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CONTENTS

Politics

- Paul Langner: The Second Ballot at the Presidential Election in Germany 306
William Rust: De Valera's Pact with British Imperialism 307
Ludwig Renn: Czechoslovakian Government Branded with Shame 308

The Labour Movement

- K. Gottwald: The Miner's Strike in Czechoslovakia 309
O. Rodriguez: The Dictatorship of the United Fruit Company 310

The War

- Min-Tin: The Fights with the "Bandits" in Manchuria 311
A. G. Bosse: Role of American Imperialism in War Preparations 311
A. de Vries: The Dutch Bourgeoisie and the Preparations for a New World War 312

- N—O: Mass Murder of the Civil Population in the World War 313

War and Social Fascism

- Campbell: The British Labour Party Helps the War 313
H. Valetzki: Instructions of the II. International to the Russian Mensheviks 315
Sen Katayama: The Japanese Protoges of the II. International and Edo Fimmen 316

International Fight against War and Intervention

- Appeal of the Conference for the Fight against Imperialist War 317
M. Louis: The Conference for the Fight against Imperialist War 318

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

- The Water Power of the Volga in the Service of Socialist Construction 319
Z. Rabinovitch: Women in Universities and and Technical Colleges in the U.S.S.R. 320

The Trial in Moscow and the War Intrigues in London.

From MacDonald to Vassiliev—From Tardieu to Stern.

By L. Hildebrandt (Berlin).

It was not only by chance but it was also unwittingly symbolic that the trial of the war provocateurs Vassiliev and Stern, who with the aid of their Polish principals organised and carried out the attempt on the life of Twardovski, councillor at the German Embassy in Moscow, synchronised with the conversations in London between MacDonald and Tardieu. In this coincidence there is to be seen the working of dialectical law.

In London it was a question of setting aside the imperialist antagonisms between France and England in order to restore the Anglo-French alliance, for the purpose of setting up a platform of understanding of the leading imperialist States of Europe against the Soviet Union. It is a matter of course that sharp imperialist antagonisms exist between England and France. But the common hatred against the revolutionary Labour movement, the common hatred against the national revolutionary movement in the colonial countries, and in the first place the common hatred against the Soviet Union

create the presumptions for collaboration between French and English imperialism against the Soviet Union. Tardieu's Danube Plan is only a step, even if an important step, towards the creation of the anti-Soviet bloc, towards the inclusion of Austria and Hungary, at the cheapest possible price, in the Anti-Soviet front.

In London, however, not only was the Danube Plan discussed, but also the question of reparations, war debts, the situation in Germany, Franco-German and Franco-Italian relations, disarmament. The official report only omits to mention whether the war in the Far East, the advance of the Japanese military forces to the Soviet frontier, intervention against the Soviet Union was discussed. And on April 6, there commences the Four-Power conference, with the participation of Germany and Italy, and Ramsay MacDonald already announces that a whole series of conferences are to be held.

It is now a question of an attempt to find a platform of agreement between France and Italy. It is already known that

France is prepared to make certain concessions in Tunis, in the question of the Lybian frontier, the division of the colonies in North Africa, the suppression of the anti-Fascist organisations in France, in regard to the Italian emigrants in France and Tunis and also in regard to naval armaments. Further, it is a question of finally including Germany in the anti-Soviet front at the cheapest possible price, at the same time fully maintaining the Versailles Treaty and, as far as possible, the Young slavery.

War is raging in the Far East. Japanese troops are advancing towards the Soviet frontier. According to bourgeois sources of information, the Japanese fleet is being concentrated at Port Arthur. The Anglo-French Entente, the understanding between London and Paris in regard to the Danube Federation, the approach to an understanding in regard to reparations, war-debts, armaments, tariffs, gold and colonial questions was an important step in the preparations for intervention. One of the most important tasks, however, is to align Germany in the anti-Soviet front. The solution of this task is not only engaging the attention of Tardieu and the "socialist" Ramsay MacDonald, but active attempts are also being made in Germany to solve this task.

Vassiliev and Stern, who stand before the Military court of the Proletarian State, were of course only tools in the hands of those who are behind them. They belonged to the so-called Lubarsky Organisation. The attempt on Twardovski,

Moscow Assassins Sentenced to be Shot.

Moscow, April 5, 1932.

Yesterday the Court held a sitting in camera, to which Polish and German diplomatic representatives as well as representatives of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs were admitted. At the public sitting Krylenko delivered the speech for the Prosecution and demanded the death sentence by shooting for both the accused. The Court retired, and after several hours consultation, pronounced sentence of death by shooting on both the accused.

the Councillor to the German Embassy, was not the first terrorist act which the members of this organisation have committed for provocative reasons in the Soviet Union. Vassiliev, the instigator, and Stern, who made the attempt, were only instruments in the hands of the Lubarsky organisation. The leaders of the Lubarsky Organisation, however, are in Poland, where they occupy high positions in the Polish state apparatus. The Polish ambassador Patek and the central organs of the German and French social democrats, "Vorwärts" and "Populaire" in a united front with the Pilsudski police, with the notorious Defensive and the II. Department of the Polish General Staff, have demanded the publication of the names of the Polish subjects who have taken part in instigating war-provocation. Some of the names were published. Some of the names could not be published because this might call forth far-reaching complications in the relations between the Soviet Union and Poland. The Lubarsky organisation, its leaders, and its connections with Polish official circles are well-known in Poland. The men behind this organisation are likewise well-known, as are also their connections with the defensive and the II. Department of the Polish General Staff.

The assassination attempted in Moscow was prepared and organised in Warsaw. But Warsaw and Bucharest do not take any steps without Paris. This does not, of course, diminish the imperialist appetite and lust for intervention of the Polish capitalists and big landowners, of the Rumanian bankers and boyars. Without the support of Paris, without the instructions of French imperialism, Bucharest and Warsaw may not do anything.

The war-provocateur Vassiliev elaborated before the Military Court of the proletarian State the programme of Tardieu, even if in a crude form:

We also discussed the possibility of the outbreak of a war between the Soviet Union and Poland, Rumania

and the Baltic States, and arrived at the conclusion that if the Soviet Union were involved in a war, this war could still end in favour of the Soviet Union. In the event however, of more powerful States, as for instance France, England and others, being drawn into this war, the Soviet Union would be destroyed. Otherwise the world revolution might break out."

At that time there arose the idea of making an attempt on the life of the German Ambassador,

"as contrary to Stern, I was of the opinion that the East does not decide the fate of the Soviet Union, because in the best case the Soviet Union could only lose territory in the East. The East, however, is so far away from the vital centres of the Soviet Union, that such a loss would not have a deadly effect on the Soviet Power. In my opinion the West decides the fate of the Soviet Union.

And it was precisely for this reason that an attempt was made on the German Ambassador. Regarding this, the accused Stern made the following statement:

"If the relations between Germany and the Soviet Union were disturbed or broken off—Vassiliev explained to me—the Western neighbours of the Soviet Union could attack it, as they would feel themselves unhampered."

Vassiliev emphasised that this war would bring about the overthrow of the Soviet Power and that we, (i. e. the people who are hostile to the Soviet Union) are therefore directly interested in creating a breach between Germany and the Soviet Union".

Vassiliev and Stern have elaborated the programme of Tardieu and MacDonald before the military Court of the Soviet Union.

In London the representatives of the imperialist governments negotiate: in Moscow attempts are made by war provocateurs. The Japanese troops in Manchuria are marching to the Soviet frontier. The Japanese fleet is being concentrated in Port Arthur. At Geneva phrases about disarmament and peace are bandied about. The armament factories are working feverishly. Munitions are being conveyed by the railways, ships heavily laden with munitions and troops are leaving the ports. The II. International and the bourgeois press, the Parliaments increase and intensify their incitement against the Soviet Union. Fascist bands and social fascist leaders are attempting to throttle the fighting spirit of the working class. All this forms a chain of intervention-conspiracy against the Soviet Union, against the revolutionary labour movement, against the national revolutionary movements in the colonies.

The conspiracies in London and Moscow, the work of Tardieu and Vassiliev, MacDonald and Stern, Wels and Blum, Inukai and Henotzjo pursue a common aim: intervention.

"Vorwaerts" on the Moscow Trial.

Berlin, 5th April 1932.

After completely ignoring the proceedings against the counter-revolutionary terrorists in Moscow for two days the social democratic "Vorwaerts" this evening published a report on the first day of the trial and an article by Arthur Crispian which bristles with attacks on the Soviet Union. Although not even the most reactionary newspapers in Germany deny the truth of the charges made against the accused or question the seriousness of the trial and the honesty of the soviet prosecution, the "Vorwaerts" takes the side of the would-be murderers and represents the trial as a comedy. The foreign instigators behind the assassins exist only in the imagination of the Soviet authorities according to the "Vorwaerts", which demands that the Soviet Union should finally present proofs of the fact that foreign States are intriguing against it! The "Vorwaerts" glorifies the accused Stern, but declares that Vassiliev is a fake witness and a creature of the G.P.U. It prophesies that Stern will be executed and Vassiliev pardoned. What a pity that the German diplomat von Twardovski bears the marks of Stern's bullets, otherwise the "Vorwaerts" could deny everything.

The Indictment of Stern and Vassiliev.

Moscow, April 4th 1932.

The indictment of the two counter-revolutionaries Stern and Vassiliev in connection with the attempt made on the life of the German diplomat von Tvardovski in Moscow contains a detailed account of the past lives of the two accused and enumerates the motives which led up to the attack. These motives are described as follows:

"The attempt on the life of the German Ambassadorial Councillor von Tvardovski was made by the Soviet citizen Judas Stern. In the preliminary examination Stern admitted that the attempt was a political one that it was directed not against von Tvardovski, but against the German Ambassador von Dirksen. Stern declared further that when he fired at von Tvardovski he was under the impression that he was firing at von Dirksen, the Ambassador of the German Republic.

In later statements Stern declared that the immediate aim of his terrorist attempt on von Tvardovski was to complicate the relations between the Soviet Union and the outside world, to worsen the international position of the Soviet Union, and in particular to hinder the development of the friendly relations existing between the Soviet Union and Germany. He declared further that he carried out the attempt under the pressure and at the instance of a friend, his fellow accused Vassiliev, who in his turn acted in agreement with his political friends.... (The names of these persons, although known, have not been set down in the indictment). Stern, who was in complete agreement with the political aims of the attempt, carried it out according to a pre-arranged plan. In case of Stern's arrest, which seemed inevitable, it was agreed that he should conceal the names of the real organisers and initiators of the attempt.

The origin of this terrorist plan and the history of its preparation was described in detail by Stern in further statements. Stern made the acquaintance of Vassiliev in November 1931. Their first acquaintanceship took place on the basis of their common political opinions. Stern declared, "Discussions were of a very anti-soviet nature. The anti-soviet attitude of Vassiliev fitted in with my own views. For the most part the discussions ended in the conclusion that the only solution in the given political situation was a determined and active struggle against the Soviet power. This was Vassiliev's standpoint from beginning to end."

"When the events in the Far East began", declared Stern, "I believed that they would lead to a war with Japan which I held to be the beginning of the end of the existing situation in the Soviet Union. I expressed this opinion to Vassiliev who not only agreed with me, but went still further and declared that the fate of the Soviet Union would be settled in the west and not in the east. His idea was as follows: the far from secure situation of the Soviet Union in the west is based solely on its relations to Germany. The other western States are more than hostile to the Soviet Union. This hostility is suppressed to some extent by the existing alliance between Germany and the Soviet Union. If these relations could be broken off, this would inevitably lead to an aggressive action of the western countries against the Soviet Union.

"The fate of the Soviet Union, declared Vassiliev, would not be decided in the Far East because this district is so far removed from the nerve centres of the Soviet Union that even the loss of a certain amount of territory there would not be of decisive significance. On the other hand the western neighbours of the Soviet Union, which are at the same time its most powerful enemies, are nearer to the decisive points and can play a decisive role in the destruction of the Soviet power.

According to Stern's statement, Vassiliev declared to him directly: "If the relations between the Soviet Union and Germany can be disturbed or even broken off altogether, then the western neighbours of the Soviet Union can proceed to the attack, for then they would feel themselves unhindered."

Vassiliev further declared that such a war would mean the overthrow of the Soviet power and that they, i. e. those people hostile to the Soviet power, had therefore every interest in securing a breach between Germany and the Soviet Union.

At the following meeting Vassiliev informed Stern directly that he, Vassiliev, was aware that an attempt on the life of the German Ambassador von Dirksen was being

planned. In reply to a question put by Stern concerning the certainty of this information, Vassiliev replied that he was in connection with... (The name, although known, is left out in the indictment) and that he, Vassiliev, had acquaintances and friends who had given him the task of organising a terrorist attempt on the German Ambassador in order to provoke the breaking off of diplomatic relations between Germany and the Soviet Union.

"At the same time", declared Stern. "Vassiliev declared that should the political opinions of which I had informed him be still firm and unshaken, he was prepared to entrust me with the carrying out of the attempt. In view of the development and the nature of our previous conversations, I had not courage enough to reject his proposal. In addition, as I have already said, Vassiliev was a man with an extremely powerful will and he undoubtedly deeply influenced me psychologically. I agreed to take over the task.

"At our next meetings the plan for the murder of von Dirksen was discussed. The revolver was chosen as the most efficient weapon. When discussing this question we decided that the revolver in question should be a Russian weapon in order to prevent the idea arising that foreigners might be connected with the affair.

"Vassiliev added, I remember, that he had received instructions from... (name left out of the indictment) already mentioned to secure the weapon on his own and under no circumstances to compromise the... (name left out in the indictment)."

Further, Stern declared, that he recalled the fact that he had a brother-in-law who lived in Leningrad and who was in possession of a Nagan revolver for which, in view of the nature of his economic work, this man had a license.

"I knew", continued Stern, "that he would neither give nor lend me this revolver and I therefore decided to steal it. I informed Vassiliev of this during the same meeting. Vassiliev expressed approval of the idea and declared further that the Nagan revolver was an excellent weapon and would not be likely to fail at the decisive moment."

About the middle of January 1932 Stern went to Leningrad with the sole aim of stealing this revolver and returned to Moscow with the revolver in his possession.

When Vassiliev was arrested he denied everything persistently at first, but under the weight of a mass of circumstantial evidence he finally admitted that he knew Stern. He then confirmed Stern's statements concerning their meetings and the circumstances in which they took place. On the day after he had been confronted with Stern, Vassiliev made a written statement as follows: "I admit having organised a terrorist attempt on the German Ambassador at the instructions of third persons and confirm fully the statements made by Stern."

However, Vassiliev persistently refused to make any further supplementary statements in the matter and in particular he refused all information concerning the persons at whose instructions he had acted.

The indictment also contains a detailed characterisation of the accused Stern. Stern comes from a family of small property owners. His father owned a workshop in Odessa in which leather was cut out for boots and shoes. Stern himself worked only occasionally. He was expelled from the Leningrad Workers Faculty where he had studied owing to the fact that his work was insufficient. After a failure to secure work in Rostov on the Don Stern went to Moscow. Through the labour exchange he was provided with work as a cutter in the boot and shoe factory "Paris Commune". At the same time he studied at the Ethnological Faculty of the First Moscow University.

In 1930 Stern was dismissed from the factory and his membership of the union was suspended for six months owing to "malicious violations of labour discipline and sabotage of the production plan". For the same reason he was expelled from the University.

In May 1931 Stern was given work as an unskilled worker in the factory "Kraznaya Rosa", but in December 1931 he was again dismissed, this time for systematically absenting himself from his work.

The accused Vassiliev comes from a family of land and houseowners. Before the revolution his father was employed by big firms. In 1923 Vassiliev graduated from the Industrial-

Economic Technical School and went to the Industrial-Economic Institute from which he graduated in 1928 with the degree of Economic-Financier.

