the Communist Party, the leader of the Chinese Revolution.

But, in spite of unprecedented mobilisation of the Kuomintang and the support of the imperialists, the Soviet Government and the Red Army, with the sympathy and support of the broadest masses of China, will defeat this counter-revolutionary attempt as they defeated the first three campaigns. The Chinese masses have learned once again of the treachery of the Kuomintang and they are more convinced than ever that the Soviet Power is their own power and the only power that is leading them to fight for the national and social emancipation of China. The Communist Party of China is mobilising the masses to transform this counter-revolutionary war against the Soviets into a national and civil war for the overthrow of the regime of the Kuomintang and the domination of imperialism, and for the victory of the Soviet Power in the whole of China.

The Imperialists and the Kuomintang are now waging a war against the Chinese people, against the Chinese Soviets and the Red Army, which is another important step in their military intervention against the Soviet Union! The

International proletariat must more than ever redouble their efforts to mobilise the masses to fight against the imperialist war, against the partition of China, against imperialist-Kuomintang war against the Chinese Soviets, for the defence of the Chinese Soviets and the Soviet Union.

Japanese Provocations on the Soviet Frontiers.

By J. Sch.

The carefully thought out system of provocations practised by the Japanese imperialists has apparently astonished those who are quite familiar with the methods of the imperialists. This provocation even confused some organs of the revolutionary press, which from time to time published telegrams about "revolts in Manchuria", "partisan movements" etc. emanating from Japanese sources and widely disseminated by European bourgeois press agencies. These organs ought to know that the Japanese newspapers do not publish a single word regarding the real indignation of the workers and peasants of Manchuria who are groaning under the yoke of the occupation, or the resistance offered by them, which is crushed with indescribable brutality and ruthlessness by the Japanese military clique.

There lies before us No. 4003 of the Russian white guardist paper "Posslednie Novosti" (Latest News), published in Paris, a paper which hardly anybody will suspect of lacking in sympathy for Japanese and any other imperialism. In this number there is published a letter from Harbin. The author of this letter, obviously a Russian emigrant—white-guardist inhabitant of Harbin—relates in detail how the Japanese took possession of the town which, as is known, is a centre of the Chinese Eastern Railway. We quote some extracts from this letter which furnishes an exceedingly interesting illustration of that system of provocation employed by the Japanese imperialists in Manchuria.

The Japanese imperialists, after having consolidated their position in Southern Manchuria and gathered together a sufficient number of troops, commenced making preparations for an advance to the North. Their next aim was Harbin. From there the roads lead to the Soviet frontiers. At first, as usual, the following reason for this was given: "The Japanese citizens are uneasy, one must send troops to protect them." In Harbin, however, everything was exceedingly quiet and peaceful. Nobody molested the Japanese citizens. What was to be done? The "appropriate measures" were adopted, and everything went smoothly as clock work.

There appeared upon the scene the notorious "insurrectionary" Manchurian generals. The Harbin author of the letter gives full particulars regarding their role:

"Events had scarcely commenced when the generals offering resistance appeared on the scene. One part quickly went over to the side of the Japanese, the other part began to assemble troops. At what appeared to be the most critical moment, in the most hopeless situation, the generals ceased their resistance upon direct orders."

Any resistance, any war would have accorded perfectly with the plans of the Japanese. The Japanese have not carried out any single operation in Manchuria without solemnly declaring that this or that general must be punished. If this general did not appear, he was dug out from somewhere or other.

"When the events in Mukden and in the South began, perfect order prevailed in Harbin. Suddenly, without any reason, two nights in succession, bombs began to explode, but only in Japanese institutions. First in the interior of the Japanese Consulate, in the courtyard, then "somebody" threw a bomb into the Yokohama Specie Bank. Then a bomb exploded in the vicinity of the premises of the South China railway, then at the Japanese-Chinese Club, which had just been built. There was no trace of the perpetrators of the outrage."

This time it was so obvious that the whole thing was a put up job that the Japanese themselves did not venture to raise an outcry about it. Instead, Japanese aircraft flew over the town every day—this roused the resentment of the Chinese. The Japanese declared every time that they were flying only to "observe" whether any danger threatened Japanese citizens. This is the most improbable explanation,

especially because these aircraft were all bombing planes carrying bombs and machine guns.

Another big task had to be solved: there still had to be found those who were to be the objects of Japanese charity, who had to be rescued, who had to be helped. For if Japanese residents were not threatened, there must be somebody who was threatened?!

"General Dynchao, who was in Harbin, suddenly began in the midst of the most beautiful promises of reform, to become recalcitrant for some unknown reason. All of a sudden his troops, who, so it appeared, had been long waiting for the opportunity, began to join the new Kirin troops of General Tchicha and to display a tremendous fighting spirit. They were immediately renamed "bandits" and the aim was reached: Chicha began his advance on Harbin.

This first offensive came from the North-East. The soldiers of General Dynchao took up a position on a big main road. Chicha came from the suburbs; shots were fired; bullets whistled. Towards one o'clock everything became quiet. General Chicha decided to retreat. There now took place something unforeseen and unexpected. As usual, Japanese aircraft flew backwards and forwards. Some Chinese fired at them. An aeroplane with a damaged oil tank was forced to land. The pilot proceeded to the town, the observer, Captain Simidsu, remained. Inquisitive people gathered round—youths, women, local inhabitants. Suddenly, a Chinese patrol arrived and shot the captain down."

The death of Captain Simidsu was the finishing touch and accelerated the whole situation extraordinarily. It was no longer necessary to seek for reasons. General indignation was feigned and the Japanese declared they would cause their troops to march into Harbin in order to "punish" General Dynchao.

"For eight days a state of siege prevailed in Harbin. The Japanese demonstratively set up barricades and barbed wire in front of their official buildings. Machine guns were posted. Everything was of course for the single purpose: to make an impression, to produce a mood of panic, to act as if the Japanese expected an attack. But the attack did not take place..."

Yesterday the comedy came to an end. The Japanese advanced into the town."

Harbin is occupied. Fresh troops have been brought in. A basis has been created. Now the story begins over again. General Dynchao plays his part "by offering resistance" close to the frontiers of the Soviet Union. Following on the track of his "retreating bandits", the Japanese troops occupy and fortify the strategic points they had in view beforehand, aerodromes are erected, guns brought up, military bases created.

The nearer they approach the frontiers of the Soviet Union, the more perfected becomes this monstrous system of provocation.

One thing is clear to everybody today: Japanese imperialism will shrink from nothing in its endeavours to provoke the Soviet Union to war. The situation in the Far East is becoming more and more alarming.

The Soviet frontiers are in danger. The toilers of all countries must be on the alert!

The Anti-Soviet Actions in Manchuria.

Moscow, 18th April 1932.

