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# The World is Drifting into an Imperialist World War.

By B. K.

**Imperialist war is here.** Fresh movements of troops are being carried out every day in Manchuria. The Japanese military are taking firm possession of the occupied country. It is being converted into a basis for a further campaign. In Shanghai, the Japanese at first suffered a setback. The national revolutionary resistance of the Chinese people has shown the Japanese that the time is passing when the Chinese people could be violated without resistance by any imperialist robber. The Japanese imperialists are using this setback as a pretext for bringing up further forces which shall suffice to transplant the war into the interior of China, to commence operations against the Chinese Soviets and the Red Army and to hold compact bodies of troops in readiness on the Asiatic Continent to attack the Soviet Union.

In England, the national government of the ex-Labour leader Ramsay MacDonald has set up a Cabinet Committee which is nothing but a committee for securing a uniform conduct of war. In France, there already exists the Tardieu Cabinet. The new Cabinet has already made an innovation in the structure of the government. The three portfolios: war, navy and air have been concentrated in one ministry, as proposed by the chief of the Supreme War Council of the French army, General Weygand. In Poland, drivers and guards on the railways are being dismissed and their places taken by reliable militarised people. The railway workshops are being converted into transportable workshops. In Rumania, the technical military corps which has been already

set up has been sanctioned by legislation. France is paying Rumania's debts to the firm of Skoda in order to facilitate the placing of new orders for war equipment. Arms and munitions are being loaded in all European ports. The mercantile fleets of the smaller countries, Norway, Holland, Greece and also Germany, are carrying cargoes for the big Powers. In the war industry a boom commenced in the midst of the most profound economic crisis. The shares of the armament firms are rising every day. The insurance rates on merchant ships bound for the Pacific Ocean have increased 2000 per cent. The reformist seamen's unions in a number of countries have put forward the partial demand: the shipping companies must increase the insurance sums to the level obtaining during the war.

That which was repeatedly predicted in the decisions of the Communist International and in the declarations of the Communist Parties has been fully confirmed: the question of the redistribution of the world stands immediately on the order of the day; the question of the fight between two systems has entered a new historical phase.

There are three factors which still exert an influence on the further development of the war which has already commenced and which threatens to develop into a military intervention against the Soviet Union, into a world war: the revolutionary activity of the proletariat, the resistance of the Chinese people to the robber-war, and the development of the antagonisms which exist among the leading imperialist

Powers. **The most important of these is the revolutionary activity of the world proletariat.**

In the plans of imperialism for finding a capitalist way out of the crisis, war as the last resort, has always occupied an important place. In seeking a warlike solution of the crisis, the imperialists are aiming, on the one hand, at the partitioning of China and, on the other hand, at the subjugation of the Soviet Union by the overthrow of the proletarian dictatorship and Socialism. On principle, in their efforts to solve the crisis at the cost of China (while at the same time preserving their special interests in regard to the division of the booty) and to carry out intervention against the Soviet Union, all the imperialist governments are just as much united as they are in their efforts to shift the burdens of the crisis on to the working class and the working population, on to the weaker countries and the colonial peoples. On all other essential questions of world policy there exist **sharp conflicts of interest** between the imperialist countries. The particular intensification of these antagonisms is also attributable to the circumstance that the world war tremendously accentuated the **inequality of development** in the capitalist countries, and brought about **great changes in the relation of forces** among the imperialist Powers. (Further coming to the front of America and France as States with the largest gold holdings, ousting of England from the most important economic positions, Japan's advance in the Far East by taking advantage of the crisis in the U.S.A. and in England, pushing back of Italy in the Danubian and Balkan countries, attempts on the part of Germany to take advantage of the imperialist antagonisms in order to bring about a resettlement of the reparations question and its Eastern frontiers etc.)

**All the most important world political problems of international politics**, which are closely linked up with one another, especially **the question of the Versailles system** and the fight between **two systems** have been enormously intensified by the imperialist war in China. The question of the redistribution of the world, the fight between two worlds and the struggle for the way out of the crisis, precisely because of their interconnection, drive with special force to a **warlike solution**.

The instability of the groupings of the imperialist Powers as a result of the intensification of the imperialist antagonisms is expressed, in the first place, in the fact that there exists in Europe **only one firm system of war alliances: the French system. This system has been extended by the addition of Japan as an ally in a world-war alliance.** The Franco-Japanese alliance aims not only at securing parallel action by Japan and France on the disarmament question, not only at united action in regard to the question of the partition of China, **but also at strengthening the position of France in Europe, and thereby to bolster up the shaky Versailles peace system.** In the very first place it pursues the object of getting a pincer-grip on the Soviet Union from the East and the West. The **English** government, on its part, is conducting negotiations, on the one hand, with France in order to set up a united front against the U.S.A. on the question of the inter-allied debts, and, on the other hand, is striving by negotiations with the Japanese government to restore the Anglo-Japanese alliance. The U.S.A. is endeavouring to frustrate these negotiations, insofar as they are directed against its interests, and to turn them **against the Soviet Union.**

The sharpness of the imperialist antagonisms renders difficult the formation of new groupings of power. But—as the Japanese campaign in Manchuria and in the Yangtse valley shows—it not only **does not form an insurmountable obstacle to the immediate war preparations but is also no obstacle preventing the world from creeping into the world war, into military intervention against the Soviet Union.** As experience shows, these groupings are formed at the outbreak and partly even in the course of war, in the carrying out of military operations.

Since the October Revolution great changes have taken place which have an effect on the war policy of imperialism. The Soviet Union with its policy of peace, the proletarian and national revolutionary movements have, it is true, by endangering the hinterland of the imperialist bourgeoisie, created an essential factor considerably increasing the **risk of war** for the imperialist Powers. **Nevertheless, no less essential factors have arisen which facilitate the organisation**

**of imperialist world war.** These are the union of world imperialism in the **League of Nations** and its agents, its chief supports in the war-preparations in the ranks of the working class, the Second and the Amsterdam Internationals. The League of Nations, which in the midst of the Japanese war in China and at a time of immediate provocation of a military intervention against the Soviet Union organises the "Disarmament" Conference, and the Second and the Amsterdam Internationals, which transmit the humbugging pacifist slogans of the League of Nations to the working masses, which conduct the campaign of incitement against the Soviet Union, and promote the production and transport of weapons and munitions to Japan—are factors which, **as promoters of the preparation of imperialist world war, of military intervention against the Soviet Union, must not be underestimated.**

The Japanese campaign in Manchuria, in the Yangtse valley and the northern province of China is a striking proof that no firm, definite agreements among the leading imperialist Powers are necessary in order to commence war. The particularly deep crisis of Japanese imperialism, its peculiarities explain why Japanese imperialism has gone farthest of all the leading imperialist powers in employing every means in the fight for a capitalist way out of the crisis. Japanese imperialism has in addition, in alliance with France, taken advantage of the crisis in England and in the United States in order to confront these imperialist Powers with a fait accompli in China. Up to now everything has proceeded just as General Tanaka, in his memorandum of July 25th, 1927, predicted and proposed. Even the military intervention in Manchuria and in the Yangtse valley has been carried out in accordance with Tanaka's plan.

**A decisive mobilisation of the masses is urgently necessary**—in the first place against the transport of weapons and munitions which are being conveyed from all capitalist countries to Japan. The defence of China, of the Chinese revolution and the Chinese Soviets must occupy first place among the tasks of all Communist Parties. The defence of the independence of China is an integral part of the defence of the Soviet Union, a defence of the proletariat of all capitalist countries against a new world war. It is now not only a question of directing the attention of the international working class to the danger of war, of exposing the sophisms of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals, necessary as this may be. All this is a **necessary, indispensable part** of the fight against imperialist war. But to-day it is **absolutely insufficient.** To stir up the broad masses, to organise their **action** against the transport of war material to Japan, against the use of the railways, and especially of the harbours and mercantile fleets, for supplying the Japanese imperialists with munitions, weapons and poison gases—that is the command **not only of the day but of the hour. In this hour all Communist Parties must once again issue the appeal to the workers of all countries: It depends upon you, upon your action against the war which has already commenced, whether the European countries, the whole world, will creep into the world war. Act! Act! Act!**

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## Aristide Briand Dead.

Paris, 7th March 1932.

Aristide Briand, the former French Foreign Minister and Prime Minister on innumerable occasions, died in his home in Paris to-day. Briand was born on the 28th May 1862 in Nantes and was thus 70 years old. In 1902 he was elected into the French Chamber of Deputies for the Departement Loire. He was a minister of 23 governments and 11 times Prime Minister.

Before Briand began his great career in the interests of the French imperialist bourgeoisie he was a very radical talker. At the London Congress of the Second International in 1896 he was even strongly in favour of the general strike as a political weapon of the working class. He was a regular contributor to Jaurés newspaper and later on to "l'Humanité".

After he joined the imperialists he was sharply attacked by Jaurés both as a politician and personally. He became extremely popular with the bourgeoisie and there was hardly a Cabinet during the past 30 years to which he did not belong. His job of recent years was to play the pipes of peace as convincingly as possible whilst the French imperialists got on with the job of preparing war.

# POLITICS

## Before the Presidential Election in Germany.

By Th. Neubauer (Berlin).

The fights which the German working class has now to conduct under the leadership of the Communist Party, have awakened a lively interest among the international proletariat. This interest is justified, because these fights are **class struggles of great importance**, even if outwardly they assume the form of Parliamentary actions. Their special importance is due to the situation of world capitalism and of German capitalism.

Germany, one of the weakest links in the world system of capitalism, is particularly hard hit by the capitalist world crisis. Its industry has declined fifty per cent. Its agriculture, staggering under a load of debts, is only kept going by huge subventions from the State. The railways are working at a tremendous loss. The huge docks and shipyards are faced with bankruptcy. The big banks which have collapsed and have only just been salvaged by means of 800 million marks granted by the State, are facing the coming storms with the greatest anxiety.

The German capitalist class is aware that it has to conduct a life and death struggle, and is more and more losing hope that it will survive the "fatal year 1932". This paralysing pessimism, this disintegration in the camp of the German bourgeoisie is only the reflection of the hopeless economic situation and the enormous political danger threatening the existence of German capitalism. This situation overshadows and greatly influences the present election campaign.

Why is the German bourgeoisie coming forward in the election with **three candidates**? This is, of course, an expression of the serious differences within the German capitalist class. The various groups of German capitalism which stand behind the candidates **Hindenburg, Duesterberg and Hitler** are united on the fundamental question; they have the same aim, namely to steer bankrupt German capitalism through the storm of the crisis and to maintain the class dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. They are disunited, however, with regard to the tactics and the methods with which this aim is to be achieved.

The circles which with **Fritz Thyssen**, the head of the steel trust, are striving to set up a dictatorship of Hitler, believe that it is impossible by any other means to avert the collapse of German capitalism. They know the real facts regarding the economic collapse, which it is sought to hide from the broad public. They see the rapid growth of anti-capitalist tendencies, the increase of the Bolshevik danger. They say themselves that the German bourgeoisie, in order to stand the strangling crisis, must resort to much more brutal measures, must increase the misery and poverty of the masses still further, and thereby tremendously intensify the revolutionary dangers.

The old parties of the big bourgeoisie have already lost all credit with the masses. The only party which, thanks to its sham-radical anti-capitalist demagogy, possesses a broad mass basis, which can be used for the purpose of salvaging collapsing capitalism, is the Hitler party. Hitler is the last hope of the bankrupt German bourgeoisie. Therefore, Thyssen and his associates say that Hitler must come into power, otherwise everything is lost.