Unlike Stern Vassiliev is described by those who know him as a man well able to conceal his real character, as a man who knows how to hold his tongue when necessary and how to act when necessary. His fellow-student **Pomenov** makes the following statement concerning him:

"Ideologically we understood each other and became friends. This friendship began in the Technical Institute and continued later on. In our conversations we discussed the question of the industrialisation of the country, the collectivisation of agriculture and the liquidation of the Kulaks as a class. Vassiliev expressed disapproval of these measures. We also discussed the possibility of war between the Soviet Union and Poland, Rumania and the Baltic States. We came to the conclusion that such a war might end in favour of the Soviet Union, but that in case more powerful States such as Great Britain, France and others should be involved then the Soviet Union would probably be destroyed, or the world revolution would be the result."

Pomenov also gave information concerning Vassiliev's immediate past and his relations with Polish circles. He had made the acquaintance of Vassiliev in 1920, as already mentioned in the Technical Institute. Anti-soviet tendencies and discussions were common amongst those students who came from the families of the formerly privileged classes. This anti-soviet bias was shared by the reactionary teachers, for instance by Shelkov and his wife Olga, who taught French in the Technical Institute, and by others. Olga Shelkova, whose first husband was named Pavlovski and whose maiden name was Lubarskaya, was educated in Poland. She was in friendly relations with Vassiliev. Counter-revolutionary propaganda amongst the youth was not her only activity. According to the information of the Supreme Court she was sentenced to death by a court appointed by the State Political Administration (O.G.P.U.) on the 8th July 1929 on a charge of having organised a terrorist act. This terrorist act was inspired by her brother Vsevolod Lubarski, now a Polish citizen, and carried out by her nephew Leo Lubarski in company with others. The records of the State Political Administration show that on the 16th August 1928 Leo Lubarski shot and killed comrade Shaposhnikov, the Inspector General of the Political Administration of the Red Workers and Peasants Army. In a statement made on the 29th October 1928 Leo Lubarski declared that he had carried out the murder at the direct instructions of . . . (Left out in the indictment) Vsevolod Lubarski.

Vsevolod Lubarski was the chief instigator of this murder and came from Warsaw with the express intention of organising it. Lubarski's assistant in the crime was Olga Shelkova. Leo Lubarski declared that Vsevolod Lubarski had promised him to take him to Warsaw after the carrying out of the murder. Vsevolod Lubarski informed Leo Lubarski that he, Leo, should come . . . (Left out in the indictment) and that he would find protection there. Vsevolod Lubarski declared quite openly that . . . (Left out in the indictment) and that he, Vsevolod Lubarski, was not acting on his own but under instructions from Warsaw and . . . (Left out in the indictment) was instructed to help him. Vsevolod Lubarski gave Leo Lubarski the address . . . (Left out in the indictment) and declared that he, Vsevolod Lubarski, needed the photo of Leo . . . (Left out in the indictment). On the basis of this photo he would be recognised when he . . . (Left out in the indictment) would arrive there after having carried out the crime agreed upon.

Olga Shelkova declared during her examination in the investigation which followed on the murder of comrade Shaposhnikov that she had been born in Poland and that her first husband had been the Polish citizen Pavlovski. She described Pavlovski as "a fanatical Polish nationalist" and declared that he had left for Poland in 1918.

The brother of Olga Shelkova, Vsevolod Lubarski also lives in Poland. In 1920 he became a Polish citizen and served in the Polish army. In 1928 he came from Poland to Moscow as . . . (Left out in the indictment).

Demidovitch, who was also arrested, made important statements not only concerning Shelkova-Lubarski, but also concerning the tasks and aims of Vsevolod Lubarski's journey to Moscow, and not only concerning Vsevolod's official role, but also concerning the role chosen for Vassiliev even at that time. In August 1928 Demidovitch met Vsevolod Lubarski. The latter informed him that he, Vsevolod Lubarski, had come

to the Soviet Union as . . . (Left out in the indictment). He, Lubarski, also declared that he had come to organise terrorist attacks on the members of the Soviet government. He discussed the possibility of obtaining entrance to the Bolshoi Theatre during congresses and sessions, and of obtaining entrance to the House of the Labour Unions in which at the time the congress of the Communist International was taking place.

Concerning Demidovitch the authorities discovered that he was a Pole by nationality and that in 1920 he fled to the Far Eastern area occupied by the Japanese where he became a Polish citizen. In 1923 he returned to Moscow where he secured employment as a librarian of a Red Army unit, having concealed the fact of his Polish citizenship. Demidovitch's sister is the wife of General Denikin and she is now resident abroad.

According to information afforded by the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, the Polish citizen Vsevolod Lubarski actually arrived from Warsaw in the Soviet Union as . . . (Left out in the indictment). Vassiliev was much more active in the preparation of the attack on the German Ambassador than Stern admitted. This is shown by the fact that the victim of the attack von Tvardovski, the Councillor to the German Embassy, recognised a photo of Stern amongst seventeen others as a man he knew by sight, and also pointed out a photo of Vassiliev as the face of a man which recalled cloudy remembrances without him being able to make any precise statements.

On the basis of the above and in accordance with the decision of the Executive Committee of the Soviet Union of the 10th March 1932, the following persons are handed over for trial to the military department of the Supreme Court of the Soviet Union:

Stern, Judas Marionovitch, twenty-eight years old, without definite occupation, the son of a former workshop owner and not previously convicted, accused of being an enemy of the Soviet order and of having taken up connections with his fellow-accused Vassiliev towards the end of 1931 in the belief that the destruction of the workers and peasants power in the Soviet Union could only be brought about by outside military intervention, and that this intervention could only take place in the event of a sudden worsening of the foreign political situation of the Soviet Union, whereby at the instructions of his fellow-accused Vassiliev, who himself acted at the instructions of third parties, and on the proposal of the latter for the purpose of worsening the relations between the Soviet Union and Germany, he, Stern, committed a terrorist attempt on the Ambassador of the German Republic, von Direksen at two o'clock in the afternoon on the 5th March 1932 in that he waited at the corner of the Leontevski and Herzen Streets in Moscow for the passing of the automobile of the German Embassy and that he then fired five shots out of a Nagan revolver at the German Ambassadorial Councillor von Tvardovski in the belief that von Tvardovski was in fact the German Ambassador von Direksen, whereby he wounded von Tvardovski in the neck and in the hand. This offence is punishable under Paragraphs 4 and 8 of Articles 16 and 58 of the Penal Code of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

Vassiliev, Sergi Sergivitch, 28 years old, book-keeper by occupation, social origin a member of the old bourgeoisie, not previously convicted, accused of having for the same reasons as set forth above in the case of his fellow-accused Stern, taken up connections with the persons (Left out in the indictment) and under their instructions having organised the terrorist attempt on the Ambassador of the German Republic, von Direksen, described above, whereby to this end he secured the assistance of his fellow-accused Stern to carry out the attempt, that he assisted Stern with advice and instructions, that he assisted him in recognising the German Ambassador, von Direksen, in securing the weapon to be used in the attempt, in fixing the spot at which the attempt was made, and that as a result of these instructions and assistance the attempt described above was made on the Ambassadorial Councillor of the German Embassy, von Tvardovski, who was mistaken by Stern for the German Ambassador, von Direksen, whereby von Tvardovski was wounded in the way described above. This offence of Vassiliev is punishable under Paragraphs 4 and 8 of Articles 16 and 58 of the Penal Code of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

The above indictment has been confirmed by the Attorney General of the Supreme Court of the Soviet Union, **Krassikov**.

The Proceedings at the Trial of the Moscow Assassins.

Moscow, 4th April 1932.

After the indictment had been read the president of the Court, **Ulrich**, informed the parties that all questions touching the activity of foreign institutions connected with the present case, would be dealt with in secret session. To the question of guilty or not guilty, the accused **Stern** pleaded guilty and at the same time declared that he acted on his own initiative and denied the complicity of the accused **Vassiliev**.

The second accused **Vassiliev** likewise pleaded guilty.

The witnesses who were heard: **Ornowsky**, the driver of the motor car in which **Twardovski** was travelling at the time of the attempt, the worker **Sharov**, who rendered **Twardovski** first aid and brought him to the Kremlin hospital, further, the functionary of the G.P.U. **Borissov**, who arrested **Stern**, gave an account of the attempted assassination which fully accorded with the statements contained in the Indictment. The witnesses declared, giving the most complete details which leave no room for doubt, that the accused **Stern** only threw his revolver away after he had already fired all the cartridges and after he had been seized by **Sharov** and **Borissov**, who hastened to the scene when hearing the shots.

The accused **Stern** attempted to represent the whole affair as if all the shots had been fired at **Twardovski's** motor car, and that he did not fire on those who seized him.

Questioned by **Krylenko**, the Public Prosecutor, **Stern** declared he "only wanted to fire at the foreigner in the motor car". To **Krylenko's** question whether he would have fired if he had known that a technical employee with documents was travelling in the car, **Stern** replied that had he known that a technical official was travelling in the car he would not have fired.

Krylenko then cleared up the circumstances under which the accused obtained unlawful possession of the revolver and cartridges. It transpired that in addition to the cartridges contained in the fully loaded revolver which he stole from his brother-in-law, he (**Stern**) "in any event" placed a number of cartridges into an attaché case which he found among his brother-in-law's things.

Stern obstinately sought to prove that he fired at the motor car without taking aim. The Court ascertained, however, by means of photographs that four bullets entered the car on the level of the head of the occupant.

Krylenko thereupon proceeded to the question of **Stern's** acquaintance with **Vassiliev**. To **Krylenko's** question whether **Stern** had discussed the question of the possible influence of events in the Far East and the mutual relations of the Soviet Union to other countries, as well as the question of the possibility of an armed conflict, **Stern** answered in the negative. But the second accused **Vassiliev** replied to this question: Yes, we raised the question of the events in the Far East and discussed it. (The Court then adjourned until evening.)

Moscow, 5th April 1932.

At the commencement of the evening session, the Public Prosecutor **Krylenko** summed up the result of the morning's proceedings. He held it to be proved that **Stern**, by firing seven shots, five at the motor car and two at those who held him, had made an attempt on the life of the Ambassadorial Councillor von **Twardovski**. Further, the Public Prosecutor considered it as proved that five shots out of the seven were fired at the head of the occupant of the car and that **Stern** knew who was seated in the car. **Krylenko** read out the licence according to which the German Embassy in Moscow had in all nine motor cars, two of which bear numbers named by **Stern** himself. These are the cars for the personal use of the Ambassador, **Von Dirksen** and of the Ambassadorial Councillor, **van Twardovski**. Why, asked **Krylenko**, were the numbers of only the two last cars known to the accused **Stern**? **Stern** replied that these numbers "stuck in his memory".

Thereupon **Krylenko** proceeded to deal with the character and content of the conversations of the two accused on the events in the Far East. The accused **Stern** first attempted to maintain that such conversations had never taken place. He

then admitted that such conversations had taken place, but that he had not displayed any "personal interest" in them. This futile attempt to obscure the character of the conversations on the events in the Far East was countered by the statement of the accused **Vassiliev** who declared: We judged the Far Eastern events from the standpoint of their military importance and the creation of a war danger to the Soviet Power, **Stern** declaring that the events in the Far East could decide the fate of the Soviet Power. I did not share this view as I assumed the vital centres of the Soviet Union to be too far distant from the Far East, so that the fate of the Soviet Power will be decided in the West.

To **Krylenko's** question what was the attitude of the accused **Stern** to Japan's war against China, the latter replied, he had never expressed his own opinion on this. **Krylenko** then read the statement of the citizen **Taubin**, whose evidence was taken in the same case, to whom the accused **Stern** declared that he was wholly on the side of the Japanese and admired Japan.

Vassiliev, on his part, confirmed that he, like **Stern**, was wholly on the side of Japan and that the only difference of opinion between them was regarding the part played by the events in the Far East in creating a threat of war to the Soviet Union; that both of them, however, were agreed in their intention to bring about immediate warlike collisions between the Soviet Union and foreign Powers. To this **Stern** declared that at the time of the discussion of the Far Eastern events he adopted a "positive" attitude to the Soviet Power, and called himself its "protector".

Vassiliev confuted this stupid declaration of **Stern**: "I am among the enemies of the Soviet Power and know that **Stern** is equally an enemy of the Soviet Power." It further transpired that **Stern**, who was "friendly disposed to the Soviets", according to his own confession is "ideally" very close to the white guardists and in particular "idolises" General **Denikin**.

After a long cross-examination and contrasting of the statements made by **Stern** during the preliminary enquiry with the statements of the accused **Vassiliev**, which took up the whole of the first part of the evening session, the Public Prosecutor declared that the accused **Stern** was fully aware of the consequences for the international situation of the Soviet Union which could result from a successful attempt.

The accused **Vassiliev** finally revealed all the circumstances preceding the attempt. He stated:

"I knew **Stern** since November 1931. Up to this time he visited my family. I attempted to become more closely acquainted with him. I felt he was hostile to the Soviets. At first **Stern** adopted an attitude of reserve, but later, when we got to know each other better, he began to speak of anti-Soviet subjects. After he recognised in me one who shared his views and felt that he had nothing to fear, he began to speak with me more openly. We soon found a common language. We began to discuss counter-revolutionary questions. I decided that **Stern** was the man I wanted, for at this time I had already received instructions from third persons to murder the German Ambassador, **von Dirksen**.

"In judging the events in the Far East **Stern** maintained that the fate of the Soviet Power would be decided in the East. I maintained the contrary opinion—that the West would play the decisive role. In choosing **Stern** to carry out the attempt on the life of the German Ambassador, I took into account that **Stern**, according to his own words, was determined to make an attempt on any member of the government. I proposed to him that he murder the German Ambassador. He did not need any persuading.

"We discussed the plan for the assassination. There were two possibilities. The first was to murder the Ambassador in the Embassy building. This idea was abandoned, as **Stern** was not able to gain admission to the Ambassador's room. Therefore we decided to organise the assassination at the corner of **Herzen Street** and the **Leontievskaya Street**, as this was the most favourable spot for carrying out the terrorist act. The details I left to

Stern. Stern promised to obtain the weapon. It was absolutely necessary to obtain weapons of Russian origin, a circumstance which was pointed out to me by third persons. I gave a description of von Dirksen to Stern and informed him the number of his car, in order that Stern could commence his observations. In the first days of February Stern came and informed me that he obtained the weapon. Thereupon Stern commenced his observations, but complained of the frost which hindered him. At the end of February Stern declared himself ready. On March 6th I learned from the newspapers that the terrorist act has been committed. On the same evening, I was arrested. I learned from the newspapers and from the indictment that Stern had mistaken Twardovski for Dirksen."

Basing himself on the statements of the accused Vassiliev and on the statements of Stern at the preliminary examination, Krylenko declared that Stern and Vassiliev had agreed that in the event of the former's arrest he should not say anything about Vassiliev. Therefore Vassiliev did not expect to be arrested. For the same reason Vassiliev, at the preliminary examination, denied some of Stern's statements. Krylenko then declared that the examining authorities first received from Stern information regarding the preparation of the assassination as well as regarding the role of Vassiliev and certain third persons. To the question of the Public Prosecutor, whether on being confronted with Vassiliev he would confirm his statements, Stern replied that he refused to give any answer to these questions. Krylenko asked him to give the meaning of this refusal: did this mean that the accused Stern withdrew his statements on being confronted with Vassiliev or did he merely wish not to say anything about them. The accused Stern was silent for some time, and then finally answered that he did not wish to speak about these questions.

The accused Vassiliev confirmed the statements made by Stern on being confronted with the former and likewise confirmed that the place of assassination was chosen and also viewed by him together with Stern. With this the court finished dealing with the circumstances of the crime and proceeded to deal with its motives.

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Note: The report of the rest of the proceedings at the trial and also Comrade Krylenko's speech for the Prosecution will be published in our next number. Ed.

POLITICS

The Second Ballot at the Presidential Election in Germany.

By Paul Langner (Berlin).