Commenting on the recent anti-Soviet actions in Manchuria, in particular the raid of the white guardists on the head offices of the Chinese Eastern Railway and the office of Kusnetov, Vice director of the Chinese Eastern Railway, today's "Izvestia" writes:

Whilst the white guardists did not succeed in applying at the proper time the electric spark in order to blow up the railway bridge over the Sungari river they are now seeking, in the electrically charged atmosphere, to bring about an explosion in Harbin. The methods and aims of this contemptible provocation are quite clear. Its wire-pullers and those who carried it out are known to the whole world. The originators of the provocative actions in Manchuria are obviously in a hurry to carry out their plans. One is led to this conclusion

particularly in view of today's report regarding the attack by armed white guardists in Harbin. These Japanese circles of adventurers are in such a hurry to carry out their provocative plans that, as in the present case, they abandon one method of provocation in order at once to make use of another, more dirty and more insolent.

Military and adventurist circles which regard our unalterable attitude of non-interference in the Manchurian conflict as an obstacle to the realisation of their war plans, have made the Soviet Union and its policy of peace the target of their systematic attacks. The meaning of their plans is quite clear; it has been repeatedly exposed by us. We have to do here with the efforts of certain elements of the Japanese military clique to extend the bounds of the war-like conflict. In this connection there arises the serious question, to what extent is Japanese public opinion informed regarding the true state of affairs in Manchuria? Do the broad masses of the population in Japan know whether certain adventurist circles in their country are driving? In the attempt to answer this question we would record two basic methods in the activity of those Japanese circles which speculate on the extension of the war-like conflict. The Japanese press has for a long time been publishing anti-Soviet forgeries, ridiculous inventions, which distort the peaceful attitude of the Soviet Union and stir up Japanese public opinion against the Soviet Union. That was one manoeuvre on the part of those who influence public opinion in Japan. Another manoeuvre, to which we wish to call special attention today, is the complete silence regarding the standpoint of the Soviet Union. We record that not a single Japanese paper has printed even one of the recent Soviet denials which point to the complete mendacity of the anti-Soviet reports from Manchuria.

This tactic of maintaining silence regarding and distorting the attitude of the Soviet Union, along with the uninterrupted publication of anti-Soviet inventions, gives cause for serious thought regarding the plans of leading Japanese circles. One is involuntarily reminded of the campaign of slanderous incitement which was carried on in the bourgeois press against the Soviet Union at the time of intervention. It calls to mind that one-sided chauvinistic lying propaganda which was conducted in the belligerent countries during the last world war. As a result of the attitude adopted by the Japanese press, the broad masses of the Japanese population have no knowledge of the real plans of the military clique of their country; they have no knowledge of the manifold facts which witness to the undeniable, consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union. They do not know that this is recognised even by the enemies of the Soviet Union. They do not know that even friends of Japan in the whole world point with concern to the growing Japanese aggression. We observe in Japan all the typical elements of moral preparation for war, and consider it necessary to call attention to it quite openly.

INTERNATIONAL FIGHT AGAINST WAR AND INTERVENTION

Real Disarmament!

By M. Litvinov.

Speech Delivered on April 12, in the Main Committee of the "Disarmament" Conference.

Geneva, April 13, 1932.

I believe that I indicated with sufficient clearness in my early declaration at the Plenary Session of the Conference and of the Main Committee the direction in which the endeavours of the Soviet delegation run. These endeavours are directed to one end, namely, the actual organisation of a durable peace between the peoples and to deprive States of the possibility of making war against each other.

With this aim in view, the Soviet delegation proposed complete disarmament. This proposal, however was rejected by the Conference. The Conference is now commencing a new stage of its work. Its is confronted with the incomparably more modest task of partial disarmament. I already had occasion to point out that no reduction of armaments can have either a quantitative or a qualitative result as regards the abolition or renunciation of war. This does not however

cause the Soviet delegation, in forming its judgment, to lose sight of the more concrete questions, the most rapid and the most effective establishment of a—even if only relative—security against war. Proceeding from this standpoint the Soviet delegation can propose only such a reduction of armaments as can be regarded as the commencement and the first essential stage to complete disarmament, the subsequent stages following in the shortest time possible. Nay more, the Soviet delegation attaches special importance to such a commencing reduction of armaments, which would already in the immediate future render warfare at least more difficult.

It will be perfectly clear from what I have said that the Soviet Union is compelled emphatically to oppose any possible attempt to reduce the tasks of the Conference to a limitation of armaments. I would remind you that the Soviet delegation, in the Preparatory Commission, opposed this attempt and proposed, instead of limitation, to speak only of the reduction of armaments, and that it was only as a result of our insistence that the Commission adopted in the form of a compromise the now usual formula of "limitation and reduction of armaments".

The Soviet delegation rejects the limitation of armaments because it does not mean a step forward on the way to disarmament and because it does not in the least diminish the possibility nor the horrors of war. The limitation of armaments at the present level not only leaves open every possibility of launching a new terrible war, which in extent will far exceed the last world war, but immeasurably increases the potentialities of death and destruction in comparison with the last war.

The limitation of armaments to the existing level could, under certain conditions, have an effect on the limitation of the military budgets. But even this very doubtful limitation could only be achieved provided there existed a considerable number of further conditions (abolition of the secret funds for armaments, abolition of expenditure on armaments in the budgets of the civil ministries etc.). We must not forget, however, that we are not at an economic conference but at a disarmament conference, which has set itself quite other aims than economy in the State budgets. Moreover, the present economic crisis and financial situation in the majority of States already set limits to a further increase of the war budgets, especially in those cases where the State already devotes 25, 30 and even 50 per cent. of its whole of budget to war purposes.

For all these reasons the Soviet delegation proposes that an end be put once and for all to this ambiguity, resulting from the simultaneous use of the terms: "limitation" and "reduction". We propose that from now on we shall use the term "reduction" and employ only this term in the first article of the Convention as well as in the whole text.

Such a reduction is necessary as would upset all the plans of the General Staffs and compel them to revise their strategic plans and thus render it difficult, at least for the next few years, to prepare or wage war. There unfortunately exists a very contradictory situation resulting from the fact that, on the one hand, all States speak about their devotion to the cause of peace and formally renounce war as an instrument of national policy, but, on the other hand, these States refuse to abolish their armies which only serve war purposes.

In these circumstances we must propose to the governments, insofar as they refuse on this or that ground to abolish their armies, to adopt measures which would at least render war more difficult, if they really do not want war. For this reason we insist on such a reduction of armaments as would decisively affect all its elements. This reduction must affect the whole strength of the army, the troops in the metropolis and in the colonies, the number of organised military associations as well as the trained reserves. This numerical reduction must be connected with the direct reduction of the material equipment and war stores.

There arises, however, the question of the methods of effecting this reduction. In my opinion there are two such methods. The first would consist in fixing for each individual State the numerical or percentual reduction of its armed forces, taking into consideration its geographical situation, the number of the population, the length of the frontiers, and many other factors which are usually embodied in the word "security". If one takes into account that such questions cannot be decided by a majority vote and that the consent of all the States interested is necessary in each individual case,

then the impracticability and unfeasibility of these methods become perfectly obvious.

