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The British Memorandum to Germany.

By Th. Neubauer (Berlin).

The Bureau of the Disarmament Conference is to meet on September 21 at Geneva. The meeting will in all likelihood be very short; it will probably adjourn to a later date, perhaps until November, in order that the question of the further participation of Germany in the disarmament negotiations can be cleared up.

The refusal of Germany to take part in the further work of the Conference so long as it is not allowed full equality in the sphere of armaments, was submitted to Arthur Henderson, the President of the Disarmament Conference, on September 16. This has created a new situation. It has placed the question of armaments again in the central point of international politics. It has at one stroke openly revealed the antagonisms in international politics, which have always been carefully concealed, and shown to the whole world how tremendously the danger of imperialist war has increased.

The attitude of the German Government is not surprising. Five years ago the German bourgeoisie went to the Geneva Disarmament Conference with a programme which openly demanded equality of status for Germany in the matter of armaments. When, at the end of July last, the Disarmament Conference rejected the motion of the German Government and adopted the "Convention" on which France and England had agreed, the German representative, Herr Nadolny, on the instructions of Berlin, declared that Germany would not take further part in the Conference until the question of its equality of status had been satisfactorily settled. But it appears as if this declaration was not regarded as the final attitude of the German Government.

A few days after the adjournment of the Conference, General von Schleicher, the Minister for Defence, delivered a sensational speech over the wireless in which he announced a "reorganisation of the Reichswehr". There followed in rapid succession further interviews and articles by Schleicher, which raised the demands of the Government in a sharper form and announced the concrete intentions of the Cabinet. On August 29, the Reichs Government addressed a Note to the French Government, in which they once again repeated their demands and suggested a confidential exchange of views between the governments of Paris and Berlin.

Neurath, the German Foreign Minister, contented himself with the following concrete demands: shortening of the (12 years) period of military service, free hand to reorganise the army and set up a militia. He particularly emphasised that the German Government would be content for the time being with these modifications in regard to armaments, in the expectation that a second later convention would provide for a further reduction of the armaments of the other States.

The French Note in reply, which was handed over to the German Government on September 11, as was to be expected, was a complete rejection of Germany's demands. It pointed out to the German Government that it was bound by the Treaty of Versailles, and that in addition, by entering the "Pacte de Confiance" at Lausanne, it had undertaken to work together with the other governments at the Geneva Disarmament Conference. The decision, the Note declared, lay with the League of Nations. For the question concerned not only France, but all Powers, especially the States of East and Central Europe

(i.e. Poland and Czechoslovakia), which would feel themselves threatened if Germany were to arm.

When, after the receipt of this French reply, the Reichs Government announced that it would not take part in the Disarmament Conference, it seemed not yet to have given up hope that it could reckon upon the support of England. The English Memorandum, which was published on September 17, has however destroyed these hopes. It states:

"His Majesty's Government feel constrained to state at the outset that they think it unfortunate that a political controversy of this magnitude should arise at this moment, when it is so necessary that attention and energy should not be diverted from efforts which are being undertaken, and are so urgently needed, to restore the productive and commercial prosperity of the world". And further, "In view of Germany's economic difficulties, the initiation of acute controversy in the political field at this moment must be accounted unwise". In this connection the British Government reminds Germany that it is dependent upon the goodwill of its foreign creditors, who recently granted concessions. This is a scarcely veiled threat of pressure of a financial and economic character.

The Memorandum of the English Government calls attention much more sharply than the French Note to the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, which Germany has itself pledged to observe. The British Memorandum opposes with equal sharpness the German interpretation of the preamble to Part V. of the Treaty of Versailles upon which the German bourgeoisie base their whole thesis regarding equality of status. Herein perhaps consists the strongest support of the French standpoint. In conclusion the English Government strongly deprecate Germany's refusal to take part in the Disarmament Conference, which action it designates as a "peremptory challenge".

The declaration of the English Government has caused great excitement. Instead of supporting the German standpoint or adopting a position of mediator, the English Government roundly rejects the German demands, and this with a brusqueness which can hardly be surpassed. This, of course, means a severe blow for the foreign policy of the Papen Government and the German bourgeoisie.

Even if Italy supported Germany in its attitude, what would this avail in face of the combined pressure of France and England? It is reported at the same time that there is great dissatisfaction in Washington on account of Germany's action, so that one can reckon with certainty that there will be no help coming from that quarter. Thus the German bourgeoisie are again isolated in face of the new Entente of the victors of Versailles.

What will the German bourgeoisie do in face of the combined pressure of French and English imperialism? The Reichs Government have recently commenced to carry out their plans for "training the Youth". The superintendent of this work, General von Stülpnagel, has in an admirably "candid" manner given the representative of the "Paris Midi" the catchword for which the chauvinist French press was only waiting, i. e. "Schools for recruits". At the same time the Government have announced that they have placed the order for the construction of the third armoured cruiser. All this has naturally served to lash still higher the chauvinist wave in France, Poland and Czechoslovakia, whilst at the same time chauvinist excitement in Germany is increasing. Are we confronted with a second Ruhr war?

The Papen Government—a government which have the working people against them—are hardly likely to have any illusions as to how impotent they are in face of the pressure of French and British imperialism. But there still remains the possibility, which they have always kept open, of coming back to the "accord de trois", to the Franco-Polish-German Triple Alliance against the Soviet Union.

It appears particularly necessary at the present moment to point to the possibility of a sharp turn of the German bourgeoisie against the Soviet Union. It would be dangerous to be deceived by the sharpness of the Franco-German conflict on the armament question, or, even if the German bourgeoisie should make a gesture of a closer rapprochement to the Soviet Union, intended for the Paris and Warsaw public, to assume that the German capitalist class have abandoned their hostility towards the Bolshevik Soviet State. On the contrary, this mixture of adventurism and febleness which characterises the foreign policy of the German bourgeoisie keeps open the possibility that, whilst to-day they are foaming against France

and Poland, to-morrow they may wish, in alliance with Polish and French imperialism, to "march against the East".

Simultaneously with this intensification of the imperialist antagonisms in the West we are experiencing a fresh aggravation of the situation in Manchuria. The Japanese Government have officially recognised Manchuko. This is more than a formality and more than a juridical formulation of an accomplished fact; it is in the nature of a declaration of war, on the one hand against the Chinese people, and on the other hand against the Soviet Union. All this indicates that this new step on the part of Japanese imperialism has been undertaken with the agreement of Paris and London. Thus a further step has been made towards the realisation of the Tanaka programme, and the danger of a war by the imperialist world Powers against the Soviet Union has increased still further.

War danger in the Far East and sabre-rattling in the West: these are the promising signs of the approaching final phase of the "Disarmament" Conference!

Manifesto of the C.P. of Germany.

Berlin, 19th September 1932.

The Central Committee of the German Communist Party has issued a manifesto to the workers of Germany pointing out that the communists had prevented the von Papen Cabinet from using the Reichstag to defend its capitalist programme. The communists had exposed the demagoguery of all the political parties from the fascists to the social democrats. The bourgeoisie ignored the decisions of the Reichstag. Not parliamentary manoeuvres, but only the revolutionary united front of the workers could defeat the plans of the industrialists and junkers.

After a description of the new Emergency Decree, which takes millions from the poor in order to give them to the rich, and of the repressive measures taken against the masses, the press prohibitions, the exceptional courts, the prohibition of meetings and demonstrations, the suppression of working class organisations, etc., the manifesto calls upon the social democratic and other workers to line up with their communist fellow workers in a united front action against the von Papen dictatorship. It appeals in particular to the workers in the reformist and Christian unions to hold joint meetings with the workers in the revolutionary trade union opposition and to discuss concrete measures in the struggle against hunger and fascism, and repeats the former offer of the Communist Party. "We are prepared to act jointly with all working class organisations which are willing to join the struggle against wage-cuts and benefit cuts, against oppression and fascism."

The manifesto calls on the members of the trade unions to discuss the defence of trade union principles and standards and to answer the communist united front offer. It appeals also to the members of national socialist factory groups and points out to them that they are suffering from wage-cuts, etc., just as their communist, socialist and christian fellow workers. They must therefore join with their fellow workers, it declares, in the struggle against the capitalist attack on the working class.

The manifesto also contains concrete suggestions for the struggle. Where wage-cuts are announced the workers should come together immediately and elect their own rank and file representatives to lead them in the struggle against all attempts to worsen their conditions. It contains also a special appeal to the unemployed workers not to let themselves be used by bosses as wage-cutters, but to join with the workers in the factories and to fight for their own demands. The unemployed workers should elect their own rank and file committees and send mass delegations to the local authorities to put forward their demands, etc. Together with the employed workers they should send deputations to the employers.

The manifesto then appeals to the social democratic, christian and national socialist workers as follows:

"Class comrades in the Social democratic Party! Whilst the will to resist and to fight against the capitalist offensive is growing among the masses, the social democratic and trade union leaders talk about "Socialism" and do everything to prevent the common fight of the workers. They voluntarily surrender trade union wage rates and social legislation. With their demand for "distribution of work", for shorter working hours without wage compensation, they gave the Papen Government the cue for reducing wages and violating collective agreements. With Brüning they introduced

the policy of emergency decrees; they themselves dictated wage cuts, reductions of benefit and taxes for the masses. Behind the mask of "Fight against fascism" they elected their Hindenburg and thereby lifted the Fascist Papen Government into the saddle. On July 20 they miserably capitulated and denounced as provocateurs those workers and trade union members who advocated the general strike. They thus encouraged Papen to put through his emergency decrees. Just as on July 20 they sought to console the workers with the Reichstag elections and the State Constitutional Court so now, by means of big talk about a referendum, they wish to hold back the workers from the strike-struggle against wage cuts. To-day the workers are to accept wage reductions in the deceitful hope of a referendum next year. In the interest of their Hindenburg policy the social democratic and free trade union leaders forbid the social democratic workers and lower organisations to fight together with the Communists. The social democracy thus supports the Papen dictatorship!"

"Christian workers, you are against fascism, but your leaders, the leaders of the Centre and of the christian trade unions, have through the Brüning emergency decrees adopted the path of fascist dictatorship, and are to-day engaged in coalition bargainings with the Nazis. The christian trade union leaders, just like the reformist trade union leaders, and in union with them, attempted to prevent every fight against wage cuts and reduction of benefit. They do everything in order to frustrate a common fight in the united front with your fellow workers against hunger and misery.

Working class followers of the national socialist party! You are against the capitalist dictatorship, against Papen's emergency orders and reparations slavery. You were promised the "abolition of the system" the "seizure of power" on July 31. But Hitler, Göbbels, Goering and Frick have brought Papen into office . . . Hitler, like the social democratic party, defends the Lausanne tribute pact concluded by the Papen Government as the "lesser evil" . . . Only in a front with the workers can you achieve your workers' demands. Not with Krupp and Siemens, but side by side with the workers can the employees and lower officials defend their existence."

Continuing, the Manifesto declares that only a struggle on the part of the working people for freedom and not militarism and armaments could abolish the Versailles Treaty. Armaments would lead only to increased oppression in Germany and to increased profits for the armament makers. The Communist Party fought against every form of oppression. It was the only party which had fought unswervingly since 1918 for social and national freedom and against the Versailles Treaty. It was in favour of self-determination for the workers and peasants in Austria, the Saar, Danzig, Memel, the Southern Tyrol, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Alsace-Lorraine. Only a workers and peasants republic in alliance with the Soviet Union could break the chains of national oppression. Such a socialist soviet republic would not pay a penny reparations and would put a final stop to national and international capitalist exploitation of the German people.

In the Soviet Union Socialism is being built up in a tenacious fight and with the greatest enthusiasm through the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviet Power and the armed proletariat. There there is no crisis, no unemployment, no poverty of the peasants, no fascism and no emergency decrees. That is how things are where the programme of the Communists is being carried out. Those who want Socialism must fight **to-day** against the capitalists, against reduction of wages and unemployment relief, against fascist oppression, against emergency decrees and against the Young tributes.

Only the Communists show the way out of the catastrophe. Only the Communists, both in the extra-Parliamentary fight against everyday privations and in the Reichstag, have kept their promises to the working class electors: to fight fiercely and inexorably against the capitalist dictatorship. They call now for a common fight for the united front action against reduction of wages and unemployment relief, against fascism and the capitalist dictatorship, against the Papen Government and its emergency decrees, against the tribute treaties of Versailles and Lausanne, for the freedom of the working class and the toiling population, for the workers' and peasants Republic, for Socialism!

POLITICS

Preparations for the Partitioning of Brazil.

By Octavio Brandao (Rio de Janeiro).

In the valleys of the rivers Parahyba, Itarare and Paranapanehama, in the Coxilhas, the mountains of Rio Grande do Sul, and in the streets of Rio de Janeiro a war is raging which has already resulted in tens of thousands of killed and wounded. It is the sons of the working people, the unemployed, who, driven by hunger, have sold themselves as soldiers and are falling here as victims of the greed for profits of two groups of exploiters: the Goldpistas, the instigator and organiser of the military coup d'etat in Sao Paulo, and which is closely connected with the English imperialists, and the dictatorship of the government of Varga which is closely allied with North-American imperialism. It is the case of two reactionary blocks composed of feudal landowners, capitalists and petty bourgeois.

Both groups style themselves "revolutionary" in order the better to deceive the working masses. They make use of the "heroes" of the radical petty bourgeoisie of the years 1922 to 1926, who in 1930 finally went over to the counter-revolution. A part of these petty bourgeois, led by Isidoro Dias Lopes, has sided with the feudal lords and capitalists of Sao Paulo; the majority, led by Tovar and Joao Alberto, have remained loyal to the central government. This development of the Brazilian petty bourgeoisie proves once again that these middle strata can never be a consistently revolutionary class.

The deepening economic crisis has intensified the inner antagonisms among the various feudal and bourgeois groups. In their search for a way out of the crisis the imperialists make use of these antagonisms by carrying on, under the slogan of "for the self-administration of the States" a separatist propaganda with the object of getting into their hands the sources of raw material, the sales markets and public undertakings and dividing up the country into spheres of influence in order by this means to shift a part of the burdens of the world crisis on to the toiling masses of Brazil. That is the underlying cause of the military coup d'etat in Sao Paulo, of the war between the two feudal bourgeois cliques, of the concealed war between the English and American imperialists.

The bourgeoisie of the other countries understand quite well the present situation of this vast country: "Brazil is falling to pieces" wrote the Mexican paper "El Nacional" on April 15. And even the Brazilian bourgeoisie, before the military coup d'etat in Sao Paulo, wrote in their organ the Rio de Janeiro "Diario de Noticias", of June 19, on the break-up of Brazil and the separation of the State of Sao Paulo.

For Brazil constitutes a market with over 40 million consumers, half of the whole population of Latin America. It is one of the largest countries of the world; its area is exceeded only by that of the Soviet Union, China and Canada. It is a country which has 23 per cent. of the world's resources of iron; it possesses oil deposits, extending from the river Atuman in the extreme North to the extreme South, gold mines, peat, saltpetre, manganese etc. Further, Brazil possesses vast primeval forests in which every variety of wood is to be found, and in the Amazon region 3,200,000 square kilometres of rubber forest. Of the water power of the country, amounting to over 30 million horse power, scarcely 700,000 horse power is utilised by the imperialists. Brazil, which could export 26 various products, is a country of unbounded possibilities.

The fight between the imperialists is before all for the Eastern part of Central Brazil, embracing the richest districts and nearly half of the total population. But the fight is being fought most fiercely for Sao Paulo, the most developed State of Brazil with about 7 million inhabitants.