But the other part of the German capitalist class which stand behind Hindenburg, Brüning and Groener, **Keupp, Duisterberg, Silverberg, Frowein**—fear that if power passes into the hands of Hitler, instead of rescuing German capitalism it would only seal its doom. They point to the strong anti-capitalist tendencies among the masses of the national socialist followers, who might turn against Hitler if he exposed his true role as saviour of the rotten capitalist system. They foresee that a great part of the workers who, to-day, still follow the social democratic party, would go over with flying colours to Communism. They do not underestimate the strength of the revolutionary class front, and the growing influence of the Communist Party of Germany, and therefore declare: "Hitler breeds civil war and then everything would be lost." These are the most important differences between Brüning, Hindenburg and Groener, on the one side, and Hitler on the other. Among secondary questions, the most important are

those relating to foreign policy, where there likewise exists unity on principle, the only differences relating to tactics and methods. The German bourgeoisie wants to conduct an imperialist foreign policy. Brüning and Hindenburg are quite in agreement with Hitler regarding this; on the question of reparations and foreign debts, disarmament, and the Versailles Treaty, Hitler's position differs in no way from Brüning; their differences only commence with the question as to how the imperialist interests of German finance capital can be best safeguarded.

An analysis of the differences between the Hindenburg-Brüning group and the Hitler group of the German capitalist class sharply emphasises the necessity for the proletariat to establish a clear front of **class against class**. It reveals at the same time the whole monstrosity of the crime committed by the social democracy in this fight, in leading a part of the working class in the Hindenburg front in order to help Hindenburg, Groener and Brüning to keep down the proletariat. Under the hypocritical pretext of mobilising the workers against Hitler, the social fascist leaders are endeavouring to confuse, weaken and disarm the proletariat and hand it over to the class enemy; they wish to facilitate the realisation of the fascist programme of the German bourgeoisie.

The development of these struggles is of great importance for the international proletariat precisely because, in the Presidential election, as in the Prussian Diet elections which are due to take place in May, it is a question of partial actions in the big class fight which is at present being fought out in Germany.

The importance of the present class struggles in Germany is still further increased by reason of the intensification of the international class antagonisms, especially the world-embracing antagonisms between the imperialist world and the Soviet-Union. The vast masses of the working people in Germany and in all other countries are following with strained attention the war of Japanese imperialism in China, the final aim of which—**attack on the Soviet power**—is becoming more and more evident. There is no doubt that in Germany we have a rising wave of war propaganda; we witness the competition of all parties, from Wels to Hitler, in stirring up patriotic feeling, the German bourgeoisie connect their imperialist war plans with the name of Hindenburg. Reports are coming in daily from revolutionary workers showing how the German capitalists are supplying war materials to Japan. The German bourgeoisie would joyfully welcome a war against the Soviet Union which could provide them with the possibility of making huge war profits and perhaps even achieving political gains.

The only force which can be opposed to the war policy of the German bourgeoisie is the red united front led by the Communist Party. Against the field-marshal of the world war Hindenburg, against the commander of the Stahlhelm Duisterberg, against the war volunteer Hitler, the Communist Party of Germany is organising the revolutionary class front under the leadership of Ernst Thälmann. This is the candidate of the international proletariat against the candidate of imperialist war. Against bankrupt capitalism for a free socialist Soviet Germany in alliance with the S.S.S.R. and the world proletariat.

## The French Draft of a Danubian Customs Union.

By G.I.R. (Paris)

French imperialism is attempting to carry out a very large-scale operation in Central Europe. On February 29th, Poincaré came to Geneva. On the following day, he informed the Finance Commission of the French Chamber that the course of his conversations in Geneva with representatives of the States of the Little Entente, Austria and Hungary in regard to concluding a customs agreement by preferential treaties, he had also secured the support of Italy and Great Britain. Commenting on this declaration the "Démocrate" writes:

"One of the most important questions at the present time is that of a durable economic organization of the Danubian countries. Serious endeavours must be made in the near future. In order to rescue the countries of Central Europe from the results of the world crisis, which for some of them are assuming a tragic character, it is

What are, in reality, the objects at which the French plan is chiefly aiming?

In the first place, in this sphere, as in all other spheres in the world, France is playing its role of counter-revolutionary gendarme. The countries in question are those in which the agrarian revolution is growing from day to day. Peasant revolts are becoming more and more frequent in **Rumania, Yugoslavia and Hungary**. The terrible persecutions, the victims of which are the unfortunate population in the rural districts, and the crimes of the Siguranza or the white hand have not destroyed the clan of the peasants who are in revolt against the tax collectors. The case of Hungary is perhaps even more characteristic. In 400 villages the peasants have driven out the tax collectors, and in many cases the fight has assumed the form of a genuine insurrection. The financial position of Hungary is such that the Minister **Koranyi** recently declared, during his journey to Paris, that he would like to lay down his office, as he was so depressed by the open collapse of the Hungarian finances.

The crisis has also seriously affected the economy of **Czechoslovakia**, whose industry—with the exception of the war industry—is at a standstill. The Czechoslovakian budget shows a big deficit; the salaries of the civil servants and public officials have been reduced by 500 million crowns; wages are being cut. But the influence of the Communists is growing and the Red Trade Union Opposition in particular is able to record remarkable progress.

With regard to **Austria**, a few weeks ago the Federal Chancellor **Buresch** issued a call for help to the representatives of France, Great Britain, Italy and Germany, and among the reasons which he gave in support of his appeal was the growing discontent of the working class.

Under these conditions, the French plan of a Danubian customs union appears as an attempt to erect a bulwark against the agrarian revolution and against the ferment in the proletariat by attempting to increase the exchange of goods between the countries of Central Europe, before all, however, by supporting the governments in question in crushing the insurrectionary movements of the masses of the people.

For the rest, this is only a part of the programme. One can remember the furious offensive which French imperialism launched last year on the day following the signing of the customs union between Germany and Austria. With the aid of loans it managed to restore the order of Versailles and St. Germain in Central Europe. It caused the negotiations between Rumania and Germany to be broken off, overthrew the Bethlen government in Budapest, and accelerated the collapse of the Austrian Creditanstalt. The Hague Court of Arbitration buried the draft of a German-Austrian customs agreement, which Curtius and Schober had already renounced before the Court had pronounced its decision.

But in the course of this collision France, it will be remembered, submitted to the European Commission a "constructive programme" the contents of which were elaborated by **André François-Poncet**, the direct representative of the Comité des Forges and the present French Ambassador in Berlin. The plan included in particular the setting up of an international mortgage bank, the extension of a system of granting loans (thanks to which France secures control of Central Europe), the extension of cartels and preference agreements. These are precisely those recommendations which were advocated at the recent Pan-European Conference at Budapest, which even drew up a draft plan of co-operation of the banks of Central Europe. All these items are contained in the plan of a customs union on which the Paris Cabinet is now working.

This system, which excludes Germany, consolidates the hegemony of France, in that, on the eve of Lausanne, it enables it to increase its pressure on Germany, which in this manner would be cut off from the countries of Central Europe. It is noteworthy that while this combination is being prepared there is a prospect of a ministerial crisis in **Bukharest**, where **Titulescu**, who stands for a pro-French policy, seems likely in the near future to obtain the upper hand over **Prince Ghika**.

Finally, there can be no doubt (and this is the third part of the French plan) that the draft of an economic Danubian federation is directed **against the Soviet Union**. An incident which occurred in the Finance Commission of the French Chamber reveals this aspect of the question still more.

When Comrade **Marcel Cachin** called attention to the heavy military expenditure of Czechoslovakia, **M. Denais** exclaimed:

"It is a good thing that the estimates of the War Ministry in Czechoslovakia have remained high. If the Prague government had reduced them, then we in Paris would have had to increase our armaments by an amount corresponding to the reduction."

One could not have a more open admission that the Czechoslovakian army is only a part of the French military apparatus. When one knows the role of Czechoslovakia in the fight against the Soviet Union, when one remembers the recent Vanek scandal, one realises the full significance of this confession. To this we would add that, in the course of this same sitting of the Finance Commission, France guaranteed to Czechoslovakia a loan of 600 million Francs. In the vote on this loan the **socialists** withheld their votes; only **Marcel Cachin** voted against it. Another fact which serves still more to show the character of the French plan, is the fact that in leading circles and in French circles at Geneva the opinion prevails that **Poland** must also be invited to join this Danubian Federation.

As aid for the oligarchies of Central Europe, as an instrument of domination in Europe and as a means in the fight against the Soviet Union—with these three characteristics the Plan of a customs union fits in perfectly with the policy of French imperialism.

## Denmark as an English Province.

By Ragnar Tuveson.

The press of the Scandinavian countries has for some time been quite seriously discussing the question of Denmark's incorporation in the British Empire. Thus the big Conservative paper "**Berlingske Tidende**" in Copenhagen published several articles on this subject in which it is stated, that

"the closest union of our country with England is the only course which is left to the Danish population. A union with England could in no way harm Danish industry and for agriculture it would bring about a boom such as we do not even venture to dream of at present, and this would mean increasing wealth for the whole population".

Commenting on these statements, the leading liberal paper of Western Sweden "**Göteborgs-Posten**" writes:

"The Danish farmers have for a long time been familiar with this question, and it is perfectly obvious that it will become more urgent as a result of the English customs policy, which is restricting Danish exports considerably. Lord Beaverbrook, the great leader of imperialist propaganda in Great Britain, once declared that Denmark can save herself from sinking into unimaginable poverty only by joining the British Empire, and the Danes cannot escape from this conclusion."

This discussion serves to illustrate the uninterrupted decline of the capitalist class and characterises its confusion and despair. All the "prominent" newspapers which have dealt with this question—the conservative, liberal and democratic—have put forward the pros and cons as if it were an ordinary every-day business affair, none of them thinking of the national prestige, the "sacred well being of the nation" which would have to be sacrificed by such a union.

Nobody seems to remember the fact that Denmark has been independent for centuries, that it is an ancient land of culture which in some respects is more highly developed than the future "mother country" (Denmark possesses the most modern agriculture and the greatest number of peasant high schools in Europe). Nobody thinks now of the national independence of the country for which his ancestors fought. All love of the fatherland on the part of the bourgeoisie has been swept aside because they hope to be able to sell their butter and calves to greater advantage, if they abolish the beloved fatherland and convert it into an insignificant province of the very country which their forefathers conquered and colonised a thousand years ago. Once this union is realised, the Danish-speaking "Englishmen" will display the same enthusiasm for Great Britain which they have hitherto displayed for "old rich Denmark", and they will consider it a matter of course that—the workers and the poor peasants shall sacrifice their limb and life in a new war for this "fatherland".

**The War****The "Isvestia" on the Soviet Union and Japan.**

Moscow, March 4, 1932.

In its today's leading article entitled: "The Soviet Union and Japan", the "Isvestia" writes as follows:

In the first days of the conflict in the Far East the Soviet Union adopted an attitude of strict neutrality. That the working population of the Soviet Union sympathises with the Chinese people which is groaning under the yoke of imperialist exploitation is of course an indisputable fact. This feeling of sympathy for the emancipation struggle of the Chinese workers and peasants does not mean any departure from the unswerving line of strict non-interference which followed as a matter of course from the Soviet Union's policy of peace. Thanks to this consistent attitude of the Soviet Union towards the events in Manchuria, the provocative slanderous anti-Soviet acts, one after another, came to nothing. It suffices to remember what became of the large-scale campaign of slander regarding the aid which the Soviet Union was alleged to have rendered General Ma, a campaign which was finally exposed to the whole world.

Nevertheless, we witness a further revival of anti-Soviet intrigues in Manchuria. We witness a whole system of provocative measures, the importance of which must in no circumstances be underestimated.