The Presidential election which took place in Germany on March 13, did not result in an absolute majority for any of the four candidates. Therefore a second ballot, to take place on April 10, became necessary. On April 10, the candidate who receives the most votes will be elected President. The German nationalists have withdrawn their candidate **Düsterberg**, the leader of the Stahlhelm military fascist organisation, so that only three candidates stand for election: **Hindenburg**, who has been put forward by the "non-party committees", which in reality represent a combination of the forces of the bourgeoisie from the social democracy to the German nationalists; **Hitler**, the candidate of the national socialist party, who is supported by groups of the heavy industry, big agrarians and a part of the financial capitalists; and the candidate of the Communist Party, Comrade **Ernst Thälmann**.

Düsterberg's candidature was intended from the outset to serve as a means of pressure by the German nationalists on the Brüning government and as an object of bargaining. The result of the first ballot, the fact that Hindenburg received in round figures 4,700,000 more votes than Hitler and Düsterberg together, spoiled the intention of the German

nationalists to exchange the votes cast for Düsterberg in return for ministerial posts and other concessions. Therefore, the German nationalists and the Stahlhelm have left their supporters free to vote as they please at the second ballot. Even if the overwhelming majority of the votes given for Düsterberg are now cast for Hitler, the formal result of the second ballot is already certain. There is no doubt that Hindenburg, with the aid of the social democracy, will receive the most votes and will therefore be elected.

The political decision, who will be Reichs President, was already given at the first ballot. In spite of this, the second ballot is likewise of great importance. Like the first campaign the election campaign, which has now set in with full force, determined as regards its character by the question of the fight between the two chief classes in capitalist society: the working class and the bourgeoisie. Therein lies the importance of the candidature of Comrade Ernst Thälmann. It is a fighting candidature of the working class against the bourgeoisie and their social democratic and national socialist supporters. Like the first campaign, the election campaign is marked by an increased offensive of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat, and the mobilisation of the working masses by the Communist Party against this offensive, against the wage cuts, against the abolition of unemployment benefit and other social institutions, against the fascist oppression of the working class. With the increase of the danger of imperialist war and intervention against the Soviet Union, the Communist Party, in its election campaign, places in the forefront the **fight against imperialist war and the defence of the Soviet Union**.

The social democratic party call upon their followers to vote also at the second ballot for Hindenburg, the present President, who signed all Emergency Orders for the reduction of wages, the cutting down of unemployment benefit and the oppression of the working class. "Smother Hitler with ballot papers for Hindenburg!", "Beat Hitler the second time!" these are the slogans of the social democracy. As, however the social democratic workers cannot be continually roused to enthusiasm for Hindenburg with the slogan of the "Lesser evil", the social democracy is now compelled to pay much more attention to the question of the way out of the capitalist crisis. Naturally they do this with the intention of holding back the working masses, who are plunged into ever deeper misery by the crisis, from the fight for the revolutionary way out of the crisis, from the fight against the fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie as now being carried out by the Brüning government. The social democratic "way out" is a continuation of the old swindle of "organised capitalism" which "grows into Socialism". The social democracy now declare that capitalism is incapable of overcoming the crisis and that therefore the national economy must be placed under the control of the State. They bring forward a motion in the Reichstag demanding "the nationalisation of the mining industry" with compensation to the capitalists. And the "Vorwärts" announces that a "crisis purge" must be carried out in industry, with the aid of the State as has been done with the big banks. In other words, with the approval of the social democracy, industry is to receive further vast subventions from the money provided by the tax-payers. This "nationalisation of industry and of the banks" is the social democratic way out of the crisis. In reality, however, it means intensified exploitation and robbery of the masses with the aid of the social democracy. After Hindenburg's election, after the second "defeat" of Hitler, this social democratic "programme of liberty" is to be realised.

Of course, all this is nothing else but a dirty manoeuvre of the social democracy in order to get the workers to vote for Hindenburg a second time. The "fight" of the social democracy against fascism has been somewhat discredited in the last few days by Severing's "action" against the storm detachments of the national socialists, whereby nothing happened to these murder-gangs who are financed by the financial capitalists. However, the process of wresting the working masses from the social democracy will, in the main, be determined by the course of the class struggle, by the extent to which the Communist Party succeeds in launching and conducting the fights of the workers against the offensive of the bourgeoisie. The candidature of Comrade Thälmann at the second ballot is the banner of class struggle, round it are gathering millions of workers for the fight for the revolutionary way out of the crisis, for a socialist Soviet Germany.

De Valera's Pact with British Imperialism.

By William Rust (London).

The new De Valera Government in Ireland is demanding the abolition of the Oath of Allegiance to the King and proposes to retain the land annuities of £3 millions at present paid into the British Exchequer. It is likely that this demand will be followed by long drawn negotiations and judicial arguments.

British imperialism replied through the mouth of **J. H. Thomas** with a typical swashbuckling declaration. The Oath, he said, was an integral part of the Treaty which must be honourably observed. He did not add that the Treaty was forced on Ireland at the point of British bayonets and only after the country had been ravaged by British troops.

The demands made by De Valera are of course only one aspect of Ireland's dependent position on Britain.

Southern Ireland has never been allowed to develop industrially and has been kept as a kind of agricultural backyard for Britain. Famines were frequent occurrences, the standard of life is lower than in Britain and the cost of living much higher. The **North** is still artificially divided off from the South. Moreover, Ireland occupies an important strategical position in relation to the Anglo-American antagonisms and war considerations have always been a governing factor in Britain's policy of oppression towards Ireland. This factor now becomes increasingly significant.

British workers will not hesitate to support Ireland against British imperialism and to oppose both the Oath and the land annuities. **J. H. Thomas's** threatening and blustering speech has met with widespread condemnation.

But opposition to British imperialism does not mean support to Irish bourgeois leaders, who, although they are making demands on the "National" Government, are not really fighting against it, but endeavouring to come to an arrangement in order to sidetrack the mass movement. Where the armed thugs of the previous Cosgrave Government failed, the De Valera lawyers hope to succeed.

De Valera has come to office in a country which is seething with discontent against the growing poverty and misery. For those terrible conditions the Irish capitalists, bankers and landlords are directly responsible. They uphold and defend them. It is true that Irish dependence on Britain worsens the lot of the Irish workers and peasants, but it is equally true that the Irish ruling class is now in alliance with Britain and even De Valera proposes to uphold the Treaty.

The Treaty gave the Irish manufacturers and landlords what they wanted in the way of political and economic freedom to enrich themselves at the expense of the workers and peasants and they are certainly using this freedom to the uttermost.

Therefore it is clear, that the chief problem before the workers and peasants is the organisation of a class fight against the Irish capitalists and their imperialist allies. Only through this fight on bread and butter issues will it be possible to advance towards a free united Worker's and Peasants' Republic.

One of the biggest obstacles to the development of this fight is the deliberate attempts to exploit the national aspirations of the Irish masses so as to prevent them from struggling against their own capitalists and landlords.

This is the role played by the De Valera Government. If De Valera's demands were intended to be the starting point of a real fight against imperialism, militant workers would not hesitate to support him. **But he has already shown that he is neither for the national struggle nor for the welfare of the toilers.**

According to his own newspaper the "**Irish Press**" he wants the abolition of the Oath because "it would be simply intolerable if we were not permitted to remove that cause of strife". (March 28th.)

De Valera is pleading for the removal of the Oath merely in order to damp down the national feeling, not to encourage the masses to go forward with bigger demands.

As for the land annuities, De Valera intends that the working farmers shall continue to pay them. The only difference will be that they will be paid into the Irish Exchequer instead of the British. His arguments for withholding the land annuities are based on an interpretation of the financial provisions of the Home Rule Act of 1920.

Under this Act Northern Ireland does actually retain these

payments, and the creditors who lent the money are paid by the British Government.

In the Free State the coming into force of this provision was postponed by an Order in Council of 1921, which still holds good. De Valera will try to prove that the Home Rule Act applies and should have applied all along to the Free State. Hence the demand for the repayment of money already handed over and the refusal to make any more payments.

How far the Irish exploiters fear the new Government may be gathered from the following comment in the "**Economist**":—

"The change of Government", writes the Dublin correspondent, "has taken place with the utmost smoothness. The banks and the Stock Exchange have not experienced the slightest tremor, and the future is regarded with returning confidence". (March 26th.)

But what about the demonstrations of the **Republican Army** at Easter? The sensational Press in Britain has certainly made a lot out of the **Dublin march**, which took place under unusual circumstances. But so far the new burst of I.R.A. activity appears to be quite harmless and in no sense anti-capitalist.

According to the "Times", the speech of Mr. Twomey, the I.R.A. leader,

"contained no element of Communist propaganda. Before the passing of the Public Safety Act by the Cosgrave Administration the Irish Republican Army was in intimate alliance with Saor Eire, the objects of which were purely Communist, but it is understood that negotiations have been in progress between Mr. De Valera's Government and the leaders of the Irish Republican Army, to which fact may be attributed the entire lack of any reference to Saor Eire in Mr. Twomey's speech". (March 28th.)

De Valera is obviously planning to have a harmless legal I.R.A. The remnants of the Army which conducted the Civil War against the Free State in 1922 is to be made into a "National institution", more like a social club than an army. He has made a pact with the reactionary leaders for the purpose of stamping out the growing desire of the rank and file for a fight against capitalist exploitation and all those who stand for the maintenance of capitalism. This is how the I.R.A. leaders, under De Valera's instructions, commemorated the rising led by the Socialist **Jim Connolly**, as part of the fight for a workers' and peasants' republic!

The greatly increased activity of the Irish masses, and their growing revolt against unbearable conditions show that De Valera's cunning attempt to prevent the swing of the masses in favour of revolutionary class struggle will meet with opposition.

The situation is ripe for the formation and quick growth of a **Communist Party** which will organise the masses for revolutionary struggle on the basis of a clear class policy, and the unity of Ireland through the formation of a Workers and Peasants Republic.

The Revolutionary Workers' Groups which put forward two candidates in the General Election should now drive ahead for the formation of a Communist Party with all possible speed and especially strive to win supporters from the rank and file of the I.R.A.

Czechoslovakian Government Branded with Shame.

By Ludwig Renn (Berlin).

Under the peace treaty of St. Germain, Czechoslovakia which had hardly obtained the national independence to which it was undoubtedly entitled, made an imperialist conquest and acquired possession of Carpatho-Ukraine. Instead of granting autonomy to this Ukrainian-Magyar country, as definitely laid down in the Treaty, Czechoslovakia immediately began to oppress it nationally, to fill all the posts with Czechs, with white guardists who had fled from Russia and, in exceptional cases, with corrupt Ukrainians who servilely carried out Czechish desires.

A land reform which would include the dividing up of the enormous landed estates of Count Schönberg was promised. After years of delay this whole reform turned out to be a gigantic corruption affair. By means of huge bribes the Franco-Swiss Joint Stock Company Latoritza obtained posses-

sion of the vast landed estates. The peasants, cheated of land, had at least work, lumber work, until the timber treaty between Czechoslovakia and Hungary was dissolved. The population, which had always gone hungry, was now on the border of starvation. The rich Latoritza Company did not pay a penny in order to alleviate the poverty and misery. The government did not pay the lumber workers any unemployment benefit, for they are not organised in trade unions and under the Ghent system unemployment benefit is only paid to trade-union organised workers.

Added to this was a crop failure. The cheap maize from Rumania, which forms the chief article of food for the mountain peasants, was rendered enormously dear by high import duties, and as a result hunger was suddenly no longer a circumstance "to which the people are used", as all reactionaries there say, but threatened the lives of hundreds of thousands.

The peasants began to beg. The gendarms drove them with blows from the government offices. The peasants of whole villages came out, still peacefully begging. Large forces of gendarmes were called in. There then commenced real hunger demonstrations. The government replied with police terror and punitive expeditions. Early in the morning they forced their way into the houses of the peasants, indiscriminately beating the inmates. Anybody who dared to utter a word of protest was beaten in the face with a truncheon or on the legs with a carbine until he collapsed.

When we arrived at the beginning of March and wished to distribute maize, rice, salt and bacon from the Workers International Relief, the peasants of Turya Pasica, scarcely ventured to speak to us. The Peasants' Committee which was to distribute the food had had to flee to the forest to escape the fury of the gendarmes. The old women showed us their shoulders and arms which were black and blue from the beatings they had received from the gendarmes. They told us that the gendarmes tried to make out to them that the food which had arrived had been sent by the Red Cross. But the peasants knew quite well that it had come from the workers.

We published all these things in the newspapers and succeeded in exposing this scandalous state of affairs in Czechoslovakia, in France, Great Britain and the United States. The government has now taken its revenge. What has it done? It has prohibited the W.I.R. and dissolved all its local groups. And this after the social democratic Minister for Public Welfare, Czech, declared to us personally that he welcomed our action!

The Czech government has thereby openly revealed its brutal countenance. The people of Carpatho-Ukraine have already clearly expressed their desire for union with Soviet Ukraine. This must be prevented at all costs, as a gap would be thereby torn in the strategic front against the Soviet Union. In order to be able to wage war against the Soviet Union, the Czech government allows Carpatho-Ukraine to starve and prohibits the organisations which wish to help it.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Miners' Strike in Czechoslovakia.

By K. Gottwald (Prague).

In the Ostrau district, in Lower Suchau, the workers were fired on. **Four miners were severely wounded and numerous others slightly wounded.** How ruthlessly the gendarmerie and the police in Ostrau proceeded against the striking miners is shown, among other things, by the fact that they shot one of their own people. In the Komotau district and in the whole of the North there prevails a **state of emergency, martial law.** No meetings are permitted in the Ostrau district.

The miners have been driven to strike by hunger, misery and boundless exploitation. In the last few years not thousands but tens of thousands of miners have been flung on to the street. In the year 1921, 75,893 workers were employed in the mining industry; in the year 1931 their number was only 53,856, i. e., 22,037 less. In the year 1929, 51,440 miners were employed in the brown coal industry, in the year 1931, 33,893, i. e., 17,547 less.

During the last ten years, 39,584 miners have been dismissed in the mining industry.

But simultaneously with the dismissal of ten thousands of miners the productivity of labour increased rapidly. The average daily output per miner in the hard coal industry amounted in the year 1921 to 5.83 cwt.; in the year 1931 to 10.62 cwt. In the brown coal industry the average daily output in the year 1921 was 15.09 cwt., and in the year 1931 22.85 cwt. Thus in the course of the last ten years the miners in the hard coal industry had to double their output, whilst in the brown coal industry they have had to increase their output by 70 per cent.

To this there is added the circumstance that in the last ten years the system of idle shifts has weighed heavily on the miners. In the hard coal industry the number of idle shifts in the year 1921 amounted to 10 per cent, and in the year 1931 to 25 per cent. In the brown coal industry, in the year 1921, the idle shifts amounted to 9 per cent; in the year 1931 to 23 per cent. This means that in **addition to the 39,000 miners thrown onto the street, to-day a further 25 per cent of the miners are actually unemployed.**

At the same time wages are continually falling. To-day the miner in the North earns on an average 40 crowns a day working three shifts per week. In Ostrau, 41 crowns, likewise for three shifts. In Kladno he earns 37 crowns, working four shifts, and in the other coalfields less than 37 crowns, working three shifts. These are the average earnings, which not even half of the miners receive.

These few dry figures prove that the miners who are now on strike are fighting for a bare existence in the actual sense of the word. But the coal barons are not satisfied with this; on the contrary they are provoking the miners still further. The plan of the employers and also of the government is to throw at least a third of all the miners on to the street and to reduce the wages of the rest by one third. They commenced in Ostrau by threatening to dismiss 15,000 workers. In the North they announce the dismissal of 6,000 workers, and will continue these tactics if the miners in the other coalfields do not stop them.

As against these miserable conditions of the miners and the provocative attacks of the employers, we see the amazing profits of the exploiters. According to the official statistics, the net profits of the coal barons in the North Bohemian coalfield amounted in the year 1930 to 235 million crowns; in the same year the coal barons of the Ostrau coalfield made profits amounting to 409 million crowns, whilst in the North Bohemian coalfield the wages of the miners sank by more than 40 million and in the Ostrau coalfield by more than 64 million. These are the officially recorded profits admitted by the coal barons.