The United States purchase Brazilian coffee. The English imperialists, however, control the coffee production, the means of communication etc. Lord Lovat, member of the English Montagu mission which examined the financial position of Brazil and consolidated English rule, has bought up large coffee plantations. Other English capitalists also possess large coffee plantations. The big bank of Lazar Brothers granted the Brazilian government a loan of 600,000 contos (a conto is worth to-day 68 dollars), which was secured by a mortgage on the largest coffee plantations. Rothschild has also lent millions of pounds Sterling for the purpose of keeping up the price of coffee. It is perfectly obvious that the English imperialists have no inten-

tion of yielding up these positions of power and that they are firmly determined to fight all rivals who wish to lay hands on them. This is one of the causes of the fierce fights which have broken out in recent times and one of the causes of the military coup d'état in Sao Paulo.

The London capitalists (among them being the British Banana Co.) have had millions of banana trees planted on the coast of Sao Paulo. They have also monopolised the transport of bananas to the London market. They thereby threaten the markets dominated by the American United Fruit Company, and consequently the economic and political position of this American monopoly company in the countries of Central America. They also threaten, however, the banana plantations in the English colony of Jamaica. It is not surprising therefore if the "Journal of the Jamaica Agricultural Society", the "El Diario de Costarica" and "El Tiempo" of Bogota (Colombia) are protesting together against the flooding of the world markets with Brazilian bananas and talking of the possibility of the complete disappearance of the "banana industry in the Caribbean countries".

A regular war is waged between the two rival groups over every undertaking. The Sao Paulo railway wants to buy up its future rival the Mayrink-Santos railway line; but Wall Street is opposed to this. In order to fight against the City of London Wall Street was prepared to give a million dollars to Joao Alberto, the former governor of Sao Paulo, in order "to merge all railways of the State of Sao Paulo into one company".

The American Standard Oil is engaged in a fight with the Anglo-Mexican, a daughter company of the Royal Dutch Shell of Sir Henri Deterding. The old monopolist oil companies are fighting against the new, which wish to exploit the oil fields of Brazil in general and of Sao Paulo in particular. The sugar monopolists are fighting the attempt of the American Farquhar to buy up all the sugar refineries in the State of Sao Paulo in order to monopolise the production of sugar and of methylated spirits.

After numerous fights the Electric Bond and Share Company has been absorbed by the American Foreign Power Co., which supplies electricity to 200 towns in the State of Sao Paulo, whilst the firm "Light", a daughter company of the Brazilian Traction (which is in the hands of English, Canadian and American capitalists), has acquired the public undertakings (electric light and power, telephones, street cars etc.) in the capital and also in other towns.

One of the leaders of the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie in the years 1924/26, Caudilho Miguel Costa, sold himself in 1930 to the counter-revolution. This "hero of the revolution" published fierce articles in the press of Sao Paulo against the English mission of Otto Niemeyer and "against English imperialism". He fought the Republican and Democratic parties, who are connected with the City of London, and are the organisers of the present military coup d'état in Sao Paulo. The leaders of these two parties are big coffee plantation owners or absolutely corrupt lawyers of the capitalists. Silvio de Campos, one of the leaders of the so-called "revolution" in Sao Paulo, was bought with 400 Contos by the Telephone Company, which belongs to the Brazilian Traction. Numa de Oliveira, a well-known representative of the firm of Rothchild & Sons, was finance Minister of Sao Paulo.

All the imperialists are demanding their share of the loot. The Italian imperialists have induced Mussolini to call upon the Varga Government to recognise the "revolutionaries" of Sao Paulo as a belligerent Power. Wall Street is striving to get control of Rio Grande do Sul, which is rich in cattle and coal, as well as of the "Ford"-land which is situated in the North and extremely rich in rubber plantations and oil. Italian fascism is striving to obtain concessions in Sao Paulo. French imperialism is reaching its tentacles after the Amapa region, situated in the neighbourhood of Guiana, owing to the gold mines, timber and rubber there; but it is also trying to obtain concessions in the rest of Brazil. Japanese imperialism dominates Iguape and Cananea in the State of Sao Paulo, as well as other concessions in Parintins, Acara and Monte Alegre in the extreme North of Brazil.

Against this robber campaign of the imperialists, against the partitioning of Brazil and against the Brazilian big landowners and the bourgeoisie, the international proletariat must support the Brazilian working people, who are fighting under the leadership of the Communist Party and of the Trade Union Federation for the daily demands of the toilers, for national emancipation, for the confiscation of the big landed estates and the imperialist undertakings.

The Class Struggle in Portugal.

By Emil (Lisbon).

Portugal which constitutes the most western part of the Iberian Peninsula, is a typical agrarian country with 7 million inhabitants. Up to 1910 it was a kingdom, then it became a Republic, without, however, the feudal conditions in the country being thereby changed in the least. Since 1926 a military dictatorship has been ruling which of late in no way lags behind the typical fascist countries in regard to cruelty towards the "enemy at home".

Whilst in the South large landownership predominates, in the North the land is mostly in the hands of very poor small peasants. These last have nearly all been plunged deeply into debt and poverty by the last big agrarian crisis. This condition of poverty has been further increased by the following two circumstances: a) the emigration of impoverished peasants has practically been put an end to owing to the prohibition of immigration by American countries (Argentina, Brazil, United States etc.); b) whilst formerly the small peasants and land workers were able to augment their income by occasional work in the various industrial centres, this source of income has been closed to them since Portugal has been seized by the world economic crisis.

The landworkers, who likewise formerly emigrated in great numbers, are, owing to similar reasons, living in the greatest misery, which is further intensified by the rationalisation measures introduced by the big estate owners and the increasing unemployment. Rationalisation is expressed not only in the introduction of modern agricultural machines and tractors but also, and particularly, in wage cuts and other measures of the big landowners against the workers. For example, whilst formerly the landworkers were hired for several weeks, the employers now go almost daily to the labour market and hire workers for one or two days, when they are still fresh and unexhausted, and then replace them by fresh workers. As there are no collective agreements and the working day is from sunrise to sunset, the landworkers are subjected to inhuman exploitation. Wages on the land are about 5 to 7 Escudos (an Escudo is about 2½d) a day (without food) for men, 2 to 3 Escudos a day for women and half this amount for young workers.

As a result of this exploitation, the rural population although 90 and often even more per cent. are illiterate, have become revolutionary. In many localities lately there have been revolts of agricultural workers and attempts to carry out strikes, which, however, are in most cases brutally crushed by the government by means of armed force, wholesale arrests and torture.

Portugal also possesses some important industrial centres. The most important branches of industry are the canned fish industry, fishing, vine cultivation and vine manufacture and the cork industry; after these come the metal industry, glass industry and cloth-weaving industry. Unemployment is rapidly growing also in industry. The employers are everywhere endeavouring to reduce wages, which are already exceedingly low. In industry also rationalisation is effected more by reducing wages and employing cheaper labour: young people and women, who receive only 30 to 60 per cent. of the wages formerly earned by the men they have displaced. The wages of unskilled workers are mostly between 1.20 and 2 Escudos an hour, those of the skilled worker 1.50 to 2.50 Escudos; rarely more. The young workers and women for the most part earn between 0.30 to one Escudo an hour. These conditions have evoked the resistance of the workers more than is the case on the land, and for over a year past we have witnessed a rising strike wave in the whole country. This is of all the greater importance because since the last big strike struggles in 1924/25 (which were led by the anarchists and owing to their bad preparation rendered the labour movement for years incapable of fighting) up to 1930, no strikes whatever were entered upon owing to fear of the military dictatorship and the brutal repressive measures employed by it. Thus the strike which took place a year ago of 3500 fishermen in Setubal, which after lasting for some weeks was finally betrayed by the anarchists, was of considerable importance. This was followed by some successful strikes at the docks of transport workers who were led by the revolutionary transport-workers' union, and also by some successful smaller strikes in other industries, partly against the employers and the State power which always intervened in favour of the former.

The Communist Party and the Young Communist League of Portugal, although they are numerically very weak, are

exerting an increasing influence on the revolutionised working class and small peasants, who have long come to regard them as the only real revolutionary organisation, whilst on the other hand the formerly very great influence of the anarchists and of the petty-bourgeois Left parties is steadily declining.

For this reason the political police, known as the "Policia de Informacues" or "Policia Especial", brutally persecutes the revolutionary working class and their leaders, the Communist Party and the Young Communist League. At political trials there is no definitely prescribed criminal procedure, and the police do what they like with the arrested. The examination of the accused is usually preceded by beastial tortures reminiscent of the inquisition. At the end of April last, about 20 comrades of the Communist Party were arrested for having distributed the May Day Manifesto of the Party. Almost all of them were subjected to the most diabolical torture.

In spite of all these brutal persecutions the defenders of capitalism in Portugal are unable to check the rising revolutionary wave among the Portuguese workers who, together with the Spanish proletariat, will soon overthrow the rule of the exploiters on the Spanish Peninsula and set up there the dictatorship of the proletariat.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Wave of Big Economic Struggles.

By Fritz H^eckert (Berlin).

In spite of all prophecies to the contrary by representatives of the capitalist system, the world economic crisis is growing more acute every month. This circumstance compels the capitalists to make constant and increasing attacks on the working masses. Although a simple glance at the statistics shows that there exists a parallelism between the decline of the income of the working class and the growth of the crisis, the capitalist offensive is still proceeding in the same direction as at the commencement of the economic decline in 1930: wage cuts, cutting down of social services, introduction of new labour-saving methods and discharge of "superfluous" workers.

In the United States the unemployed army is nearly twice as big as it was in 1931. In England and in its dominions and colonies we see the same thing. Such countries as France, Belgium etc. which were the last to be drawn into the crisis, are rapidly catching up to the other countries in this respect, whilst those countries in which the crisis first set in are approaching a disintegration of their entire economy.

Those methods of defence employed by the bourgeoisie against the increased competition caused by the world economic crisis such as customs duties, taxes, subventions, import embargoes, State monopolies, inflation manoeuvres, have proved of no avail. The only means left, therefore, to the capitalists to save themselves and their system, is increased offensive against the standard of living of the working class. In Germany this offensive is chiefly conducted by State compulsory measures against the workers, i. e. by emergency decrees. The Brüning and Papen governments have perfected this method of lowering the standard of living of the working masses. In the other capitalist countries the capitalist offensive is proceeding in the form of direct attacks by the employers.

Whilst in the first years of the crisis the reformist trade union bureaucracy succeeded in holding back the masses by demagogic slogans, to-day these methods are proving less and less effective.

The discontent of the working class with the existing state of affairs is rapidly increasing. The illusions regarding the role of the democratic State, of the "justice and impartiality" of the arbitration courts and of the temporary character of the measures adopted by the employers are being dispelled. Increasing masses of the workers are ceasing to believe that the reformist trade union leaders have any intention to defend the existence of the toiling masses.

This is proved by the increasing influence of the slogans of the Communist Parties and of the revolutionary Trade Union Opposition in the economic fights of the masses. In the fights of the miners, textile workers and landworkers

in Poland, in the big strike of the miners in Czechoslovakia, in the strike of the textile workers in Holland, in the strike of the miners in the United States, in the general strike of the miners in Belgium and the big weavers strike in England, as well as in the mass demonstrations of the unemployed, we see how the masses are taking up the slogans and methods of struggle of the revolutionary trade union movement.

The masses no longer rely on the reformist unions; they enter the fight against the express will and against the resistance of the trade union leaders. They often by their attitude compel the reformist leaders to resort to Left manoeuvres (general strike in Poland on March 16, recognition of the mass strike and payment of strike pay by the Czech, Belgian and English reformist trade union leaders). In the preparations for struggle there is to be seen how the workers put forward demands through their delegates elected in enterprises and elect strike committees, and how in this way they build up the united front from below on a democratic basis and organise mass picketing. In these big strikes, strike committees elected by the masses themselves, in fact central strike committees as real leading united front organs, have been set up.

The masses of the trade-union organised workers are uniting in the fight with the unorganised workers, and drawing them in not only into the strike front but also into the leadership. There is no need to say that owing to the number of strikes and the new methods of leadership employed by the masses, the influence of the reformist leaders is weakened. The theory put forward by the reformists that it is impossible to conduct strikes at a time of crisis has already been exploded. The same applies, at least to a very large extent, to the illusion regarding the neutrality of the State, which stands above parties, and of the "impartiality" of the arbitration commissions.

Whilst taking into account all these positive factors in the fight of the working masses against the capitalist offensive, it would nevertheless be a mistake to assume that the fights have in the main been launched on the basis of the recognition by the masses that they are fighting against the capitalist system in order to find a way out of the crisis and escape from misery and oppression. The masses are not yet so far advanced. They are driven to fight by **sheer hunger**. The strike weapon appears to them more and more as the only means of saving themselves from sinking into the lowest depths of misery. Hence also the extreme obstinacy with which the fights are being conducted by masses who in many cases were hitherto very passive, and the élan with which these masses overcome all the manoeuvres of the reformist leaders. It is not only the reduction of the rates of wages and the cutting down of social services which drive the masses into the fight, but also the constant growth of unemployment, especially in the form of short time. The income of the workers in the big capitalist countries has sunk far below the pre-war income. None of the achievements of the post-war period are left to be defended. That which was won by the fathers of the present generation as a minimum existence and social protection is already lost. The workers are actually fighting for their bare existence.

The masses cannot be attacked by the employers with such material results as hitherto, nor can the reformists with their manoeuvres so successfully hold back the workers from struggle as in the past.

We have entered on the period of big strikes. What we witnessed Poland, in Czechoslovakia, in Holland and in the United States and are now experiencing in the miners' struggle in Belgium and the textile workers' strike in England, is the elementary outbreak of the masses against the intended further worsening of their conditions of existence, which have become unbearable. In Rumania, in Spain, in Greece and in many other countries the masses are preparing for big economic struggles. Thousands of small strikes in other countries show that the economic strike as a mass strike is on the order of the day. It appears to us out of the question that such countries as Germany and France can escape the wave of strikes. Its outbreak and extent, of course, depend to a very large extent upon the capacity of the revolutionary trade unions to mobilise the working masses in the enterprises for the defence of their conditions of living. These economic strikes, which are now sweeping like a wave

through the capitalist countries, will not remain only attempts of the working masses to hold up the economic offensive of the employers and recapture the old working conditions. They must, owing to their inner inadequacy to achieve their aim and especially also owing to the inevitable measures of the capitalist State Power against the striking workers, become sources of great political mass fights against the capitalist system and for Socialism.

Betrayed but not Vanquished.

By F. Garnier.

Brussels, September 17.

After a strike lasting two months (in Borinage three months), the Belgian miners have gone back to work. Their fight is unexampled in the history of the Belgian Labour movement.

The leaders of the reformist miners' union made use of the agreement achieved in the Mixed Commission (by this agreement the wage cuts were confirmed), in order to issue the order to resume work.

From the abundant material regarding the treacherous actions of the reformist leaders we select a few examples in order to show by what means these leaders achieved their aim. In some places they caused it to be openly announced in the streets that work must be resumed on the following day. In other places the striking miners had to give up their strike cards, the reason given being: "Work is now being resumed." Finally, the social democratic leaders took advantage of the misery prevailing in the families of the striking workers in order to achieve the object at which they had been aiming for two months.

It is remarkable that the reformist leaders increased their manoeuvres to bring about a resumption of work precisely at the moment when the employers were seriously feeling the effects of the strike. We cite a notice which appeared in the social democratic organ "Le Peuple" of September 14, which stated:

"To-day there is to be observed a great shortage of household coal; the price increased by 15 francs a ton. The wholesale traders are urgently demanding import licences."

Be that as it may, the Belgian miners have gone back to work. They have gone back full of resentment, recognising that they have been betrayed. After two months of fierce struggle they have gone back to work; but their fighting spirit is not broken, a fact which is to be seen from the numerous collisions which took place at the resumption of work at the various pits.

In Dour the staff of the St. Catharine-Chevallieres pit refused to resume work because some of the miners had not been reengaged. In Forchies-la-Marche, where the management wanted to compel the staff to sign an undertaking, the workers unanimously ceased work. Also in Boussu-Bois the miners refused to go down the pit as a protest against the victimisations. In a number of pits in the Borinage coalfield the miners continued to strike because the employers refused to reinstate 8 workers who were sentenced during the strike.