Under the existing system of regional agreements, of political and war alliances, objections to the individual fixing of the strength of the armed forces of any State can proceed not only from its immediate neighbours but also from States far removed, but adjoining the allies or the political friends of this State. It is hard and even impossible to imagine agreements between all the States represented at the Conference on the basis of such an individual fixing of the armed forces; it is a question of the armed forces of 64 States.

I must emphasise that the Soviet delegation, which is against the method of individual reduction, is not by any means motivated by egoistic national interests. If it was striving for an alteration in the relation of armaments in favour of the State it represents, it could not wish anything better than a reduction of armaments which took into account the factors of security. In such case it would not be hard for me to prove that the country I represent needs not a reduction but an increase in its defensive capacity, especially at the present moment, owing to the possibility of the danger which could arise for my country in connection with the confused development of events in the Far East. The Soviet delegation, however, regards it as its task at this Conference to find out such a method of reduction as would not change the existing relation of forces, but would be objectively fair and therefore would call forth less dispute.

Such a method can only be the method of proportional reduction of armaments. Such a method would not harm any single State and would not give advantage to any single State. The relation of forces would be unchanged while the gain would be general.

The third proposal, which follows from what I have already said, is the proportional reduction of armaments. We would, however, regard the absolutely strict carrying out of the principle of proportionality and its equal application to all States, both for the most powerful and the weaker, as unjust. The stronger the military power of an imperialist State the greater the danger it represents, the greater therefore is its possible aggressiveness. On the other side, small armies do not constitute a danger.

We therefore consider it possible to permit a differentiation, in the application of the principle of proportionality, and to divide the States into three groups. In the first group we include those States whose armies do not exceed 30,000 men, and which for the time being could be fully exempted from any reduction. In the second group we include States with armies from 30,000 to 200,000 men, which armies must be reduced in progressive proportion according to the diagrams submitted by the Soviet delegation. Thus, for instance, an army of 50,000 would be reduced by 5 per cent., an army of 100,000 men by 20 per cent., of 150,000 by 35 per cent., 170,000 by 40 per cent. and so on. To the third group belong States with armies of 200,000 men and more, and these must be reduced by 50 per cent.

You see that according to the figures we have selected, the army of the State represented by us comes under the category which has to be reduced the most, namely by 50 per cent. I do not by any means thereby wish to say that the army of the Soviet State, which is numerically as big as the armies of the big imperialist States, represents a threat of aggression. Far from it, for the Soviet State is not pursuing, and cannot by its very nature, pursue any imperialist aims. I include my country only according to the objective mathematical characteristic in the group of States whose armies will be subjected to the maximum reduction.

I spoke of land forces. We apply the same principle, with other figures, to the reduction of the sea and air forces according to an appropriate scheme appended to the document mentioned by me. If we exempt the States with small armies from the scheme of reduction or fix for them a lower percentage of reduction, we must of course provide for cases in which such States could unite and thus constitute a danger to other States which have greatly to reduce their armies.

We therefore propose, in the event of such a union, to fix the percentage of reduction on the basis of those figures which constitute the total of the armed forces of those States which belong to any union or federation.

I was only able to analyse two methods of reduction: the one which many had in mind in the Preparatory Commission, the individual method, and the other proposed by the Soviet

delegation. I of course did not forget the very interesting proposal which the Turkish delegation submitted to the Conference and to which we shall revert when we hear the declarations of the Turkish delegation.

I would only add that the consistent application of progressive proportionality could at a certain moment lead to equality, as proposed by the Turkish delegation, and this brings the Turkish and Soviet proposals very near to each other.

The Soviet delegation considers it therefore necessary that in the first article of the draft convention, mention should be made not only of reduction and of an essential reduction, but also of the method of reduction. It is true, in my declaration I mentioned details of the methods proposed by us and even figures, but only in order to give the other delegates an idea as to what we mean by progressive proportional reduction. The Soviet delegation therefore proposes the adoption of the first article of the draft convention in the following form:

"The high contracting parties agree to effect a substantial reduction in existing armaments on the progressive proportional principle, as provided in this Convention."

This article aims at the quantitative reduction of armaments. It does not by any means exclude the qualitative reduction or the abolition of armaments. It therefore in no way runs counter to the proposals which were the subject of discussion at yesterday's session of the General Commission.

The project proposed by the Soviet delegation for a draft convention provides for the complete prohibition of gas warfare as well as of tanks, and with regard to heavy artillery we propose the reduction of the calibre, because already now one can read in the war literature descriptions of six inch guns which can fire 16 miles and carry a projectile weighing a hundredweight. In our proposal, however, the abolition of heavy artillery, of tanks and gas was not isolated but was connected with the abolition of other kinds of weapons of attack, and with the general reduction of all armed forces and war material.

The Conference is now faced with a question which is likewise of tremendous importance. The Conference must give a direct answer to this question, to the question whether the States represented here are prepared to reduce their armaments at least partially and essentially. If the answer should be in the negative, then the failure of the Conference must not be concealed by any irrelevant resolutions and decisions on moral disarmament, on security and even on the abolition of this or that kind of weapon. If, however, on the contrary, the problem of an essential reduction of armaments of every variety is solved positively, then the goodwill of the States would express itself sufficiently in order to solve in passing and without difficulty the less important tasks which have arisen here.

Anti-War Demonstrations in the U. S.

New York, 10th April 1932.

In connection with the fifteenth anniversary of the entry of the United States into the world war, anti-war meetings organised by the Communist Party and other revolutionary working class organisations took place in all the big towns and industrial areas. Twelve thousand workers were present at the meeting in **New York**. A resolution was adopted calling for the stopping of war material transports to Japan and demanding that the millions and millions of dollars expended for war purposes should be devoted instead to financing a national non-contributory unemployment insurance scheme and to supporting the unemployed workers.

8,000 workers demonstrated in **Chicago** and twenty meetings were held at the factory gates. Similar meetings took place in **Detroit**. Twenty-five meetings were held in **Cleveland**. After the meeting the workers united in a powerful demonstration through the streets.

Anti-War Campaign in Switzerland.

Despite the police prohibition and despite energetic attacks on the part of the police, over 2,000 workers followed the call of the Communist Party in **Geneva** and demonstrated through the streets. For two hours they resisted the attacks of the

police. The procession marched past the building of the League of Nations to the Rhône Bridge.

3,500 workers demonstrated in **Zuerich**. They collected in the business quarters in the centre of the town and then marched back into the working class quarters.

Five hundred workers took part in the anti-war demonstration organised by the Communist Party in **Basle**.

THE WHITE TERROR

Scottsboro Boys Appeal from Death Cells to the Toilers of the World.

Montgomery, Ala., April 1.