The miners demand: firstly that there should be no more dismissals; the profits of the coal barons are such that it is possible for them to employ and pay all miners. The miners demand, secondly, that wages should not be reduced. They demand, thirdly, reduction of the working day to six hours without wage reductions. Fourthly, the miners demand payment for idle shifts. Fifthly, that the unemployed be paid benefit at the cost of the employers and the State and that the Ghent system be abolished. Finally, they demand that pit inspectors, paid by the State, be appointed from the ranks of the workers.

The fight in the North was marked by the spirit of unity and solidarity on the part of the workers. The miners, no matter to what political organisation they belonged, stood like one man in a firm fighting front. The miners were supported by their womenfolk and even the children, and also especially by the unemployed miners.

Against this united front of the miners there is being formed a similar united front of their enemies. All bourgeois parties openly take sides against the miners; and in this united front there are also to be found the so-called socialist leaders. Although thousands of their own party members are engaged in this fight, although further thousands of their own followers are calling for the extension and support of this strike, they stand with both feet in this anti-miners' front.

It is the government and the seven socialist ministers in it who, instead of aiding the miners, send the gendarmes against them.

In Ostrau the social fascists have issued a leaflet **denouncing the strike and the strikers.** In Kladno the social democrat **Konopa** had the deputation of miners from North Bohemia turned out, and in Brüx, where they were no longer able to prevent the strike, they did everything in order to destroy the unity of the miners and to throttle the strike. On

Saturday the secretaries of the so-called federated unions met together and decided that on Tuesday they would at all costs break the strike with the aid of the State power. But this plan did not come off; **they had made a mistake; their own functionaries, their own members opposed them.**

To-day, **approximately 40,000 miners are on strike** in Czechoslovakia. Every one of these miners, especially in the North of Bohemia, feels instinctively that the only means of defending his interests is the unity and solidarity of the workers and the extension of the fight. The miners are beginning to realise that in addition to the mineowners and the capitalist State, they have a third enemy, the "socialist" millionaires, the "socialist" drawers of coal commissions, the "socialist" shareholders in mining companies.

At the same time they pose as friends of the miners. Now, when it is a question of preventing the dismissals of thousands of miners, they issue the slogan: nationalise the mines! Who shall nationalise them? The government which is allied with the employers, to defend whom they shoot down the workers, shall expropriate the coal barons? That means to say they shall expropriate themselves.

Shall the mines be nationalised by those parties which form the government, those parties which after the revolution received millions from Petchek in order that their newspapers should not write anything about nationalisation of the mines? Shall these parties which live on coal commissions expropriate the coal barons?

Yes, the mining barons will be expropriated, and in such a way that nothing will be left of them. They will be expropriated by us, the Communists. **We shall expropriate the coal barons.**

But for the moment, however, it is not a question of expropriating the mineowners; the miners are defending themselves against dismissals. The Conference in Ostrau decided to put forward the following demands: "Not a man dismissed, not a penny off the pay"—and the social democrat **Brozik** is negotiating in Prague with the coal barons. He proposes to the coal barons that the miners be laid off in turns so that the misery be distributed among all the miners. He offers the employers a 10 per cent. wage cut.

The Communists move in Parliament, in the name of the miners, that the law on the six-hour working day in the mining industry with no wage reductions be immediately discussed and passed. We ask the so-called socialists: Will you vote for this motion, yes or no?

We further move, on behalf of the striking miners, the enactment of a law **prohibiting any dismissals in the mining industry.** Thirdly, we move, likewise on the initiative and demand of the North Bohemian miners, the immediate passing of a law imposing a special tax on the profits of the mining barons. We ask the socialists in the government: Will you vote for this law, yes or no?

We call to the whole proletariat of Czechoslovakia: Support the fight of the miners. Set up everywhere committees of solidarity for the miners, protest against the shooting of the miners, demonstrate against this shooting, cease work as a sign of protest, go out into the streets, do not leave your mining comrades in the lurch!

We say to the railway workers: Refuse to transport coal! No coal must be transported during the miners' strike!

The slogan of the North Bohemian miners to-day is: Unity, strike, victory! This slogan must become the slogan in all the coalfields in Czechoslovakia! It must be supplemented by the slogan: Long live the general strike of the miners!

(From the speech delivered by Comrade Gottwald in the Czechoslovakian Parliament on March 30, 1932.)

The Situation in the Miners Strike.

Prague, April, 4, 1932.

The strike in the Northern Bohemian mining area is still complete. Under the threat of the miners that they would withdraw the safety men, the government has agreed to recognise the strike committee elected by the miners at a delegate conference on Sunday. This strike committee is the same one which was dissolved by the authorities last week. The authorities have also given permission for a mass demonstration in Bruex for to-morrow.

In the **Kladno** district the reformists are doing their utmost to break the strike. The revolutionary union is holding regular meetings in order to keep the strikers informed concerning the real situation and to counter the lies of the reformists. 8,000 miners are on strike in this district.

In the **Ostrau** district where the reformists succeeded in securing a return to work two conferences of the miners have adopted resolutions in favour of striking again. There is indignation at the betrayal of the strike even amongst the members of the yellow union.

There is a strike movement in the other districts also, particularly in Slovakia where the miners have presented their demands to the owners.

The Congress of the European Miners in Saarbrück.

By Gustav Sobottka (Berlin).

The representatives of the capitalist governments and of the reformist trade union bureaucrats of the Amsterdam Miners' International will meet in Geneva on April 16, in order to ratify the Geneva Convention on the introduction of the seven and three quarter hours shift in the mining industry.

As is known, this Convention was concluded last year in Geneva in order to frustrate the struggle of the English miners who demanded the introduction of the seven hour shift. In the course of a year this Convention ought to have been ratified by at least two of the European coal producing countries. Up to now not one of the governments has ratified it. The English government and mining capitalists are in a particular dilemma, as the eight-hour day law in the mining industry expires on July 8, and the miners are vehemently demanding the introduction of the seven-hour shift. The "international regulation" of working time is to help them again this year to cheat the miners out of the seven-hour shift. But they will not succeed in this. The mining capitalists are waging a fierce struggle for markets. This lies in the very nature of capitalism. Therefore, the ratification-Conference of the Geneva Labour Office will turn out just as did the Conference in January.

These negotiations are of importance to the miners, for the reformist bureaucracy in all countries base a part of their deceitful manoeuvres on the swindle of the Geneva Labour Office. Therefore this swindle must be exposed.

The most important thing, however, is the organisation of the fight in all countries for the introduction of the seven-hour shift. The Congress of the European miners, which will open on April 16 in Saarbrück, is in the first place to serve this end.

Unless the seven-hour shift with no wage reductions is introduced in England on July 8, further thousands of English miners, and also miners in other countries, will be thrown onto the street. The plan of the English government, by abolishing the gold standard, to create better export possibilities for English coal, has come to nothing. The events of the last six months show that the exports of English coal are still declining; they fell from 3½ million tons at the end of 1931 to 3.3 million tons in January, and to 3.2 million tons in February 1932. The attempt of the English mining magnates to dump coal abroad has given the German and Polish coal barons a pretext for further wage cuts, and has thereby led to a further intensification of the competitive struggle for coal markets. The results will be further reductions in the wages of the English miners and attempts to retain the present eight-hour shift, or even to lengthen it.

In view of the enormous unemployment in the mining industry in all countries, the introduction of the seven-hour shift is of the greatest importance not only for England but for all European countries. Therefore, the Congress of the Miners of Europe will indicate the necessity of struggle and strikes in every country, in every coalfield, in every pit, for the reduction of the working day. In particular the Congress will adopt measures to prevent a repetition of the events of the year 1926, when the English workers fought for months for the retention of the seven-hour shift, while the coal hewed by German, French and Polish miners could be shipped to England. If the English miners conduct a fight for the seven-hour shift, then the French, German and the Polish miners must stand by them. It must be the task of the Congress of the European miners of Europe to set up this united front.

In addition to this important question of working time there is the fight against wage cuts. The mining capitalists in all coalfields are carrying out a brutal attack on wages. Following the 6 per cent. cut in the wages of the French miners in Nord and Pas De Calais on February 1st, the mineowners in

all the coalfields of France are proceeding to reduce wages. On April 1st a further 3 per cent. wage cut is to be carried out.

In Belgium, the reformist bureaucracy agreed to a wage cut of 5 per cent. from 27th March and a further cut is to be put through in April. In Holland, the mineowners demanded a wage reduction of 10 per cent.; the Christian and reformist trade union bureaucrats immediately offered to accept a 5 per cent. cut and a further 5 per cent. cut in the middle of May. In Germany, a fresh wage cut is announced in all coalfields, to come into force after the expiration of the present agreement. In Prussia and other states the direct attack is only postponed for a few weeks in view of the approaching elections.

The miners are not remaining inactive in face of these brutal attacks. A number of partial strikes are taking place in nearly every coalfield. In Belgium, in the course of one week, the miners in 12 pits downed tools. Under the pressure of the militant workers the reformists in a part of the Charleroi coalfield decided to call a twenty-four hour protest strike for April 4. They are conducting similar manoeuvres in France. The big strike, lasting four weeks, of the 35,000 Dombrova miners has aroused a powerful response among the miners, especially of Czechoslovakia. The threat of wage cuts and dismissals in the Moravian Ostrau coalfield sufficed to call forth great demonstrations of all miners from all pits, in the face of which the mineowners were compelled to give way. At the present time the miners in the North Bohemian coalfield are making a determined and courageous attack. Over 16,000 miners in 30 pits have commenced a strike against wage cuts and dismissals.

The Congress of the European miners will promote the fight of the miners against wage reductions. The elected representatives of the miners of all coalfields will draw the lessons from the experiences of the fights in the various countries and apply them to advantage in the fight against the mining capitalists. The fight against imperialist wars partly in organising the front of the miners for the fight for wages and bread, against wage cuts and intensified exploitation. In the fight against war the Congress will not confine itself to paper resolutions and decisions, but concretely show how the fight must be waged in the various pits and coalfields.

The Dictatorship of the American United Fruit Company.

By O. Rodriguez.

In several countries of the **Caribbean** the United Fruit Co. exercises a dictatorship over practically the entire life of those countries. Being one of the largest Yankee monopoly corporations operating in Latin America the United Fruit Co. functions as one of the chief representatives of Yankee imperialism. And as such, it not only owns and controls immense tracts of land, plantations, shipping, railroads, mines, etc.; it not only robs these natural resources and exploits mercilessly the workers and toiling peasants for the aggrandisement of Yankee imperialism; it not only owns and controls the puppet governments of many of the Caribbean countries; but it **itself** exercises the functions of government directly, especially when it comes to suppressing the struggles of the workers and toiling peasants that are employed by the United Fruit Co.

The enterprises of the United Fruit Co. in the Caribbean, particularly the **banana plantations**, are practically armed camps. The United Fruit Co. maintains there numerous armed bands that are systematically terrorising the workers and small **poquiteros** and, in times of strikes or other struggles of the masses for the improvement of their conditions, these armed bands of the Company undertake to crush these struggles by the utmost violence and wholesale murder, always with the support of the armed forces of the puppet governments of these countries. In doing so, the United Fruit Co. knows that there are always close at hand Yankee warships and marines "to protect" its life and property, when necessary.

One of the most recent displays of the dictatorship of the United Fruit Co. in some of the Caribbean countries has been given to us in the **January struggles** of the workers and small **poquiteros** in the banana zone of **Honduras**. That zone is almost completely dominated by the United Fruit Co. The workers went on strike against a 20% wage cut. The small **poquiteros** joined the struggle to fight against a 25% cut in

the price of bananas that they are selling to the United Fruit Co. The strike was joined by the longshoremen in **Tella** backed up by all transport workers. Mr. Trumbuk, general manager of the United Fruit Co. in Honduras, took charge of the situation and under his command the government of **Collindres** undertook to crush the strike by declaring martial law, invading the strike area with troops, at the same time "appealing" to the strikers to accept the wage cut "in the national interests of Honduras". The troops that came to the banana zone on January 3rd from La Ceiba, most of them recruited from the unemployed, began to fraternize with the strikers and upon the order of the United Fruit Co. these troops were withdrawn from the strike zone and more "reliable" ones sent instead.

But the United Fruit Co. did not confine itself to merely ordering Collindres to crush the strike, not because Collindres was unwilling to obey the commands of the United Fruit Co. but because he was not "efficient" enough in crushing the strike which the troops from La Ceiba were unwilling to attack and which had the active support of the poor non-working class population of the cities in the banana zone. Hence, the United Fruit Co. stepped forward to handle the situation more directly. On January 15th, the armed bands of the United Fruit Co. began to carry through a series of arrests, picking out those that appeared to be more militant, placing these kidnapped workers on one of its ships—the "Dry"—and sending them to Puerto Barrios. When these workers were refused permission to land, the United Fruit Co. brought them to the Aviation Field at San Pedro Sula, placed them on one of its own airplanes and sent them out to Salvador from where they have not yet been heard of. There is great danger that these strikers, that were kidnapped by the United Fruit Co. and deported to Salvador, may have been murdered. This is how Yankee imperialism is exercising its dictatorship in the Caribbean countries.

At the present time, the United Fruit Co. and its servant, the Collindres government, are making the most desperate efforts to wipe out the revolutionary organisations from the banana zone, especially the revolutionary unions and the Communist Party. The leading working class and peasant militants are being hounded and persecuted with the utmost violence and brutality. Yankee imperialism and its puppet government in Honduras are carrying on this wild white terror against the struggling masses in order to forestall and check the coming new struggles of the workers and toiling peasants against the robbery and exploitation of the United Fruit Co.

But the brave and courageous workers of the banana zone will not be cowed by this terror. They will continue to build their revolutionary unions into powerful mass organisations, rooting them on the plantations and in the ports, as well as the organisation of the Committees of Unemployed. Learning from the shortcomings and errors of the January strike, especially the lack of preparation and failure to build up wide rank and file strike committees on each plantation, the revolutionary workers will more than ever before concentrate on the banana zone as the most important field of their activity, preparing the coming struggles of the workers against the wage cuts, lay-offs, unemployment, etc., combating mercilessly the legalism and surrender to compulsory arbitration of the right opportunists and the sectarian putchist distortions of the "left" opportunists. The organisation of the small **poquiteros** and toiling peasants generally into Peasant Leagues, struggling jointly with the workers against the United Fruit Co. and its native supporters, remains one of our chief tasks in Honduras.

Against the dictatorship of the United Fruit Co. and the rule of Yankee imperialism in Honduras we must arouse the widest **mass anti-imperialist movement** of the workers, peasants and poor petty-bourgeoisie of the cities. The situation now is highly favourable for the development and organisation of such movements also because of the sharpening danger of a new world war and especially the immediate danger of war against the Soviet Union for which the Collindres government is preparing under the direction of Yankee imperialism. We must place on the order of the day the organisation of a League Against Imperialism in Honduras, based upon the workers and peasants and including all militant anti-imperialist elements, to unify and intensify the struggle against Yankee imperialism and the United Fruit Co. and for the defence of the Chinese people and the Soviet Union.

The War

The Fights with the "Bandits" in Manchuria.

By Min Tin (Letter from Peiping)

The veil over the mechanism of the "bandit" movement, which Japanese imperialism makes generous use of in order to increase the number of its troops in Manchuria and to concentrate them in definite directions, is being more and more drawn aside. This "mechanism" is exceedingly simple and consists in the following: this or that Manchurian general, as the Japanese determine, begins at the necessary moment to play the role of "enemy"; he stages a "rebellion" and is then pursued by the Japanese troops. The General quickly retreats in the agreed direction. Having arrived at the place agreed upon (it is a rule that all "rebels" no matter in what direction they may have to move, in most cases retreat in the direction of the Soviet frontier) the "rebel general" ceases "resistance" and declares his submission to the "Manchurian government", i. e. to the Japanese command. Here, in most cases, the Japanese cease their "pursuit" (the point they are aiming at has been reached) and begin to bring up further reinforcements "in case bandits should appear again". The advance of the Japanese on the track of the "rebels" is accompanied by a real drive, with the employment of all categories of troops, against the working population of Manchuria, who "incidentally" submit to the new "Manchurian government", in other words, to the Japanese conquerors. The least resistance on the part of the outraged population is crushed with the most indescribable cruelty by the occupation troops.