Another indication of the unbroken fighting spirit of the miners is the fairly strong movement in all coalfields for leaving the reformist miners' union whose leaders betrayed the strike.

Everywhere there is to be recorded a considerable strengthening of the revolutionary organisations. In the central coalfield alone the membership of the revolutionary miners' organisation has increased from 50 before the strike to 1000 at the present time. In the other coalfields the number of new members runs into thousands. The Red Aid has increased its membership from 2000 to 7500. Finally, in these two months the Communist Party of Belgium has won 1156 new members.

The Central Strike Committee, which met on September 14, decided on resumption of work in view of the general situation. At the same time however it addressed an appeal to the workers who have fought in the front ranks during the strike to continue the agitation and organisation in view of coming struggles.

The Agreement confirmed by the mixed Commission provides that wages shall not be reduced before November 1st.

After this date, however there is no doubt that the employers will attempt again to reduce wages, pointing to the cost of living index figures.

It should not be forgotten that the foundry workers are threatened with a wage cut after November 1. It is also a fact that the Government, owing to their financial plight, are planning not only a reduction of unemployment benefit but also a cut in the wages of the railway workers and of all State employees.

The municipal elections in Belgium will be held on October 9. The Communist Party has already commenced its election campaign. It is increasing its propaganda everywhere in order to enlighten the working masses regarding the role of the leaders of the Belgian Labour Party, citing as an example the betrayal of the miners' strike.

Already in the mining areas the attendance at the Communist Party election meetings exceeds anything ever yet experienced in Belgium. Where only three months ago the Communist Party could only get a few dozen workers to their meetings, they now have audiences of 1500, 200 and more.

The workers have fought courageously under the slogans of the revolutionary organisations. This comprehensive movement must now be organisationally consolidated. For this purpose preparations are being made everywhere for the Unity Congress which will be held on October 2nd. This Congress will not only bring together the revolutionary forces, it will in addition adopt all the measures in order to frustrate beforehand the intended attacks of the mineowners.

English Textile Strikers Remaining Solid.

London, September 16.

In the smaller centres of the cotton industry the weaving employers are making attempts to reopen the mills, but only in **Todmorden** have they met with any considerable success. Here four mills started yesterday with partial staffs. Elsewhere the strikers are remaining solid in face of all the blandishments. A mass meeting held yesterday at Nelson under the auspices of the Solidarity Committee and attended by three thousand sent a deputation to the meeting of the Weavers' Committee demanding payment of strike benefit to non-unionists.

Negotiations are continuing. The Manchester employers have agreed to a county agreement and recognition of the Union, providing agreement is reached on other points.

* * *

London, September 19.

The second conference of the **Cotton Strikers' Solidarity Committee** was attended by 127 delegates from 18 of the most important Lancashire towns. The decisions taken represented a big advance to building up a strong independent leadership of the struggle, and considerable successes for work in the trade unions. It was decided to organise local conferences in each area to elect a committee to work in conjunction with the Solidarity Committee, to organise mass movements to the P.A.C.s, to the union offices, towns meetings etc., organise a panel of candidates for union committees and officers and to take special steps for extending the sale of the "Cotton Strike Leader".

The revolt against the Government inspired negotiations with the employers entered into by the union leadership is growing inside the unions, as well as among the masses. Telegrams of protest have been sent by the union committees, impelled thereto by mass pressure, of Earby, Colne, Blackburn and Bacup. Police terror is in no way being reduced in the strike area. The latest arrest is of **J. Greenwood**, assistant secretary of the Darwen Weavers Union, charged under the Trade Union Act. He was sent to trial from the police court on Saturday.

The **I.L.P.** in pursuance of its new "revolutionary" policy is now taking a hand in the strike and running a number of meetings. Whilst doing all they can to sabotage the Solidarity Committee they are tacking its demands on to the end of their speeches. It is noticeable, however, that they are standing clear of any attempt to organise action for their attainment. Typical is the "New Leader", their official organ, which after ignoring the strike for all practical purposes till a week ago, then came out with an article by Maxton, declaring that the textile strike must be extended to a General Strike of all workers throughout Britain for Socialism! The demagogic and unreal nature of this manoeuvre is shown by the fact that the whole thing is dropped in this week's issue.

The World Economic Crisis

Economic Recovery or Further Deepening of the World Economic Crisis?

By E. Lorenz (Berlin).

The upward movement of values, which commenced in Wall-Street and has since extended to the Stock Exchanges of the world, has aroused the hopes of the capitalists of all countries that the crisis has at last reached the lowest point and is now approaching its end, and that a recovery of capitalist economy is commencing. To promote and accelerate this recovery, it is said, is now the task of "active" State economic policy.

The Prognosis of the "Institut für Konjunkturforschung".

The optimistic view of the development of the crisis by the capitalists, not only in Germany but also in other countries, has been considerably encouraged by the fact that the German "Institut für Konjunkturforschung" (Institute for Business Research), which enjoys an international reputation, has given an optimistic forecast of the future economic development which has everywhere aroused great excitement. We quote from the last quarterly report issued on August 27:

"Although production and the level of occupation are still declining, on the financial side of economy there is to be seen for the first time considerable signs of recovery. World commercial prices generally are rising. The wholesale index figures for the United States and Great Britain have also shown an upward tendency since the middle of the year. As a whole, the stocks of raw material are no longer increasing. The rate of decline of world trade has slowed down; the quantity of the goods turnover has probably remained stable. The alleviation of the confidence crisis and the increasing repayment of debts to the banks has so increased the liquidity of the money market, that money is available also for the capital market. An expression of this is the upward tendency on the Stock Exchanges. In Great Britain the rate of interest has fallen so low that a large scale conversion of State debts from 5 to 3½ per cent. could be carried out. Also in the United States, thanks to an energetic credit policy, the rate of interest is beginning to decline. In the two Anglo-Saxon countries the process of amelioration has already advanced so far that certain effects will probably be seen before very long on production economy, which hitherto has declined so greatly. In some overseas raw-material countries tendencies towards consolidation have been maintained owing to improved market conditions. In the debtor countries of Europe the relief is still so slight that no decisive tendencies to improvement are to be expected. Nevertheless, world economy as a whole can probably be regarded as having reached the lowest point of the economic crisis."

Professor Wagemann, the head of the Institut für Konjunkturforschung, is somewhat cautious in his prognosis. But as it is always the case in the publications of the Institute, the tendency of the report has a stronger effect than the formulation. Thus **Dr. Stolper** (Deutscher Volkswirt, September 2, 1932) thinks himself justified in maintaining:

"There exist the objective conditions for an economic recovery in the world, and however sceptically one may judge events in America, the world has undoubtedly passed the lowest depth of the crisis and is deriving fresh hopes."

Reichs Chancellor **von Papen** also adopted this optimistic attitude when he stated in his speech of August 28, in support of his new "salvage programme":

"In their considerations the Ministers were influenced by the belief that the worst of the crisis was probably over. The longest stretch of the way which led us to the depth of the crisis, from which recovery can begin, has already been traversed. At such a time we are justified in resorting to more far-reaching measures than it was possible at an

earlier time of the crisis. At the present advanced stage, which is probably not very far removed from the end of the crisis, one can expect that every action to revive economy will probably help to promote an actual revival of economy."

"America plays banker".

This is what the "Deutsche Bergwerkszeitung" wrote on August 11, when reporting on the gigantic government measures of the U.S.A., by means of which Hoover, with an eye to the approaching Presidential elections, is endeavouring to bring about an artificial revival. No one can deny this character of the American action as a large-scale **election manoeuvre**. But this artificial prosperity has still perhaps—so say the bourgeois economists—the effect of bringing about a real revival of economic activity.

It is interesting to examine Hoover's measures. By the formation of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (which received its capital from the State), in the first six months of 1932 over 1,000 million dollars were employed in supporting various big undertakings, mainly banks and railway undertakings. These measures in no way achieved their aim of bringing about a revival of the whole of economy. As a result, the means at the disposal of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation were increased by a further 2,000 million dollars. Under the Glass-Steagall Bill the Federal Reserve Banks received extended powers in regard to fixing discount rates, and on the other hand the Note issue was considerably increased by reason of the fact that government securities could now be used as Note cover. By means of this last measure the banks were in a position, by making large purchases of government securities, to pump enormous sums into the money market and thus produce a great liquidity of the money market. From February 24 to August 17, the Federal Reserve Banks by purchasing government securities, placed about 1,100 million dollars liquid money on the market. Under the Glass-Borah-Rider Bill the rights of the National banks in regard to the issue of Notes were extended so that they were placed in a position to put about 870 million dollars into circulation. By the founding of the Federal Home Loan Banks with a capital of 125 million dollars, the possibility was created, by lending money on mortgages and other securities, of bolstering up the real estate market. Agriculture was supported by an extension of the credit possibilities of the R.F.C. In order to relieve the raw material market, a "Commodities Finance Corporation" was formed for the purpose of granting credits to industry in order that they could purchase supplies of raw material. Finally, the Wagner-Garner bill provided 2,122 million dollars for the provision of work by the State (public construction, unemployment relief work etc.).

The "Bright Spots" of the Institut für Konjunkturforschung.

What has been achieved by these means? The generous granting of credits has only benefitted the speculators. Since June fixed interest bearing securities have risen on the Stock Exchanges, and since the beginning of July company shares also. At the beginning of September it was calculated that the increase in the value of shares on the New York Stock Exchange amounted to about 12,000 million dollars. The Institut regards this as the first "bright spot" and hopes that the liquidity of the money market and the upward tendency of shares and securities will lead to a revival of the capital market.

The second "bright spot" of the Institute is the development of **prices**, which shows a considerable improvement since the middle of July. But it is not denied that here also speculation played a considerable part. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation, for instance, issued a cotton loan of 50 million dollars in order that this year's cotton harvest could be held in store until next year.

The Institute for Business Research, in its weekly report of August 31, states that stocks as a whole have not increased, that current production has been adapted to the lower consumption and that a further reduction of stocks is to be expected in the following two months. All this is claimed to indicate that the price collapse on the raw material market has come to an end. The figures published by the Institute relating to the stocks of goods do not appear to us to justify such optimism: they show that **stocks** at the end of June last exceeded the level of last year. Whilst, for example, the price of coffee has increased from 72.96 to 81.02 German marks per 100 kilo, the stocks of coffee amount to 1,760 million tons, or more than the world consumption for 15 months. The increase in prices, therefore, is no way the result of a reduction of the stocks, but is the effect of the measures adopted in Brazil to bolster up prices. It is just the same, for example, in the case of rubber, where there exists a stock of 653,000 tons, equivalent to a year's consumption, but nevertheless the price has increased 25 per cent. This was the result of speculation, as the Commodities Finance Corporation enabled the motor industry to take large quantities of rubber for stock. The position regarding stocks as a whole does not justify the price increases.

Further Shrinkage of Production.

How does the matter stand in regard to production in the U.S.A.? Here the "bright spots" cease. For the steel works are working only 13 per cent. of capacity; in July 1932 the automobile industry produced scarcely half of what it produced in July last year; the electricity production shows a new record low level (13 per cent. below that of last year); freight traffic on the railways is stagnant; the consumption of cotton is still declining. Even the Institute for Business Research has to admit:

"In production-economy the greater liquidity of credits has not yet called forth any improvement: production has declined still further... Taken as a whole, from April to July industrial production declined by hardly less than 7 per cent., and this in spite of the fact that the April level was already 50 per cent. below the peak level of 1929."

Thus we have good reasons for anticipating a fresh **hunger winter** in the U.S.A., which will be worse than ever before. Consumption is declining still further, a fact which is admitted by the "Institut für Konjunkturforschung". Wages are still being reduced, with the result that the consuming power of the masses is still further diminished. This must cause the **industries producing goods for consumption** to restrict output still further. Nor is there to be expected any increase in the consuming power of the farmers, at least not for the present, for the increase in the prices of agricultural products, insofar as they benefit the farmers at all, will be used for paying off debts. This situation of the industries producing means of consumption affects in turn the **industries producing means of production**. Who will undertake fresh capital investments when the existing apparatus of production is only working to 13 or 20 per cent. of its capacity? Moreover, it is difficult to finance such investments. Thus it is only left to the Institute to hope for a revival of production as a result of the provision of work directly by the State, for which a sum of 2,122 million dollars had been granted. But the number of unemployed has already increased to more than 12 million, and with the end of the Summer season is increasing still further so that it is hardly probable that there will be any perceptible easing of the situation on the labour market.

A comparison of the situation regarding production and stocks of goods on hand with the prices of shares clearly reveals the whole swindle of the Stock-Exchange boom. Although the steel works of the U.S.A. are working only 13 per cent. of capacity and therefore have to expect an enormous loss, the shares of the United States Steel Corporation have risen from 25% to 51%. Although the stocks of copper have increased from 288,000 tons in 1930 to 600,000 tons, the shares of the American Smelting and Refining Co. have risen from 5% to 24%, and those of the Anaconda Trust from 3 to 15%. Although automobile production in July had reached the lowest level with an output of 111,139 cars, the shares of General Motors rose from 7% to 17%. The Stock-Exchange quotations, as these examples show, have no relation whatever to the real situation but are pure speculation.

Is a New Disaster Threatening?

From the huge subventions granted therefore, so far only the banks, the speculators, wholesale trade and the big financial capitalists have benefitted. If, however, as the Institute assumes, we cannot reckon on a revival of production in the next few months, then the question arises: what will happen after November, i. e., **after the Presidential elections**, when the milliards have been exhausted, when the State treasury is empty, the State indebtedness increased enormously, but no economic revival achieved? Is there not bound to be a disaster compared with which the "black Stock-Exchange Friday" of October 1929 was a mere bagatelle? It is a fact that Hoover and his associates have staked everything on one card. "After us the deluge!" But when this "deluge" comes the world crisis of capitalism will be intensified to an extent which it is impossible to imagine to-day.

Hopes in the Revival in England.

Regarding the economic situation in England, the Institute is even more optimistic than over that of the U.S.A.:

"According to the recent signs of development, there can be no doubt that in spite of the fresh decline of production during the last few months, Great Britain possesses the most prerequisites for rapidly overcoming the crisis."

True, the Institute has to admit that the economic situation of England has again deteriorated somewhat in the second quarter of 1932. According to the index of the Board of Trade, industrial production has declined 1 per cent; some industries producing articles of consumption and also mining, shipbuilding and locomotive and railway carriage construction have been hit most severely. The constant wage cuts are bound to cause a further shrinkage of the home market. At the end of July the unemployment figures were 6 per cent. higher than at the end of the first quarter (since then they have again increased by 48,000 and now stand at 2,859,828). But here also the Institute expects salvation from the money market, from which the liquid monies are already coming on to the capital market, as is shown by the considerable purchases of State securities. This liquidity of the money market, it is claimed, is of great importance in view of a possible considerable investment activity.

But for what purpose shall English industry undertake fresh capital investments? The shutting out of foreign competition by the depreciation of the pound and the protective tariffs, it is said, increases the home market possibilities. As against this we are of opinion that these possibilities ought to have been realised already in the twelve months since the collapse of the pound and the introduction of high protective duties; but the statistics of production and the unemployment figures show that this is not the case. The commercial war of the capitalist world is becoming more and more acute, and therefore there is no reason to place any hopes in an improvement of foreign trade.

"Science" Fabricates Illusions.

We know how "objective" science is in capitalist society. This applies also to the "science" of the German Institut für Konjunkturforschung. The Institut für Konjunkturforschung received the order to give a report on the situation which would not disturb but support the economic policy of the Papen government, which would help the German bourgeoisie to produce illusions, by means of which they could console the working masses with the prospect of a speedy improvement of their situation. The German capitalist class needs this all the more urgently as they are very much concerned as to how they are to get over the coming winter.