From the death cells in Kilby Prison, where they have been held under conditions of the most ghastly torture ever since the mock trials in the lower court at Scottsboro, Ala., the eight Scottsboro boys send the following appeal to the workers of the whole world to rally to the mass fight to smash the hideous frame-up and lynch murder verdicts:

"From the death cell here in Kilby Prison, eight of us Scottsboro boys is writing this to you.

"We have been sentenced to die for something we ain't never done. Us poor boys been sentenced to burn up on the electric chair for the reason that we is workers—and the color of our skin is black. We like any one of you workers is non of us older than 20. Two of us is 14 and one is 13 years old.

"What we guilty of? Nothing but being out of a job. Nothing but looking for work. Our kinfolk was starving for food. We wanted to help them out. So we hopped a freight—just like any one of you workers might a done—to go down to Mobile to hunt work. We was taken off the train by a mob and framed up on rape charges.

"At the trial they give us in Scottsboro we could hear the crowds yelling, 'Lynch the Niggers'. We could see them toting those big shotguns. Call 'at a fair trial?

"And while we lay here in jail, the boss-man make us watch 'em burning up other Negroes on the electric chair. 'This is what you'll get,' they say to us.

"What for? We ain't done nothing to be in here at all. All we done was to look for a job. Anyone of you might have done the same thing—and got framed up on the same charge just like we did.

"Only ones helped us down here been the International Labor Defense and the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. We don't put no faith in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. They give some of us boys eats to go against the other boys who talked for the I.L.D. But we wouldn't split, nohow. We know our friends and our enemies.

"Working class boys, we asks you to save us from being burnt up on the electric chair. We's only poor working class boys whose skin is black. We shouldn't die for that.

"We hear about working people holding meetings for us all over the world. We asks for more big meetings. It'll take a lot of big meetings to help the I. L. D. and the L.S.N.R. to save us from the boss-man down here.

"Help us boys. We ain't don nothing wrong. We are only workers like you are. Only our skin is black.

"(Signed) **Andy Wright, Olen Montgomery, Ozie Powell, Charlie Weems, Clarence Norris, Haywood Patterson, Eugene Williams, Willie Robertson.**"

Mooney Scandal again under Consideration.

New York, 12th April 1932.

The question of a free pardon for **Tom Mooney** and **Warren K. Billings** is now before Governor Rolph. These two steadfast leaders of the working class have now been in prison for seventeen years on charges framed up against them by the big electricity companies whose workers they had organised. There is a danger that the release of the two will again be refused and it is therefore necessary to intensify the propaganda in favour of the two immediately.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

The Position of the Workers in the Soviet Union.

By A. Zichon.

People's Commissar for Labour in the Soviet Union.

(From the Report Delivered to the All-Union Congress of Trade Unions.)

The tremendous successes of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, the only land in the whole world where labour is free, clearly show to the toilers of all countries the advantages of socialist planned economy.

On the basis of the tremendously rapid growth of all branches of national economy in the Soviet Union, unemployment has been finally abolished. During the last two years, the number of workers and employees has increased 150 per cent, and in the year of 1931 has reached the figure of 18.6 million. The wages of the industrial workers in the period from 1924 to 1931 inclusive have increased 240 per cent. In the year 1931 wages increased by 16 per cent compared with 1930, and in some branches even more: in the hard coal industry by 28.4 per cent, in the iron smelting industry by 19.2 per cent.

The social insurance budget reached the sum of 2,500 million roubles, whilst for the last year of the Five-Year Plan the figure of 1950 million roubles was specified.

Expenditure on the erection of dwellings was as follows: 1929/30—511 million roubles, 1931—910 million roubles, and this year it is intended to expend 1900 million roubles.

The sums expended on labour protection and safety measures have increased from 99.8 million roubles in 1929/30 to 169.5 million roubles according to the plan for the present year.

The transition of the industrial workers to the seven-hour working day has for the greater part been carried out (83 per cent of all workers in industry are now working the seven-hour day).

The drawing of members of the workers families into industry has greatly improved the standard of living of the working class family. (In the last two years the number of the members of workers' families going to work has increased 20 per cent; at present in every workers' family two or three persons are working). The income of the working class family has increased by 53 per cent in this period.

This uninterrupted improvement of the conditions of work and the material situation of the working class has resulted in a considerable decline in the cases of sickness and a very sharp drop in the mortality figures. In the period from 1924/25 to 1929/30 the mortality has sunk from 6 to 4.3 per thousand insured persons, which represents a decline of nearly 30 per cent.

A whole number of branches of economy have adopted the system of organised recruiting of workers by concluding agreements with collective farms. This has led to a reduction in the fluctuation of labour.

In the course of the last quarter of 1931, 1,650,000 workers were recruited for timber felling; in the course of the year 1931, 150,000 workers were obtained by organised methods for the coal industry in the Donetz basin. In the Middle Volga region more than 100,000 workers were recruited in 1931 and sent to the most important industrial centres and construction works.

Considerable successes were also achieved in regard to training cadres. The number of apprentices who are studying in the factory schools has increased 12-fold: from 77,000 in 1928 to 1,099,000 towards the end of 1931. In 1932, 40 per cent of the requirements of industry in the way of skilled workers will be covered by apprentices who have passed through the factory schools. The directives of the XVI. Party Congress of the C.P.S.U. regarding the transformation of the factory schools into the chief form of training of qualified cadres from the ranks of the youth is thereby practically fulfilled.

There has also been a similar increase in the short term training of skilled workers; the number of workers who have

received a short period of training has increased from 60,000 in 1928/29 to 463,000 in 1931.

We are able to record tangible achievements in regard to abolishing equalitarianism in the payment of wages and lack of personal responsibility in the workshops. In the main branches of industry and transport the wages system has been reorganised. The simple and progressive payment of wages according to work performed and the payment of premiums have gained a firm foothold. The uninterrupted working week is firmly rooted.

In the leading branches of the national economy expenditure on measures for protection of labour and safety appliances has increased as follows: in the coal mining industry, from 16 million roubles in 1929/30 to 30 million roubles in 1931 (a sum of 45 million roubles is proposed for the year 1932); in the metal industry, from 24 million in 1929/30 to 40 million roubles in 1932; in transport, from 14 million in 1929/30 to 30 million in 1932.

In a number of branches of industry accidents have considerably declined (Kuznetzk basin by 17.4 per cent, engineering by 4.7 per cent.).

The number of insured persons in the Soviet Union has increased in the period between the 8th and 9th Congress of the trade unions from 12.7 million (1928/29) to 17,150,000 (1931), and according to Plan for 1932 will increase to 20,700,000.

The social insurance budget has increased from 1,425,000,000 roubles to 3,524,000,000 roubles.

The number of persons who have been sent to convalescent homes and sanatoria has increased from 540,000 in 1928/29 to 1,600,000 in 1931. This year it is proposed to send 2,300,000 persons.

The expenditure on prophylactic measures has increased from 89 million to 151.5 million roubles.

Ore and Men in the Melting Pot!

By Max Hölz (Moscow).