As an illustration of this unhealthy atmosphere, the "Isvestia" cites the report of a declaration of the Japanese Foreign Office. In this declaration it is stated that a collision is bound to take place in the near future between Japan and the Soviet Union because "the Bolsheviki hate the Japanese"; that the Soviet army, numbering a hundred thousand men, is being concentrated in the Vladivostok area. The "Isvestia" emphasises that the character of this report, which is based upon unscrupulous invention, expresses its specific aims. It states further. Before all we are interested in the fact that the Japanese politicians, in estimating the situation in the Far East, obtain their material from poisoned sources, instead of paying due attention to the facts. A careful analysis of these facts shows that the situation in the Far East obliges the Soviet Union to consolidate its defensive power and to protect its people in the Far East. We of course do not wish to make any secret of this. The Soviet Union, which is pursuing an open and consistent policy of peace, has no reason to hide from the masses its estimate of the situation in the Far East.

Have we not observed in the course of the last months, weeks and days the fact of ever fresh anti-Soviet provocations? Can one pass over the fact that very responsible representatives of Japanese military circles, and not only military circles, are openly raising the question of attacking the Soviet Union, of seizing its coastal district and the Baikal Lake district? We have documents in our possession emanating from representatives of the highest military circles of Japan and containing plans of attack and conquest in regard to the Soviet Union. In one of these documents it is stated:

"In regard to the question whether Japan should or should not commence a war against the Soviet Union, I consider it necessary that Japan should pursue a firm policy towards the Soviet Union and be ready to commence war at a suitable moment. The chief aim of this war must be not so much to protect Japan from Communism, as to obtain possession of the Soviet Far East and Eastern Siberia."

In another document it is stated:

"In view of the status of the armed forces of the Soviet Union and the situation of the foreign States, the war between Japan and the Soviet Union must be fought out as soon as possible. We must bear in mind that the situation becomes more and more favourable for the Soviet Union as time goes on. I consider it necessary that the Mikado's government should pursue a policy aiming at commencing a war with the Soviet Union as soon as possible."

The same document states:

"It is quite possible that in spite of our strategy of attack and our endeavour to get a quick decision, we shall

not be able, owing to various conditions, to conduct the war fully in accordance with the above-indicated plan of action. There arises the exceedingly important question of the final aim of our war operations. We shall, of course have to advance as far as Lake Baikal. With regard to the further attack towards the West, this will depend upon the general situation which will exist at the time, and in particular upon the position of the States which will attack Russia from the West. If we manage to maintain our hold on the Trans-Baikal railway line, then Japan must annex the occupied Far-Eastern district. We must be ready in order to have the possibility, in carrying out this occupation, of awaiting the further development of events. As it will be hard for Japan to deal the Soviet Union a deadly blow through the war in the Far East, one of the chief factors in our war must consist in strategic propaganda by which we must draw the Western neighbours and other States into a war with the Soviet Union, and to call forth disintegration within the Soviet Union by making use of the white guard groups inside and outside of the Soviet Union and also by making use of foreign tribes and all anti-Soviet elements."

Finally, a similar extract:

"The present moment is extraordinarily favourable to our country for the solving of the Far-Eastern problem. The Western States bordering on the Soviet Union (Poland and Rumania) have the possibility of undertaking co-ordinated action with us. This possibility, however, will gradually become less every year.

The authors of these aggressive plans are highly responsible persons, so that their opinions have serious weight and must therefore call forth the necessary vigilance and attention towards all happenings on our Far Eastern frontier.

No impartial politician can ignore the symptomatic importance of the fact that the Japanese government in the course of two months has not considered it necessary to reply to the proposal of the Soviet Union for the conclusion of a non-aggression Pact.

The anti-Soviet intrigues of Japan in connection with the fisheries are also extraordinarily significant. This campaign has nothing to do with the question of the fishing, and is the expression of the aggressive plans of those Japanese circles which would like to realise still larger plans of conquest in the waters of the Far East.

We could cite many facts which go to prove that the aggressive work of the white guardists in Manchuria is immediately connected with the Japanese occupation. The white emigrants write quite openly regarding this. In all the emigrant organisations in Paris lectures are delivered on the role of Japan as protector of the anti-Soviet work of the white guardists. Foreign observers have also repeatedly insisted on the connection of the Japanese plans with the anti-Soviet intrigues of the white guardists. Finally, one can quote the official Japanese newspaper "Mansu Nippo", published in Dairen, which states that "the white guard movement has become exceedingly active ever since the new government was organised in Manchuria."

The peaceful policy of the Soviet Union is not a policy of ignoring the facts. We have repeatedly proved that the Soviet Union refuses to be drawn by any provocations, that the Soviet Union knows how to expose and thwart provocations in good time.

The Soviet Union has pursued a firm policy of peace and of non-interference in the events in China; it is pursuing that policy now and will continue to pursue it in the future. This, however, does not in any way mean that the Soviet Union will permit anybody to trespass against the inviolability of the Soviet frontiers, to invade the Soviet Union and to occupy even a small part of the country of the Soviets.

## The Need of the Hour.

By M. Louis (Paris).

The official organ of the Soviet government, the "Isvestia" has published extracts from documents which have fallen into the hands of the government. The documents emanate from leading militarists and statesmen and throw a glaring light on the aims of Japanese policy.

The Tanaka memorandum represented imperialist war, intervention against the Soviet Union, as a **historic** necessity in order to realise the aims of Japanese imperialism.

The documents published by the "Isvestia" no longer speak of war as a historical necessity from the point of view of the predatory aims of Japanese imperialism. In these documents it is stated that intervention is to be carried out now, at the given moment, as the most **immediate** and **urgent** task of the day.

The robber-campaign in Manchuria, the destruction of Chapei, the occupation of the mouth of the Yangtse, the criminal war in the Yangtse valley are to find a worthy continuation and consummation in intervention in the Soviet Union.

The documents speak quite clearly about the aims which the bandits of Japanese imperialism are pursuing:

1. Vladivostok, the coastal district of the Soviet Union in the Far East, and Eastern Siberia, up to the Lake Baikal, are to be annexed.

2. A Japanese intervention army is to be stationed in Siberia.

3. As the Soviet Union is becoming stronger every day, war must be commenced as soon as possible.

4. The Generals of Japanese trust capital and big landowners reckon with certainty that intervention against the Soviet Union in the Far East will also call forth intervention on the part of Poland and Rumania in the West.

And it is no longer a question only of documents. It is a question, of **the deeds** and **acts** of Japanese imperialism. Japanese generals are organising troops out of the white guardist bands in Manchuria. Japanese troops are moving in the direction of Pogranitchnaya, in the direction of Vladivostok. The Japanese command is trying to provoke conflicts in Manchuria, on the Chinese Eastern railway. The Japanese concerns are trying to provoke new conflicts over the question of fishing rights in Soviet waters. Manchuria is being converted into a place d'armes. Strategic railways are being built, munitions, war material, troops, aeroplanes are being dispatched. And those orders and contracts which are being placed in Europe by the Japanese government are, for the greater part, not intended solely for the robber-campaign in China, but are already **intended for the intervention against the Soviet Union**. The facts, the actions of the Japanese imperialism speak a still clearer, unmistakable language than the documents which expose the aims of the imperialist robbers, the bandits of interventionist war.

During the present war the Soviet government has pursued the policy of non-interference, the policy of peace, the policy of repelling the provocations on the part of the Japanese militarists. Regarding this policy, the II. International of war-inciters has made the most shameless insinuations. Among the first to start these base insinuations was **Vandervelde**, who declared that the fact that Russia has remained neutral "causes one to think". The Russian Menshevik **Rosenfeld**, this bright ornament of the French socialist party, has said quite openly what Vandervelde only hinted. This provocateur of intervention has the impudence to write:

*"In order to facilitate the conquest of North Manchuria, the Soviet Union permits the Japanese troops to use the Chinese Eastern railway."*

*"The Bolshevik government is in the service of Japan."  
"Moscow betrays China to Japan."*

(*"Populaire"* 2nd March 1932.)

This war-inciter wrote the above at the very moment when the Japanese troops were marching on the Soviet frontiers, when Pilsudski went to Bucharest in order to make the final arrangements between the Polish and Rumanian General Staffs, when in Finland the Lappo fascists came into action with a programme of immediate war provocation. The war-makers of the II. International have not yet reached the limit of war provocations; they will make even more shameless and criminal provocations.

The press of the II. International keeps silent regarding or minimises the documents proving Japan's intention to commence a war of intervention.

The official organ of the Soviet government writes that it is obliged to point out to the working people of the Soviet Union the exceeding seriousness of the situation. The Soviet government had to adopt measures in order to secure the inviolability of the Soviet frontiers in the Far East.

This language is clear and unmistakable. The Japanese militarists will run their heads against a brick wall if they attempt to disturb socialist construction, to invade Soviet territory. The Soviet Union wants peace. The Red Army, however, is ready to defend the workers' fatherland.

The Japanese militarists reckon with certainty that intervention in the East will let loose intervention in the West.

The Franco-Japanese alliance is a fact. France is already handing out war loans to its vassals and satellites. The French socialists do not vote against these war loans. Tardieu is conducting negotiations with England regarding a Franco-British alliance. The English government is striving to restore the war alliance with Japan. Preparations for war are going on in Finland, Lithuania and Latvia. The armament concerns in Europe are working at full capacity, producing munitions for the intervention against the Soviet Union.

The publication of the Japanese documents is a warning signal, a signal indicating the greatest danger.

Intervention is no longer a threat; it is approaching at an exceedingly rapid pace; **it has actually commenced**.

For the world proletariat this situation means that it must protect not only China, not only the Chinese revolution, not only the Chinese Soviets. In fact, it is not only a question of defending the first proletarian State, the Soviet Union. **For every worker it is a question of defending himself, his wife, children and brothers from war.**

## War Preparations in Great Britain.

By R. Bishop (London)

In preparation for the **new Budget** the various Government Departments have now issued their Estimates for the coming year's expenditure. The total saving to be budgeted for is £12,857,360, of which £7,586,660 is on the Civil Estimates and £5,270,700 on the Estimates of the Army, Navy and Air Force.

The Army Estimate is for £36,488,000, a decrease of £3,442,000; the Navy Estimate is for £50,476,300, a saving of £1,128,700; the Air Force Estimate is for £17,400,000, a saving of £700,000. In each case practically the whole of the saving has been obtained by means of the reductions made in pay and in food and clothing allowances to the workers in uniform.

Actually as regards the Navy the cost of new armaments exceeds last year by £2,700,000, which means that Naval wages etc. have been cut by nearly £4,000,000 and would have been cut by £820,000 more, but for the Mutiny at Invergordon which compelled the Admiralty to make concessions to that amount.

Whilst at Geneva the representatives of British Imperialism talk of their desire for peace, whilst at home the capitalist politicians of all parties unite to tell the workers that "Britain has disarmed to the limit", whilst the capitalist newspapers hail the new Estimates as going "dangerously far"; the truth is that the new Estimates show that in the coming year work is to start on the construction of three new cruisers, nine destroyers, three submarines and a number of depot ships, gunboats etc. The Army Estimates reveal that **the mechanisation of the Army** is proceeding apace. Last June, Colonel Pile, Assistant Director of Mechanisation to the War Office, stated:—

"Britain is undoubtedly ahead of all other nations as regards the quality of armoured fighting vehicles and also the ideas underlying their use. The new British 16-ton tank is easily the most powerful weapon that any soldier has been given to handle."

Early in 1930 a start was made on mechanising the Territorial Army—the process is intended to be completed by the beginning of 1933. That this process is going on satisfactorily—from the viewpoint of the Imperialists—is shown in the War Office report, which says:—

"Progress in research and experiment, although inevitably hampered by lack of funds, continues to be of increasing value."

"In the sphere of mechanically-propelled vehicles the most interesting feature of the past year has been the success which attended the trials in the hands of the troops of a new light field artillery tractor, which being small and inconspicuous, is a marked improvement on previous types."