To sum up we can say: The situation in the U.S.A. and also in England gives no occasion for assuming a speedy overcoming of the crisis, but on the contrary precisely in these countries we have to expect a further aggravation of the crisis. That capitalist economy in all other countries is still retrogressing is not denied by the Institut für Konjunkturforschung nor by the rest of the bourgeois economists. On the other hand there is every reason to believe that the inevitable reaction to the Hoover boom will become a factor making for a further intensification of the crisis in all capitalist countries.

From these premises, the working class must draw the political conclusions.

The New Hoover "Prosperity" Conference.

By M. L. (New York).

Herbert Hoover, the White House magician, and his cabinet of happiness boys have aimed another broadside of ballyhoo at the depression with the aim of "restoring prosperity". In answer to Hoover's call for a conference more than 350 delegates, constituting perhaps the greatest gathering of American financial industrial and business leaders, met in Washington on August 26.

"The reason for calling this conference", said Hoover, "is that we are convinced that we have overcome the major financial crisis—a crisis in severity unparalleled in the history of the world—... The purpose of the conference is to better organise private initiative and to coordinate it with governmental activities so as to further aid in the progress of recovery of business agriculture and employment."

The delegates set up a "central council of war for a vigorous new attack on what remains of the depression". A central committee was created to bring Federal agencies and private business into an immediate six-point campaign to expand credit and spread employment. This committee consists of the chairmen of the banking and industrial committees of the Federal Reserve districts and is headed by H. M. Robinson, Los Angeles banker and close friend of Hoover. The conference named six sub-committees to begin work on the six-point programme recommended by Secretary Mills. Owen D. Young will take charge of one sub-committee which will deal with the problem of making credit useful to business. Another committee including Daniel Willard, president of the Baltimore and Ohio R.R. and George H. Houston, president of the Baldwin Locomotive Works, will attempt to "increase" employment on railroads and stimulate railroad expansion through purchases of new equipment. Another committee headed by Walter C. Teagle, president of Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, will try to increase employment through the sharing-work movement (stagger system). Mills and Hoover said at this National Conference of Business and Industrial Committees that it would not be called upon to develop plans for combating the depression through the central committee created. The chief task of this committee would be to act as a central organisation to establish contacts between various relief agencies, public and private, and to assist them to coordinate their efforts.

The *Journal of Commerce* (Aug. 27) in an editorial in discussing Hoover's position points out that, "first, he calls emphatically for active cooperation by private business with the relief agencies of the government, then at another point in his address, he cautiously states that it is not within the province of the government to direct plans relieving unemployment by systematically shortening hours. It is, in short, impossible to decide whether the president is merely repeating with variations what he has previously said, even to the familiar assurances that the worst of the crisis is over, or whether he has in mind a more positive programme of action that goes beyond his earlier plans."

The sweet tunes played by Hoover and his businessmen—banker associates in 1930 and 1931, attempting to charm back the return of Republican prosperity, have turned strident. The present outburst has its political significance as we are on the eve of a **presidential election**. The stock market has risen in the past few weeks, as a result of the buyings of Wall street and European investors. The capitalist press has begun a general campaign to magnify all news hinting at economic recovery, such as a factory reopening here or there; such occurrences are hailed as constituting signs of a revival taking place over the whole country. But has the situation changed yet? Is the U.S. recovering from the crisis?

President Hoover has in the past attempted to "cure" the crisis with frequent executive pronouncements that the depression has gone and prosperity will emerge in sixty, ninety, etc. days. We can read these statements now in the compilation entitled "Oh Yeah!", and say likewise, that they prove that the leaders of the capitalist system do not understand its workings and laws. Only the Communists have given a correct estimation of the crisis, on the basis of Marxian analysis.

On August 22, the U.S. Dept. of Labour Employment Service, reported that "a more optimistic feeling prevailed, with

the outlook for August considered encouraging". The statement claimed that July, for the first time since the depression, showed a definite expansion of industry and revival of employment. This is simply based on hope and fancy and is consistent with the attitude of the Hoover administration regarding economic facts since the crisis began. It is another fake alarm about the turn to recovery or prosperity being just around the corner.

There is evidently a lack of co-operation in the various bureaus of the Dept. of Labour at Washington. The above assertion of the employment Service is contradicted by no less an authority than the Bureau of Labour Statistics, which reports that employment decreased throughout the U.S. by 3.4 per cent. in July. For the same period the State of New York, which is a leading industrial state and usually correlates closely with data for the entire country, showed a decrease of 5.3 per cent. in employment, bringing July to the lowest point in employment during the entire period of the crisis. The index for employment for that month was 52.7 in New York and the total loss of employment since November 1929 was 47.3. An engineer's research group at the Columbia University School of Engineering also assailed the report of the Labour Dept. Employment Service. It pointed out that the steel, automobile, power, metal, mining, and general manufacturing industries had dropped more than 100,000 employees in July. Employment in Detroit is the lowest since the automobile production became a big industry. Telephones are being withdrawn at the rate of 70,000 a week with a consequent decrease in employment of 2,000. The steel industry has not moved to above 14 per cent. of capacity.

Yet the capitalist press displays reports to the effect that "industrial impetus gains over the country", and "Hoover sees major crisis overcome" on its first page. They print in their financial papers, however, small items such as this one, for example: The *Herald Tribune* (Aug. 24) writes that the Republic Steel Corp. closed down four open hearth furnaces and banked a blast furnace in one week; that "steel production is at the lowest ebb in the history of the Mahoning Valley (Ohio) with only four of the sixty-eight units active"; that in the "Youngstown district as a whole ten units are operating out of the total of eighty three."

"The steel industry" says the *Annalist* (Aug. 26), "has no orders, either actual or prospective". Pig iron production in June was the lowest since 1896. On a daily basis it was 17 per cent. of the daily output of June 1929.

What significance has this Hoover conference for the workers? In addition to being a political manoeuvre for Hoover, to boost his chances for re-election, it has a more important aspect for the workers. First, the new ballyhoo is intended to cover the growing misery and widespread starvation of the working class which this winter will reach its greatest depths. Second, it is intended to disarm the workers in the struggle for unemployment relief and social insurance at the expense of the state and employers by promising them the return of prosperity. To use Hoover's words,

"In the furtherance of business recovery it is clearly necessary that there be coordination of effort in hastening the return of unemployed to employment in their natural industries. Many methods have been proposed by labour and industrial leaders who systematically shorten hours. Results must be achieved through co-operation on the part of employers and employees suited to each locality and industry. I suggest you should consider the effective part which you can play to further forward organisation to this end. What I wish is that banking and industry and business generally should in this new setting assume further initiative and responsibility."

Let the workers sit back and re-elect Hoover and rely on the promises of the capitalist class. These promises have served to cover up wage cut after wage cut. We know this kind of "initiative and responsibility". Henry Ford said that he would risk his fortune, so he promised last summer, "to help restore prosperity and give employment". Later when thousands of workers came to his factory asking for jobs, they were answered by the police with bullets. This is the kind of relief handed out by the capitalist class.

THE WAR

The "Recognition" of Manchukuo by Japan.

By M. Magnien (Paris).

On September 18 it was a year since the Japanese troops proceeded to the attack on Moukden, since the first blood of the Chinese people flowed and Japanese imperialism commenced to carry out Baron Tanaka's plan of conquest. There followed the rapid extension of the war operations in a Northerly and in a Southerly direction. It came to bloody fighting on the river Nonni near Kingchow, and some months later, at the end of January, to the Shanghai expedition and the destruction of Chapel.

Today the Japanese army occupies the whole of Manchuria and is about to capture the province of Jehol, which is to be followed by the occupation of North China and Mongolia.

There are over five Japanese divisions in Manchuria, concentrated in the neighbourhood of the frontier of the immediately threatened Soviet Union.

Japanese imperialism has now officially annexed the conquered country, after having forced upon it a government which willingly carried out its orders and the members of which have no other function than to carry out the directives of the Tokyo Government.

The Japanese imperialists have joyfully celebrated this event. The French Government press has also welcomed the official recognition of the "Manchurian State". The protectorate treaty signed in Changchun also contains a secret military agreement, which constitutes the basis for the further extension of the Japanese conquest into China and Soviet Siberia. Whilst this treaty was signed, the government of Changchun had a proclamation posted up in which it is stated:

"Japan and Manchuria will mutually support each other in every situation against any danger threatening from abroad. For this reason the necessary Japanese forces will remain in Manchuria."

The Manchurian generals are ready to instigate the most impudent provocations in order to accelerate the attack on the Soviet Union, which is to be carried out together with

How the Social Democracy Fought Against War.

"Only a Political Tyro can imagine..."

Scheidemann in the Peace Debate before the Reichstag on the 6th April 1916.

"Gentlemen, I will take as my text a statement made here by the Prime Minister yesterday: 'Germany's sons are bleeding and dying for Germany, and not for any foreign land.' That was the confirmation of the principle enunciated at the opening of the war: 'We are not impelled by any desire for conquests.' It was the underlining of the principle, 'We are not impelled by greed for territorial gains.' For me it represented a clear refutation of all sorts of fantasies...

If we succeed in freeing enslaved Poland from the clutches of Tsardom then the whole of civilised humanity will approve. If we succeed on the basis of the Treaty of Peace in giving the Flemish people the right to develop their own national culture on the basis of their own language, I ask, is that a violation of human rights? Naturally, we should declare ourselves decisively against any attempt at the violation of human rights.

The Prime Minister declared: 'The Europe which will emerge from this most terrible of all crises will be in many respects different from the old Europe', and at another point he declared: 'After such tremendous events history knows nothing of the status quo ante'. **Gentlemen, only a political tyro can imagine that a whole continent can go up in flames, that millions of men can be killed, that immeasurable cultural values can be destroyed, and that after this terrible cataclysm no single frontier stone placed by a long-decayed diplomat may be moved!**"

the Japanese troops finally stationed in Manchuria and the Russian white guardists.

At the same time as the Japanese Government announced the official recognition of the Manchukuo puppet government made known as well as the protocol of Changchun, the Nanking Government resorted to a counter-manceuvre in the form of a protest note to London, Paris, Washington and Rome, in which Japan is accused of having violated the territorial and administrative integrity of China. The Chinese government also sent a long telegram to the League of Nations calling the attention of this institution to the action of Japan, an action which the Nanking Government represents as being incompatible with the spirit of the League of Nations Pact and a violation of the decisions of the League.

In the text of the Notes sent by the Nanking Government to the signatories of the Nine-Power Treaty, the Kuomintang government emphasises that the activity of Japan is contrary to the provisions of this treaty. For this reason China calls upon the signatory Powers to convene a Conference at the earliest possible date.

The Chinese central Government has also addressed a Note to Tokyo, in which it is stated that the recognition of the Manchukuo Government can only be regarded as a violation of the territorial rights of China and of its administrative inviolability.

In the meantime these protests of the Kuomintang traitors are accompanied by a fresh wave of oppression against the Chinese people, which is giving active expression to its bitter indignation against Japanese imperialism. Special measures have been adopted in Shanghai by the Chinese and Japanese authorities as well as by the police of the International Settlement in order "to prevent disturbances". A state of siege has been imposed in Shanghai. In Nanking itself, where Japanese marines have been landed, the Chinese authorities have prohibited all public meetings and demonstrations.

Thus wherever the working masses of China demonstrate against imperialist war, against the annexation of Manchuria and for the freedom of China, they are faced by the combined forces of the Kuomintang and of the imperialist Powers.

But the **Manchurian people also are not submitting.** With weapons in hand they are fighting the conquerors who starve and oppress them. Well organised anti-imperialist partisan troops are everywhere attacking the Japanese forces. Only the other day several railway stations on the Chinese Eastern Railway were occupied by partisans, and the Japanese troops encamped in this district were surrounded. Japanese troops had to be hastily sent to Tsitsihar in order to relieve the troops there who were besieged by insurgent peasants.

In Manchuria and also in China the indignation of the people is constantly growing. The boycott of Japanese goods is still proceeding. This movement for national freedom is an insurmountable obstacle to the imperialist aims of Japan. At the same time Japan, which by "recognising" its new colony wished to confront the League of Nations and its rivals in the Pacific with a fait accompli, has greatly aggravated its already strained relations with the United States. England and the United States have now been actually elbowed out of Manchuria, which is becoming an exclusive source of raw material and a sales market for Japan. This explains why a certain part of the English press openly opposes the coup of September 15.

In the United States there prevails the opinion that Japan, by recognising Manchukuo, has openly violated the Nine-Power Treaty and that what Japan is doing at present is only the prelude to still more serious operations in China and in the Far East. American imperialism is well aware that, after the abortive adventure in Shanghai, this is only a step on the part of Japanese imperialism in order to launch a war for the domination of the whole of China and Siberia. The realisation of Japan's aspirations, which are unreservedly supported by French imperialism—which, it should be mentioned, has recently increased its war preparations against the Soviet Union by renewing the Franco-Polish military agreement—greatly endangers the imperialist aims of the United States.

There is every indication therefore that we are approaching a further sharpening of the situation in the Far East.

New Upsurge of the Anti-Japanese Boycott Movement in China.

By T. H.

Shanghai, beginning of August.
(Delayed in transit.)

Whilst the whole of the Kuomintang press celebrated the final evacuation of Shanghai by the Japanese troops on July 17, there developed in Shanghai numerous terrorist groups such as "With blood and iron" or "With blood and soul for the extermination of traitors" etc. Every day the papers contain reports that this or that terrorist group has sent warning letters to or committed outrages against Exchanges or firms dealing in Japanese goods. It is reported that an attempt has even been made upon Wan-Chin Wei. The Shanghai Kuomintang police arrested some of these terrorists—mostly young men and women emanating exclusively from the petty-bourgeoisie and who had taken part in the fight of the defence of Shanghai—and delivered them over to the French and English police, whilst the masses of the people and a part of the bourgeoisie defended them and demanded that they be released.

It is not owing to chance that these young nationalists, who remained loyal at the time of the Shanghai armistice, when the Kuomintang leaders gave the order to retreat, have now suddenly become so radicalised and are proceeding to form terrorist groups. They are disappointed on account of the deceitful manoeuvres of the Kuomintang leaders, through which the exact contrary of what they had intended to achieve by their participation in the emancipation struggle was reached. Further they are greatly impressed by the fact that the workers who conducted the heroic fight for the defence of Shanghai after the treachery of the leaders of the 19th army, are continuing the fight alone against the Kuomintang and the imperialists by means of big strikes. The uninterrupted victories of the Red Army on the Yangtse and in South China and the partisan fights of the Chinese peasants against the Japanese army in Manchuria also increase the fighting enthusiasm of these petty bourgeois elements and their resentment towards their own class, towards the commercial bourgeoisie and the Kuomintang regime.

In spite of months of concealment and declarations that the Shanghai peace treaty does not stipulate that the Shanghai arsenal must be closed the Kuomintang regime, on "Liberation day" July 17, had to announce officially that the Shanghai arsenal will not be opened again. "Liberation Day" also brought to light the fact that, apart from the Chinese police, no Chinese soldiers may be stationed in Shanghai and that the streets built by the imperialists extending beyond their concessions are now to be administered by the imperialists alone, and not by the Chinese and imperialists jointly as formerly. It has already been laid down in the form of a treaty that Chapei and the whole of the West of Shanghai are to be placed under foreign control. The heroic fight for the defence of Chapei, lasting from 28th January to March 3, was therefore entirely in vain.

It is true that on July 17 the Chinese district of Shanghai was temporarily evacuated by the Japanese troops. But on the other hand the number of Japanese warships in Shanghai suddenly increased to 25, and the Japanese have officially declared that in the Yangtse region and also in Manchuria, river police will be stationed wherever there is a Japanese Consulate. The Yangtse mercantile fleet, which has been laid up since the occupation of Moukden a year ago, is to recommence working, but under the command of the Japanese navy. The Japanese naval command officially declared that in future the unloading of Japanese goods in the Yangtse harbours will be carried out under the supervision of Japanese sailors. That is to say, the Japanese intend by means of force, with bayonets and guns, to flood China with their goods and break the anti-Japanese boycott. The Kuomintang regime not only does not raise any protest against all these measures, but behaves as if the Japanese were acting perfectly within their rights.