The brigades mobilised in Moscow and Leningrad for **Kuznetzkstroi** do not find it easy to become acclimatized in their new place of employment. Still more difficult is this to the foreign workmen, fitters and engineers. To many West European people Siberia is still what it has been for centuries—a place identified with dread and horror. Eternal ice—snow—bleak steppes—packs of wolves—bears—fettered exiles. Many relations of foreign specialists take leave from them on their departure from their respective countries for Kuznetzkstroi as if they would never see them alive again. But how amazed are these people, so pathetically doomed to death, when they arrive at the "Ploschtchad" (building site). "Ploschtchad" is the native term for the immense complex of blast furnaces, coke departments, power stations, rolling mills, boiler departments, open-hearth furnaces, mechanical workshops, fireproof brick departments, brick works, timber combines, technical college and so on. The provisional road from the lower colony runs past the premises of the administration, right through the "Ploschtchad" to the upper colony. A German rolling mill worker from Hennigsdorf near Berlin who has to go this way three to four times a day, says: "The traffic here is as on Friedrichstrasse in Berlin." True enough, this crowded thoroughfare with its struggling pedestrians and entangled vehicles reminds one in many ways of the too narrow thoroughfares in large European towns.

The German diploma-engineer whose anxious relations have already been waiting a long time in vain for his harrowing descriptions and photos of fights with bears and packs of hungry wolves, is evidently disappointed. He is one of the few who always grumble, who do not want to see anything but the mistakes and defects. The enthusiastic argument of the Komsomol-brigade (Young Communist brigade) in his department: "Can't you see yourself that in spite of the difficulties and the muddle at which you always grumble, something new and great is growing up here"—he brushes aside by saying: "The new that is growing up here destroys all that was romantic in Siberia—and this goes against my grain!" But fortunately this is an isolated type. The overwhelming majority of foreign specialists become speedily acclimatized in the simmering witches cauldron of the new Siberia.

Here is, for instance, the German specialist, **Zimmer**, a man of whom the young Communists on the "Ploschtchad" say that he has his head full of inventions. At first he was also considered to be a grumbler, a man of the lonely furrow, an individualist. All invitations and requests to fight for the acceptance and carrying through of his valuable inventions and proposals collectively with the factory organs, with the young Communists and Soviet workers, he rejected with the stereotyped answer; "Every one must fight for himself alone, then he will come to something". But only a few weeks later the factory organs in the boiler department gave him an opportunity to demonstrate his new reconstruction plan of the boiler department at the production conference of Soviet workers and technicians. The great interest and approval of his audience made him realise that the collective way is the best way to get good proposals accepted. After that he became speedily acclimatized. At the Soviet Inventors' Conference in Kuznetzk he made a great speech, and reaped full approval for his proposals. He himself invited collective collaboration. He became more and more convinced that the enormous creative forces dormant in the masses can only be awakened and brought to life through collective work. The German specialist, Zimmer, has emerged a new man from the mighty melting pot of the giant Kuznetzkstroi. He has enlisted in the gigantic collective body of tens of thousands of shock brigaders in the Kuzbas, in the front of the millions of builders of socialism.

Dozens and hundreds of foreign workers and specialists go through the same melting pot process. The foreign fitters, entrusted with the installation of special machinery, do not generally stay more than a few months. They have contracts with their firms, and must return to their respective countries when the installation is accomplished. The technical conditions under which they must do their work here, are not always favourable. The foreign fitters and specialists learn from the best Soviet young Communists and shock brigaders that, if needs be, good work can be done up to time even with inferior tools and instruments.

The German fitter, **Fritz Thiel**, of the Moeller firm, came here not as our friend. Under his supervision, the number 7 Young Communist brigade installed the complicated special machinery in the central power station. This work is finished now, and the Moeller firm wants Fritz Thiel and the other fitters to come back to Germany. But he does not want to return to Germany. What keeps him here? What has happened? The leader of the brigade, says: "We have learned from him. We have infected him with our enthusiasm, and have carried him with us." The Y.C.L. brigade and the German fitter, Fritz Thiel, made an exchange of the best they had to give each other. Thiel gave them of his technical knowledge and his twenty years' experience, but they gave him of their surplus of glowing enthusiasm. They gave him a share of the inexhaustible strength of their collective will to win in the struggle for socialism, a share of that strength which carries everything with it. The Number 7 Brigade is responsible for the fact that Fritz Thiel has emerged a new man from the melting pot in Kuznetzkstroi; it has freed him of the individualistic dross of capitalist education. Fritz Thiel is grateful to the Number 7 Y.C.L. Brigade. He will always remember it.

When the fitter **Max Fischer** left for a vacation to Germany with half a dozen of his colleagues, someone gave him two photos of Kuznetzkstroi to take along. One of the photos shows the building site of 1929. There is nothing to be seen here but a barren, desolate steppe—a part of Siberia from the old epoch, such as is still to-day alive in the imagination of

many West Europeans. The other photo, however, shows the site of to-day—a panorama of indescribable impressiveness. Fischer is happy that he can take these pictures along with him to Germany. These are facts that he can show to his friends and acquaintances. That will make a tremendous impression there. He can show these pictures and say: The Soviet Proletariat has achieved that with its enthusiasm, with its triumphant creative power under the leadership of the Communist Party, out of a land of terror and a barren steppe. And he can add with pride: "I have helped along in this. Here there is also a piece of my work."

Another specialist who is a typical constant faultfinder, who is angry because the wolves and bears are being driven away by the blast furnaces and who frets over the disappearing romance—this specialist also now asks that they should give him a couple of these photos. Within a few weeks he also wants to go away on vacation. The perception is slowly dawning upon him that these photos will make a more powerful impression upon his relations, friends and acquaintances than photos of bears and packs of wolves. He knows what an impression it will make when he shows these photos in Germany and tells them in that connection that "the Russians have managed to construct such blast furnaces, such electrical works, such iron, steel and concrete giants in a temperature of between 40 and 50 degrees of cold".

Yes, these "Russian", these fellows who proudly call themselves "Udarniks" (shock-brigaders) are possessed of the devil. They make the impossible possible, they make stern reality out of the boldest fantasies. They liquidate illiteracy, liquidate bears and wolves and liquidate unemployment. These devils of fellows build a couple of dozen of new blast furnaces in Siberia and in the Urals in a temperature of 50 degrees of frost, while blast furnaces are being extinguished on five-sixths of the globe. They turn the nights into days and winter into summer.

The grumbler and the romanticist pictures to himself how astonished the people in Germany will be when he tells them that the "Udarniks" in Kuznetzkstroi not only melt metal, iron and steel but also stone and sand. Of course, they will laugh at him at first. But he will demonstrate to them how the "Udarniks" heat up stone and sand so as to be able to mix the concrete and build the foundations in a temperature of 40 to 50 degrees of cold.