During last year the War Office gloatingly announced that a method had been discovered of superseding the old method of hand production of small arms, which in future would be turned out by mass production. Another discovery was a combined rifle and machine gun which as a rifle can fire 30 rounds in 13 seconds; as an automatic 30 rounds in 5 seconds and as a machine gun 1000 rounds without a change of barrel. Extensive manoeuvres were held on Salisbury Plain with caterpillars adapted to every phase of military needs. And for every fresh discovery blazoned abroad, one may be sure, that the War Office kept another, more important one, up their sleeve.

Progress is also recorded in the Air. The Air Ministry report claims that

"As a result of the steady progress in re-armament of recent years it may be said that the era of wooden aircraft has, in so far as the Royal Air Force is concerned, passed into history, and in 1932 its first line units will be wholly equipped with machines either of all-metal structure or composite of metal and wood".

It will be seen that the reduction in the Arms Estimates is entirely illusory, but nevertheless, the militarists are not satisfied. The heads of all the fighting services made this abundantly clear in their Reports. Says Lord Haisham, the Minister for War: —

"The special effort cannot be maintained in future years. It has only been rendered possible by measures involving a definite loss of efficiency."

Says the First Lord of the Admiralty: —

"It would be impossible to frame future Navy Estimates on the same basis without making the most serious inroads into the strength and efficiency of the Fleet".

And he, mark you, is spending £2,700,000 more on Naval armaments than was spent in the previous year and, too, at a time when in the name of "economy", the unemployed "dole" has been cut, all social services reduced, the wages of all Government servants (including those in the Armed Forces) have been reduced, and when the infamous Means Test is being ruthlessly applied.

The Minister for Air says: —

"It has only been possible to achieve so large a reduction by the postponement of many services which, under normal conditions, would be regarded as essential".

In every direction but that of war preparation, the cry of the capitalists is that still further "economies" are necessary; in the matter of armaments they say "economy" has been carried too far.

At home it is not only the National Government that pretends that Britain is carrying on a pacific policy. The Labour Party also assiduously gives currency to this fable. Actually Great Britain is planning to spend £104,364,300 in the coming year on war preparations. But it is not the mere figures which are of most significance. Rather should attention be concentrated on the steady, relentless research work that is being carried on to devise ever more deadly and efficient arms, gases, means of mechanical traction etc. These are facts that all the pacifist phrases emitted at Geneva and in the House of Commons will not conceal. All this money is being spent, all this effort being taken for one purpose — **War.**

Daily the Imperialist antagonisms sharpen. The tariff war inaugurated by the National Government has speeded up the tempo with which the Imperialists are hastening to armed warfare on a world-scale. And, over-riding all else is, the one thing on which the Imperialist powers are united, their common enmity to the Soviet Union.

To-day as the capitalists intensify their offensive against the workers, the latter fight back desperately; as they attempt to crush the Colonial peoples, the latter also show greater powers of resistance than ever before. The heroic resistance of the Chinese people against the Imperialist bandits, and the stubborn resistance of the Indian masses are proof of this. In every country the same process is going on. Combined with an increasing offensive against the toilers is

frenzied preparation for war. In these circumstances, then, the task of the Communist Parties is to conduct the struggle against war as part of the daily struggle against capitalism. The workers are beginning to realise that the attacks on their standard of life are being made so that armaments may be piled up for use in wars in which they (the working class) will be invited once again to serve as cannon-fodder for capitalism.

In every strike, in every struggle against the Means Test, the question of war preparations needs to be stressed. The present war in the East may at any moment engulf the whole world. Just as the capitalists incessantly prepare for war, so must the workers constantly wage war against capitalism, the war-maker.

## New Air Base in Singapore.

London, March 7.

The current issue of the "British Export Gazette" casually refers to an order having been placed for 480 tipping wagons "for use in the construction of a new air base in Singapore", with a British firm. No announcement has been made in Parliament or in the press that such an air base was even contemplated. Outside of Government, financial, contracting and Air Force circles, the whole matter has been kept secret, although it betokens a serious development in the war preparations of the British Empire.

The current issue of the "Aeroplane" also throws a little light on the war-mindedness of British Capitalism. The editor in his notes expresses the belief that the next war is imminent and that it will be waged between "civilisation and Russia".

"If only the League of Nations", he writes, "could be made officially into a warlike alliance of civilised Europe, then there would be a good deal to be said for it. As a matter of fact that is what the League of Nations will perforce become when the great war starts."

Of course, neither the "British Export Gazette", nor the "Aeroplane" is to be found in Public Libraries, hence the exceptional disclosures that can be found in their columns from time to time.

## Obituary

### Jules Camélinat.

Paris, 7th March 1932.

Comrade Jules Camélinat, one of the last survivors of the First International and of the Paris Commune, died in the working class quarter Belleville here on Saturday aged 92 years. Camélinat took part in the struggles of the working class for 65 years.

He was born in Mailly-la-Ville (Yonne) and in his youth he was a vintners labourer. He then went to Paris where he obtained a job as unskilled labourer in a factory. Later on he became a mechanic. He was one of the founders of the **First Internationale** and of the Working men's Association. He also became an organiser of a trade union. A very different job then to what it is to-day. In the great strike of the workers in 1867 he played a leading part. When the Commune formed its government in 1871 Camélinat was appointed its finance minister and he filled this post most successfully.

After the defeat and destruction of the Commune he succeeded in making his escape to England where he lived until the communards were amnestied. In 1885 he was elected a member of the Chamber of Deputies in a Paris constituency as a socialist candidate with no less than 270,000 votes. In the Chamber of Deputies he fought for labour legislation on behalf of the workers. However, he was never for one moment anything but a passionate revolutionary. The proudest moment of his life was when he fought for his principles with a rifle in his hands during the heroic days of the Commune.

In December 1920 when the French Socialist Party split, Camélinat, who was by that time a white-haired veteran, went with the revolutionary elements into the Communist Party and served on the managing board of "l'Humanité" the central organ of the French Communist Party. Camélinat was one of the best known names in the French working class movement and enjoyed a tremendous popularity amongst the workers until the last.

## INTERNATIONAL FIGHT AGAINST WAR AND INTERVENTION

### A New Terrible World War is Threatening!

#### Appeal of the Workers International Relief.

The Japanese robber-war against China is still going on. Bombs from aeroplanes and shells from ships' guns are daily killing Chinese workers and peasants, defenceless old folk, women and children.

American, English and French warships are assembling in the Chinese ports; the imperialist big Powers are daily landing fresh troops and are making all military preparations in order to participate in the carving up of China, whilst the League of Nations, supported by the II. International, is doing everything in its power to lull the vigilance of the toiling masses and to deceive them in regard to the immediate war danger.

Japan is dispatching fresh troops to Manchuria, increasing its provocations against the Soviet Union and, with the support of French imperialism and the connivance of America and Great Britain, is preparing a broad frontal attack against the Soviet Union.

A new terrible world war is threatening.

War is already being waged by Japan and China. The battle for Shanghai has been raging for three weeks. The war is immediately directed against revolutionary China, against the Chinese peasants and workers and, with the support of the imperialist States, is to be directed against the Soviet Union.

The leading imperialist groups are attempting, by means of a new world war, to find a way out of the intensified world economic crisis.

Revolutionary China is to be destroyed, China carved up, socialist construction in the Soviet Union to be interrupted, and millions of toiling people are to be murdered and sacrificed in order to postpone the collapse of the insane, accursed, capitalist system.

Workers, toiling men and women! This must not happen! The crime of war, which is planned and already commenced, must be prevented!

We call upon the workers, peasants, the toiling men and women in all countries to rise and to stay the arm of the war inciters and the war criminals.

War does not mean, as the capitalist henchmen venture to assert, the overcoming of the crisis, work and high wages, but it means: increased misery, greater oppression, intensified terror, millions of toiling people sacrificed, whilst the war profiteers and capitalist sharks pocket millions of profits.

Workers! Peasants! Come out and protest against the Japanese robber-war! Come out to the active fight against the imperialist world war and for the defence of the Soviet Union!

In view of the armament fever in all the capitalist countries, an increased control must be exercised over the manufacture and the transport of munitions and weapons. It is necessary to start collections for the Chinese workers and peasants.

The workers, peasants, toiling men and women and all intellectuals sympathising with them must rally in a powerful, international, militant, united front against the war:

Against the Japanese robber-war! Against the imperialist war inciters and war criminals! For the immediate evacuation of Manchuria and China by Japanese troops! Against the partition of China and for the defence of the Chinese Soviet districts! For the defence of the Soviet Union and socialist construction! Set up the powerful international front against the imperialist war! For brotherly solidarity with the Soviet Union and for the social emancipation of all exploited masses and oppressed colonies!

**Executive and Central Committee of the Workers International Relief.**

**Presidium and General Council of the League Against Imperialism and for National Independence.**

\* \* \*

The appeal has been endorsed by written declarations of hundreds of prominent men and women scientists, artists from Germany, France, England, Spain and many other countries.

### Against the Partition of China, against the Anti-Soviet Intervention, against the Threatening World War!

The illegal central organ of the C.P. of Italy "L'Unità" has published an appeal in which it is stated:

"The army of Japanese imperialism has launched a great offensive in Shanghai. The Chinese troops, and before all the heroic 19th army, are offering fierce resistance. In the meantime, the troops of the Red Army of the South Chinese Soviet districts are advancing to the gates of Hankow. The fight for the national emancipation of China merges into the fight for Soviet China. This fact is becoming the focus of events in China and will drive the imperialists to intervene in order to deal a blow to the Chinese revolution and to divide up the tremendous territory of China among themselves ... If the Japanese army has hitherto encountered a wall of resistance, this is not due to the miserable and rotten Chinese generals, who have sold themselves to the one or other imperialism, but to the organised resistance of the toiling masses of Shanghai and China.

"Manchuria has been completely occupied by the Japanese, who have set up in this territory a so-called independent government, which is only independent of the will and the interests of the toiling masses of Manchuria. Japan is organising the Tsarist white guardists in Manchuria. Numerous former Tsarist officers are in Manchuria in order, supported by the Japanese, to prepare an offensive against the Soviet Union. The partition of China is proceeding, as is also the attack of the imperialists upon Soviet China and upon the Soviet Union. Anybody who awaits still clearer proofs is already capitulating to imperialism and to the war, is already half seized by the war mood which imperialism is creating behind the mask of the "disarmament" Conference.

"Toilers of Italy! In the years 1926 and 1927 you followed with a spirit of solidarity the advance of the revolution in China. Today it is not only a question of expressing solidarity, but of supporting the Chinese revolution in a concrete manner. This support consists in preventing the dispatch of arms, munitions, warships and troops to China. Italy has already dispatched a naval division to Shanghai. We shall tell the Italian sailors in Shanghai for what purpose they have been called up and what the Italian toilers think of the crime of the imperialists in China. But the war is extending its front. Many arms which have not been manufactured in Italy, are being transported through Italy and will be dispatched from Italian harbours to the East. The workers employed in the armament factories must report in the factory newspapers and in letters to the press of the Communist Party and of the Trade Union Federation regarding what munitions they are manufacturing, for whom they are intended and which way they are to be transported etc.

"Toilers of Italy! Karl Marx once said that a people which oppresses another one, is not worthy to be free. We shall not permit China to be oppressed; we are fighting to free the Slovenes, Croats and Germans who are bound to the chariot of Italian imperialism; we are fighting to free the oppressed population of Africa; we shall not attack the Chinese who are fighting for bread, work, land and freedom. Our enemy is here, in Italy and not in Shanghai; in Shanghai, in China are our brothers whom we have to defend!"

### Appeal of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights of Pittsburgh to the Negro Workers against War.

Fellow Workers:

The world to-day is entering into another world war. Already the first stage is passed in the attack of the Japanese imperialists upon China. But this war will be more terrible than 1914-1918. New and more terrible gasses have been perfected, longer ranged guns and other instruments of war to make death more certain.