Since the commencement of the armistice the Kuomintang has forcibly suppressed and dissolved all anti Japanese organisations. The goods formerly confiscated by the anti-Japanese boycott organisations were given back by the Kuomintang to the merchants to be sold freely on the open market. The anti-Japanese boycott movement was therefore

completely stifled by the Kuomintang. The following table shows the figures of Japanese imports to China since the Japanese occupation of Manchuria:

		Japanese exports to China in Chinese gold units	
Year	Month		
1931	October	17,988,689	
	November	10,982,375	
	December	11,938,258	
1932	January	8,519,327	
	February	8,630,507	
	March	13,085,714	
	April	18,830,615	
	May	16,964,126	
	June	22,185,000 (Yen)	

It is quite clear from these figures that, as a result of the suppression of the anti-Japanese boycott movement by the Kuomintang since March last, there has been a great increase of Japanese imports. According to a report of the "Sin Wan Pao" of July 20, Japanese imports, which owing to the last boycott had fallen from the first to the third place, have now advanced to the first place again. "Ta Kung Pao" of July 30, reports that in the last few weeks 50,000 tons of Japanese goods were unloaded in Shanghai and bills to the value of 20 millions were sent by Chinese merchants to Japan. Thus an extraordinary revival of Japanese trade with China is to be recorded.

The new upsurge of the anti-Japanese boycott movement is directed not only against the Japanese imperialists, but also against their Kuomintang lackeys. This boycott is undoubtedly developing into a mass movement.

INTERNATIONAL FIGHT AGAINST WAR AND INTERVENTION

The Secretariat of the Second International and the Anti-War Congress in Amsterdam.

By Fritz Heckert (Berlin).

Herr Adolf Sturmthal, the assistant of Friedrich Adler, the Secretary of the Second International, publishes in "International Information" of September 3, issued by the Labour and Socialist International, a special article on "The Amsterdam Communist Demonstration against the Imperialist War". It would be doing Herr Sturmthal too much honour if we dealt at length with the contents of his article. We will only refer to two things:

1. The unbounded annoyance which these gentlemen express because a great number of social democratic delegates were present at the anti-war congress and were in agreement with its content and aims. The social democrat Leon Nicole made a declaration in the name of 400 social democratic delegates that, along with the other delegates, they would fight against war and also against the leaders of the II. International, who by their whole attitude support the war-mongers. When a lackey of imperialism gets his corns trod on in such a manner, we are not surprised if he cries out. After Herr Sturmthal has given vent to his annoyance with the comrades who refused to dance to the piping of Fritz Adler and company, he attempts to defame the whole Congress. He writes as follows:

"None of them (the social democratic delegates, F. H.) had a word to say when, for example, Heckert, the Communist member of the German Reichstag, accused Vandervelde of having prepared the Japanese attack on Manchuria by his study trip to China! None of them attempted to correct these and other libels, which were in the mouths of the innumerable speakers and which gave the Congress, indeed, its real character! They willingly allowed themselves to be used as a façade for the unbridled attacks upon the international Socialist Movement."

It may be that Herr Adolf Sturmthal received a suitable remuneration from the II. International for fabricating such assertions. Since the 4th of August 1914, the leaders of the II. International have worked without interruption in the service of their national bourgeoisie. Or will perhaps Fried-

rich Adler deny that, right from the first day of the announcement of the invitation to the International Amsterdam Anti-War Congress, he, with the aid of the apparatus of the same International and through the mouth of the leaders of this institution, spread his insolent libels and suspicions against this Congress? The class conscious workers know that the leaders of the II. International do not conduct any fight against the imperialists, and that the leaders of the II. International cannot bring forward any evidence of their fight against war.

As regards, however, Herr Sturmthal's personal reference to myself contained in the quotation given above, the following must be said: As is to be seen from the stenographic report of my speech, I stated: As Lenin has taught us, the bourgeoisie know very well how to create secrecy regarding an impending war. They have a thousand tricks and methods. In order to create this secrecy they make use of the activity of the leaders of the II. International and of the Amsterdam Trade Union Federation. When the French and Spanish imperialists waged war in order to crush the Riff Kabyls, the workers of Morocco, Algeria and Tunis engaged in strike struggles. At that time Leon Jouhaux, the president of the French C.G.T., went to North Africa on behalf of the Comité des Forges in order to keep the workers from going on strike.

At the time when Chiang-Kai-shek, the executioner of the Chinese revolution, was about to launch fresh attacks against the workers and peasants of China—this was already in the days when Japan was preparing to invade Manchuria—Emile Vandervelde went to China and discovered that the hangmen of the Chinese people, the betrayers of Chinese unity, the bloody generals connected with Chiang-kai-shek, have sympathy with the II. International.

And even Edo Fimmen, the general secretary of the International Transport Workers Federation, who was in Manchuria when the Japanese troops, with the approval of the Japanese social democrats, invaded Manchuria, saw fit to tell the workers that Japan's fight in Manchuria is understandable in view of its vital interests. Hundreds of such examples could be quoted to prove what role the leaders of the II. International and of the Amsterdam Trade Union International play for the bourgeoisie in creating the greatest secrecy regarding an impending war.

Herr Friedrich Adler, you who during the war, in order to fight against the war, fired a revolver and shot dead the Austrian Prime Minister Stürgkh, you have retired to the ranks of the Kaiser socialists, of the servants of Poincaré la guerre. There you serve as a spreader of calumnies. We are prepared to discuss with you any leader of your II. International and his fight against war and the war mongers. You have no need to trouble your Herr Sturmthal to pen his insolent remarks regarding the Amsterdam Anti-War Congress. You will not prove that the leaders of the II. International are opponents of war, are fighters against war by claiming that the II. International was

slandered in Amsterdam. Hostility to war can only be proved by actions, and not as Minister of His Majesty King Albert of Belgium or of King George of England, or as followers of Edouard Herriot, or even as election agents for Field Marshal Hindenburg.

What the workers think of Emile Vandervelde as a fighter for the proletarian cause was plainly shown to him by the striking miners of Charleroi on July 11; when he appeared on the balcony of the people's house in order to utter a few vague phrases regarding the justice of their cause, the workers answered: "If you are for us, then take your place at the head of our procession. We are not afraid of the police", whereupon Vandervelde quickly made himself scarce.

THE WHITE TERROR

Recent Persecution of the Proletarian Cultural Organisations in Japan.

By Nakanisi (Tokyo).

The 15th of March is one of the most important commemoration days of the Japanese proletariat. On this day the working class of Japan call to mind the brutal wholesale arrests by the Japanese government, in the early morning of March 15, 1928, of over 1000 revolutionary workers and peasants.

About a year later, on the 16th of April 1929, the Japanese government again carried out wholesale arrests. The total number of comrades arrested on these two dates and on intermediate occasions amounted to about 3000, of whom 864 were faced with various charges and held in custody. The trial of these comrades is still going on. 200 comrades in Tokio, including leading functionaries of the C.P. of Japan, are threatened with the death penalty or long terms of imprisonment with hard labour. For the rest of the comrades the prosecution is demanding sentences of at least two years.

In the period from February to July 1930 the Japanese bourgeoisie, in an attempt to crush the revolutionary movement which is growing at an astonishing rate precisely because of these repressive measures, again carried out wholesale arrests. One thousand comrades were sent to prison and 461 of them were prosecuted. Thus the total number of comrades prosecuted in the period from March 1928 to April 1931 amounts to 1325.

Among the arrested were some of the most famous writers, dramatists, artists and other intellectuals of Japan. It is evident from this that the "Peace Preservation Act" is being applied not only against members of the Communist Party, the Y.C.L. etc., but even against sympathisers. It is expected that these intellectuals will receive sentences ranging from 2 to 5 years. Comrades Hayashi and Kataoka have already been sentenced and are each serving two years of imprisonment.

Since these acts of repression, however, the proletarian culture organisations have developed in an astonishing manner. The various proletarian culture organisations have begun to strike firm organisational roots in the enterprises and villages by organising various cultural circles for workers and peasants, such as **Literary Circles, Theatre Circles, Art Circles**, etc. The number of these Circles already amounts to more than 1000, with a total membership of over 20,000. The "K.O.P.F." (Federation of proletarian cultural organisations of Japan) was established in October 1931. The 14 organisations affiliated to this body are: Proletarian Theatre Union of Japan (Japanese Section of the International Workers Theatre Movement), Proletarian Writers' Union of Japan (Japanese Section of the International Union of Revolutionary Writers), Proletarian Cinema Union, Proletarian Photographers' Union, Proletarian Artists' Union, Proletarian Musicians' Union, Proletarian Esperantists' Union, Militant Atheists' Union (Japanese Section of the Proletarian Freethinkers' International), Proletarian Birth Control Union, Union of Proletarian Libraries, Progressive Doctors' Union, Proletarian Medical Treatment Union, Institute for New Pedagogy, and Institute for Proletarian Sciences.

The total edition of the various periodicals issued by these organisations amounts to 100,000 a month.

The K.O.P.F., which was founded soon after the outbreak of the robber-war by Japanese imperialism in Manchuria

How the Social Democracy Fought Against War.

"The Scum of the Earth."

"The villainous plans of the dishonourable, bloody and faithless Tsar and his allies, the cunning Japs, the perfidious Britons, the boastful French, the lying Belgians, the thankless Boers, the swaggering Canadians and the semi-savage and kidnapped Indians, Turcos, Zouaves, Niggers and the remaining scum of the earth, have been broken against the strong wall set up by the incomparable heroism of the German and Austrian troops.

It is bad enough that brave German soldiers must fight on the blood-soaked fields of France with the half-savage cannon-fodder of Great Britain and France. It is bad enough that the 'revolutionary' and 'republican' French let themselves be led by the nose by the Russian Tsarist criminals, and that the usually so reasonable Belgians let themselves be deceived by cowardly, perfidious Albion. Every day of the war proves how just is the cause of Germany. . ."

(The "Courier", the organ of Germany's Transport Workers Union, on the 25th October 1914.)

and Mongolia, has naturally concentrated its activities on the fight against this war as well as against the cultural reaction which has characterised the policy of Japanese imperialism since the outbreak of the war. Since the 25th of March last the Japanese bourgeoisie have caused to be arrested nearly all the best comrades who were fighting at the head of the proletarian cultural movement of Japan. At the end of May last the number of comrades who have been thus arrested amounted to over 100.

The following are the names of the most prominent comrades who have been arrested:

Korehito Kurashara, who was arrested after a year's illegal activity beginning at the time of preceding oppression. **Yuriko Chujo**, one of the leading figures in the proletarian as well as bourgeois literary work of Japan. **Sanji Kishi**, whose short story "Monument" has already been translated into Russian. **Tamiki Hosoda**, whose latest novel exposing the structure of Finance Capitalists of Japan is very popular among the proletarian masses of Japan. **Miyakichi Ono**, **Kazuo Terajima**, **Yoshi Herata**, **Seikichi Fujimori** etc.

Since the commencement of this wave of oppression the Japanese police have dispersed all meetings of the K.O.P.F. and arrested all comrades attending the meetings of functionaries. A typical example of the repressive measures of the police occurred at the second plenum of the Central Council of the K.O.P.F., which was held on 19th of June last. The meeting, at which 800 comrades were present, was raided and dispersed by a large body of police three minutes after the commencement of the opening speech. It came to bloody collisions between the police and demonstrators in the main street and other parts of Tokyo. 186 comrades, including actors and actresses belonging to the P.R.O.T. and other artists, were arrested, and several of them were severely injured. The arrested are subjected to the most brutal torture, reminiscent of the middle ages.

Despite the brutal oppression, however, the proletarian cultural movement in Japan, basing itself on the daily demands of the workers and peasants, is steadily progressing.

We would take this opportunity to call upon the comrades throughout the world to pay greater attention and render brotherly aid to the revolutionary proletarian cultural movement in Japan.

The Trial of the Members of the C.C. of the C.P. of the Philippine Islands.

By Paul Levin (Manila).

The American imperialists, realising the class character and the revolutionary aims of the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands, have sought to suppress it right from its inception. Wholesale arrests, mediaeval torture, dismissal of revolutionary workers from the factories, prohibition of meetings were the policy of the American imperialists aided by the native puppets in the Philippine Islands. All these measures, however, failed to check the rapid growth of the **Communist Party**. On the contrary, the Communist movement is spreading from the industrial centres to the remotest villages, from Luzon to the Moro land. In face of the unexampled spread of the movement the American imperialists and the native bourgeoisie finally resorted to arresting all revolutionary leaders, including Comrades **Cresanto Evangelista**, **Jacinto Manahan**, **G. Capadocia** and 15 others, all members of the C.C. of the Communist Party.

In the course of the last year over 700 revolutionary workers and peasants were arrested, most of them charged with attending seditious and illegal meetings and demonstrations. Of these accused 25 were tried by the Court in the first instance and each sentenced to 16 years of banishment and in addition fined from 400 to 3,000 pesos.

The workers and peasants have been roused to great resentment and indignation by these savage sentences pronounced by the bourgeois class court on their leaders. The government and judicial authorities were bombarded with protests. This could be seen from the fact that a departmental secretary of the Insular Government declared that if the leaders immediately filed an affidavit stating that they were not Communists and promising to abandon the name of the Communist Party and adopt a more harmless title, he would undertake to induce the juridical authorities to cancel the sentences against them.

Our comrades, whilst having no illusion regarding capitalist class justice, determined to utilise the court-room as a tribunal from which to expound their Communist principles. They therefore made an appeal to the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands. The appeal was heard on July 21 by the Supreme Court consisting of three American and three Philippine judges. The Communists conducted their own defence, Comrade **Evangelista** acting as their spokesman. When the case came to be heard the court-room was filled to suffocation with hundreds of workers. The following were the chief points of the indictment filed by the Prosecution: 1. Communists rely on revolutionary means; 2. the Communist movement is not reformist but revolutionary; 3. the Communists intensify the class struggle and foster class hatred; 4. the Communists incite the people to revolution and 5. that the aim of the Communists is to overthrow capitalism and the constituted government.

In answer to these charges the accused Communists plainly stated our revolutionary attitude. Comrade **Evangelista** set forth in detail the immediate and ultimate aims of the Communist Party and exposed the imperialist white terror. Referring to our tactics he declared:

"We are not reformists, reformism under capitalism is pure utopia. History shows that reformism is tantamount to betrayal of the cause of the workers. The history of the Philippines constitutes a glaring example of this. Most of the reformists in the Philippines have betrayed the cause of complete and unconditional independence."

Regarding the policy of American imperialism Comrade **Evangelista** quoted official American documents showing that American domination of the Philippine Islands is a step towards penetration of the Asiatic Continent. It should be added that domination of the Philippine Islands is also a step towards intervention against the Soviet Union. He added:

"There are two systems of economy confronting each other in the world—the capitalist system and the socialist system. The former is on the verge of complete collapse, whilst the latter is establishing itself on a more stable basis. At present concerted preparations are being made by the imperialists of Europe, America and the Far East for armed invasion of the U.S.S.R. But in spite of these imperialist threats against the Soviet Republic, the class conscious workers of the world, including ourselves, will stand united in defence of the Soviet Union."

When Comrade **Evangelista** made his severest attack on American imperialism and bourgeois justice, Judge Hall, one of the American judges, became so enraged that he left the Court-room. Immediately afterwards Judge **Avancena** forbade Comrade **Evangelista** to speak any further. He stated that the rules of the Supreme Court must be observed and declared the adjournment of the court. There is no doubt that the Supreme Court will uphold the verdict and sentences of the lower Court.

This trial, however, will cause the masses of the Filipino workers and peasants to realise that American democracy is nothing but a fig-leaf to cover its terrorist acts against the exploited class in the metropolis and in the colonies.