The foreign specialist has discovered that the "Udarniki", the Soviet workers, love their work. The foreign specialist witnessed those stormy outbreaks of joy when the coke combine produced the first coke at midnight. And he was witness to what happened on the next day in the other departments when the workers took out of their pockets carefully wrapped up pieces of coke and showed them to the other workers, their eyes lit up with pride. And he has not forgotten what they said in doing this. "That is **our** coke, our first coke!" And he has often heard how the workers say "**our** blast furnace".

In this little word "**our**" lies the secret of the "marvel", the "secret" of the victorious, indestructible power of the Soviet "udarniki". The grumbler specialist himself does not yet notice that the melting process is also beginning to take place within himself. He sees and hears only how the others are being "melted". He knows how the ranks of the Bolshevik Party, of the Young Communist League and of the "Udarniki" are being strengthened with every new success at the "ploschad" (site), with every new victory. He is learning to understand that membership of the Party, of the Young Communist League and of the "Udarniki" (shock brigades) and work and "**our**" blast furnaces is a thing of honour and glory. "Their work, which they love, is not simply an affair of money." The grumbler went as far as to make this statement in his last letter to his people. Some "udarniki" in his department pledged their word that the grumbler specialist will carry on Bolshevik propaganda among his relatives friends and acquaintances during his vacation.

In the blast furnaces, in the boilers on the tremendous "Ploschad" in Kuznetzk not only the Soviet workers and peasants are daily being transformed in the struggle with the difficulties of Socialist growth, but also the foreign workers and specialists who find themselves in this tremendous melting-pot of Socialist construction which is triumphing over everything, come out new people who are steeled along Bolshevik lines.

In Competition for the Soviet Auto.

By S. Lichatchev.

(Worker in the Moscow Automobile Works.)

In the night of October 20th 1931, the first new automobile came off the conveyor of the "Stalin", formerly Amo, automobile factory. It was the first victory of the workers, engineers and technicians of the reconstructed factory, the first tangible evidence that they have acquired American technique in the production of motor cars.

This first victory involved the further task of securing an uninterrupted process of production, a utilisation to the full capacity of the new factory equipment.

In 1929/30 the last cars of the old type, Amo F 15, i. e. 2090 automobiles, were produced in this factory. For the production of these cars firm cadres of workers were formed who had acquired a wealth of experience in production. When it came to the production of the first automobile of the new type, Amo 3, it was found that the old cadres and the old experience were not by any means sufficient in order to solve the new tasks. It was not only a question of producing a new type of a car, but production had to be increased many times over if the plan for 1932, specifying an output of 19,700 cars, was to be fulfilled.

This meant that the production had to be increased eightfold, a task which is certainly not exclusively of a technical character. It would not have sufficed to increase the mechanical capacity of the machines eightfold and to increase the number of workers eightfold. A change in the quality of work was required. The workers of the "Stalin" factory had to readapt themselves, the whole management of the factory had to be renewed.

It does not suffice to purchase American factory plants, to engage workers and set them to work at the machines. The work on the conveyor system demands that all the prerequisites for uninterrupted work the whole year round be secured. A further task consisted in adapting the American methods of work to the special conditions obtaining in the Soviet Union. Even the type of motor had to be altered in order that it should be adapted to the roads in the Soviet Union. To supply the factories with metal is with us a different proposition from what it is in America. We wish to supply our factories with metal produced exclusively by our own foundry industry, and have accordingly reduced and revised the number of the varieties of metal, altered the technological process, and adapted it to the metals obtainable in the Soviet Union and also to the output of our foundry industry. Of course, our foundries had to adapt their production to the requirements of our automobile production, which demanded steel of high quality. A revolution was carried out in the foundry industry. The malleable iron which we are now producing was previously not produced in the Soviet Union or in fact in the whole of Europe.

The tool-shops play a modest role in the American automobile factories. They have at their disposal the numerous tool factories. But in the Soviet Union the tool factories are only now being built or only just commencing to work, so that the factories and of course also the automobile factories have to rely on their own tool-shops. To-day we can say that all tools that we formerly imported from abroad can be produced from our own material.

In introducing work on the conveyor system innumerable difficulties, not only of a technical character, arose. It was necessary to mobilise the staff of workers numbering 20,000, to enthuse them and spur them on to overcome the difficulties which are involved in mastering an entirely new technique. The correct distribution of labour to the various branches of production demands great attention, elasticity and perseverance.

11,700 new workers were drawn into the Moscow automobile factory, 11,700 workers who had never before stood at a machine. To lead this army to the mastering of the new technique is exceedingly difficult, even with the existence of all the technical prerequisites.

The greater part of the workers, engineers and technicians, under the leadership of the Party, set to work with all energy. It is true, the difficulties have not yet all been overcome. In the mechanical assembling shop, in the body-building shop and other departments there are now hardly any breakages of machinery or idle shifts. Complicated plants, as

for instance the "Keller" self-acting machines, were installed entirely without the help of foreign specialists.

In addition to overcoming technical difficulties, a fight is being waged against equalitarianism in remuneration and against the lack of personal responsibility. One cannot say that these tasks have been completely solved, but the struggle for their solution is proceeding satisfactorily. The factory is energetically pursuing the line of paying wages according to labour performed, together with the premium system. We have set ourselves the task of transferring 25 percent of all workers to this system by the first of May.

The workers, the administrative and technical staff of the Moscow automobile works have, under the leadership of the Party, and its Leninist C.C., achieved great victories. Now 55 automobiles come off the conveyor every day. The assistance of the Party and the whole working class have helped to win these victories. The opportunists who repeatedly maintained that the working masses of the Soviet Union are unable to appropriate the highly developed technique of American automobile production, have again been refuted by the facts. We are now faced with the task of achieving an output of 100 cars a day in the second half of 1932, and reducing the prime costs of our motor cars by 31.3 per cent. compared with last year. That is a tremendous task, but it will be solved by us.

THE WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS

Is Deterding Bankrupt?

By E. Lorenz (Berlin).

There are persistent rumours on the various Stock Exchanges, particularly on the Paris Bourse, to the effect that the Royal Dutch Shell group, the Anglo-Dutch oil trust, of which Sir Henri Deterding is at the head, is in a serious financial position and that Deterding in particular has suffered enormous losses owing to his speculations on the silver market. Sir Henri Deterding has now published a sensational declaration in which he maintains that for over two years he had been a victim of a systematic plot, which, it is hoped, will now be discovered as a result of the arrest of Madame Hanau in Paris.

"I have been a victim of constant persecution. Everyone who knows the situation is aware that there exists in Paris and Berlin an organisation which from time to time seeks to 'bear' sound leading industrial shares."

But why does Sir Henri Deterding say nothing whatever in his declaration about the financial position of the Shell group, about his losses in silver speculation? After the case of Kreuger the world has come to view with suspicion all declarations by international trust kings. The Shell group usually publishes its report in the month of May. One would have assumed, therefore, that Deterding, on 11th of April, when he made his declaration against Madame Hanau, would already be in a position to say something regarding the situation of his own trust. Why did he not do so?