The working men and women now being butchered in China are fighting the same interests against which you are struggling. The Japanese campaign in China is tolerated by Wall St. But Mellon's and other coal and steel interests that have slashed your wages, thrown you into the army of un-



employed, are directly interested in the \$250,000,000 of American capital invested in China. So-called American interests in China mean nothing to you. Yet you will be asked to fight for them.

The attack upon China is to destroy the workers and peasants government which under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party is building a new society in Central China. This attack is to make the road free for an attack upon the Soviet Union where the workers and peasants, under the leadership of the Communist Party, are building socialism, where there is no unemployment, wage cuts or starvation.

Do not forget what happened to the Negro soldiers in the last war. Their own mis-leaders, Dubois, Kelley, Miller, etc. had echoed the Democratic slogans of Wilson and the rulers of America. They were Jim Crowed here in the training camps, they were used as shock troops and labour battalions on the battle field. The American ruling class requested France not to treat them as equals. Upon their return they were lynched with their uniforms on. The rulers of America voiced no protest. This was the method by which the myth of the inferiority of the Negroes was maintained. This was the method for preventing unity of Negro and white workers in struggle against inhuman conditions imposed by the bosses.

The Negro gold Star mothers who returned to visit the graves of the sons they had given for democracy were Jim Crowed by the Jim Crow Hoover government. The new world war is to perpetuate your enslavement, is to destroy the government of Soviet Russia, that stands as a symbol of working class justice and equality, an inspiration to the world of oppressed workers and toiling masses.

You must organise to fight against this war. You must organise to defend the only country in the world that knows no discrimination because of colour, race or nationality. Delay is dangerous. Already the bosses are turning loose the propaganda that war will better conditions here. The proof of the bankruptcy of their society lies in this necessity for mass murder in order to better conditions.

Those who have no scruples in murdering Chinese are guilty for the 43 lynchings of Negroes in 1930, 107 lynchings in 1931, the mass murder in Camp Hill and the preparation for the legal lynching of the Scottsboro boys. The united struggles of the Negro and white workers for full social and political equality for the Negro workers and toiling masses is a struggle against war. But the struggles of the Negro toilers in the North are an inseparable part of the struggles of the Negro workers in the South. The Negro workers must struggle for the right of self-determination for the Negroes in the Black Belt in the South where they constitute a national majority. This combines with a struggle against the whole lynch Government, against share cropping, against peonage, lynching and mob violence, and against the murderous terror of the ruling class in the Black Belt.

We call upon every Negro worker in the Pittsburgh District to rally in support of these demands. We call upon every Negro worker to fight against imperialist war which means the re-division of Africa and the further enslavement of the African people and the perpetuation of peonage and lynching in America and of all the terror of the Jim Crow Lynch government of Hoover, Mellon and Wall Street.

Defence of the Soviet Republic is defence of Negro Rights! Down with Imperialist wars. Down with lynching, mob violence and Jim Crowism of the American boss government!

## **French Workers Expose War Preparations.**

Paris, 3rd March 1932.

Worker correspondents in the famous Renault works report to "l'Humanité", the central organ of the Communist Party of France, that the workers are now engaged on the building of 66 heavy tanks and 50 light tanks.

Worker correspondents in the works "Outillage Mécanique" in Saint Ouen (Paris suburb) report that the works are now carrying out an army contract for 28 tanks. When the tanks are built they are sent on to the Hotchkiss works where they are provided with machine guns.

Worker correspondents of the Floriat works in Saint Denis (Paris suburb) report that the works are engaged on the building of 80 motor radio stations for the army and that the works have received a further order for the building of 140 armoured cars.

## **Berlin Mass Meeting against War.**

Berlin, 4th March 1932.

A great mass meeting organised by the League against Imperialism took place here yesterday evening in the Sport Palace. The meeting was a protest against imperialist war and in defence of the Soviet Union. In the front rows were several hundred blinded ex-soldiers who had come to demonstrate their determination to fight with the revolutionary proletariat against further imperialist mass murder and in particular against any attempt to smash the Soviet Union.

Maxim Gorki, Romain Rolland and Henri Barbusse had sent telegrams to the meeting which were read amidst great applause. The first speaker was **Isobel Brown** (London). She attacked Lansbury's pacifism and pointed to the magnificent example of proletarian solidarity given by the British workers in 1920 when they prevented a war of intervention against the Soviet Union and stopped the supply of munitions to reactionary Poland, to the refusal of Indian soldiers to fight against the Chinese workers in Shanghai in 1927, to the refusal of Indian soldiers to shoot down their fellow workers in India, and to last year's naval mutiny in the Atlantic Fleet. Her remarks were received with tremendous applause which culminated in cheering.

**Chinese and Japanese** representatives then addressed the meeting. The applause rose to a culminating roar when the Japanese and Chinese speakers shook hands as a symbol of revolutionary proletarian solidarity.

**Willi Muenzenberg** also addressed the meeting and compared the League of Nations swindle in Geneva with the clear and uncompromising attitude of the Soviet Union in favour of peace. He then spoke in favour of the candidature of the communist candidate Thaelmann for the German presidential elections.

The meeting was then addressed by **Beaugrand**, a member of the communist fraction of the French Chamber of Deputies. The main part of his speech was devoted to the joint struggle of the German and French workers against the Versailles system. He condemned the French warmongers and their plans against the Soviet Union and declared that the French workers would stand shoulder to shoulder with the workers of the world in defence of the Soviet Union.

After a speech by Alfred Kunz who discussed the practical measures to be taken by the working class in the struggle against Bruening and his Emergency Decrees, the meeting was closed with the singing of the "Internationale".

## **Thirty Protest Meetings in Belgium.**

Brussels, 3rd March 1932.

Belgian revolutionary working class organisations have organised thirty meetings and demonstrations against the imperialist war in the Far East and in defence of the Soviet Union. Despite the fact that the weather was very unfavourable thousands of workers attended these meetings. Collisions with the police occurred in **Brussels**, otherwise the demonstrations went off without hitch. A counter-demonstration of the socialists in Brussels was very poorly attended.

## **Tvardovsky's Assailant was a Terrorist.**

Moscow, 7th March 1932.

The result of the investigations of the O.G.P.U. into the attempt made on the life of the German diplomat **von Tvardovsky** in Moscow by the Soviet citizen **Stern** show that in fact the motive of the would-be assassin was highly political. The would-be assassin Stern was caught red-handed by a party of red soldiers passing in a motor lorry. He has made a statement in which he admits that he is a member of a terrorist group operating in the Soviet Union under the instructions of a foreign centre. The aim of his attempt on the life of von Tvardovsky was to cause a rupture between the Soviet Union and Germany, thus weakening the international situation of the former. The O.G.P.U. expresses the hope that the investigations will be concluded during the next few days and that revelations concerning the wirepullers behind Stern will be possible. In the meantime great precautions are being taken to prevent any similar attacks on other foreign representatives in the Soviet Union.

## HOW A WORLD WAR IS PREPARED

### Pre-War Secret Diplomacy in the Light of Historic Documents.

By I. Jeraehimovitch (Moscow \*).

The imperialist war of 1914/18 was preceded by a "Disarmament" Conference which took place in the year 1907 in the Hague.

Seven years separated the Hague conference from the beginning of the world war. To-day, however, the unctuous speeches on disarmament are being held to the accompaniment of the roar of artillery.

To-day, the art of deceiving the working masses has been developed to a very high pitch by the ruling classes of all imperialist countries. But even twenty-five years ago this art had reached a comparatively high level of perfection. The Hague conference, which was accompanied by a great set out in the bourgeois press, undoubtedly fulfilled its main aim, i. e. to detract the attention of the masses from the feverish activities being conducted by secret diplomacy in all imperialist countries in preparation for the world war.

Whilst the representatives of the Powers mouthed **pacifist phrases** in the Hague, active preparations for war were being carried on in St. Petersburg, London, Paris, Berlin and Vienna. The secret diplomacy of the imperialist powers continued without a single break. Military alliances were concluded, the armed forces were strengthened, the various war plans brought to perfection. But all this was done, exactly as it is being done to-day, as quietly as possible and as far removed as possible from the inquisitive eyes of the working masses, so that when the storm finally burst it hit the peoples as an unexpected tragedy.

History is repeating itself before our eyes; this time not in the Hague, but in Geneva!

However, the actual preparation of war is only one of the tasks of secret diplomacy. Once war has begun, secret diplomacy turns to a second task, i. e. the task of representing the happenings as though the war had been provoked by the enemy and that it is therefore the "duty of each citizen to defend his Fatherland against an unprovoked attack".

The press and other organs and institutions which are occupied in all bourgeois countries in the work of deceiving public opinion are set to this work, but assistance is rendered to them by the preparation and publication of collections of documents known as "Blue-Books", "Yellow-Books", "Orange-Books", "Black-Books" and so on. To be more exact, secret diplomacy begins with forgery and misrepresentation.

The proletarian revolution in Russia in November 1917 opened the archives of the Czarist and Provisional governments. For the first time in history the "secrets" not only of the Russian, but in part also of the world bourgeoisie were dragged into the light of day. Thanks to their completeness and credibility, the documents published by the Soviet Union are absolutely unique. Even bourgeois historians and investigators are compelled to admit this.

The greatest event in the history of investigation into international relations in the epoch of imperialism is the publication, on the decision of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union, of the most important documents from the archives of the Czarist and Provisional governments in the period from 1878 to 1917.

\*) "International Relations in the Epoch of Imperialism", being documents from the archives of the Czarist and Provisional governments of Russia from 1878 to 1917. Third series from 1914 to 1917. The documents are being ordered and published by a commission attached to the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union under the chairmanship of the historian Professor Pokrovski. Further, the following institutions are co-operating in the publication of the documents: The Historical Institute in Moscow; the Institute for World Economics and World Politics attached to the Communist Academy; the Soviet Central Archives; and the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs.

The appearance of the first volume of the third series (1914/17) embracing documents drawn up in the period from the 14th January to the 13th March 1914 has made a deep impression on the whole world.

If the proletarian revolution were suddenly to tear aside the curtain of secret diplomacy to-day, at a moment when the air is vibrating electrically with wars and rumours of wars, the present-day Sazonovs, Greys, Delcassés, Berchtolds and Jagows who are at present engaged in exactly the same activities as their predecessors in the winter of 1913/14 in Europe and America, would be caught red-handed.

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The first volume of the series is deeply under the influence of the Balkan wars which had just concluded. The Balkan countries take up a great amount of space, and often even the most important place in the diplomatic correspondence of the Czarist government at that time. This is explained by the fact that in the winter of 1913/14 the war was a foregone conclusion. All countries concerned were preparing for it feverishly. Even long before the war the Balkan countries had been chosen by the imperialist powers as the most favourable point for the fabrication of a casus belli at the desired moment.

The heavily charged atmosphere of the approaching world war for the re-division of the world is felt in these documents in the first volume from the first page on, and the farther one reads in them the more oppressive becomes this atmosphere.

It is interesting to note that in the 444 documents contained in the first volume, such phrases as "The struggle for peace", which are freely used in **public** diplomatic correspondence, are hardly once mentioned.

The single exception is represented by the Czarist Ambassador in Belgrade Hartwig, who wrote on the 14th January 1914 to Sazonov:

"God grant that the coming year will result in the wished for pacification."

But the irony of fate put those words into the mouth of Hartwig, the Russian diplomat who had a greater part than anyone else in the preparation of the Sarajevo outrage and who did everything in his power to support the Pan-Serbian aims.

He writes in the same letter:

"I am almost prepared to undertake a guarantee for the Serbians. They will follow our instructions as a matter of course."

What these instructions were may be inferred from a letter written by Pashitch, the Prime Minister of Serbia, to Sazonov, the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs, on the 2nd February 1914:

"Serbia must make sure of the necessary number of rifles and pieces of artillery for the coming spring, therefore it is compelled to address itself to the imperial government (of Russia) with the urgent request to provide it with the equipment enumerated in the following list from the imperial arsenals."