At the same time, the Japanese threaten to increase their forces. Thus, for instance, numerous sensational reports have appeared in the Japanese press recently regarding a partisan movement in the Nunan region. The Japanese are beginning to fling their troops into this district, and Japanese papers have already reported that numerous partisans are holding possession of Nunan. As has now transpired, however, the Japanese command is using the situation in this district in order to convert Hunan into an important military base where great bodies of troops are to be concentrated. Nunan is a very important point for Japanese imperialism, lying north of Chanchun on the new railway line planned to be built by the Japanese from Chanchun to Dalai and running parallel with the Chinese-Eastern railway. When the Japanese troops began to advance north of Harbin, the Japanese press gave as a reason for this the outbreak of "revolts", and excesses on the part of the so-called Binsjan troops (Chinese). There were continual reports of alleged fights between the Japanese and the Binsjan troops; it was also reported that the latter were retreating and that the Japanese were in pursuit. Now, after the Japanese troops have taken possession of Tunbin and Fandheng (North-East of Harbin) and are advancing still farther towards Sansing (nearer to the Chinese-Soviet frontier), the commander of the military mission in Harbin, **Doichara**, has declared in an interview to representatives of the press that there have been no actual collisions between the Japanese and Binsjan troops; that it was only "bandits detachments", who had no knowledge of the negotiations and the conclusion of this agreement between the commander of the Japanese and the Binsjan troops, which opposed the Japanese, and that "in the near future this district will be purged of all unreliable elements". In plain language, this means that the generals, who have been bought by the Japanese, have fulfilled their task, they have enabled the Japanese troops to reach the desired points. It is now a question of fortifying the district and concentrating troops for the further advance in the desired direction.

The "cause" has already been ascertained beforehand. Doichara pointed out at his interview that "with the coming of Spring the movement of the bandits will increase". Reports from Harbin confirm that the Binsjan generals have already declared their submission to the new Manchurian government. From well-informed American and English sources we learn particularly interesting details regarding the recent bargaining between the Japanese and the commanders of the Binsjan troops, **Din Chou** and **Li Du**. The Japanese command agreed with them that the rebellion should cease for the period of a

month until the departure of the League of Nations Commission which is expected here. After the expiry of this period, the "rebel" movement is to be resumed by **Din Chou** in the district adjoining the Soviet-Chinese frontier.

This arrangement, of course, coincides with the period in which the Japanese command expects the "revival of the bandit movement". By this time the fortification of the military bases at the places already occupied, will be ended, and then it will be possible to continue the advance nearer to the frontiers. The "bandits" will be there all right. In this way Japanese imperialism is creating a jumping-off ground for the attack on the Soviet Union.

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Editorial Note:

According to reports from Japanese sources, the Japanese command has already decided to concentrate "defence" troops on the following frontier points: Manchouli station, Pogranichnaya and Shanchainhuang. The reason given is: the possibility of an "increased influx of soldiers in civil clothing seeking to overthrow the Manchurian government".

According to reports just received, Japanese troops have occupied Harbin on the eastern line of the Chinese-Eastern railway.

Role of American Imperialism in War Preparations.

By A. G. Bosse (New York).

While a Japanese-American conflict has by no means become improbable, the campaign against the U.S.S.R. is to the forefront as never before since 1920. The entire American press and all spokesmen for Washington admit that war is being prepared against the Soviet State. The difference is that a conscious attempt is now being made to create the illusion that the U.S. would be friendly to the Soviet Union in case Japan attacked the latter.

The workers must not be lulled to inaction by this propaganda. The danger of attack upon the Soviet Union is greater than ever—it seems to await only upon spring weather and the pleasure of the Japanese militarists (and their allies). It is not for nothing that they have their troops at three points on the Soviet border (Manchouli, Blagoveshchensk and Pogranichnaya) as well as at many points along the Korean border, and their fleet in the Sea of Japan. The U.S. continues to sell Japan all sorts of military supplies at the very time it increases its campaign against the sale of goods to the Soviet Union; it begins to fill its columns with Rumanian atrocity stories about the U.S.S.R., with Riga lies about impending famine, and with Trotzky's attacks upon the U.S.S.R.

The **Portsmouth Navy Yard** is preparing warships for action as rapidly as possible. Two battleships, the **Idaho** and **Mississippi**, are being repaired, also a number of destroyers, and transports. The **Philadelphia Navy Yard** is preparing its destroyers lying inactive. At **Duluth**, naval reserve men are ordered to leave emergency addresses and telephone numbers with their officers so they can be called up on short notice. At **Fort Snelling**, also in the Middle West, leaves are cancelled by order of the War Department and the men told to be ready for immediate mobilisation. At **Newberry**, Michigan, a chemical plant speeds up production of war materials, with night work expected. (Daily Worker, Mar. 21.) In Connecticut likewise the Remington and Winchester Arms Companies. The chief chaplain of the U.S. Army, **Col. Y. E. Yates**, preaches war preparation, speaking of preparing for "the road of loyalty and sacrifice". A publisher with liberal leanings, with an eye for what the public is interested in reading now, works on the publication of a book of pictures of war horrors, but is told by the War Department when applying to them that he can have at this time only pictures showing the "pleasant" side of war. The War Department orders the printing of 33 million conscription registration blanks, with all other

government printing sidetracked to rush this order. The Illinois National Guard is given pamphlets on how to handle rioting workers, with the order "Never shoot over the heads of rioters", "Officers and men should not fear reprisal in case one or more people are killed". A Colonel of the A.S. Army, **Mettler**, speaking before a reserve officers' association, states that Polish agents are in this country buying \$20,000,000 worth of armaments. Sales of cotton and other war materials to Japan increase. The assistant Secretary of War has stated that 12,000 factories are ready to start war production overnight. These are but a few symptomatic bits. The bourgeois press suppresses them carefully and only a few workers send them in to the Communist papers. But they suffice as illustrations.

The military manœuvres in the Pacific were the greatest ever held in peace time. Their purpose was not merely to threaten Japan, the Soviet Union, and China, but also to talk to the American people. The war "problems" worked out were so arranged as to have certain results, namely, to be an object lesson in the need for more and greater naval armaments. Let the **N. Y. Times** show this; its military correspondent sums up the lesson so: "Manœuvres Show That We Need Ships", "Naval Officers Agree That War Test Proved Necessity of New Construction", "More 10,000-Ton Cruisers and Plane Carriers Are Most Generally Endorsed; Big Guns Held Essential." He goes to say that all officers agree that "keels of new men-of-war should be laid down as soon as possible, both for replacements and additions..." In addition to the 3 plane carriers built or now building, 3 more are urged; the seven 10,000 ton cruisers now building will have much heavier armour and three more are urged; more scouting cruisers are desired; new destroyers are asked to replace those now operating; more V-type submarines are wanted, in addition to the 3 now building and 6 in commission.

The socialists are also preparing for war. They are not waiting to be caught napping, as last time. Now they declare openly for war, and before most others. Last May, the **War Policies Commission**, headed by the Secretary of War, held public hearings to prepare the nation for the coming war. Among those who hastened to appear was **Norman Thomas**, leading spokesman of the S.P. ex-minister of the gospel, who assured his colleagues that though he had to keep up appearances as a socialist, he was with them: "If we were on the verge of war, I should probably be for it, but I have no great enthusiasm for it." He urged planning the next war more carefully, in order to induce greater efficiency and cut out waste. This is the great lesson he has learned from socialist planning in the U.S.S.R. and he applies it—to making American imperialist war preparations more efficient. Another lesson he tried to drive home to his fellow warmongers was to organise the financing of war more effectively: "I have not heard any reason yet why it is impossible by proper control of credit and fiscal machinery and by a proper coordination of relative needs to pay for war as you go."

Another bird of a similar feather is literally feasted in the press. From the jingoistic to the "liberal" publishers of books, magazines and papers, all open their hearts and pages to—**Mr. Trotsky**. *Liberty Magazine*, *N. Y. Times*, *N. Y. World Telegram*, etc. print with delight and appreciation whatever he may choose to say.

Mr. Trotsky advises the American public on the Far Eastern situation. He denies what every paper in the country has admitted—Japanese preparations for war against the U.S.S.R.—in an attempt to fool the workers into feeling there is no danger:

"Is it not possible that the Tokio oligarchy has also another objective, namely to aim a blow at the U.S.S.R.? To consider such a plan as altogether excluded would be too hasty. But, it cannot be a first-line plan. Only after having seized Manchuria and consolidated her position there (even if that takes years—A.G.B.) would Japan be able to make her objective that of striking a blow north westwards."

This virulent enemy of the Soviet Union, approaching in his dangerousness the social-fascists, is ably seconded by the latter. The **New Leader**, S.P. organ, shamelessly dares to insinuate as late as Feb. 20. "Has Soviet Russia a secret understanding or treaty with Japan?" In the same issue it gives a full page to an article by **Vandervelde**, which ably supplements Trotsky: "We should be wrong to believe or to spread the view that the (Second) International, apart from lending its moral support, is in a position to do much." This

virtual agent of Japanese imperialism, who at most other times supports the League of Nations fully, on this occasion seeks to sow the illusion of hopelessness: "... obvious impotence of the League (that of the U.S.S.R. is, moreover, no less great)..." The socialist organ published this for the same reason the rest of the American press prints Trotsky's 3-cent-a-work attacks—to aid the imperialist war preparations by ideologically disarming those workers who still follow them. A short time later (Mar. 4) the *Daily Worker* reported a Socialist banquet at which **Abe Kahn**, **Hillquit** and other S.P. leaders spoke. Its purpose was to collect funds for the Mensheviks (**Dan**, **Abramovich**, **Yugov** etc.), who are as openly interventionists as the White Guards and imperialists.

The intensified attacks of the enemies of the U.S.S.R., from imperialist to social-fascist, are due to and are part of the feverish preparations of world capitalism for the anti-Soviet war. The Japanese will be the spearhead of the attack, the U.S. and other imperialist powers the source of supply and finance—until they and their tools in the Balkan and Baltic are needed for direct participation. The workers must be organised as they were in the Hands off Russia campaign in 1920. Too little has been done until now, and too slowly. No transports with munitions have been stopped, no armaments factories shut down or struck, no Japanese representatives given an effective lesson of the workers' wrath. The campaign to defend the Soviet Union against imperialist war, China against partition must become the primary task of every worker.

The Dutch Bourgeoisie and the Preparations for a New World War.

By A. de Vries (Amsterdam).

Dutch imperialism is immediately involved in the war in the Far East owing to its domination of **Indonesia**. In a war in the Pacific Ocean there can be no talk of a neutrality of these islands, which are defended by a weak Dutch army and fleet, the more so as the mineral riches of Indonesia will be indispensable in such a world war.

The Dutch capitalists are fully aware of this. They talk quite openly of the new war-profits awaiting them. The financial paper of the Hague Bank Union wrote, for example, on February 3rd:

"In connection with the hostilities we point to the eventual advantages for the oil industry. In particular the oil which is obtained from the fields of **Tarakan in Borneo is exceedingly suitable for warships.**"

It then goes on to point out that the shares of the Royal Dutch Shell have consequently already risen in value.

It must be added that the present Viceroy of Indonesia, **De Jonge**, on the day before his appointment, was a director of this "royal" undertaking, just as the former Minister **Colyn**, who is still one of the most influential men in Dutch politics, occupied this office.

The Dutch colonial bourgeoisie openly sympathise with Japan in its warlike attacks on China and Manchuria. And the Dutch capitalists are also coming forward in order to secure their share of the booty. It was in view of the coming war that **Decker**, the Dutch Minister for War, was sent to Indonesia to inspect the army and navy, while the Dutch government has also sent a warship to Shanghai, allegedly to protect the Dutch colony there!

The leader of the social democracy, **Albarda**, put a question in Parliament regarding this matter. The government replied that they have no political intentions and that the Dutch warship was proceeding to Shanghai in order to preserve order while Dutch subjects are taking ship from Shanghai. The Dutch social democrats expressed themselves satisfied with this answer, and only "demanded" that the warship should be withdrawn as soon as possible. When the Communist Parliamentary fraction demanded that the Dutch forces should be withdrawn from the East, the social democrats voted against this motion.

Of course, it transpired later that the colony of Dutch exploiters do not think of leaving Shanghai when they have the prospect of such rich booty in the division of China. Thus the "pacifist" social democracy supported the robber policy of the imperialists.

It has been possible to observe for a long time in Dutch foreign politics an increased orientation to French imperi-

alism. The weak imperialism of Holland is joining that force which has the advantage for the moment in the fight for world markets and world influence. And therefore it is quite in order that the Dutch bourgeoisie is adapting itself more and more to the policy of the Quai d'Orsay.

The French orientation has made rapid progress in the last few months, especially in the colonial field. The Dutch colonial administration has for years been working together with the French in the fight against revolution and Communism. The governors of Indonesia and Indo-China have been exchanging visits very frequently of late. The Dutch government have repeatedly denied that there is anything more than international courtesy in this. The French dignitaries, however, were more candid.

The French colonial Minister **Paul Reynaud** visited Indonesia at the end of 1931, and whilst the Dutch government, as usual, denied that there was any political importance attaching to these continual visits of the French politicians, **M. Reynaud** declared to the Dutch press on December 10, that the "contact" between the Dutch and the French colonial administration had led to conversations which are of great importance and to a co-operation which is very useful "to two countries which have similar problems to solve", and then proceeded to express himself in a unmistakable manner regarding the method of combating Communism in Indonesia, namely—banishing thousands of fighters for emancipation in Indonesia to the swamps of Digul!

In Europe also there are to be seen various manifestations of the French orientation of Dutch politics, as for instance in the persistent attempts to get rid of the old questions of dispute between Holland and Belgium, this most faithful servant of French imperialism. In the last few months the Dutch government has again been endeavouring in every way (by concessions in regard to the question of the canal connection between Antwerp and the Rhine) to settle this serious conflict which has lasted for such a long time. The agitation for a Dutch-Belgian **Customs Union** serves the same purpose. Moreover, the Dutch Foreign Minister **Beelaerte**, at the last meeting of the League of Nations, in a rather striking manner, made a change in the traditional Dutch policy and fairly plainly supported Tardieu's proposal for the formation of a League of Nation's army.

The Dutch bourgeoisie thereby, unreservedly takes its place in the anti-Soviet front led by France and Japan. The campaign of lies conducted by the Dutch press is being more and more intensified. Every calumny is eagerly spread, especially by the social democratic press. The Dutch war industry is working for the war in the East. The Communist press is publishing increasingly numerous reports from its worker correspondents regarding the increasing activity prevailing in the munition factories.

Mass Murder of the Civil Population in the World War.

By N.-O.

The feverish arming of the imperialist Powers for a new intervention and a new world war, the first flames of which are already to be seen in the Far East, compel the working masses of all countries to turn their attention to those blessings which the last world war brought to humanity. The effects of the last war were to be seen in an increased mortality, decline of the birth rate, spread of plagues and diseases. In Germany alone the mortality figures increased by 750,000 and in Italy the number of deaths exceeded the normal by over a million.

Apart from the front soldiers, of whom 13 millions were killed in the world war, the war caused a considerable increase of mortality among the civil population. Thus in France, the death rate increased from 17.6 per thousand in the year 1913 to 22 per thousand in 1918; in Germany the increase was from 15.7 to 18.9; in England from 13.6 to 17.6, and in Italy from 18.3 to 33. At the same time, however, the birth rate declined as follows: in France, from 18.4 to 12.2; in Germany, from 27.2 to 14.3 in England, from 23.9 to 17.7 and in Italy, from 31.1 to 18.1. Thus as a direct result of the war we see a disastrous destruction of human lives, affecting women, children and old folk alike.