A Declaration by the Rueggs.

Shanghai, September 13, 1932.

At the personal request of Sun Tsin Lin, the widow of Sun Yat Sen, the "China Press" published a declaration by Paul and Gertrud Ruegg on their refusal to make an appeal to the Supreme Court.

In the introduction to their declaration they express the conviction that "the Supreme Court would adopt the same attitude, as behind it there are the same forces as those which dictated the verdict of the Court in the province of Kiangsu".

The declaration cites details from the proceedings at the trial, proving that this trial was framed up by the British police together with the Kuomintang authorities, who acted as agents of British imperialism. "After having suffered countless tortures", the declaration states, "we were sentenced to imprisonment for life. We suffered from sickness and ill-treatment; we were threatened with capital punishment; we were dragged from one prison to another. During the course of fifteen months we were in six different prisons. We were fastened with chains to the prison walls. We were deprived

of every possibility of defence, and went on hunger strike against our incarceration and the farcical trial. Our trial was regarded even by the public opinion of the world as a farce which disregarded the whole of the Chinese laws in order that the verdict, which had been decided on beforehand, could be pronounced. We were deprived of the right to choose our own defender. Even our Chinese defender encountered the greatest difficulties. He was not allowed to see the so-called "documents" which figured as the chief incriminating material. Our letters to our defender were intercepted and destroyed. Every means was employed in order to prevent us from speaking and to enable the verdict to be pronounced without our protest. The witnesses were heard in our absence. It was forbidden to address questions to our accusers, to the officers of the imperialist police. The court attempted, in spite of our protest, to nominate the lawyer to defend us, and finally, when we demanded that the so-called "documents" which were supposed to constitute the "evidence" be submitted to us, the judges had us forcibly removed from the court.

"We cannot appeal to the Supreme Court, as there exists no hope of an unprejudiced rehearing of the case."

The declaration enumerates all the violations of the law committed by the Court already during the preliminary examination, which prove that it was intended to convict the accused at all costs. "The brutal, savage sentence against us will be avenged by the Chinese people, which is conducting the fight against the alliance of the imperialists with the Kuomintang, which aims at preserving the interests of the imperialist slave owners. This verdict will be denounced by all friends of the Chinese people and all those who conduct and support the fight against foreign invasion. We have decided not to appeal to the Court, which has exposed itself so completely, but to the Chinese people, and to the masses who are conducting the fight for the overthrow of the imperialists. We appeal to the masses of the Chinese people who are suffering under the hard blows of the economic crisis. We appeal to the toiling masses and to our friends in the whole world, who are engaged in the fight against imperialism.

"Paul and Gertrud Ruegg."

Hungarian Socialists Denounce the Scottsboro Mother.

Budapest, 19th September 1932.

Thanks to the provocative and denunciatory attitude adopted by the central organ of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party, the "Nepszava", the Hungarian authorities were given an excuse for prohibiting the Scottsboro mass meeting which was to have taken place in Budapest. The welcome Mrs. Ada Wright, the mother of two of the condemned Scottsboro boys, received at the hands of this "socialist" newspaper was the publication of a tendentious and misleading report of her arrest in the Czechoslovakian mining centre Kladno, together with all the slanders published by the organ of the Czech Minister of the Interior, the Večer. "Black Bolshevik", "Bolshevist Negro Woman", and "Communist Propagandist" were amongst the phrases taken over by the social democratic press in Hungary. The mass meeting at which Mrs. Ada Wright and Louis Engdahl, the secretary of the American Labour Defence, were to have spoken was organised by progressive women's organisations some of whose leaders are now being prosecuted for "defamation of the nation" as a result of their sharp protests against the murder of the two communist leaders Szallai and Fuerst.

The attitude of the bourgeois press towards Mrs. Wright was much better than the attitude of the social democratic newspaper. Upon her arrival in Budapest from Vienna Mrs. Wright was besieged by journalists and press photographers. The next day her photo and two column articles appeared in the bourgeois paper "Magyar Hirlap". The attitude of the bourgeois democratic press was sympathetic; it published friendly comments together with a lengthy report of Mrs. Wright's remarks to the journalists concerning the case.

* * *

Scottsboro Mother in Bulgaria.

Sofia, 19th September 1932.

After leaving Budapest Mrs. Ada Wright and Louis Engdahl travelled to Sofia where they were given a magnificent

reception at the railway station by a huge demonstration. Children showered red flowers on Mrs. Wright and batteries of press photographers took photos of the arrival. The demonstration was over before the police could mobilise sufficient forces to interfere. Application was immediately made to the police department for permission to hold a Scottsboro mass meeting in Sofia. The police refused to take the responsibility of making a decision and handed the matter over to the so-called national government which consists of a block of the democratic, national and radical parties. On behalf of the government the Minister of the Interior then prohibited all Scottsboro meetings.

* * *

Sofia, 20th September 1932.

After being subjected to much pressure the Minister of the Interior for Bulgaria, Guirgumoff, consented to see a deputation to appeal against the prohibition of all Scottsboro meetings in Bulgaria. Mrs. Wright headed the deputation and was accompanied by Louis Engdahl, the secretary of the American Labour Defence, Atanas Bildereff, the secretary of the Bulgarian Scottsboro Committee, and the representatives of various working class organisations. Mrs. Wright pressed her claim to be permitted to appeal to Bulgarian public opinion against the frame-up of the Negro boys in Scottsboro. Guirgumoff declared that Bulgaria was not in a position to interfere in the domestic affairs of other countries and expressed confidence in the fairness of the American courts. The Scottsboro case was a purely judicial one and should not be exploited for political purposes, was another point he made. When pressed by Engdahl who declared that the Scottsboro case was something more than a purely judicial one and that it concerned humanity as a whole, the Minister declared that as an individual he sympathised with Mrs. Wright as a mother, but as statesman he was unable to interfere. He also expressed the fear that the American Legation in Sofia would be angry if he took up any other attitude. Finally, however, he declared that he would reserve his final decision and make it known later.

Mrs. Wright has been visited at her hotel by numerous delegations of workers and peasants who have expressed their sympathy and solidarity with her in her struggle to save the lives of the innocent Scottsboro boys. Telegrams and telephone calls are coming in constantly from other Bulgarian towns protesting against the prohibition of the Scottsboro meetings. The Bulgarian press is publishing extensive interviews with Mrs. Wright and Engdahl.

INTERNATIONAL CHILDREN'S WEEK

Fight Child Misery and Child Neglect!

By Martha Arendsee (Berlin).

The Twelfth International Children's Week from 2nd to 9th October, must become a fighting week for the proletarian children, embracing the large masses of workers in all countries. The proletarian child is at present seriously threatened from all sides. The wholesale unemployment in all capitalist countries has led to a fearful mass misery of the children, which is now growing to mass neglect.

In America the Ministry for Labour announces that at the present time 200,000 to 300,000 children are wandering about homeless, and perishing from hunger and cold, as well as accidents on the railways. At the Hoover Conference on child health and child protection, held on November 28, 1930, it was already declared that of the 45 million children of America, 6 million are undernourished and 10 million have to be designated as sick, of whom 8 per cent. have not the necessary care and attention.

In the report on the Public Health in New York for the year 1931 it is stated that 60 per cent. of the children are undernourished. In the meantime many months have passed in which hunger and privations have assumed worse forms. Millions of children in America are faced with starvation.

Conditions in Germany have developed in a similar manner. Here also the reduction of wages and unemployment

relief, the cutting down of social services have led to wholesale misery and neglect. The health of the 7½ million elementary school children is seriously threatened. Already in its memorandum of March 2 this year, the Prussian Government was compelled to admit that in 1930 only 38.9 per cent. of the school children could be described as well nourished. In Prussia about 530,000 school children are undernourished. Last Winter there were many cases where the parents were compelled to keep their children away from school because they had no clothes for them. In the Duisburg elementary school it was ascertained that 38 per cent. had no warm underclothing; 24 per cent. of the children had only one pair of stockings; 11 per cent. children had no boots or shoes whatever and had to go barefooted in the cold to school. 32 per cent. had no overcoats or mantles. The undernourished children therefore must have suffered terribly from the cold. What will things be like in the coming winter?

The consequences of under-nourishment are already apparent in the spread of epidemics. Every day schools are being closed owing to increased outbreaks of infantile paralysis and diphtheria. Medical examination and treatment of school children, however, has been ruthlessly cut down on grounds of "economy".

The Workers International Relief, in its fight against child misery, hunger and privation, has already in a number of countries, with the aid of doctors, undertaken a comprehensive investigation of the condition of the children. In Berlin large scale medical examinations of inhabitants of houses and of groups of unemployed were carried out, and at the same time the state of health of the children ascertained.

In a tenement house in Wedding, 26 children of 13 families were examined. Of these 26 children only 7 were healthy. The 13 mothers had brought 45 children to the world, of whom only 28 still survived. In an investigation of unemployed at the Labour Exchange 15 children who had been brought by their parents were examined. Of these 15 children, only 1 was still thoroughly sound and healthy, 11 were underweight for their age and height. A child of 2½ years was nearly 10 lbs. below weight. A 12-year old boy was 12 lbs. underweight. Tuberculosis is particularly prevalent in families with a large number of children. Expenditure under the health insurance has been drastically cut down. Whilst in 1930 53,561 children received treatment in hospitals, sanatoria and hydros, in 1931 the number of children receiving such treatment was 34,342. In the meantime expenditure has been cut down still further.

How hunger morally endangers the children is shown by the increase of **child prostitution**. In Berlin, in the Wedding district, some time ago, a number of 10 to 13 year old girls, who offered themselves to men for 10 Pfennigs or a bar of chocolate, were taken up by the police.

These examples, taken from two big countries which have been most severely hit by the crisis, characterise the terrible position of the proletarian child in the period of the decline of capitalism. Simultaneously with the misery and neglect of the proletarian children the youth are taking an increasing interest in politics. The accentuation of the class struggle is painfully brought home to the proletarian child, when the wages of the father are reduced or his unemployment benefit is cut off, when the father runs in vain to the Public Assistance Committees or when he is arrested for taking part in an unemployed demonstration. In the school, in the street, everywhere the child is impressed by the political everyday fight against fascism and reaction.

The proletarian children's movement is developing more and more into a revolutionary children's mass organisation, as a part of the fighting proletariat. The ruling class view this development with dismay. The governments, which look idly on whilst the proletarian children perish in masses as a result of sickness, cold and hunger, are making desperate efforts to keep the children from revolutionary influence.

The international Children's Week must become a week of mass recruitment for the revolutionary pioneer movement. The **Workers International Relief** which has already this Summer carried out big relief actions for the children of strikers and unemployed, at the same time appeals again to the workers for solidarity actions for the children of factory workers and unemployed who are fighting against wage reductions and cutting down of unemployment benefit.

The Dutch workers have given hospitality to 80 children from the Ruhr district, and the working class of Basle and Zürich 143 children from the Mannheim district. They have thereby expressed their solidarity with the fight of the German unemployed. The German workers of the Ruhr district have in turn supported the fight of the Belgian miners by giving hospitality to their children in Germany. In the Czechoslovakian miners' fight there have likewise been splendid examples of solidarity in the giving of accommodation to children of the strikers. The solidarity actions are linked up with the active fight for the social demands for the proletarian child.

International proletarian solidarity in the fight against child misery, hunger, poverty and exploitation, for the defence of the revolutionary pioneer movement—that is the slogan of the Workers' International Relief for International Children's Week!

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

The Industrialisation of East Siberia.

By Otto Heller (Irkutsk).

The new province of East Siberia is twice as big as Germany, France, Italy and Poland together. But it is not the vast extent of this province which renders it important. Eastern Siberia—there is already no doubt about this—is the richest part of the whole of the Soviet Union in regard to minerals and water power.

Eastern Siberia is the land of the second Five-Year Plan. Whilst the first Five-Year Plan is creating the first two coal and ore combinats of the Union: Krivoirog-Don-Basin, Ural-Kusnetz, the second and third Five-Year Plans will create the third coal and ore basis—the coal and ore basis of Eastern Siberia, which by its hydro-electric driven works will place everything hitherto known in this sphere in the shade.

It is quite impossible to convey in a short space a picture of all that is now being undertaken in Eastern Siberia. In order to gain some idea of the vast and multiple character of the undertakings, we need only mention the following: electricity, coal, iron-ore, zinc, platinum, gold, nickel, wolfram, bismuth, arsenic, timber and—thousands of miles of new railways. That suffices for the present. Everything that is now being done in Siberia is only regarded as **preparatory work** for the real work, which will commence in the year 1933.

The **central problem is the problem of electricity.** Eastern Siberia is being 100 per cent electrified; the new railways will be driven by electricity, the whole of industry will be electrified. Here, however, it is not a question of building one power works, as in Dnieprostroy. The Angarastroy is a **whole system** of water-power works distributed over an area which is at least half the size of Germany. In order to gain some idea of what enormous quantities of electric energy will be produced by the Angara system, we will give a few figures: whilst Dnieprostroy yields 560,000 kilowatts and produces about 2000 million kilowatt hours a year, at the end of the second Five-Year period the Angara system will already produce 20,000 million kilowatt hours! One fifth of the whole electric power of the Soviet Union will be supplied by this system. Of the 27 million kilowatt output which is to be achieved by water power at the commencement of the third Five-Year Plan, the Angara system alone will supply 16 millions! Whilst the Dnieprostroy can work 4,000 hours a year, the Baikalskaya works situated to the North of Irkutsk, owing to the favourable water conditions, will work 7,500 hours and with an output of 500,000 kilowatts produce 3,500 million kilowatt hours.

In the **construction and designing bureau of Angarastroy** near Irkutsk (a department of the "hydroelectricstroy" in Moscow) all scientific researches are being examined, the different variants discussed, expeditions equipped, and the preparations made for obtaining material and, not least also, for **recruiting about 20,000 workers.** The building itself will be undertaken in stages. The first building works will begin in 1933; at the end of the third Five-Year, i.e. in 1942, the whole Angara system is to be completed.

The construction of the **Barchatovo** power station, 20 kilometres North-East of the **Cheremchovo** coal centre, will be

commenced first. The station will produce 800,000 kilowatts or 5,500 million kilowatt hours. There will follow the **Baikalskaya** power station, 8 kilometres North of Irkutsk, with the above-mentioned production figures. At the end of the second Five Years there will commence the construction of the **two gigantic stations** in the Taiga near **Bratskoye**. The one station, **Padunskoye**, will produce $2\frac{1}{2}$ million kilowatts and 14,000 million kilowatt hours. At the end of the second Five Years the **Krasnojarsk** power works on the Yenissei will commence working, with an output of 450,000 kilowatts and 3,360 million kilowatt hours.

All this, however, is only the bare skeleton of the system!

What do these figures mean for the industrial development of Siberia? A little journey on a motor railway from Irkutsk to Cheremchovo serves to give us a faint idea. **Cheremchovo**, which supplies the cheapest coal in the Soviet Union, occupies a second place among all the coal deposits of the Soviet Union. In the near environs of Cheremchovo alone there are about 1,000 million tons of coal. In the environs of Irkutsk about 50 million tons etc. Hitherto the output of Cheremchovo has been about $2\frac{1}{2}$ million tons a year. Cheremchovo coal is now being transported by rail to the Angara in the neighbourhood of the Barshotovo station, where the following will spring up: an electro-steel combine, an aluminium combine, and a coal liquification combine, as the Cheremchovo coal is rich in volatile gases. One of the long-distance electric power stations (to be driven at first by steam turbines) is under construction; it is not yet completed and is already being extended. During our short trip, however, we saw the following: at every river which we crossed huge timber camps and saw mills are springing up. East Siberia will have two kinds of timber industry: on the Yenissei it will produce timber for export, and on the other rivers cellulose wood; to this is to be added building timber etc.