Pashitch then presents a list of 120,000 field service rifles, 24 10.5 cm guns, 36 pieces of mountain artillery "of the most modern system" with the necessary quantities of munition for these weapons.

Further, "Serbia would be very much obliged to the imperial government if it would provide Serbia with uniforms for 250,000 men and with the necessary material for telegraphy, field telephones and for four wireless telegraphy stations, so far as that is possible without inconveniencing the Russian army."

In view of Pashitch's letter asking for rifles, artillery and other equipment for an army of 250,000 men for the spring of 1914, it becomes clear how circumspect is the language of the imperialist diplomats even in their secret correspondence!

The group of documents having reference to the period in which the Turkish-Bulgarian military agreement was concluded is even still more interesting. This group of documents reveals one of the most important characteristics of the secret diplomacy of the imperialist powers, namely, its **mendacity**.

On the 10th February 1914 Hartwig wrote to Sazonov as follows:

"The question which is at present deeply interesting political circles not only in the Balkans, but in Europe also is: has a secret military agreement actually been concluded between Turkey and Bulgaria. It is not possible to supply a

definite answer to this question. Up to the moment we have only assumptions to go upon."

On the 21st January 1914, that is prior to the writing of Hartwig's letter, Sabler, the Czarist Ambassador in Sofia, wrote Sasonov as follows:

"Although the treaty of alliance between Turkey and Bulgaria is not yet signed, both countries are well on the way to conclude such an agreement. However, according to the information of our military agent, the Turkish-Bulgarian alliance against Greece has already been signed."

The following telegram laid before Sasonov by Radko Dimitriev, the Bulgarian Ambassador in St. Petersburg, on the 29th January 1914, did not succeed in allaying Russian suspicions as can be seen by the above communications. The telegram was from the Bulgarian Prime Minister Radoslavov and read:

"I empower you herewith to go to M. Sasonov and to declare to him in the most categorical form and in the name of the Bulgarian government that we have signed no political agreement of any kind, and that further we have not any such intention, and particularly not to sign any agreement granting permission to Turkish troops to march through our Aegean territory. Radoslavov."

The letter of Hartwig of the 10th February quoted above shows that Sasonov did not trust this Bulgarian assurance, knowing as he did how much such telegrams were worth. Sasonov had sufficient reason to distrust Bulgaria, for the fact was that the treaty of alliance between Turkey and Bulgaria had already been signed, namely on the **12th January 1914** in Sofia and Constantinople. For Bulgaria the treaty was signed by Fitchev and—Radoslavov!

Is not this incident reminiscent of the numerous assurances given by the imperialist diplomatic representatives to-day in connection with the events in Shanghai and in Manchuria and the preparation of a war of intervention against the Soviet Union?

The documents in the first volume also give a clear picture of the feverish preparations for war being conducted at the time by Czarist Russia and its allies. The chief aim of the Czarist government and its diplomatic representatives in this period is the preparation for war against Turkey, whilst at the same time Czarist Russia's allies are engaged in preparations for the war in the west.

During the winter 1913/14 the Czarist government sought persistently for a plausible excuse for seizing the Dardanelles and Turkey's European territory.

The French and British imperialists, who had no objection to Russia's zealous attempts to provoke the conflict—Russia was given a subordinate role in the so-called Triple Entente as the provoker—were however not inclined to take the risk exclusively in the interests of Russian imperialism. They did their utmost to direct Russia's energies to the west rather than to Asia Minor. Further, neither the British nor the French imperialists showed any inclination, as shown by the documents in the first volume, to afford the Czarist government the possibility of seizing the Turkish booty all on its own.

It must not be forgotten, however, that Great Britain and France took up different attitudes towards the question of Czarist wishes in Turkey. When in January 1914 the Czarist government decided to utilise the "Armenian pretext" and the Liman von Sanders affair\*) in order to realise its plans in the Near East, Isvolski, the Czarist Ambassador in Paris put the question of French support clearly before French imperialism and declared that the time for the Franco-Russian alliance to come into action was at hand. According to Isvolski Poincaré declared in answer, "Naturally, we shall support you".

In a letter dated the 30th January 1914 Isvolski writes: "But when for various reasons the government of Nikolaus II was prevented from planting the holy cross on the cathedral of St. Sofia and war was postponed, the French were distinctly relieved. Although, as you know, the French government firmly intended to support us in this question

\*) Liman von Sanders was a German General and a pioneer of German imperialist interests in Turkey. In 1914 he was appointed Inspector-General of the Turkish Army. Fearing the strengthening of the Turkish army as a result of the activities of von Sanders the Czarist government strove to secure the annulment of the appointment. Dozens of the documents contained in the first volume are devoted to the Sanders affair.

and to empty the chalice to the dregs if necessary, it was nevertheless very satisfied when the chalice passed it by."

Seven months later French imperialism emptied the chalice to the dregs with the greatest willingness, but this time the situation was somewhat different.

In July 1914 Poincaré was able to congratulate himself on having played his role so excellently in January. Imperialist France needed Czarist Russia in East Prussia and not in the Dardanelles and, as is known, Poincaré succeeded in bringing about this constellation.

The relations between Czarist Russia and imperialist Britain were much more complicated.

On the eve of the world war the friction between Great Britain and Russia had increased considerably on account of Persia and the Aegean islands. Professor M.N. Pokrowski is justified in declaring in his preface to the first volume that those who study the documents contained in it must involuntarily raise the question of why the war of 1914 was between Russia and Germany instead of between Russia and England.

This, however, was not the case and Czarist Russia found itself in a block with imperialist Britain against Germany. The dialectical law of the "unity of contradictions" deeply affected imperialist interests and brought this about.

British imperialism was least inclined to support the Czarist plans for conquests in the Near East. As is generally known, it even interfered with these plans during the prosecution of the world war at a time when Great Britain and Russia were formally allies.

On the 11th February 1914 Benckendorf, the Czarist Ambassador in London, informed Sasonov of his conversation with Nicholson, Grey's representative, on the questions affecting an Anglo-Russian "Entente Cordiale". "With regard to the alliance", writes Benckendorf, "Nicholson added, and I share his opinion, that it is now quite possible."

British imperialism "revenged" itself on its Russian rival in this fashion. This was the effect of the Anglo-Russian rivalry in Persia, for immediately after his startling statement that the Anglo-Russian alliance was "possible", Nicholson turned the conversation—to the Persian railway.

But there was another point to be considered in the attitude of British imperialism towards the plans of the Czarist government in the winter of 1913/14 (a point revealed to a certain extent in Benckendorf's letter of the 28th January 1914) and that was that the pressure of Czarist Russia on Turkey threatened to destroy Grey's plans and to bring his cards into confusion.

"With regard to your opinion concerning Grey's blindness", writes Benckendorf on the 25th February 1914 to Sasonov in answer to complaints of the latter on account of Great Britain's "lack of activity", "you must permit me to disagree with you. Despite appearances he (Grey) is kept in continual anxiety by the threat of German hegemony and he is disturbed at observing certain German successes. Don't think that he is blind, that is very far from being the case. He appears to be more undecided than he actually is... Be guided by me; after you have once had a heart-to-heart talk with him, do not exercise any further 'pressure' on him. He has a strong feeling that he is the chief support of the Entente and its born protagonist, for his whole policy and his whole future is bound up with it. He is unwilling to come forward with his proposals a second time and to make any particular threats so long as there are no definite decisions concerning the further course of action, and in particular so long as the Triple Alliance has not definitely put itself in the wrong, a matter of importance for British public opinion. As we have seen, he is already near to laying a trap for the Triple Alliance."

The baneful figure of Grey, one of the chief organisers of the first imperialist world war, the "mystery man" from the banks of the Thames, can be seen clearly in relief in these lines. Benckendorf was, of course, right; it was not necessary to urge Grey forward against Germany. It was also not advisable to disturb him.

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This article has by no means exhausted the great mass of material contained in the first volume. This material deserves close study.

It is not astonishing that the publication of these documents by the Soviet government has attracted the attention of the whole world. The appearance of the first volume has been dealt with as an event of great importance. Over a hundred articles and notices have been published in the international press concerning the first volume, whereby the

authors of these articles and notices, all of them prominent politicians, journalists and historians, have all expressed the opinion that the publication of these Czarist documents by the Soviet government represents a turning point in the study of international relations during the pre-war and war periods.

The circumstance must also be considered that the generally acknowledged strictly scientific character borne by the publications of the Soviet government, their credibility and completeness, make it possible to control and register all the forgeries committed by imperialist diplomacy in the collections of documents it has issued.

It was not for nothing that an old and experienced forger like Poincaré hurried to exclaim that "one would have to expect rather many paradoxical inventions" when the first volume was published. The wily old fox was not disturbed without reason.

In discussing the prospects for the issue of further volumes in the series the German publication, "Berliner Monatshefte für International Enlightenment" declared in its January number that the year 1932 would be deeply influenced by the study of the documents published by the Soviet government. Undoubtedly the publication is right. The issue of these documents relating to the epoch of the world war by the Soviet government is one of the greatest contributions to historical science. At the same time it is a powerful weapon in the struggle against the instigators of new wars and for the ruthless exposure of the secret diplomacy of imperialism.

## DOCUMENTS

### The War and the Young Proletariat.

*We publish below extracts from an appeal issued recently by the Young Communist Leagues of the Western Countries and which, as an historic document, is of interest beyond the circles to which it is addressed:*

The flames of the war conflagration in the Far East are rising ever higher. Japanese imperialism which has occupied Manchuria and is already converting it into its colony, is every day extending the area of its war operations. The workers' quarters of Shanghai have become the scene of fierce fighting. Thousands of murdered and wounded men, women and children, hundreds of workers brutally tortured to death, houses and streets in Chapei razed to the ground—these are the results of the ravages of the Japanese bandits. They are landing troops in Swatow, bombarding Canten with artillery fire, proceeding to occupy Hankow and the whole of the Yangtse valley and to take possession of the largest proletarian centres of China.

Sharply whetted Japanese bayonets and the mouths of their guns are directed against the Chinese people.

The so-called "big Powers"—these imperialist big robbers—are already hastening in order, with iron, steel and blood, to take part in the partition of China. American, English, French and Italian warships as well as troops are on the way to Chinese waters in order to secure their share of the booty.

The Japanese troops have already occupied Harbin—the central junction of the Chinese Eastern railway. That is one of the most important links in the chain of provocations against the land of the Soviets. What does the attempt of the Czech diplomat Vanek to organise the murder of the Japanese Ambassador in Moscow prove? What does the preparation of an attempt on the life of Litvinov in Geneva show? What do the transport of ever fresh troops to Northern Manchuria, the feverish construction of railways and aerodromes, the activity of white-guardist bands—of Miljukov, Kerensky and their consorts—in Paris and Prague, in Sofia and Belgrade, in Shanghai and Harbin prove?

All this means that day after day, hour by hour, preparation is being made for an attack on the Soviet Union.

#### Young workers and peasants!

It is no longer a question of the threat of war. War is here, the regular bloody imperialist slaughter of the whole of the Chinese people, against the Chinese revolution—the slaughter which threatens to develop into a world war, into the joint intervention of the imperialist Powers of the East and of the West against the fatherland of the proletariat, the Soviet Union.

Today, precisely when the revolution of the Chinese workers and peasants is spreading and becoming stronger, when the foundation of the Soviet Power has been laid in a sixth part of China, when 70 million toilers have thrown off the yoke of the Kuomintang dictatorship, the yoke of the bourgeoisie and of the landowners—precisely now the imperialists are proceeding to crush the Chinese revolution and to stifle the Chinese Soviets in blood.