As all wars in history, the last world war brought in its train terrible epidemics the traces of which still remain

today. Already in the Winter of 1914/15 cholera, dysentery, malaria and scarlet fever came from the East front and raged over wide areas in Russia, Poland, Austria and also the Balkans. In Indo-China, in the Senegal district and in India, there was a serious epidemic of cholera. Influenza, which assumed dangerous dimensions arose as a direct epidemic of the world war. During the war influenza took toll of 15 million lives, of these 10 million in Asia, 2.5 million in Europe and 1.5 million in America.

Tuberculosis and consumption became prevalent during the world war. The increase in the number of deaths from tuberculosis were the consequence of undernourishment and over-exertion; mainly of women in the armament factories. As compared with 1913, the cases of death from tuberculosis in the year 1918 increased in the various countries as follows: in France by 25 per cent; in England, Denmark and Spain by 34 per cent; in Czechoslovakia by 44 per cent; in Italy by 50 per cent and in Germany and Austria by 60 to 67 per cent. In Germany alone the total number of deaths as a result of tuberculosis exceeded the pre-war mortality by 160,000, of whom 140,000 were civil persons, of which last three-fifths were women.

Not only the belligerent but also the so-called "neutral" countries suffered greatly on account of the world war. Nearly 600,000 more persons died in the "neutral" countries during the war than in the pre-war time. In Sweden, for instance, the highest number of deaths since 150 years was recorded in 1918.

According to the calculations of the Swiss statistician Professor **L. Hersch**, the world war, according to incomplete figures, cost the lives of 28,379,000 civil persons. If we put the number of soldiers who fell at 13,050,000, we see that the number of lives destroyed during the war amounted to 41,435,000. In Europe alone 25 million people died—a number exceeding the combined population of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland and Switzerland. It is not yet generally known that the world war took toll of just as many victims from among the civil population as from among the armies of all the imperialist robbers. But what will it be in the coming war, when the towns and villages of Europe will be bombarded with air bombs and gas shells?

The working masses of Europe have every reason to oppose with all their might the imperialist war which has been going on already for months in the Far East, and which is directed not only against China, not only against the Soviet Union, but also against the toilers of all countries.

WAR AND SOCIAL FASCISM

The British Labour Party Helps the War.

By J. R. Campbell (London).

In reviewing the actions of the Labour Party and Trade Union Congress in helping forward the war preparations my mind goes back to the **Trade Union Congress in Edinburgh in 1927**.

When the policy of breaking with the Russian Trade Unions was being put through **Citrine**, the Secretary of the Trade Union Congress, got up to declare dramatically that although they were breaking off relations with the Russian Trade Unions, they had the cause of the Russian people at heart and if the time ever came when there was the danger of a war against the Soviet Union, the Trade Union Congress would rally to the side of the Soviet Union.

For over six months war has been raging in Manchuria—a war which at any moment may be extended by the Japanese imperialists against the Soviet Union. For over two months, this war has raged around Shanghai. The imperialists are engaged at this moment with the connivance of the Nanking Government in arranging a robber armistice—an armistice which will allow the imperialists to seize Chinese territory around Shanghai thus beginning the dividing up of China.

What has been the attitude of the **Labour Party** and **Trade Union Congress** during these months?

During the opening phases of the struggle in Manchuria the Labour Party confined itself to asking **Sir John Simon** what he intended to do about it. **Sir John** answered that Japan was "only exercising undoubted treaty rights", but

that he hoped to get a settlement of the dispute through the League of Nations; whereat **Mr. Lansbury** wished Sir John Simon "God speed" and the matter dropped.

When the fighting broke out around Shanghai, the Labour Party pretended that Japan was acting alone without the support of any of the other imperialist powers, although the alliance of Japan with France was well known and the gross partiality of Simon to Japan at the League of Nations was blatant and indicated the growth of a working arrangement between Japan and Great Britain, amounting to an alliance in all but name.

When the news came through that the British and French militarists had cooperated with the Japanese in arranging their military dispositions in such a way as would facilitate the Japanese attacking Chapei from the International Settlement; that they were threatening the Chinese troops with reprisals if they dared attack the International Settlement which the Japanese were using as their military base, the Labour Party still continued to create the illusion that only the Japanese imperialists were attacking China; that France and Britain were absolutely guiltless.

Of course the unexpected resistance of the 19th Army was endangering British property in Shanghai and Lansbury asked Sir John Simon "could he not persuade the Japanese to find some other part of China to attack the Chinese in".

The "Daily Herald", when the fighting in Shanghai was at its height, put all the blame on Japan and suggested that its fellow imperialist robbers—France and Britain—might induce the League of Nations to check Japan.

It was not until three weeks after the fighting commenced at Shanghai that the Labour Party and the Trade Union Congress made an official pronouncement on the war.

In their **manifesto** they declare that the war cannot be localised and that if the present war in China is not stopped it will grow into world war.

The Labour Party and the Trade Union Congress only made public this view of the war three weeks after the fighting had commenced and after trade union branches, under the influence of the Communist Party had begun to pass resolutions calling for a campaign for the withdrawal of troops and the stopping of munitions.

The Labour Party manifesto was designed to sidetrack the movement against the war into support of the British Government and the League of Nations, which were helping Japanese imperialism in its attack on the Chinese people.

The manifesto had the audacity—at the very moment when the British Air Force was bombing tribal villages on the North West frontier in **India**—to contrast the Liberal policy of British imperialism in China in 1926 as compared with the brutal policy pursued by Japanese Imperialism.

This very point had been answered in advance by the Japanese imperialists when they declared that they were only doing at Shanghai what other imperialists had done repeatedly in the past and instanced the bombardment of Nanking by the British warships in 1927. The Labour Party conveniently forget this example of Britain's Liberal policy in China.

The manifesto, having whitewashed British imperialism, calls upon the National Government to induce the League of Nations to apply measures of "financial and economic constraint" to its ally Japan.

Under the influence of this manifesto some local Labour men began to oppose the real fight against the war.

In the **Birmingham Trades Council** for example a resolution was moved which said:

"This trades council calls the attention of all workers to the serious danger of war. The present situation in China is such as to lead to a world war of even more terrible nature than the war of 1914—18.

"It strongly condemns the action of the Japanese imperialism and the support given by the world imperialist powers. It recognises that the aim of the world Powers is the sub-division of China and the strengthening of the frontiers against the Soviet Union.

"It further sees in the present struggle against the Chinese an attempt to smash the Chinese Soviets representing 70,000,000 people.

"This trades council calls for the withdrawal of armed forces from China, the cessation of transport of troops and munitions and urges the preparation for a General Strike to prevent another world war."

The Labour Party supporters moved an amendment to the effect to "delete all words after the sub-division of China" and substitute the following:

"This council endorses the action of the Trades Union Congress General Council and the Labour Party Executive, in demanding that the League of Nations should give effect to article 16, and exercise an economic boycott on Japan. Further, we ask the T.U.C. General Council to use its influence to secure an emergency meeting of the International Federation of Trade Unions in order to bring all possible pressure to bear upon the League of Nations with a view to giving effect to this policy."

The arguments of the principal speaker against the Resolution are interesting. He did not believe that there were any Soviet districts in China, he did not see the slightest danger of war on the Soviet Union, it was impossible to say that the League of Nations had failed, it had never been tried, etc.

In the **Bradford Trades Council**, the line of argument was changed. There an addendum was moved to a resolution as follows:

"and calls upon all workers to refuse to transport weapons of war to China, bearing in mind particularly the preparation of war on Soviet Russia."

The main argument against this was that the workers could not stop munitions, they had not the power, etc. The war is opposed in words but all action against the war is sabotaged.

There has, however, been a change in the Labour Party's attitude to Japan. British Imperialism was against Japan "going too far" encroaching on the British sphere of influence in Shanghai. But it is absolutely favourable to the Japanese occupation of Manchuria and the attack on the Soviet Union. The organs of British Imperialism, the "Times" and the "Telegraph" are day after day adducing reasons why Japan must remain in occupation of Manchuria. The Labour Party begins to support British Imperialism in this. **Mr. Lees Smith** asks:

"How is Japan to live? She is desperate. If we were in her position we should not die quietly, but we should undoubtedly burst out somewhere, as she has done in Manchuria and Shanghai.

"Japan has an undoubted case against the rest of the world, which we must now admit. The world is saying to her: If you try to meet your difficulties by emigration you must be fought; and if you try to increase your exports by peaceful enterprise we will keep them out by raising our tariff walls."

And lest this be regarded as an isolated expression of opinion, **Lansbury** in the debate in the House of Commons expresses the same idea:

"I recognise to the full—as much as anyone in this House—the position of Japan.

"She is very much in the same position as Germany before the late war. Germany came into the field of commercial capitalism later in the day than ourselves—she found herself in a position that she must expand her markets somewhere for her people, and find somewhere where she could exchange the goods which, in an ever-increasing amount, she was able to produce.

"Japan is shut out of Canada, America and Australia. Japan has learned from us, from the Western world, all there is to know I think, in the way of production, and is now, like all other capitalist countries, chucked with goods. It is not so much that Japan wants to send her people abroad . . . as her goods, and she wants markets and more raw material."

In the midst of the fighting at Shanghai there took place in the House of Commons the debates on the estimates. The Ministers of the National Government, in introducing the estimates, declared that Britain had gone too far along the road of armament reduction and that an **increase in armaments** was certain in the near future. The Labour Party did not attempt to oppose this and the "Times" could gleefully chronicle:

"The debate on the Naval Estimates in the House of Commons today was more like a meeting of the British Delegation to the Disarmament Conference than a Parliamentary battle between Government and Opposition."

"The contention that the Estimates could not be lowered until disarmament became more general, and, at their present level, even anticipated some multilateral disarmament, was not seriously challenged, even by the Socialist Opposition." ("The Times", March 8, 1932.)

Needless to say with the cessation of fighting at Shanghai, the Labour Party is chronicling the fact the war is over, that there is peace in Manchuria, and that there is no danger of attack on the U.S.S.R.

Thus it tries to disarm the working class at the moment when the war is entering a new and more dangerous stage.

Instructions of the Second International to the Russian Mensheviks.

By H. Valetzki.

The relations of the II. International to its Russian Section, to the Party of the Mensheviks, recently underwent a certain alteration. It was decided to utilise the Russian Mensheviks for the cause of international counter-revolution somewhat differently than hitherto, and accordingly propose to them that they should "modify" their own tactics. In the leading theoretical organs of social fascism there has developed an "international discussion" round the "problems" connected with this tactical turn. The discussion was opened by Otto Bauer and has been participated in by Friedrich Adler, Theodor Dan and Abramovitch.*)

Two facts called forth the necessity of a revision of the role of the Menshevik party within the II. International. The first fact consists in the exposure before the whole world by the Moscow trial which took place a year ago, of the sabotage, espionage and provocative work of the Mensheviks in all its revolting nakedness. An exposed provocateur is not worth a pinch of salt. Already at the Vienna Congress of the II. International last Summer, the Menshevik leaders, who appeared there in full force, were "recommended" not to speak at the Congress, just as they were kept from appearing on the platforms at the public meetings held in the working class districts of Vienna on the occasion of the Congress.

The second essential fact which changes the position of the Russian Mensheviks within the international social fascist "family" is the war — not only the Sino-Japanese war which has already broken out, but the ever nearer approaching war in all parts of the world, and particularly in Europe — and especially the feverish preparations for armed intervention against the Soviet Union.

This demands of all partners in and agents of this imperialist undertaking the greatest increase in their deceitful manoeuvres. It requires an increased and skilful concealment of the counter-revolutionary hostility and hatred towards the Soviet Union on the part of the social-fascist leaders, and demonstrative declarations of their "sincere good will". This in turn demands an outwardly demonstrative cooling of relations with the compromised Russian Mensheviks, a more discreet utilisation of them as experts.

As initiator of this "tactical" turn there came forward Otto Bauer, who combines in his person the office of theoretician of the whole II. International and champion "Left" phrase-monger. In order to give to his action the appearance of complete sincerity, Otto Bauer begins with a "manly" "self-criticism", with the confession of some of his mistakes in the past:

"When the Five-Year Plan was published, most of us regarded it as utopian. To-day we know . . . that its results will undoubtedly be an amazingly big growth of Russian industry, a considerable strengthening of Russia's productive forces and a considerable increase in productivity of Russian labour."

"When the wholesale collectivisation of the peasant farms was carried out last year, many of us believed that this would be bound to lead to the complete disorganisation of agriculture. As a matter of fact, however, the harvest yield last year was particularly large. And great as the

inner difficulties of the Kolkhozes are, the collectivisation, on the other hand, enables the peasantry quickly to improve the choice of seeds, to carry on more rational fertilisation, to improve the rotation of crops, to use tractors and agricultural machinery and to avoid the waste of time and labour which resulted from the land being split up into small and scattered parcels."

"The present year, the third year of the Five-Year Plan, is the year of the most strenuous efforts. It was therefore feared that this would be the year of the greatest privations, the year in which it would be necessary to exert all forces to the utmost. But in fact the Moscow correspondents of the bourgeois press report that life in Russia has this year become perceptibly easier . . ."

"Judged by the development of the last three years therefore, it appears at any rate possible that the final result of the Russian revolution will be quite different from that which the Menshevik and also our prognosis predicted at the time of the civil war and the N.E.P."

"In the Soviet Union, elements of a socialist order of society are springing up before our eyes."

Bauer, as we see, is exceedingly courageous: he recognises facts after they have been recognised by the whole world, including the most bitter enemies of the working class, after they have been proclaimed by all the bourgeois newspaper correspondents. He recognises that his own "prognosis" and that of his Menshevik comrades has proved to be false. Only the "prognosis"? Bauer does not mention that he, as well as the Mensheviks and the whole II. International, during all these years, beginning from the moment of the October revolution, in order to back up their "prognosis", conducted the **most insane, the most contemptible, the most slanderous campaign of incitement against the Soviet Union**; that he, the Mensheviks and the whole II. International, did everything that lay in their power in order to **disturb, to hinder** and to **undermine** socialist construction, in order to support to the utmost **all its enemies** inside and outside of the Soviet Union.

What practical conclusions does Otto Bauer draw from this "recognition" of his "mistakes"? He states:

"To-day we are compelled to recognise that the Russian revolution has not only destroyed the remnants of feudalism but is building up essential elements of a socialist order of society. Everything in the way of socialism that is being built there we must defend. We must promote all its further development. We do not wish to be attorneys of the backward sections of the Russian working class, who begrudge making sacrifices necessary for the building up of a nationalised production. We wish to identify ourselves with the most advanced socialistically-minded sections of the Russian working class who are inspired by the spirit of sacrifice for socialism, who set their hopes on the building up of socialist production . . . But we wish, on the other hand, to bring them something they lack: the great democratic heritage of belief in liberty. We want to teach them that without the sacred right of the individual to propagate his own opinions, and without the sacred right of the whole community, in the free competition of opinions, to make their decisions, there can be no Socialism . . . We wish to summon them to convert the State which controls industry from an authoritarian force which stands above them, into their organ, an organ of a free people."

Is it necessary to call to mind the words of Lenin, which he wrote in reply to the "defence of freedom" by Kautsky & Co.:

"It (the Soviet Power) suppresses the "liberty" of the exploiters and their confederates, it deprives them of the restoration of the power of capital, the "liberty" to co-operate with the bourgeoisie abroad against the native workers and peasants. (Lenin: "The Third International and its place in history.")

Bauer himself helps to expose the whole hypocrisy and the falsity of his high-sounding phrases about "sacred" liberty, as in his oily words there is to be discerned his real **passionate hatred towards the State which is building up "elements of a socialist order of society"**; as in another part of his article he describes this State as "the despotism of the G.P.U.", "the police State of the dictatorship", the State which, "causes every election be held openly before the eyes of the G.P.U." etc.