The Royal Dutch Shell group embraces a large number of joint stock companies whose aggregate capital probably amounts to over 5,000 million marks. We will mention only the main companies:

Koninklijke Nederl. Maatschapij (Royal Dutch), share capital 1,000 million florins, of which 503 million have been paid up;

Bataafsche Petroleum Maatschapij, share capital 300 million florins;

"Shell" (Transport & Trading Co.), share capital 43 million sterling, of which £36,121 million have been paid up;

Anglo-Persian Oil Co., share capital £24 million.

Shell-Union Corpor. (U.S.A.), share capital 273,672,000 dollars;

Mexican Eagle and "Corona", share capital 76 and 50 million Gold pesos respectively.

According to the last annual report, the amount of crude oil produced by the whole Trust was 23,980,000 tons as compared with 25,184,000 tons in the previous year, a decline of 4.8 per cent. In the course of the year 1931 the situation greatly deteriorated. The output therefore will be shown to be much less in the forthcoming annual report (by about

25 per cent.). The annual report of the Koninklijke issued on December 31, 1930, showed a net profit of 90,840,000 florins compared with 126,470,000 florins in the previous year, and at the same time paid a dividend of 17 per cent. as compared with 24 per cent. in the previous year. The balance for the year 1931, however, is much more unfavourable.

For the drop in the price of oil has had a much more serious effect than the falling off of production. The world market price of oil has fallen about 50 per cent. as compared with 1930. The Shell Trust thought at first that it would be able to decide the price-war in its favour by ruthless undercutting. This was a big mistake. Whilst nearly all the companies belonging to the Shell group are compelled to pay huge sums as interest on loans, debentures and short-term credits, the Soviet economy, freed from such burdens by the socialisation of the oil industry, is able to sell at a profit even when such low prices prevail. The losses sustained by the Shell Trust as a result of the price drop on the world market caused Deterding to make repeated attempts to bring about a restriction of the output of oil by international agreement, in order thereby to raise the price. Up to the present his efforts have been in vain.

In view of the situation of the Shell Trust, Deterding's bitter hatred of the Soviet Union is quite understandable. He is still unable to forget that the Godless Bolsheviks have socialised the oil wells of the Shell Trust in Baku and Grozny; he cannot get over the fact that the progress of the Russian oil industry under the rule of the Soviets has filled the world with astonishment; but more painful to him than all this is the circumstance that he has been defeated by the oil industry of the Soviet Union. This is the reason why Deterding has always been one of the inciters of the "crusade" against the Soviet Union and has squandered millions on the fight against Bolshevism.

One of the arguments of Deterding's anti-Bolshevist propaganda was that the Soviets engage in dumping. But he had to be reminded that no other than the Shell companies in Rumania had shaken the market by dumping:

"The extraordinary increase in the export of Rumanian oil is in no small degree a result of the drastic price reductions which the Rumanian exporters have undertaken in their competitive struggle against American and Russian oil. At the present time Rumanian benzine, which is normally 15 to 20 per cent. dearer than American benzine, is being sold at a price 15 to 20 per cent. below the latter." („Industrie und Aussenhandel“.)

This dumping, which is of course directed in the first place against Soviet oil, was due to the desperate situation of the Rumanian Shell companies "Steana Romana" and "Astra Romana".

To the enormous losses in the oil business there is now to be added the still greater loss sustained by Deterding in

his silver speculations. Deterding is the biggest possessor of silver in the world. He bought huge stores of silver in the hope that the price of silver would rise. But the price of silver has dropped in connection with India's abandonment of the silver currency. When the Bank of England was forced to abandon the gold standard last Autumn, Deterding made great propaganda for the introduction of the silver currency — which would have meant enormous profits for him. But his hopes were disappointed. The price of silver continued to fall. Deterding has already lost several millions as a result.

Only if one bears all these facts in mind can one realise why the above quoted declaration of Deterding was bound to have anything but a reassuring effect in international financial circles. Should, however, the Shell group seek to allay the pessimistic rumours regarding its situation and point out that as recently as last year it paid a 17 per cent. dividend, it is only necessary to point to the case of Kreuger. In 1930 Kreuger announced a net profit of his chief company "Kreuger och Toll" of 125,977,000 crowns; in May 1931, when the Austrian Creditanstalt collapsed, his affairs were already in such a shaky condition that he was obliged to seek support, a fact which of course was kept quite secret. In October 1931, the government again came to his aid, while at the same time he announced to the public a profit for the year 1931 of 103 million crowns. When the Kreuger Trust collapsed in March last, it was found that there was an actual loss of over 1000 million, and that Kreuger had falsified the annual report for 1930!

Should Deterding's Shell Trust collapse the effects would undoubtedly be much more disastrous than the collapse of the Kreuger Trust, because it is of far greater international importance. Who knows what revelations would be made then?

Sir Henri Deterding, the Bolshevik-slayer and preacher of the "holy crusade against the Soviet Union", appears at present to be in the same position as that which Ivar Kreuger, also a financier of the fight against Bolshevism, was in in January last: he, like Kreuger, is frantically endeavouring to deny his bankruptcy. Will he follow the same path as Kreuger?

Obituary

Michael Nikolayevitch Pokrovsky

On April 10, M. N. Pokrovsky, a member of the Party, an eminent scholar and Leninist Bolshevik, died after a long and painful illness.

Comrade Pokrovsky was born in 1868. In the year 1891 he completed his studies at the historical-philological faculty of the Moscow University and began his scientific, pedagogical and literary work. In the year 1905 Comrade Pokrovsky finally came forward as a Marxist theoretician and practical revolutionary. Having entered the ranks of the Party, he actively participated in organising the armed revolt as a propagandist, agitator and publicist. In the years 1906/1907 he was elected member of the Moscow Party Committee.

In the year 1907 Comrade Pokrovsky was sent as delegate of the Moscow organisation to the London Party Congress, at which he was elected member of the Bolshevik Central Committee.

Comrade Pokrovsky was a member of the editorial board of all the Bolshevik newspapers which appeared in Moscow in the years of the first revolution.

After the London Party Congress, Comrade Pokrovsky went into illegality and emigrated abroad. For a time Comrade Pokrovsky belonged to the "Vperjod" group in Paris, but in the spring of 1911 he severed his connections with this group.

It was during this time that he wrote his most important works, "Russian History from the Earliest Times" and the first part of the "History of Russian Culture". In these works there is given a brilliant Marxist analysis of the development of Russian history.

During the imperialist war Comrade Pokrovsky conducted a fight against the Menshevik advocates of national defence, and constantly corresponded with the central organ of the Party, the "Social Democrat".

The Strike Situation in Northern Bohemia.

Prague, 19th April 1932.

The great majority of the striking miners in Northern Bohemia have ignored the strike-breaking instructions of the reformist and other unions and have followed the slogans of the Central Strike Committee. At the big pits the strike is solid. There is a certain amount of strike-breaking at the smaller pits, but nowhere more than about twenty per cent.