Precisely today, when the working class of the Soviet Union has completed the foundation of Socialism and, after shattering the class enemies, is proceeding to take in hand the second Five-Year Plan, when the framework of the classless socialist society is already plainly and palpably discernable on a sixth part of the globe, precisely now the imperialists are aiming to frustrate the building up of Socialism and to sweep the Soviet Union, which by its gigantic victories is threatening the immediate existence of the capitalist order of society, from the face of the earth. The imperialists are trying to find a way out of the acute economic crisis by means of the partition of China, by means of war against the Soviet Union.

Savage class hatred, deadly fear of the world-historical victories of Socialism in the Soviet Union and the heroic successes of the Chinese Soviets—this is what welds together the imperialists of all countries, in spite of the differences among them, in spite of all their mutual sordid bitter rivalries over markets and sources of raw material, over the bloody redistribution of the colonies. That is the reason why French imperialism, the chief organiser of international robber campaigns, grants Japan credits and is occupying the Southern provinces of China. That is the reason why the United States of America has commenced at top speed to supply Japan with steel and iron, with automobiles and aircraft. That is the reason why, day in and day out, transports with munitions and war materials are proceeding from the French munition factories of Schneider-Creuzot, from the Czech Skoda works, from the English Armstrong and Vickers works; it is with these munitions that the steamers in Hamburg and Havre, in Cherbourg and Marseilles, are loaded for the Far East.

The sharply whetted bayonets of the imperialists, the mouths of their guns are directed against the land of the Soviets!

In Geneva the "disarmament" comedy has commenced to the accompanying music of shells and shrapnels, to the accompaniment of bombs and poison gas attacks. These robbers will not succeed, by means of pacifist phrases, by sweet-sounding words about peace, in drowning the thunder of the guns of war. Only the voice of the representative of the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. will expose the hypocrisy and baseness of this bloody comedy. Only the overthrow of capitalism, the triumph of Socialism, will remove the causes which give rise to wars.

#### Young social democratic workers!

The events of the last few weeks and months have again and again torn the mask from the face of the treacherous, counter-revolutionary leaders of the II. International and of the Socialist Youth International.

The social democratic traitor Henderson, who occupies the chair at the Geneva Conference, the arch-social-fascist Paul-Boncour, who occupies the chair in the Council of the League of Nations, these truest agents of imperialism, are helping to draw the noose round the neck of the Chinese people, are helping to close the ring of armed intervention round the frontiers of the Soviet Union.

The Second International and Socialist Youth International wish to conduct the "fight" against war by means of hundreds of cases of petitions, with paper requests to the Geneva "peace" makers. At the same time, however, they do not move a finger in order to prevent the transport of thousands of cases of dynamite and powder, guns and aeroplanes, shells and rifles, from the European ports to the Far East, but even actively support these measures. The social democratic police President of Hamburg, Schönfelder, connives at the secret dispatch of war material from Hamburg harbour, whilst his colleague, the social democrat Grzesinski in Berlin, prohibits the mass protest demonstrations of the working class. The social democratic trade union bureaucracy prevent the strike actions of the workers against the transport of weapons.

The English social-fascist Lansbury and the organ of the French social patriots the "Populaire" hypocritically oppose Japan but do not say a word against French and English

imperialism. They cloak over the war preparations on the part of Tardieu and Macdonald.

The leaders of the social democratic youth, by means of pacifist phrases, fetter your fighting energy, your determination to fight against war.

#### Young social democratic workers!

The leader of the French social democratic youth, **Dumon**, calls upon you, young social democratic workers, to exercise "passive" resistance. By hypocritical appeals „to the mothers and wives; to lie on the railway lines and not let a single train pass" they wish to divert you from the real **revolutionary** fight against war; by the empty parson's cry "do not kill thy brother!" they wish to divert you from the fight against your **own** bourgeoisie, from the fight for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie dictatorship, for the revolutionary way out of the crisis.

Expose the lying "Left", radical demagoguery of Seydewitz and Rosenfeld, of Maxton and Brockway, who lull your vigilance and divert you from fulfilling your class duty.

Break with these betrayers of the workers' interests; leave the social fascist organisations!

#### Young proletarians, toiling youth in town and country!

In this historical hour of the outbreak of war and for the acute and immediate threat of a large-scale attack on the Soviet Union, the Sections of the Young Communist International call to you to unite round the banner of Lenin and Liebknecht and to hold aloft the Bolshevik traditions of revolutionary fight against the world bourgeoisie, against imperialist war, and the capitalist system.

Sound the tocsin for the fight! Come forward in a revolutionary united front in the workshops and factories, in the pits and at the labour Exchanges, on the farms and in the villages, for the defence of the Soviet Union, for the defence of the socialist achievements of the advance guard of the international proletariat—the Russian working class and its youth.

Raise a powerful voice of protest and for the **defence of the Chinese people**, for the defence of the Chinese Soviets! Demand the immediate recall of the fleets and troops from the Chinese waters! Express your solidarity with the heroic fight of the members of the Young Communist League and of the working youth of China, Japan and Korea, who organise mass strikes and demonstrations attended by thousands against the imperialists, who perform militant work in the army of the occupying Powers, in spite of the raging terror and the vindictive policy of the Japanese and Kuomintang hangmen!

Develop a powerful protest wave of strike struggles, demonstrations and meetings!

**Soldiers and sailors** of the imperialist countries are sent out to crush the fight of the Chinese workers and peasants, they are to be used in **preparing hostile intervention against your fatherland, the Soviet Union**. The imperialist bourgeoisie seems to have forgotten the heroic fighting traditions of the French Black-Sea Fleet and the example of **André Marty**!

**Young workers!** Expose the war preparations in every factory and every workshop! Frustrate the fulfilment of war contracts: reply with **strikes** to the attempts to send munitions to the Japanese imperialists. Young workers of the harbour towns! It is up to you to prevent the dispatch of war munitions to the Far East! Not a single barrel of powder, not a single case of weapons for the imperialist slaughter: that must be your slogan of action!

**Unemployed youth!** The bourgeoisie, after having plunged you into misery and starvation, are attempting to militarise you for the war by the help of compulsory labour. In some countries they wish to play you off as cheap objects of exploitation against the class conscious workers in the workshops and factories. Do not be taken in by the deceit of the bourgeoisie, by the lying phrases of the social fascists. War brings still greater misery, hardship and starvation and still worse unemployment. Demonstrate along with the young workers in the factories! Demand work, bread and relief! Demand that the means provided in the military budget shall be devoted to alleviating the misery of the starving unemployed and their children!

The imperialists are waging war! They find true confederates in the social fascist leaders. Strengthen the economic and political fight against the employers, against your governments of war and starvation. Set up the united revolutionary front of the working youth in the fight for your daily demands.

Reply to the attempts of the bourgeoisie to find the way out of the crisis which is strangling them, in new wars, in a wave of repression against the revolutionary movement, by rallying firmly round the Young Communist Leagues, under the banner of the Communist International and the Young Communist International, for the fight for the revolutionary way out of the crisis and for the revolutionary fight. Up with the banner of Lenin and Liebknecht in the fight against the imperialist war! Down with the war instigators in China and their social-fascist agents! Against the partition of China by the imperialists! Not a barrel of powder, not a single case of weapons for the imperialist slaughter! Long live the Soviet Union, the fatherland of all toilers, exploited and oppressed! Long live Soviet China! Long live the Young Communist International, the leader of the working and peasant youth of the whole world!

**Central Committee of the Young Communist Leagues: Germany, France, United States of America, England, Poland, Czechoslovakia (Sections of the Young Communist International).**

## THE WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS

### The Permanent Crisis.

By Upton Sinclair.

I go out on my front porch at six o'clock in the morning, and sit in the Southern California sunshine which we so like to advertise, even in July. I pick up my morning newspaper, and read that the farmers in Kansas are refusing to take twenty-four cents per bushel for their wheat, and are letting it rot on the ground; also that the owners of some thousands of oil wells in Kansas are shutting them down. I read that there is a Communist riot in Los Angeles, and a Negro Communist riot in Alabama; and I read that Germany is facing a bank panic, that the Chinese are carrying on a war against the "Reds", and that in Britain the number of unemployed has been increasing yearly for ten years. And while I am reading all this, there arrives a boy on a motorcycle, bringing me a special delivery letter from a young man with whom I used to play tennis. A few years ago this man lived in an expensive home and drove a good car; now he tells me that his wife has only seven cents, and he is sending her one dollar which is all he has.

Many persons offer us counsel in these troubles. We listen to the advice of business leaders and economists, who, early in 1929, were assuring us that America had achieved a permanent solution of the industrial problem; there was a "new Capitalism", based upon mass production, high wages, and stock ownership by employees, so hard times could never again trouble America. Our government is in the hands of men who assured us, in the fall of 1929, that the Wall Street panic was quite insignificant, and would have no effect upon industry, and who, during the past twenty-one months, have been assuring us regularly every month that prosperity was only two or three months away.

In asking you to hear my comments on the crisis, I present a different set of credentials. In the year 1907 I published a book, **The Industrial Republic**, in which I pictured this crisis in all its details, and explained the causes and the cure. In 1922 I published **The Book of Life**, in which the predictions were repeated. In 1925 I published **Letters to Judd**, covering the ground a third time, and so thoroughly that in reprinting the book year after year, I do not have to change a word—it is always up to date!

The essential fact about the modern business crisis is that it occurs in the midst of plenty. In backward countries, such as India and China, there may be a scarcity of products; but in the great industrial countries the trouble is caused by too much of everything. The farmers are bankrupt because they have produced too much grain; the weavers are in rags because they have produced too much cloth; the children of the shoe-workers are barefoot because their fathers have made too many shoes.

We Socialists upon soap-boxes ring endless changes upon this strange paradox; in our efforts to make it real we picture a man from Mars, or a cannibal from the South Seas, or a

monkey from the jungle, arriving in one of our great cities, and having these matters explained to him, and breaking into exclamations as to the craziness of what is called "civilisation".

The best simile for what has happened is that of a poker-game. As you know, men sometimes play all day and most of the night; I did it myself, a few times in my youth before I learned better. The "runs of luck" are bound to equalise themselves in the end; assuming, of course, that the game is a fair one, and the players equally skilful. But suppose the cards are marked; then one individual will be permanently successful, and sooner or later will have all the chips. Then you will see what I call the "permanent crisis"; the game will come to an end, because one side has no more to win and the other side has no more to lose.

In the great gambling game of business competition the cards have been marked and the dice have been loaded in favour of the big banking and industrial interests. They have known what was coming; they have been "insiders" in speculation, and have had sufficient reserves of money to tide them over difficulties; also, to manipulate markets and produce the results upon which they bet. We have a class of persons, perhaps a million or so, who have comfortable incomes guaranteed them; and, on the other hand, we have tens of millions in families of which the breadwinners are out of work, and therefore cannot buy anything. In **Letters to Judd** I define the word "consumer": "If you've got the price, you're a consumer; if you haven't got the price, you're a bum."

The privileged class are sitting back, waiting for the hard times to pass. It is annoying to them, of course, that there are no profits to be made. For example, I know here in Southern California a retired capitalist who had the wit to see what was coming and sold out in time. He has large sums in the bank—he does not tell me just how much. He is bored, because the great poker game is stalled, and he cannot find any way to make money. He has looked over this field and that, but in vain. So he takes trips to the beach, and plays around with his children and grandchildren, and waits for "things" to start up again.

It is for persons such as this, who have money enough to supply their needs, that industry is still going on. It is for these and their families and pensioners that our steel mills are working at 35% capacity—to provide them with new automobiles, and golf clubs, and other means of relieving boredom. All their servants are employed, and all those who wait upon the servants—those who transport food, and keep clothing-stores, and perform the other tasks needed to keep a portion of the community in comfort, and a still larger portion on the ragged edge.