*) Otto Bauer: "Die Zukunft der Russischen Sozialdemokratie" (Vienna "Kampf", December 1931), Adler: "Das Stalinsche Experiment und der Sozialismus" ("Kampf", January 1932), Dan (Tua res agitur, "Kampf", February 1932), Abramovitch: "Stalinismus oder Sozialdemokratie" (Gesellschaft, February 1932).

According to Otto Bauer, Menshevism is "still confronted with a great historical task: The task of becoming the leader, or at least one of the leaders of the Russian proletariat in the fight for the gradual democratisation of the Soviet regime. "To be sure", continues Bauer, "if Menshevism sets its hopes on the wreck, the overthrow, the liquidation of the Soviet dictatorship, it will have very poor prospects for the future."

Friedrich Adler, the permanent Secretary of the Executive of the II. International, has now entered the lists in support of the "tactical" proposals of Otto Bauer. He declares that in "practical politics he is very much in agreement with Otto Bauer". But he is of the opinion that Bauer is over-optimistic in regard to "Stalin's experiment".

He, Adler, "views what is happening in Russia with very mixed feelings." Along with an industrial Americanism there prevails there an "Asiaticism which despises and destroys intellectual liberty". He mendaciously declares: we have to record that in Soviet Russia, in comparison with many democratic-capitalist States, even to-day during the crisis, there is less bread and less freedom". He will not take over "any responsibility for the carrying out of the Stalinist experiment", but he will take over "just as little responsibility, or even the appearance of responsibility for its failure."

Adler puts Bauer's instructions to the Russian Mensheviks in a more concrete form. In the political sphere he recommends the Mensheviks to adopt the standpoint—don't laugh, comrades—of "**tolerating the Bolshevik rule**", for it, the Bolshevik rule, at present unfortunately represents the "lesser evil". But Adler "realises" the whole "tragedy" of the situation of the Mensheviks; he "realises" that he is demanding a great sacrifice of them, for "the policy of toleration presumes a certain mutuality in toleration". "We know", remarks Adler sadly, "how poor the prospects for this are in view of the blindness of the Bolsheviks. Nevertheless, the Mensheviks must attempt it, for some-one must make a start".

In his eagerness to be "practical", Adler puts his advice to the Mensheviks in a still more concrete form:

"The policy which the Russian social democracy would conduct on this basis must, according to our opinion, be directed in the first place not towards the restoration of political rights, but towards the restoration of independence of the trade unions."

Adler, like Bauer, considers it necessary to reassure his readers by making the following solemn closing declaration:

"The Russian social democrats always considered it their duty and their pride to draw an inexorable dividing line (!) between themselves and all elements of counter-revolution. After all that has happened, the transition to the democratic civilisation (!) in Soviet Russia can only be gradually accomplished with cautious, carefully considered steps."
(To be concluded.)

The Japanese Protégés of the II. International and Edo Fimmen.

By Sen Katayama.

A few weeks ago the II. International issued an appeal "against the Japanese war". In this appeal it was even "demanded" that Japan should be declared "aggressor" on the basis of the statutes of the League of Nations.

It is generally known that the International Federation of Trade Unions, generally described as the Amsterdam International, works in close agreement with the II. International. The petition to the League of Nations in the interest of so-called "disarmament" was organised by these two international organisations. The International Transport Workers Federation belongs to the International Federation of Trade Unions. The Japanese Seamen's Union is affiliated to the International Transport Workers Federation as its Japanese Section. The leading representative of the International Transport Workers' Federation is **Edo Fimmen**, one of the most well-known and celebrated "Left" social democrats. The same Mr. Fimmen visited the Far East a little while ago, attended banquets, at which, among others, the chairman of the Japanese Seamen's Union, **Mr. Hamada**, drained not a few glasses with him to the international brotherhood of the whole proletariat, and especially the seamen. This hospitality probably induced Mr. Fimmen, in public declarations, to recognise the Japanese rights in China and especially in Manchuria. After his

return from the Far East to his native land of Holland, Mr. Fimmen, a short time ago, soon after the Congress of the Dutch social democratic party, set up a "Left social democratic party", which of course is following the footsteps of the party of Rosenfeld and Seydewitz, the English Independent Labour Party, and suchlike bodies.

We give the above facts as an introduction to the document which the chairman of the Japanese Seamen's Union, **Hamada**, has issued on the occasion of the New Year, to all members of the Japanese Seamen's Union, this section of the International Transport Workers Federation, and thereby also of the International Federation of Trade Unions, the sister organ of the II. International. We quote the following from this document:

"As regards the Manchurian-Mongolian question, we cannot but see great complications in view of the cultural backwardness and obstinacy of China."

"The Left elements maintain that the interests of our country in Manchuria and in Mongolia are the result of imperialist annexations and one can therefore immediately renounce them."

"Nevertheless, what advantage would it bring to the Chinese people if Japan renounced its interests in Manchuria and Mongolia, as these people desire?"

"If Japan were to renounce its interests in Manchuria and Mongolia, it would mean increasing the exploitation by the military cliques of these countries and would facilitate the imperialist advance of England, America and Russia in the Far East. The circumstance that our country, which possesses a small territory, is poor in natural resources and suffers from over-population, is conducting an economic offensive in Manchuria and Mongolia, which is an international proletarian State, demands from population, that moreover our country has the intention to exploit these unused natural resources, in co-operation with China, will be of great advantage not only to our country but also to the Chinese people.

"Viewed from the standpoint of socialism, our country, which has 100 million inhabitants crowded on a very small territory, must be characterised as an international proletarian State. China, on the contrary, which has a vast territory with a relatively sparse population, must be regarded as an international bourgeois State.

"To-day, when the proletariat, which is threatened with hunger and starvation, is recognised as having the right to submit demands in defence of its vital interests to the bourgeoisie which is living in super-abundance, it cannot be designated as imperialist annexation when our country, which is an international proletarian State, demands from China, a bourgeois State, the right to exploit its economic riches.

"Our country, which in view of the continued difficulties in regard to raw materials must cease to exist as a State in the not distant future, is at present carrying out in Manchuria and Mongolia an economic offensive which forms the only way out of its situation. The obdurate attitude of China, which possesses enormous wealth, can only be characterised as miserable bourgeois protectionism.

"Hence a radical solution of the Manchurian and Mongolian question is in no way contrary to our socialist standpoint.

"In order to set up international equality and peace, which are our only ideal, the plans, spread over years, regarding Manchuria and Mongolia must be actively supported."

I am 71 years old. I have experienced a good deal in my time, including the fact that in the year 1914 many of my friends and fellow founders of the II. International went over to the side of their own bourgeoisie, the side of imperialist war. Nothing can easily surprise me now. This pacifism, this internationalism of the members of the II. International and of the Amsterdam International and of the Left social democrat Fimmen does not surprise me. There are some things however I cannot understand: how is it that so many workers can still have faith in these (I will not use any epithet) people? I request all workers' newspapers to print these few remarks of mine. I call upon every worker to answer this question!

International Fight against War and Intervention

Appeal of the Conference for the Fight against Imperialist War.

To the Toilers of all countries!

The war in China is still going on. After the blood-bath in Shanghai, after the destruction and devastation of the working class town of Chapei, after the bloody and cruel violation of Manchuria, the Japanese troops are advancing against the frontiers of the Soviet Union. New divisions are being landed daily in Manchuria, in Central and North China; a gigantic army is being gathered together for the attack on Soviet China and the Soviet Union.

War is raging, although there has been no declaration of war. The armament undertakings in Europe are experiencing a boom. Waggon-loads of munitions are being conveyed by the railways. Hundreds of ships loaded with explosive materials and poison gases for Japanese imperialism against China and the Soviet Union are leaving the big ports of Hamburg, Rotterdam, Antwerp, Marseilles, Dunkirk, London and Malmö.

Japan's chief European ally, **French imperialism**, is organising, financing and feverishly extending the **Western war front against the Soviet Union.**

The attempts of the National Government of Baldwin and MacDonald to restore the Anglo-Japanese alliance, the attempts of French imperialism to come to an agreement with the Italy of Mussolini, the plan for a Danube Federation, mean an attempt to create a platform of understanding for the war of intervention against the Soviet Union, for the final and firm inclusion of Germany in the anti-Soviet front.

In **Geneva**, in the magnificent halls of the League of Nations' palace, peace idyls are staged; in **Shanghai**, Japanese robber-imperialism is conducting peace negotiations. The imperialist robbers and their social-fascist agents are juggling with the lying paragraphs of the League of Nations statute in order to prevent the toiling masses of Europe and America from taking up the fight against the fury of war which has been unchained in China.

Proletarians of Europe and America! You must realise that **your blood and lives** are involved in the events in China. The Chinese workers, peasants and petty bourgeois are today subjected to the scourge of war. The mouths of the guns of Japanese imperialism and its European allies are already directed against the Soviet Union.

The danger of a new imperialist world war for the redivision of the world was never so great and immediate as at the present time!

The competition with peaceful means between the world of capitalism and the world of victorious Socialism has been decided already in favour of Socialism by the magnificent successes of the Five-Year Plan. It is precisely this circumstance that induces world imperialism, which is more and more shaken to its foundations by the intensification of the class struggle and the national revolutionary movements in the colonies and dependent countries on the one side, and the sharpening of the inner imperialist antagonisms on the other side, to seek a way out of the crisis at the cost of the Soviet Union, to decide the fight between capitalism and Socialism by means of arms.

The world crisis of capitalism is unceasingly driving to a new imperialist world war. A new war-phase has commenced.

Social-democratic workers, members of the reformist trade unions! Your leaders, the king's ministers of imperialist world war, stand shoulder to shoulder with the criminal imperialist war-makers. They deceive you with the slogan: "No more war!" Before the last world war they came forward with hypocritical phrases against war, and then actively took part in it. The Second International and the Amsterdam Trade Union International are the worst inciters of the capitalist offensive; they prepare the way for fascism. They carry out brutal wage cuts, they come forward openly and cynically as organisers of strike-breaking. And now they crown their crimes with the preparation for the new imperialist world

war. The Japanese social democracy, following the example of the German and French social democracy in the year 1914, grants war credits to Japanese robber imperialism and defends the predatory attack on Manchuria and Shanghai; it is allied with the most reactionary military clique.

The leaders of the Second International occupy first place in the incitement against the Soviet Union. It is their ministers, their police presidents, who protect the transport of arms and munitions for Japanese imperialism. It is their press which, in order to justify the criminal actions of the social democratic leaders, put forward the slanderous and lying assertion that the weapons and munitions which are being produced in the armament industries of the whole of Europe for Japanese imperialism are destined for China and the Red Army; that no danger of intervention threatens the Soviet Union; that the Soviet Union has concluded a secret agreement with Japan. The appeal of the International Trade Union Federation against the transport of arms and munitions is exposed by the practical actions of the social-democratic and reformist leaders as a new deceitful manoeuvre. It is the leaders of the Second and of the Amsterdam Internationals who forcibly prevent any active revolutionary mass struggle against the war-makers and those who make profit out of imperialist war. It is they who tell the unemployed that war will bring them bread and work. At the same moment when the social-democratic and reformist leaders talk about peace, the German social democratic party vote for Hindenburg, the Field Marshal in the world war, and all parties of the Second International support the war policy of their own imperialist governments.

Toiling men and women of the whole world! Think of the deprivations, the misery, the military dictatorship, think of the mountains of corpses, the starving women and children, the war-cripples, the widows and orphans at the time of the imperialist world war! Think of the fascist murder-bands who are only waiting for war in order to be able to fly at your throats. Kick out the treacherous social democratic leaders, the agents of the imperialist war-makers! Take your place in the revolutionary front of the fight against imperialist war. It depends upon you whether the fury of war can continue to rage in China and spring over to the Soviet Union, whether it will also immediately involve Europe and America. You will perish in the trenches whilst the capitalists will pile up fresh wealth out of your corpses.

Young workers! The imperialists and their social-democratic lackeys want to send you to your death in the trenches, they want to use you as cannon fodder at the fronts, as wage slaves in the munition factories against your class brothers.

Working peasants! Imperialist war, intervention mean fresh blood sacrifices, requisitions, fresh taxes, increased usurious interest, more forced sales, more compulsory labour for the big landowners and the capitalist State, destroyed and devastated villages and homesteads, increased land robbery, ruined economy.

Workers, employees, peasants! Reply to the criminal war against the Chinese people, reply to the increased preparations for intervention against the Soviet Union by **launching and organising the revolutionary mass struggle against war!** Follow the heroic example of the Chinese and Japanese workers and toiling peasants, who, under the leadership of the Communist Parties, in spite of the most brutal oppression, in spite of the most cruel terror, are conducting a heroic fight against the imperialist robbers, against their own bourgeoisie and social democracy.

Remember the year 1920! Remember how the German, English and French proletarians conducted the fight against the sending of munitions and arms for the Polish robber-war against the Soviet Union. Follow the example of the Erfurt railway workers, the Danzig dock workers, the English and French seamen, who by their revolutionary intervention stayed the arm of French and British imperialism and forcibly prevented the transport of arms and munitions!

Forwards to the mass mobilisation, to the mass struggle of all toilers against imperialist war!

Prepare for First of May, the world day of the international proletariat, in the spirit of determined and inexorable fight against the imperialist warmongers, against your own bourgeoisie and their social-fascist agents! Rouse the indifferent! Mobilise the broad masses who to-day still stand aside from the fight against war! Let loose a storm of indignation against the war criminals! Carry the spirit of rebellion against war into the factories, the Labour Exchanges and Trade unions, into the masses of the petty bourgeoisie and of the toiling peasants!

Long live revolutionary international proletarian solidarity!

Long live the revolutionary mass struggle against imperialist war!

Set up fighting organs of the revolutionary united front in the factories, among the unemployed, among all toilers in town and country!

Set up vigilance committees in the armament factories and at the ports and railway depots!

Prevent any transport of weapons and munitions to Japan!

Organise strikes in the munition works!

Defend China from being partitioned by international imperialism! Protect Soviet China!

Form with your bodies a living, unshakeable protecting wall round the Soviet Union, the land of victorious Socialism!

Defend yourselves against mass murder!

Proceed to act against imperialist war!

Conference for the Fight against Imperialist War.

C.C. of the Communist Party of Germany.

C.C. of the Communist Party of France.

C.C. of the Communist Party of Poland.

C.C. of the Communist Party of England.

C.C. of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

C.C. of the Communist Party of Holland.

C.C. of the Communist Party of Sweden.

Revolutionary Trade Union Oppositions and Red Trade Unions of Germany, France, (C.G.T.U.), Poland, England and Czechoslovakia.

European Secretariat of the Red International of Labour Unions.

West-European Bureau of the Young Communist International.

March 31, 1932.

The International Conference for the Fight against Imperialist War.

Some Lessons.

By M. Louis (Paris).