This does not exhaust the vast potentialities of East Siberia. In Irkutsk one is told of deposits of gold and platinum, of nickel and wolfram. Port Igarka on the Yenissei (in the year 1929 a pioneer colony of 400 people and today a town with 12,000 inhabitants) is already under construction, and will commence work in 1933.

One thing more in conclusion: at the present moment Irkutsk has a population of about 100,000. Of these 12,000 are students. Here there are not less than 50 higher educational institutions. Two daily papers appear in Irkutsk. No less than 54 small local papers appear in the whole district. Work is just commencing on the publication of text books for the various Northern peoples living in this region, all of whom have been granted autonomy.

SOCIAL FASCISM

The British Trade Union Congress.

By R. Bishop (London).

The Trade Union Congress which has just ended has seen a number of big votes recorded against the reactionary General Council. This has been a reflection of the ferment among the working class generally. But it has only been a reflection, not a part of the ferment. Many delegates have recorded votes against the General Council without being in any way fundamentally opposed to their concepts, but merely manoeuvring in view of the militancy of the workers. The General Council has been well to the fore itself in the matter of manoeuvres. There was only a handful of genuinely militant delegates to express the full shamelessness of the trickery that was going on, but under great difficulties they played their parts well.

The whole line of the left gestures which many noted reactionaries and the General Council itself were compelled to make was to hold back the workers from struggle by regaining the confidence which since 1926 has been waning rapidly.

From the very first day of the Congress it was obvious that there was going to be a great deal of playing to the gallery. **John Bromley**, recently returned from Ottawa, made this crystal clear in his Presidential address. He demanded higher wages, shorter hours and a stand for better conditions. Shortly after the Congress decided without a dissentient voice in favour of extending financial aid to the textile strikers.

Members of the General Council expressed themselves as enthusiastic about the militancy displayed by the cotton work-

ers, a militancy incidentally which has been rendered effective only by completely ignoring the advice of the cotton union leaders, who are represented on the General Council.

But neither these expressions nor the collection of funds represents the real policy of the reformist bureaucracy. The collection will undoubtedly be extremely useful to the strikers, but it is merely a camouflage, to conceal from the rank and file of the unions the real capitalist, strikebreaking policy that is being consistently pursued.

While the Congress talked of assisting the strikers, its official organ the "**Daily Herald**", complete political control of which is vested in the General Council, was busily campaigning for Government intervention. These facts make it apparent to all that the "assistance" of the bureaucrats is merely a cloak for their treachery.

At the very moment when the textile workers by their decisive action were repudiating the Mondist policy of the Council, the latter was calling upon the workers to demand control of industry by Public Corporations, that is a continuance of capitalist robbery. Despite all gestures, it is quite clear that Mondism, the fusion of the reformist trade union apparatus with the bourgeois State and the larger monopoly capitalist enterprises, is the line to which the bureaucracy adheres.

The debate on the "**Public Control of Industry**" was a clear example of Mondism in practice. A large number of delegates expressed the viewpoint that this simply meant bureaucratic management of industry which left the workers without any voice in the control. Delegate after delegate denounced this spurious "socialism" on these grounds. But only the handful of militants raised the more vital point that the question of whether nationalisation is good or bad for the workers depends entirely upon whether it is a Workers or a capitalist State that is carrying through the nationalisation process.

The Public Corporations proposed by the General Council aim at capitalist nationalisation. They would leave the majority of the industries of the country in the hands of the capitalists, whilst a few important selected industries (transport, electricity etc.) would be brought under the control of Public Corporations with the object of rendering the capitalist class in other industries the cheapest possible service. The Public Corporation of the Trade Union Congress is not a means of lessening the exploitation of the workers but a means of intensifying it.

The big difference between this scheme and the older forms of nationalisation, such as control of the post office, is that the old Nationalisation was subject to control by the Cabinet, through which the capitalist interests worked to control the nationalised industries. The new form entails the capitalist industries directly sending their nominees on to the governing body of the Public Corporation, and thus directly controlling the whole nationalised industry.

This process is called by the General Council, "taking industry out of politics", and is described as a Socialist measure.

Similarly on **fiscal policy**. The report of the General Council, which was adopted, wriggled on the question of food-taxes. They denied that they were declaring in favour of either Free Trade or Protection. It was declared that the Council stood for freeing world trade from the restrictions which now hampered it, but, **Citrine** (General Secretary) declared "Before a system of tariffs was adopted wages were going down, unemployment was increasing and world trade was stagnating".

The refusal to launch a serious opposition to tariffs, was shown in the following excerpt from the report:

"In view of the short time the new tariffs have been in operation and of the fact that the new structure is incomplete we do not feel that we can usefully express any opinion on the results that are likely to follow this change in our fiscal system. The new policy is an accomplished fact, and its effect on our trade and industry and on world economic conditions remains to be seen."

Bevin, in speaking on the report, admitted that the effect of tariffs on the workers' standards would be bad, but, he said, "we are not going to excite the workers about the glories of Free Trade or the remedies of Protection", because he could see that "a Socialist State surrounded by reactionary countries might have to adopt some form of protection for its own benefit".

Thus by means of Socialist gestures, the issue was evaded. Not only will the General Council not give the lead for resistance to tariffs and higher living costs, but they will, and are, doing everything in their power to hold back the workers from any such struggle.

As with tariffs in general so with the visit of Citrine and Bromley to the **Ottawa conference**, prior to which a statement was issued jointly with the Federation of British Industries, the powerful employers' organisation. Said **Bromley** in his speech:

"Congress will know that Mr. Citrine and I have returned from the Imperial Economic Conference at Ottawa, within the last few days. It is, therefore, too early for me to say anything definite with regard to our work there."

When the unemployed and cotton-striker hunger marchers arrived in **Newcastle** there was a tremendous difference between their reception by the workers and the General Council. At a huge meeting in Newcastle market, the workers gave them a tremendously hearty reception. When they went to the Congress hall to demand the reception of their deputation, the hall was surrounded by police and they were refused admission. One rank and file weavers' delegate said in Congress that the only thing he could compare the display of police force around the hall with was the display of police force in Lancashire to protect the blacklegs from the mass pickets.

The decision not to admit the marchers' deputation was strongly challenged and 963,000 votes were rallied against it by card vote, after the ruling had apparently been defeated on a show of hands. Not all these votes represented militancy by any means, for amongst them was Sir Ben Turner, who when he was chairman of the General Council initiated the Mond-Turner discussions which gave birth to Mondist policy since pursued. His vote indicated no change of heart; only a manoeuvre within safe limits to put the workers off the track.

But while the Congress did not show any change in the Mondist policy, but only its more vigorous pressing forward, it did reflect the growing discontent and revolutionary feeling among the working masses. The complicated nature of the manoeuvres that the bureaucracy were compelled to undertake, reflected their realisation that hundreds of thousands of active workers are in active revolt against their wage-cutting policy, that many active trade unionists are beginning to question the very basis of Mondism. But at the same time the fusion of the trade union apparatus with the State proceeds apace.

The reformists are fighting desperately hard to maintain working class illusions as to their function. But as the disillusionment grows the Revolutionary Opposition in the unions, led by the **Minority Movement**, has got to fight to win over the working class for the policy of developing the struggle independent of the reformist apparatus.

The German Trade Union Leaders and the Papen Programme.

By W. Keller (Berlin).

As is known, the Papen emergency decrees envisage a reduction of the trade union scales of wages and salaries in every enterprise by 12½ per cent, and for specially "endangered" undertakings a further reduction up to 20 per cent. The realisation of the Papen programme means a breach of the principle of the so-called inviolability of wage agreements and thereby their complete destruction. For the working class therefore, the collective agreement becomes a worthless scrap of paper, as one of the parties to this agreement, i. e. the employers, will be allowed after the 15th inst. to reduce wages, which reductions the workers must accept.

Collective agreements and also the whole of the social insurance, both of which are an achievement of the revolution of 1918 and the fruit of decades of struggles of the working class, are to be fundamentally worsened by the Papen programme.

It was the leaders of the German General Federation of Trade Unions who prepared the ground for Papen. It was they who in the past few years systematically undermined the collective agreements. The emergency decree of the Brüning Government of June 5, 1931, brought a reduction of the salaries of all employees and officials in government

undertakings of 4 to 8 per cent. This was already an attack on the principle of collective agreements. The reformist trade union leaders tolerated the Brüning Government and throttled every fight against it.

The second important stage on this path was the Economic Council of the Brüning Cabinet, which was convened by Hindenburg on October 21, 1931. This Economic Council was participated in by **Grassmann** and **Eggert** as representatives of the free trade unions. As a result of the deliberations of this Economic Council the Brüning Government published directives, in which there was open reference to the **necessity of "relaxing" the collective agreements.**

It was only on November 25, 1931, that the National Council of the A.D.G.B. adopted a decision regarding the results of the Economic Council, in which it itself participated. The decision stated in conclusion:

"It (the A.D.G.B.) protests equally emphatically against all intentions to undermine the legal basis of collective agreements or to attack collective agreements by means of emergency decrees."

That was on November 25, 1931. On December 8, Brüning issued his big emergency order, which included a general reduction of wages and salaries, in spite of the existing collective agreements, from January 1st, 1932. This fresh monstrous attack on the principle of collective agreements was prepared by the Economic Council. The "emphatic protest" of the A.D.G.B. was forgotten in 13 days. As every worker knows, the trade union leaders actively helped to carry out the emergency decrees of the Brüning Government with their reductions in wages and salaries. They not only tolerated the Brüning Government, but, together with the social democratic party, employed their whole apparatus in order to break the resistance of the workers to the December emergency decree.

It is clear that although Papen's programme, with its attacks on the German working class, is unprecedented in the history of the German Labour Movement, the trade union leaders this time also will not organise any serious resistance to it. On September 8 the Reichs Minister for Labour, Scheffer, had a conference with the trade union leaders, at which he proposed that a commission be formed which should help in the carrying out of the emergency decree. The representatives of the A.D.G.B. did **not** definitely refuse to collaborate in this commission.

On September 9, the National Committee of the A.D.G.B. had a meeting in Berlin at which the Papen emergency order was discussed in detail. The "Vorwärts" report of this meeting was headed "The A.D.G.B. Calls to the Fight". What the "fight" of the A.D.G.B. is like was shown by the "Vorwärts" of the 7th inst. in which it was stated:

"It is important to state that everywhere where by virtue of the decree the collective agreement is cancelled, the trade unions obtain their freedom to fight. The industrial truce ends at this moment."

That is the line of the A.D.G.B., which was also expressed at the meeting of the National Committee in that the "legal aspects" of the emergency decree were exhaustively discussed. It is characteristic that the report of the "Vorwärts" says nothing about the question of the Commission which is to help the Reichsminister for Labour.

After the meeting of the National Committee of the A.D.G.B. it is clear that the trade union leaders are prepared to swallow the Papen programme. But the trade union leaders are **not** the trade unions. Resentment at the expected capitulation of the trade union leaders is very great, and extends even to the circles of higher functionaries. On the 9th September there took place in Berlin a meeting of the district administration of the factory workers' union, where a member of the district administration declared in regard to the expected decision of the A.D.G.B. on the emergency decree:

"The decisions of the A.D.G.B. are not binding on us."

The millions of the trade union rank and file will say the same thing. It is now necessary to exert the enormous power of the German trade union organisations, under revolutionary leadership, in the fight against the Papen programme. The red trade union opposition and the C. P. of Germany are showing the working class the only way open to it.

The Situation of the Working Masses in the Capitalist Countries

The Situation of the Proletariat in the USA.

The Capitalist Paradise.

By A. G. Bosse.

At this time, when the successes of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and the consequent rapid improvement in the working and living conditions of the masses are becoming obvious to ever greater numbers of workers, the socialist leaders are intensifying their attacks on the U.S.S.R. Every inherited and temporary difficulty in food, housing, etc. is magnified and widely publicized, while improvements are hidden or minimized. This is the natural counter-part to the betrayals by these social-fascists of the workers at home. They have long since ceased to participate in strikes and other struggles of the workers, unless to mislead and sell them out.

In the present situation, with capitalism decaying and dragging down with it great numbers of workers to slow death from starvation and overwork, it is the duty of the revolutionary workers by setting forth accurately the conditions under which the masses work and live in capitalist America as contrasted with those in the Socialist workers' republic, to make clear to them the misery into which dying capitalism has plunged them and what they have to gain by overthrowing it.

The Ford auto workers are represented as enjoying the blessings of a benevolent, humanitarian capitalism, where wages are high, work steady, and all workers become part owners of the business, each with a house and car. Ford's Dearborn plant, near Detroit, where recently four workers were murdered by Ford's police and hired gangsters when they marched demanding work or unemployment relief, employed 120,000 before 1929. Now only about 30,000 are at work, though Ford claims twice or three times that number. In 1929, when the \$7-a-day rate was instituted, work was in many cases speeded up 50-100 per cent and 30,000 men fired as a result. The inhuman speed-up, due to the conveyor system, is such that on some operations the men start as soon as the preceding shift is through, work up to the exact minute for lunch, rush to clean up and get their lunch, and are back to work a quarter of an hour later. According to Robert Cruden, an ex-Ford worker from whose recent pamphlet ("The End of the Ford Myth") these facts are taken, a worker on pinion gears started a few years ago running four machines. Now he operates 12, with no change in the machinery. In 1925, 3,000 tire carriers were produced with 160 men; 5 years later 6,970 with 16 men, due to speed up and new equipment. The result has been a fearfully high accident rate, with the injured workers going, not to the city hospital, but to Ford's private hospital and the press suppressing the facts. The day Cruden was hired, 6 men were killed in the power house.

This idol of the socialists reduces wages by firing and rehiring at a lower rate, by transferring to other departments at a lower wage, etc. In 1930, when wages at Ford's were figured at \$7.60 a day, they averaged \$ 959 a year or \$3½ a day. There was a 7-weeks layoff and at other times the men worked only 3 days a week, under a terrific speed-up. In 1931 pay was admitted to have been cut to \$6 a day, with only 1 or 2 days of work a week. Not only at Ford's but also at the 3,500 plants making parts for him have there been wage cuts, more part time and intensive speed-up. For instance the Briggs factory, which makes half of Ford's bodies, cut wages 15-20 per cent. early in 1930, then 5 to 30 per cent more later in the year. Last year it paid 25 cents an hour to labourers.

To take another industry—where the workers are more nearly in the position of peons than in Ford's, coal mining. At Fort Ridge, Tennessee, the mine owners cut work until the men get only one or two days a week, with no pay. They only get some Red Cross flour, etc. The owners are planning to put in a Red Cross station at the mines and to pay the men with some groceries and seeds for planting. Dozens of

deputized thugs, armed with sawn-off shotguns, high-powered rifles and breastplates, "arbitrate" between the miners and operators when the men are dissatisfied with these conditions. This mine is more or less representative of the feudal baronies which the coal fields in glorious capitalist America are.

In Morgantown, West Virginia, scabs, mine guards and deputies attacked with bayonets the strikers picketing the mines while aeroplanes dropped gas bombs on them. One picket was shot and 7 wounded that day. In Bridgeton, Ohio, where 18,000 miners have been striking for 3 months, pickets were attacked and 250 arrested. Here the state has spent \$250,000 on deputy sheriffs and national guards sent in to strike areas, but little or nothing on relief for the starving miners and their families.

In Texas, one can find pecan workers, mostly Mexicans, in the Foreign quarter of the City of San Antonio, who are ground down almost as much as the Negroes in the south. Their wages have been cut to 1/5th or 1/6th level of a few years ago, in many cases, and hours increased to 12 and 13 a day, with half as many on Sunday. The best workers get 16 cents a day, and the average 5-10 cents. A family of father, mother and two boys who slave day and night at cracking and shelling the nuts, gets \$3.25 a week. Despite the miserable hovels they live in and the somewhat cheaper food and warmer climate than elsewhere, they are on the verge of starvation, oppressed by a united front of the and Fish-patriots do their stuff, from betraying strikers and extortioners, and the bosses and their sub-contractors.