Together with the reformist efforts to break the strike the police are increasing their terror against the strikers. Great service has been rendered in the strike by the "Red Cavalry", the worker cyclists, who have maintained regular connection between the various pits. The police commissar has now given instructions to prevent this courier service and to confiscate the cycles of the despatch riders, or where it is not feasible to do so to slash the tyres to ribbons.

The part strike in the Ostrau district is still being continued and nineteen pits are affected where the majority of the miners are out. A conference of the strikers yesterday issued an appeal to the other workers in the district to support them and take up the struggle for their own demands.

In August 1917, Comrade Pokrovsky returned to Russia and took part as an exceedingly active member of the Moscow Bolshevik organisation in the revolutionary fight. In the October days, Comrade Pokrovsky, who was a staunch advocate of armed insurrection, directly participated in the work of the revolutionary staff as editor of the printed organ of the Revolutionary War Committee.

In November 1917, Comrade Pokrovsky was elected Commissar for Foreign Relations of the Presidium of the Moscow Soviet and a week later Chairman of the Moscow Soviet of Workers' Deputies. In the year 1918 he worked as chairman of the Council of People's Commissars for the Moscow district until the seat of Government was transferred to Moscow.

Comrade Pokrovsky was a member of first delegation for peace negotiations with Germany. At the time of the inner party fight over the Brest-Litovsk Peace he sided with the "Left" communists, but very soon turned away from this group, and right up to his very last days fought for the general line of the Party, carrying on an irreconcilable fight on two fronts against every deviation.

Since May 1918 Comrade Pokrovsky held the post of deputy People's Commissar for Education. He was the initiator and organiser as well as head of a number of the most important scientific institutes and educational institutes of the Soviet Union. To him is due the credit of organising the first Workers Faculties. Since their foundation Comrade Pokrovsky occupied a leading position in the Communist Academy, in the Institute for History and the Society of Marxist Historians, in the Central Archives of the Soviet Union and of the R.S.F.S.R., in the State Council of Savants, in the United Institute of Red Professors, and after its reorganisation in the Red Professors of History. He was also a leading members of the Lenin Institute.

At the same time Comrade Pokrovsky carried on pedagogic work both in the Institute of Red Professors and in the high schools.

In the year 1929 Comrade Pokrovsky was elected member of the Academy of Sciences. In the same year he took part as head of the delegation of Soviet Historians and Archivists in the Soviet History Week organised by the Soviet Union in Berlin and in the International Congress of Historians in Oslo.

Comrade Pokrovsky was the author of a number of remarkable Marxist historical works: "Brief Outline of Russian History", "Outline of the History of the Revolutionary Movement in Russia in the 19th and 20th Century", "Class Struggle and Russian Historical Literature", "The Foreign Policy of Russia in the 20th Century", "Marxism and the Peculiarities of the Historical Development in Russia", "The October Revolution", "The Imperialist War", etc.

A number of documents from the Tsarist archives were published under the immediate supervision of Comrade Pokrovsky. He was chairman of the Commission of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union for the publication of the documents: "International Relations in the Epoch of Imperialism", and also member of the editorial board which published the "History of the Civil War". A number of Comrade Pokrovsky's works have been translated into foreign languages.

In addition, Comrade Pokrovsky was responsible editor or member of the editorial staff of a number of important scientific journals: "The Marxist Historian", "Class Struggle", "Under the Banner of Marxism", the "Red Archive", "Communist Academy News", etc. Lenin had a very high opinion of Comrade Pokrovsky's activity in the sphere of popular education and science.

In spite of the widest organisational and scientific activity, Comrade Pokrovsky always immediately participated as an active Party member in the work of the Party, at the Party Congresses and Conferences. After the XVI. Party Congress he was elected member of the Presidium of the Central Control Commission. In addition, he was for years a member of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. as well as of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

The C.P.S.U. and the working class lose in Comrade Pokrovsky one of their truest Party members and active participators in socialist construction, as well as the most eminent Bolshevik historian.

BOOK REVIEWS

Four New American Pamphlets.

By Grace Hutchins (New York).

Four more titles in the series prepared under the direction of Labor Research Association and published by International Pamphlets, New York, are of immediate interest not only to workers in the United States, but also to workers in other countries.

In **War in China**, Ray Stewart traces the history of recent events in the Far East and exposes the basic war aims of imperialism, advancing against the Chinese Soviets and against the Soviet Union on the eastern front. He includes the secret memorandum sent by General Honjo, Japanese military commander, to Minister of War Minami in August, 1931, revealing the true purpose of Japanese aggression in China and Manchuria, as aimed against the U.S.S.R. The pamphlet presents a clear and convincing picture of what is behind the present newspaper headlines on Shanghai and the war front, as it extends up the Yangtze Valley. Another pamphlet on the Chinese Soviets, under the title **Soviet China**, by M. James and R. Doonping, is now in preparation.

Profits and Wages, by Anna Rochester, is a vivid description of economic contrasts in the United States—employers' incomes on the one side and workers' earnings on the other. How Ford, Rockefeller, Mellon, Morgan and the other super-millionaires are growing richer while the workers are daily growing poorer is set forth in a striking analysis of the whole capitalist system. It is the kind of popular, simple presentation of the subject that may be given to workers not yet in the Communist movement, to show them how capitalists make their fortunes out of the labour of the working class. Wage rates are shown to have gone steadily down during the crisis years, but the pamphlet also proves how low the usual wages were, in comparison with the cost of living, before the crisis.

Robert W. Dunn, in **Spying on Workers** has exposed the whole system of capitalist espionage against the working class. The U.S. federal government, through the Treasury Department's Division of Secret Service, the Department of Justice with its Bureau of Investigation, the Department of Labour and many other departments, works in close cooperation with local governments and with private detective agencies, in efforts to undermine the workers' militant organisations. The author has brought together for the first time facts on the connections between private company spy bureaus, state spy systems and the fascist organisations, such as the National Civic Federation, headed by the A. F. of L. vice president Matthew Woll. He shows also the relation of the corrupt labour bureaucracy to the state and company spy activities. This is an important contribution to working class literature, as it gives much material hitherto unpublished, including sample instructions to spies and their reports.

The American Negro, by J. S. Allen, is a necessarily brief but excellent summary of the conditions under which Negro workers and poor farmers live and labour. The author, who was for some time editor of the **Southern Worker**, knows the situation as an eye-witness and writes with first-hand information of the Negro on the land, peonage, and increasing tenantry. Negroes in the North as in the southern part of the United States, meet every kind of racial discrimination and are usually paid lower wages than white workers for the same kind of work. "Last to be hired; first to be fired" is a phrase that sums up the position of Negro workers under capitalism. In this situation, officials of the American Federation of Labour have done nothing to organise Negro workers, but have actively joined in the discrimination against Negroes, known as "jim-crow"—putting such Negroes as organised into separate locals.

All of these pamphlets end with constructive suggestions to workers in the class struggle as to how best to combat present conditions.