The representatives of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Germany, France, Poland, Czechoslovakia, England, Holland, Sweden, the representatives of the revolutionary trade union movements of the European Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions, of the European Bureau of the Young Communist International held a Conference on March 31, in order to discuss the results and experiences of the fight against the imperialist war in the Far East, against the immediately threatening intervention against the Soviet Union, for the defence of China, of the Chinese revolution, for the defence of the Soviet Union, as well as the tasks of the Communist Parties and of the revolutionary trade union movement for **enhancing this fight.**

The Conference could record that only the Communist Parties, only the red trade unions and the revolutionary Trade Union Opposition are conducting the **revolutionary fight** against the imperialist war, against the threatening intervention against the Soviet Union. In this fight certain, although modest, successes were achieved in regard to rousing and mobilising the broad masses. But the achievements of the struggle are not satisfactory by far. The diplomatic, military, ideologic-political preparations for intervention are being made at full speed. In face of these preparations we have to record a **dangerous lagging behind** in many countries in regard to rousing and mobilising the masses for the

real revolutionary fight against imperialist war. Even in the sphere of propaganda, agitation and press we notice this dangerous lagging behind, this unpardonable **loss of tempo.**

In order to be able to fight against imperialist war, against the immediately threatening intervention against the Soviet Union in a revolutionary manner, i. e., not only by words but also by deeds, we must win the masses. At the same time, the question of the fight against imperialist war must be raised among the broad masses of non-proletarian toiling strata of the population. It must be particularly emphasised that the Bolshevik struggle in this sphere offers the greatest possibilities for winning the majority of the working class, for winning broad non-proletarian toiling masses. In order to be able to solve these tasks, in order to carry out a revolutionary mass mobilisation, to launch revolutionary mass actions, the lower organisations right down to the last nucleus, the whole membership of the Parties and of the Young Communist Leagues must be roused, mobilised, and equipped with **propagandist, political and organisational material.**

The opportunist underestimation of the war danger must be ruthlessly combated as one of the most dangerous symptoms of opportunism. At the present moment, in the present international situation, the underestimation of the war danger is the expression of the influence of the imperialist bourgeoisie and of social fascism, greedy for intervention, upon the proletariat and upon the least steeled elements of the Communist Parties.

In some backward or desperate groups of workers, in the rural districts in various countries, there exists the opinion that imperialist war, intervention, do not constitute a great danger to the proletariat, as revolution will necessarily follow upon war, as in the event of war the bourgeoisie will have to arm the proletariat, as the Soviet Union and the Red Army are very strong. **This sham-radical, sham-revolutionary attitude** leads to the same opportunist passivity, to the same opportunist underestimation of war and emanates from the same anti-Bolshevist sources. We have likewise to conduct a ruthless Bolshevik struggle against this opinion. Before the first imperialist war, the II. International issued the slogan that the imperialist war can and will be prevented by the **general strike.** If the parties of the II. International are still impudent enough to hold out to the masses the hopes of a general strike in the distant future, the 4th of August 1914 has shown what the II. International means by the slogan of the general strike. In their speeches at the "disarmament" Conference **Vandervelde** and **Jouhaux** threatened a general strike and revolution in the event of a new war. And the bourgeois diplomats and Ministers applauded them. If now the Socialist Labour Party, the Brandlerists and Trotzkyists advocate only "big actions", this does not mean that they really wish to launch big actions, but that they do not want **any** actions at all. It is now the question of how to launch the general strike. At the beginning of an imperialist war the general strike is not the weapon which the proletariat is able to use at once without preparation.

The Conference for the fight against imperialist war as well as every Communist Party raised the question of the concrete methods and forms of the fight against imperialist war and intervention.

It is clear to every Communist and every revolutionary worker that the economic struggles which are now being conducted in Poland and Czechoslovakia have tremendous importance also for the fight against imperialist war. The enemy is in our own country and the **intensified application of all proletarian means of struggle** against the class enemy, the **organisation, launching, accentuation and extension of economic struggles** is of the greatest importance also for the fight against imperialist war. At meetings, demonstrations, strikes, in the protest actions of the peasants against taxes, usury, forced sales, compulsory labour, the action of suppressed nations against their oppressors the **closest connection must** be established between the war question and the concrete action, and this must be expressed in the slogans, speeches, appeals and demands. But the **idea that every economic struggle, every strike, every fighting action means already a fight against war is erroneous** and is bound to result in severe opportunist mistakes.

The Communist Parties set themselves the task to organise and lead **direct broad mass actions** specially against the imperialist war. Special meetings, impromptu meetings at factory gates, factory meetings, demonstrations on this question must be well prepared and carried out. Special

leaflets, pamphlets, literature exclusively devoted to this question must be spread.

All participants in the Conference were unanimous that it is the most important task of the Communist Parties to **hamper and prevent the production of munitions and war material and the transport of troops and war material.**

What were the fighting means and methods during the first imperialist war and, in the period of the first intervention?

Protest strikes: sometimes even small protest strikes for half an hour or an hour against the production of war material. These protest strikes were then developed into the great mass strikes which, as for instance in Germany, Austria, Hungary, England, lasted for several days. **Ca' canny strikes** were a popular weapon of proletarian resistance to imperialist war. The railway workers of Erfurt, Stuttgart etc., in the period of the first intervention war begun their struggle by a work-to-rule strike, and by this means delayed the transport of munitions. These actions were developed right to the open prevention of munitions transports for Poland. In Holland and in other countries, cases occurred in which shells destined for Poland proved to be unserviceable. In France and in other countries **useless war material** was intentionally produced for Poland, and these actions developed into **protest strikes against war production.** These strikes were often linked up with economic demands of the workers in the given factories. In Dunkirk, Danzig, London etc., in the year 1920, the dockworkers prevented the loading of war munitions. The stopping of the "Jolly George" with munitions destined for Poland, in spite of all the threats of the government, was of great significance for the whole intervention policy of the British government. In Dunkirk, Danzig and London also the seamen heroically joined the fight for preventing the dispatch of the ships with munition cargoes. The Chinese crew of the "Laertes" in Rotterdam and of the "Phoenix" in Hamburg have during the present war prevented the transport of munition for Japan.

In the Committee of the Conference it was particularly pointed out that the tasks set by the Communist Parties can only be solved by the consistent and correct application of the **united front tactics from below. The great tasks imposed upon us by the fight against the imperialist war cannot be mastered without the setting up of fighting organs on a broad united front basis.** The setting up of **control committees, vigilance committees, fighting councils** in all factories, at the railway depots, in the ports, the co-ordination of the work of these organs, is the most urgent task of the moment.

The systematic offensive fight against the II. International of the war inciters, the most ruthless exposure of their acts and sophisms, in particular as regards this vital question of the working class, will enable us to wrest the proletarians from the influence of the socialist leaders.

Successful Anti-War Week in France.

Paris, 1st April 1932.

Anti-war week which took place in France from the 24th to the 31st March under the leadership of the Communist Party was very successful. On the last day a big demonstration took place in front of the prison St. Lazarus and the "Internationale" was sung. At the same time anti-war demonstrations took place on the boulevards in front of the offices of the big bourgeois dailies which are conducting the war campaign against the Soviet Union, and in particular in front of the head office of "le Journal" which is leading the campaign.

Anti-war meetings were held in front of the **big factories**, including Renault, Citroën, Seguin, Hotchkiss, Pleyel, Wulzer, the Internationale Compagnie de Wagons Lit, Delaunay, Chantiers de la Loire, Christophe, Amilcar, Gallet and Gévelot. The meetings were addressed by the representatives of the Communist Party.

5,000 workers demonstrated in the textile centre **Roubaix** against imperialist war and in defence of the Soviet Union. A procession through the streets of the town was headed by **André Marty** and the chief editor of "l'Humanité", the central organ of the French Communist Party, **Florimond Bonte.** Similar demonstrations and meetings took place in numerous other big towns. A satisfactory feature of the campaign was that many new members were won for the Communist Party and a number of new branches formed.

Anti-War Week in Denmark Successful.

Copenhagen, 5th April 1932.

The Danish Communist Party held an anti-war week which ended on the 3rd April with a Red Day against Imperialist War. Anti-war demonstrations took place in almost all the big towns and in a number of rural areas. A special action was carried out amongst the sailors and marines stationed in Copenhagen. The pay of these men has been cut whilst the pay of the officers has not been touched. At this there has been considerable indignation and the party action was received very sympathetically by the men. A special **leaflet** was issued calling on the men to strike against the cuts in their pay and reminding them of the example of the Invergordon sailors. There is great discontent amongst the sailors and a number of arrests have been made.

On the 3rd April a **big anti-war demonstration** was held in **Copenhagen.** The workers marched from ten points to a central meeting place. Three thousand workers demonstrated in front of the French Embassy.

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

The Water Power of the Volga in the Service of Socialist Construction.

Moscow, End of March 1932.

The second Five-Year Plan envisages a further unique growth of the productive forces of the Soviet Union. Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, the country of the Soviets will at the end of the second Five-Year Plan occupy first place in Europe in regard to technique. In this great plan of socialist construction electric power will play a very important role. In this connection the recently published decision of the Council of People's Commissariats of the U.S.S.R. and of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. regarding the erection of power stations on the Volga is of the very greatest importance.

After the successful completion of Dnieprostroy, this giant of the first Five-Year Plan, which already on first of May will commence to supply electric power to the factories and mining works of Soviet Ukraine, the Soviet Union is commencing to build an even more gigantic water power works on the Volga, which shall supply electric power to this district in which new centres of industry are springing up at an unprecedentedly rapid pace.

The extent and the tempo of socialist construction contemplated by the Soviet Union in the second Five-Year Plan renders the commencement of preparatory work for the erection of new power stations already in the current year urgently necessary.

Three huge water power works are to be erected in the river system of the middle Volga: in the Ivano-Vosnessensk district, in the Nishni-Novgorod district and on the Kama, near Perm in Ural.

The industrial district of Ivano, which at one time was regarded as technically backward, has already during the first Five-Year Plan undergone a great industrial development. In addition to the further development of the textile industry, which was formerly the staple industry in this district, a whole number of new branches of industry has arisen: automobile construction, rubber industry, metal industry, to name only a few. The further development of this district in the direction of specialising the textile industry on technically and qualitatively high class fabrics for personal use, on aircraft and ship building, textile-machine construction, chemical industry and some other branches of industry necessitates a considerable increase in the electric power base.

The Nishni-Novgorod district is already to-day an important centre of engineering industry in the Soviet Union, especially as regards the construction of automobiles and Diesel engines, as well as the construction of machinery used in the transport industry. The paper, timber and chemical industry, as well as the procuring of chemical products from wood, have made great progress here.

The decision regarding the erection of water power works on the Volga will secure the construction of an efficient

power base capable of meeting the rapidly growing requirements of this big industrial district.

The erection of power stations on the Kama, which are destined to supply electric power to the industry of the central Urals, will have the same importance. The industrial development in the Ural district has in the course of the last few years been characterised by a tempo which is rare even for the Soviet Union. An efficient smelting industry, engineering and chemical industry have been established in this district. The erection of a gigantic foundry and a big waggon combine with a number of works and factories connected with them in Nishni-Tagil, enhances the importance of this district still more and at the same time increases the demand placed upon the power stations.

The total capacity of the three power works will run into enormous figures: 100,000 to one million kilowatts.

The erection of power stations on the Volga, which presumes the construction of tremendous coffer dams, will result in a radical reconstruction of the water transport on the upper course of the Volga. There, where insufficient depth and sand banks have hitherto prevented the development of navigation, the stream will now have a depth enabling big ships to pass freely.

The working class of the Soviet Union, under the leadership of the Party of Lenin, will add a fresh glorious page to the history of the technical re-equipment of the national economy by completing the construction of three big power works on the Volga system **within the shortest period, i. e. by the Spring of 1935.** This construction-programme is part of a vast programme of work for the reconstruction of the lower course of the Volga, utilising it to the full for electric power, transport and irrigation purposes. The question of irrigating the Volga steppes acquires particular importance in connection with the creation of a strong wheat base of the Union, as well as in connection with the fight against drought. The Volga, once the scene of the most ruthless exploitation of the Burlaki (Volga lightermen), will be converted by the working class of the Soviet Union into an electrified stream, into a tremendous transport artery, into a means for irrigating the Volga district, which has suffered from drought for centuries.

"There is no fortress which cannot be stormed by the Bolsheviks," — these words of Comrade Stalin are being continually confirmed by deeds.

Resolution on the Activity of State Cattle Farms.

A resolution of the Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union, of the People's Commissariat of the R. S. F. S. R. and of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union concerning the State Cattle Farms was published to-day. The resolution points out that during the last two years a great network of State cattle farms has been established over the Soviet Union with 1,480 farms, 2.5 million head of cattle, 4.7 million sheep and 860,000 pigs. The resolution further points out that such a tremendous enterprise demands proper organisation and co-operation if it is to be successful. However, the investigation conducted by the Central Control Commission had revealed serious deficiencies in the conduct of the work, including waste, inefficient organisation, inefficient tending of the cattle, etc., the failure to carry out the quota to be delivered up to the State, poor labour organisation, etc.

The resolution declares that the attempts of various managers etc., to explain and make light of these deficiencies by pointing out that the State cattle farms are in their infancy must not be tolerated. The resolution expresses complete approval of the measures taken by the local party and soviet organs to abolish the deficiencies, including the dismissal of the most inefficient managers and the commencement of proceedings in cases of culpable negligence. The resolution also contains a list of the managers and other officials who have been deprived of their posts. The resolution also contains the 1932 plan for meat, butter and wool quotas to be delivered up by the farms. The resolution is signed by Comrade **Molotov** for the Soviet Union, Comrade **Stalin** for the Communist Party and Comrade **Yakovlev** for the R. S. F. S. R.

Women in Universities and Technical Colleges.

By Z. Rabinovich.

While in the Czarist Russia the higher educational establishments could be counted by the dozen, and the number of students by the tens of thousands, there are in 1931, in the R.S.F.S.R. alone 287 higher educational establishments with 292,000 students, 45% of them workers, and in the higher industrial educational establishments 58% workers. In the Ukraine, there are 167 higher educational establishments with 90,000 students. In the Don Bas where prior to the revolution there was not a single higher educational establishment, there are now 13 universities.

The **technical colleges** especially are growing in number. While in 1914 there were 12 such colleges, we have now already 170 attended by 115,000 students. As the outcome of the collectivization and mechanization of agriculture we have now already 98 agriculture colleges attended by 49,000 students, and in 1932 their number is to reach 152 with an attendance of 80,000 students.

In all the Republics of the Soviet Union that were previously doubly oppressed national borders of the old Czarist Russia, there are now many universities, technical colleges and technical schools. White Russia has now 26 universities, where as it did not have a single one prior to the revolution. There are universities in Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, in the Soviet Republics of Central Asia (Turkistan, Turkmenistan, Tadzhikistan, Kazakstan, Kirghizstan, etc.).

Here attention should be drawn to the so called educational combines in the factories and works.

All these studies go on mostly without taking away the students from their work in the factory. Such educational combines exist, for instance, in the Amo works (Motor car works), the Dynamo, Sickle and Hammer, "Stalin Works", etc.

The doors of all these educational establishments are wide open to women workers, women members of collective farms, peasant women and working women in general.

There is a considerable percentage of women in the higher educational establishments, in technical colleges, workers faculties and technical schools, on an average it is about 28% with relation to the men students, in the medical schools it is 51%, and in the pedagogical 40%. In the technical schools women constitute 41% of the total number of students, in the workers faculties 20%, and in the factory schools 30%.

70,000 women attend higher educational establishments in the R.S.F.S.R. in the Ukraine 20,000 working women attend such establishments, and throughout the Soviet Union over 100,000 women are being trained for various professions; engineers, architects, physicians, pedagogues etc.

175,000 women attend technical colleges, 40,000 attend workers' faculties, and 125,000 girls between the ages of 15 and 18 are being trained in factory schools. Working women who attend educational establishments receive allowances for themselves and their children.

With regard to education, we get the following picture in the above mentioned **Amo** and **Dynamo** works: In the Dynamo works 4,236 people go in for various forms of study—2,887 men and 1,349 women. In the Amo works 6,404 people are studying—4,240 men and 2,164 women.

While in 1918 only 44.1% of the women members of trade unions could read and write, in 1931 their percentage was already 92.9%.

Is it possible to emancipate women from their age-long slavery, from everything that was legalised in all the bourgeois civil codes, that was imbibed with the mothers milk regarding women's specific disabilities which closed many roads to them,—is it possible to solve so boldly, naturally and consistently the "woman question" under the capitalist system?

No, it isn't.

Only the country which has abolished private ownership of land, factories and works, only the country where socialism is being built according to plan, where the activity of the masses is inexhaustable, can achieve such results.

Working women of the capitalist countries, learn a lesson from your class sisters in the Soviet Union. The full emancipation of women and woman labour is possible only with the overthrow of the power of the capitalists in the name of the dictatorship of the proletariat.