The New York Daily Worker published on July 16 a picture of half a dozen men pulling a plough at Cuyahoga Falls, Ohio. Horses and tractors were deliberately withheld, because these were unemployed workers given a few acres of land to till, and this publicly humiliating type of forced labour is American capitalism's method of avoiding the "dole".

In California forced labour camps were so "successful" for forest and road work that there is great enthusiasm for them throughout the state—on the part of the captains of industry and their cohorts. The unemployed herded into these camps are slightly less ecstatic about them, since they get only their meals, and have to perform hard labour under the supervision of overseers and state troopers.

One of the most oppressive features of work in American factories is the freedom of speech, observation, and association so nobly accorded by the bosses to labour spies. Practically every large corporation uses them, even those with the most elaborate types of company unions, sport systems, welfare organizations, etc. A few representative companies who have been proven to use these spies and provocateurs are the following: Ford, DuPont, U.S. Steel, Bethlehem Steel, American Glanzstoff, General Motors, Edison, Goodyear Rubber, Anaconda Copper, International Harvester, Armour, National Biscuit, Pittsburgh Coal, all the railroads, etc., etc. In every important strike spies and gunmen, and the Woll-and Fish-patriots do their stuff, from betraying strikers and blacklisting to dynamiting and framing-up.

These are but a few of the aspects of working conditions in the U.S., not merely in this period of crisis, but normally. This is the country the socialists of the world point to as typifying their ideal of a super-imperialist capitalism where class struggle is supplanted by class collaboration and peaceful evolution. But the intensity of the crisis and the increasingly open preparation for a new world slaughter is opening the eyes of ever greater numbers of the rank and file in their unions and parties. America, with the greatest unemployment in history (15-16 millions and the number growing more rapidly than ever before), with the most intense speed-up ever devised by an exploiting class, with the fewest safety devices and insurance laws of any large country—America, the pride of European capitalists and socialists alike, there she stands, in her brutal, ugly nakedness.

Wages and Dividends in the United States.

By M. J. Wachmann (New York).

The crisis of capitalism in the United States has already reached proportions unparalleled in the history of the country. The general index of business activity of "The Annalist" for the month of June of this year sank to 52.1 as against 76.5 for June, 1931, 85.1 for June 1921 and 72.0 for June of 1894, the lowest on record. The business activity of the country, measured by its volume of production and distribution, is 28 per cent. lower than during the lowest point of the former deepest crisis, in the year 1894.

The paralysis of all branches of economic activity carries with it growing distress and suffering for the working masses, which is further intensified and driven to the limits of human endurance by the policy of the capitalist class to put the entire burden on the toilers. With a ruthlessness equalled only by that of a conquering army in a defeated country, the capitalist class despoils the people, stopping at no cruelty to squeeze out the same amount of surplus value as in times of so-called prosperity. The speed-up in the shops is rapidly sapping the vitality of the workers, relegating them to the scrap heap even before they reach middle age. As a result unemployment has grown out of all proportions.

The index of employment of the U.S. Department of Labour for June of this year declined to 57.5 (1926 being taken as 100). In other words, for every thousand people that were employed during 1926 there are only 575 people employed now, while the other 425 have joined the army of unemployed. It must further be remembered that even during the periods of greatest capitalist "prosperity" there is always a permanent reserve army of unemployed. According to the estimate of Hoover's Commission (On Recent Economic Changes) the average minimum number of unemployed during 1926, when, as already mentioned, employment is counted at 100, the minimum number of unemployed was 1,669,000. Careful calculations on the most conservative basis show that the number of total unemployed in the United States at present is no less than 14 million and is probably nearer 15 million.

But while the number of workers having an opportunity to sell their labour power has been reduced practically by one-half, the capitalist class insists on squeezing out from them greater amounts of surplus value than in periods of capitalist prosperity. Every spokesman of capitalism, from Hoover and Roosevelt (Republican and democratic candidates for President), to Thomas and Hillquit (socialist presidential candidate and national chairman), sings the same song that all must share in the burdens of the crisis. The implication is that the workers must voluntarily and without protest submit to repeated wage cuts, to the reduction of their standard of living, to smaller and smaller rations verging on semistarvation. The reason, they are told, is that the employers, too, feel the hard times and newspapers spread awe-inspiring stories about the passing of dividends, small earnings of corporations, etc. It is on this basis that the steel workers have been made to accept practically without any organised resistance two consecutive cuts in wages to a total amount of 25 per cent.; that the railroad workers have been prevailed upon by their social-fascist union leaders to acquiesce in a general 10 per cent. wage cut, with preparations now being made for another cut of about 20 per cent when the present temporary agreement expires in February, 1933. Among the clothing workers, where social-fascism of the Thomas-Hillquit type has its stronghold, repeated cuts in wages and continuous speed-up have become the order of the day, carried out directly by these unions with the assistance of such "liberal" capitalist politicians as banker Lehman, Governor Roosevelt, et al.

The dastardly thing about all this capitalist and socialist propaganda is that there is not a grain of truth in it, that it is not based on a single fact. Quite the contrary. Far from sharing in the burdens of the crisis, the capitalist class is taking advantage of the increased reserve army of unemployed to tighten the screws upon the workers and to make their greatly diminished numbers at work in the plants and mills produce actually more surplus value for the lords of industry and finance than even in such "prosperous" years as 1926 or 1929. With all the efforts of the capitalist statistical agencies to conceal these facts, there is still sufficient information available at least some-

what to raise the curtain upon the real situation.

Statistics and indexes are sometimes annoying, but still they are enlightening. Cold figures, if read carefully, reveal the story, and it is worth the while of the working class to study the figures that are hidden away from the general public. We compare below the pay-roll index figures of the U.S. Department of Labour, indicating the total amount of wages paid together with data supplied by the Standard Statistics Company, re interests and dividends paid by American corporations to the capitalist class. Both sets of figures are for the six months of the present and preceding year, for the pre-crisis year 1929 and for 1926, which is accepted as the standard year and counted as 100. They show beyond possibility of challenge that the entire burden of the crisis is being transferred by the capitalist class to the working masses:

Month.	Interest and Dividends Paid by Corporations				Index of Total Amount Paid in Wages (Pay-Rolls)				
	1932	1931	1929	1926	1932	1931	1929	1926	
	(Millions of Dollars)				in per cent. of 1926				
Jan. . . .	998	1115	925	512	48.6	63.7	94.5	89.0	
Febr. . . .	443	526	440	220	49.6	69.1	101.8	102.2	
March . . .	494	593	529	335	48.2	69.6	103.9	103.4	
April . . .	654	746	608	426	44.7	63.5	104.6	101.5	
May . . .	494	556	398	290	42.5	67.7	104.8	99.8	
June . . .	685	746	658	342	39.3	63.8	102.8	99.7	
6 months									
	Total	3768	4282	3558	2125	45.4	66.1	102.1	99.3
	In per cent.	177	202	167	100	46	66	103	100

Thus, even according to the figures of the U. S. Department of Labour, the working class received during the first six months of this, the third year of the crisis, 55 per cent. less in wages than in 1926. It must also not be forgotten that the population has increased by more than ten million. With then million people more to support the toiling masses received in 1932 much less than half their income in 1926. Their standard of living accordingly has been reduced by almost two-thirds. Hence the misery and distress all over the land; hence the growing restlessness and spirit of rebellion among the workers; hence the radicalisation of the masses. This explains the risings among the Textile workers of Lawrence, of the coal miners in Kentucky and West Virginia, Pennsylvania and Ohio, of the tenant-farmers and share-croppers in the western and southern states, the unrest among the veterans of the world war.

But how about the capitalists? During the six months of this year the capitalists in the United States received \$3,768,000,000, as against only \$2,125,000,000 during the "normally prosperous" year of 1926 and \$3,558,000,000 during the height of capitalist prosperity of 1929. It sounds almost unbelievable but it is still an unchallengeable fact that for the first six months of this year of starvation and misery among the workers, the capitalist class squeezed out \$1,643,000,000 more in surplus value from the toiling masses than in the prosperous year of 1926 and \$524,000,000 more than in the year of greatest prosperity, 1929. During these six months, when the crisis has deepened to a level unparalleled in the history of the country, the capitalist class still managed to put the screws upon the workers with such force that its own dividends and interest payments actually increased by 6 per cent. over 1929 and 77 per cent. over 1926.

It must further be pointed out that the income derived by the capitalists from the exploitation of the toilers is by far not limited to interest and dividends payments by corporations alone. In addition it derives a very handsome income from so-called salaries paid to all kinds of parasitic officials of corporations running as high as \$100,000 a year and more, and especially from interest payments by federal, state and municipal governments on their indebtedness to the capitalist class. The national debt of the United States, all of it in bonds and notes held by the capitalists now totals \$19,200,000,000. The indebtedness of the state and municipal government is now estimated at \$18,600,000,000, or a total for both federal, state and municipal governments of \$37,800,000,000. The total payments of interest on this indebtedness cannot amount to less than \$2,000,000,000 a year and accordingly it must have amounted during these first six months to no less than \$1,000,000,000. These two additional items alone will bring up the total receipts in surplus

value by the capitalist class of the United States during the first six months of this year to no less than \$5,000,000,000. In order to be able to cover the interest on this indebtedness as well as the extravagant expenses on destructive armaments and increased police forces to put down and suppress the people, the United States has just passed an unprecedented revenue bill imposing numerous new direct and indirect taxes upon the workers and poor farmers.

It is a contrast crying to heaven. And some of the more far-sighted among the capitalist class are becoming apprehensive lest this increasing gulf between the two classes shall open the eyes of the workers and make them shake off the yoke of capitalism. The spectre of communism throws "the fear of God", the fear of the revolutionary working class into the hearts of some capitalists who still have eyes to see and ears to hear. In a recent issue of the yellow boulevard weekly, "**Liberty**", one of these capitalists, **Mr. Cornelius Vanderbilt**, sounds a warning to his own class:

"With millions of men out of work, with further millions dependent upon them, with bread lines blocks long and soup kitchens in between, the country club sets are still doing the most lavish entertainment it has ever been my privilege to witness!" (This bit of evidence comes from a member of the upper "400".) "Our Vanity Fair", proceeds Vanderbilt, "is as indifferent to the problems of the masses, as arrogant and unjust as were that very class of people (the Bourbons) who danced while Paris smouldered."

Vanderbilt relates several incidents of his personal experience, which bear on the problem under consideration:

"We were on our way to the theatre the other evening in New York. The car in which my escort was taking me passed Forty-fifth Street and Broadway soup kitchen, about which thousands were huddled in the dark drizzle."

"Why don't these swine try to get themselves a job?" said the lady of fashion and inherited wealth." And here is another story:

"At a dinner party I (Vanderbilt) attended in Boston recently, twelve sumptuous courses were served. Someone suggested that the left-overs be sent to a settlement house. 'Oh dear, no', said the host; 'we always give the leavings to the dogs. We keep a number of big animals, just in case we should ever have trouble with the masses.'"

But with all the big animals, whether they be merely dogs or police hounds or private guards and thugs or the entire military and police power of the capitalist state, the capitalist class does not feel entirely safe. The spectre of communism is walking over the land and a degenerating capitalist class cannot conceal its fear, especially within its own circle, before the rising wave of discontent.

The gulf between wages and dividends is translated in terms of Bourbonic extravagance luxury and lavishness referred to above on the one hand, and misery and starvation on the other. A few headlines picked at random from the daily press will suffice: "Hunger and Want Among Teachers Increasing Daily" (Chicago Daily News, June 7); "Hungry Family Given Food after Father of Six is Shot"; "Jobless Man Wounded by Railroad Policeman While Attempting to Take Sack of Flour from Box Car to Feed Children" (Toledo Blade, June 29); "Mother Hurls Girl to Death, Ends Life; Woman Believed Crazy by Poverty Dives after Child from Fifth Floor Window"; "Boy Idle Three Months Hangs Self in Home"; "Out of Work, Breaks Glass for Jail Food"; "Jobless, Shoots Self; Jobless Father a Suicide".—"Girl Takes Poison, Discouraged by Failure to Find Job to Aid Family".—"2,000 Starve to Death in One Year in New York".—"Destitute Women on Increase Here, Salvation Army Reports".—"Bonus Reds Battle Washington Police; Leaders, Seven Others Jailed".—"Bonus Expeditionary Force to be Evicted from Capitol Area; Hurley Turns Deaf Ear to Pleas of 3,000 Living in Buildings to be Demolished." (New York Times, July 27); "Fire on vets, 2 Dying in battle at capitol." (N. Y. Evening Journal, July 28, 1932.)

Working Women in the United States of America).

By A. G. Bosse (New York).

This study of the conditions of working women in the United States in 1932, the third year of the crisis, in the short space of some 10,000 words summarizes succinctly the facts in the situation, the causes, and proposes a programme of action. It is written by **Grace Hutchins**, the author of "Labor and Silk" and of a forthcoming book on working women.

It is worth culling a few facts from this pamphlet as to the situation of women workers in the leading capitalist country. They numbered 10,750,000 in the 1930 census, or 22 per cent. of all persons gainfully employed over 10 years of age. Though they make up a much smaller proportion than in England, France or Germany (30—40 per cent.) American women workers increased by 26 per cent. in the decade ending with 1930 and doubled since the beginning of the century.

Negro women are the most highly exploited group of workers in the U.S., receiving from a half to a third less than white women, who in turn get far less than white men workers. A much greater proportion of Negro mothers must work than of white mothers, because their husbands' earnings are insufficient to support the family.

A large proportion of women workers are young girls, over 200,000 being under 16 years old, and a million between 16 and 20. The speed-up and other forms of rationalisation are so terrific that at 30 a working woman is considered to be "old", as against 40 years for a man. The increased attempts to rationalise since the crisis began have made the situation far worse. There is no national social insurance legislation in the U.S., and a woman unable to get a job has no place to turn. Only 17 states have so-called old-age pension laws, and these are so full of exceptions and special requirements, besides applying only to women over 70, that they cannot be said to provide any security at all.

There are likewise no federal labour protection laws in the U.S. and the state laws vary from an 8-hour day and 48-hour week to 72 hours or more. Night work for women is legal in two-thirds of the 48 states and in the others it prevails despite the law. In southern textile mills women work 11 hours during the day shift and 12 at night. The new movement for the "shorter" work day, the 5-day week or 5-hour day, is simply a means of making the workers do a full day's or week's work in less time.

The, especially dangerous effects of certain occupational diseases upon women is gone into by Comrade Hutchins at some length. Among them are lead and benzol poisoning, as well as dinitrobenzene and sulphuric, ether and radium poisoning, which develop far more rapidly in women than in men and affect future children. Radium poisoning killed over 20 women up to 1931, after years of illness. There is practically a complete lack of labour protective measures, and accident compensation is uncertain and bitterly fought in the courts by the employers. 16,000 women die in childbirth annually, of whom two-thirds could be saved with decent pre-natal care, the United States being by far the most barbarous nation in the world in this respect.

Women's earnings in Massachusetts in April 1932 were less than \$10 a week for over 70 per cent of the workers and below \$15 for 97 per cent.; many earned \$3 and \$4. Other states vie successfully with this one for starvation and prostitution wages. The minimum amount upon which a single woman can live, and that in extremely meager fashion, is admitted by state authorities to be over \$17 a week, yet in not one state do they average that sum.

These are but a few of the facts set forth in striking manner in this pamphlet. A brief summary of conditions for women workers in the U.S.S.R. shows what can be done in a few years even in an extremely backward country when the workers rule. The brochure closes with an account of women's share in recent strikes in the U.S., the role of the A.F. of L. and other organisations dominated by the petty bourgeois and social-fascist tools of the bosses, and a programme of struggle for women along the lines set forth by the C.P. and the Trade Union Unity League.

* A review of "**Women Who Work**", by Grace Hutchins, No. 27 of International Pamphlets, published in New York.