The obvious cause of this paradox of starvation in the midst of plenty is that those who do the work and produce the goods do not get the money to buy the goods. At least they get only part of the money, and so can buy only part of the goods; they do not get all the money, so they cannot buy all the goods. The means of creating wealth increase faster than the market for that wealth; so the surplus wealth and the power of producing it is stored up, while those who would like to have the goods are powerless to buy them, and have to be turned out of work until the surplus has been consumed.

Throughout our industrial history these crises have come every few years. The machinery slows down until the surplus is used, and then the machinery starts again, and we have good times. Such is the "business cycle", and our economists are compiling figures, and preparing charts, and predicting the customary revival. Six months ago I was talking with a New Yorker temporarily sojourning in Hollywood. Wall Street had "cleaned him out" in the recent panic, and now, he was saying, if only he had some money to buy U.S. Steel, which, was so certain to go up! I said to him: "Where is this revival coming from? It means that we have to find customers for our goods; and who is going to buy them? Will it be the Germans, with money we loan them? Will it be the Russians, with money we won't loan them? Will it be England, with her permanent hard times? Will it be the revolting Hindus, or the starving Chinese?" My friend took a thought-journey over the world, and in the end admitted that he didn't know where it was coming from. The other day I met him again and he said, "you were right; it didn't come as fast as I thought; but I wish I had some money to buy U.S. Steel now!"

The prophets of prosperity have all the precedents on their side. Things always have "come back". We would wait until the

new harvest came in, and then the farmers would have money to buy manufacturers' goods. But look at the farmers this time! The Farm Board set out to save them last fall, and now it has two hundred million bushels of wheat on its hands, and that wheat is like the sword of Damocles hanging over the farmers' heads. The grain elevators are clogged with it, and so this year's crop is left to rot on the ground; the market price is half the cost of production.

I remember when I was a boy reading a joke which made a deep impression on my mind. One farmer remarked to another, "How lucky the Russian wheat crop failed!" The other replied, "Seems most like an act of Providence, don't it?"

This year Providence has overlooked the farmers of America. The Russians, with their new system, planted five million acres a day, and increased their acreage 10% over last year. This fall Soviet Russia will come on the world's market with some hundreds of millions of bushels of new wheat. They have increased their cotton acreage by 60%—and what is that going to do to relatives of mine in the far South who live by growing cotton? Last year they borrowed fifty thousand dollars from the banks, and when the crop was ready it was worth just half that. The banks forced them to sell—and even so the banks went to the wall. Now my relatives have borrowed money from the Farm Loan banks, and have another crop of cotton reopening in the Mississippi sunshine. What chance do they stand to get back its cost?

You see, this crisis is a world-wide one, and it is equally severe in both agriculture and manufacturing. In the old days there were two men in a boat, and when one fell into the water, the other pulled him out; but now they are both in the water—and the boat is on the way to the bottom.

Our economists and statesmen, and other master-thinkers, come forward with various remedies. First, let there be a Federal Reserve system, to help the big business men over the panics. That worked beautifully, for the big business men, and for a time. Then, the farmers didn't see why they shouldn't have a share of this protection, and so there are the Farm Loan banks. The effect of both systems is to enable producers to go on producing goods beyond the market demand—and so to render the final situation worse than ever. The ultimate end is bankruptcy, first for the borrower, and then for the lender. You can see, how it worked out in Germany; for that has been the German system of staving off the crisis. Borrow money from America, and pay back part of it as interest on the debts, and use the rest to finance public works and thus keep the unemployed from going Communist.

In the old days nations went to war, and conquered one another's territory, and exterminated or enslaved the population, and took the land for their own. But now the world has moved into the period of capitalism, and we do not exterminate or enslave our enemies; we put them to work to pay interest on reparation bonds; and when they go bankrupt and can no longer pay this interest—then we see a strange development, never known before in the history of the world. We see all the statesmen and bankers of the proud conqueror nations running in a panic to a conference, to devise ways and means of keeping the conquered nation from going into bankruptcy!

The reason is this: We conquerors hold billions in reparation bonds in our own banks; or rather, the banks have unloaded them on the public, and know that if the payments are defaulted, the owners of the bonds will come running to the banks to draw out money. Thus the capitalist system has become one tangled web throughout the whole world; and we cannot permit it to fail anywhere—we cannot even permit it to threaten to fail, or to look as if it might be going to fail. The modern world is doing 98% of its business on credit and threat of failure can wipe out more values in one business day than all the fires that have ever burned and all the earthquakes that have ever shaken since the dawn of history.

Another factor which never existed in the world before: throughout all the other panics it was possible to let the unemployed starve, and all you had to do was to order out the militia and shoot a few of them, and the rest would crawl back into their kennels; but now by some means, in spite of all the capitalist editors and professors of economics, the poor have managed to find out about the cause of the crisis, and the remedy. Of course there have always been soap-boxers and utopian dreamers with whiskers and long hair, calling for a new deal; but now there is something

different—a working class insurrection which has got control of one-sixth of the land surface of the globe, and of the labour of a hundred million workers. They are doing the thing which all our editors and professors of economics have been vowing for a hundred years could never be done; they are producing for use instead of for profit. They are making one of the poorest nations of the earth into one of the richest. They are abolishing unemployment—and even giving employment to skilled workers from capitalist America! Even faster than we are sliding down, they are climbing up.

And furthermore, the workers of the world are finding out about this! In spite of all the press bureaus maintained in Riga and Warsaw for the purpose of collecting and distributing unfavourable reports about Russia, the word is spreading that farmers do not have to starve because they have produced too much wheat, and that weavers do not have to go in rags because they have produced too much cloth. So it comes about that statesmen and bankers in Paris and London, Washington and New York are all running to a conference to keep Germany from going bankrupt! They have learned that if a modern country goes bankrupt, it also goes Bolshevik: The one thing they cannot permit to happen.

The conference in London is assembling, and I venture to prophesy that when I pick up my newspaper from the front porch a few days from now, I shall read that the New York bankers, with the endorsement of Washington officials, are arranging for a large loan to Germany. That is the news we shall read continuously during the death-throes of the capitalist system. New York bankers, with the endorsement of Washington officials, will be lending large sums of money to some new country which has made the discovery that in order to get new loans from America, all you have to do is to threaten to go bankrupt, and to point out that bankruptcy means Bolshevism. The great "Uncle Shylock", as they have come to call us, has staked his life upon the existence of capitalism, and capitalism is fighting Bolshevism throughout the world. It dares not fight with physical force, because it learned in 1919 and 1920 that Bolshevism propaganda makes headway in its armies and navies, and leads to mutinies of British troops embarking at Folkestone, and of French sailors in the Black Sea fleet, and of Michigan lumbermen serving in the American Expeditionary Force at Archangel. So, for the present at any rate, world capitalism will fight Bolshevism with the purse of America.

Germany has a huge war debt, and must pay the interest. Germany cannot pay in gold, because its gold is nearly exhausted, and without any gold its currency would be worthless, and its people would go Bolshevik. Germany cannot pay in goods, because that would throw out of work additional millions in Britain and France and America, and these unemployed millions would go Bolshevik. So Germany must pay with credit, which we provide for the purpose. During the balance of the death-throes of world capitalism, American bankers will sell German bonds to the American public, and will credit the money to Germany; whereupon Germany will instruct the bankers to use the money to pay the interest on the outstanding bonds. The bankers, of course, will take commissions on both transactions; and when the public has got used to the procedure, we shall see it applied with Austria, and Hungary, and Poland, and Rumania, and Czechoslovakia, and all the other struggling countries which need to be saved from Bolshevism.

You see here the perfect picture of the poker-game. Germany has lost her chips. America has won most of them. So the only way the game can go on is for America to lend some chips to Germany, for Germany to play with. For the rest of capitalist existence, we shall see Germany borrowing chips, and America winning them gack, and chalking up a new "I.O.U." on the score.

In the meantime, Russia is going ahead with her Five-Year Plan. While American steel production is held down to 35% normal, Russia is increasing hers at the rate of 35% per year. While the American Farm Board is urging our farmers to cut down their acreage by 20%, Russia is increasing hers at the rate of 10% a year. This year the enormous Dnieprostroy dam begins producing power, and about it will be centred the greatest complex of industrial plans in the world. There is no need to go into details about this—a dozen books about the Five-Year Plan have been published in America this year, and you can read any one of them. Russia started a thousand years behind the United States, and in another ten years will have caught up.

Perhaps by that time we shall have passed through another cycle, and be ready for another spell of hard times. Or perhaps—I do not pretend to say which—we may do as England has done, and have a continuous spell of hard times, getting harder through a period of ten years. Whichever happens, this is certain: capitalism means crisis of deepening intensity, while Socialism means prosperity expanding without hitch. When the Russian worker has built up his industrial plant, he is not out of a job like the American worker, but is on a vacation. The difference between unemployment and a vacation is very simple: while you are unemployed your salary stops, and you cease to be a "consumer"; but while you are on vacation it continues and you consume.

Picture, if you can, the situation which we are going to see in a few years, all along the western border of Soviet Russia. On the one side will be enormous co-operative farms, worked by the most modern machinery, with co-operative workers producing food in such quantities that meals are free to all who have work-cards, because it no longer pays to do the clerical labour of keeping track of them. On the other side of the border will be peasants living in the filth and degradation of a thousand years ago, at the mercy of weather and crop pests and landlords; seeing their grain taken away from them for taxes or seeing its value vanish before they can get to market. Do you not realise, how, in the face of such a contrast, the old peasant system of Europe is due for a crash?

I will be tactful, and say nothing about the old peasant system of America; about tenant farms, and mortgaged farms, and farms sold to the State for taxes. Already I note that the farmers of Kansas are talking about "moratoriums". The word has been cabled from Berlin—so quickly does infection spread in these modern times! Already our government is explaining to our farmers that they have to give up the world market, and confine their hopes to our own country, which can consume only half of this year's crop!

Also, I will be very cautious in pointing out what the farmers and workers of America could do if they should decide to take our machinery of production and put it to work, not for the profit of private owners, but for the use of all. If I were to say that the American farmer and the American workmen could produce by two or three hours work per day the equivalent of \$5,000 a year income for every man, woman and child in the country, I should only be repeating what I have said every year for the past twenty-eight years, and what other Socialist writers have been saying for twice as long. But you have always refused to believe it, and you may have to wait until you see it actually happening in Russia.

I suppose your patriotic pride will force you to admit it then. Not even the most reactionary editor or professor of economics will deny that if the Russians are able to do it, the Americans will also be able to do it! But, of course, we must let the Russians do it first. Never would it do for Americans to show that they can discover something new, and teach the rest of the world about progress!

## Police Murder Five Ford Workers.

New York, 8th March 1932.

The bourgeois press reports that fierce collisions took place in Dearborn in the neighbourhood of the Ford works when police attacked a mass demonstration of about 50,000 workers. The masses marched from Detroit in complete order and without any disturbances to the Ford works in Dearborn, where they intended to send in a deputation to the management asking for shorter hours and the employment of more workers. As the great demonstration approached the Ford works fire brigade was called out and turned its hosepipes onto the masses. Naturally, this brutal action caused a tremendous storm of protest. The weather is cold and to be sodden with icy water is sufficient to rouse the most peaceable. The police then attacked the workers and opened up a withering fire onto the ranks of the workers, killing five and wounding many others.

The enraged workers flung up barricades and defended themselves against the police attacks with sticks, stones and any improvised weapons which came to hand. The fighting lasted for over two hours. 15 policemen and over 50 workers were seriously injured.

**India****Draft Platform of Action  
of the Young Communist League of India.****Colonial Slavery of the Youth.**

British imperialism works for the enslavement of the young and adult generation of the working class, peasantry and town poor through the landlords, native princes and money lenders with the support of the Indian bourgeoisie. It condemns the whole toiling population to an unbearable slavery, endless poverty and slow starvation.

The working youth of India has to bear on its shoulders a double burden of merciless exploitation at the hands of both British and Indian factory owners. The labour of young workers is a daily torture, dulling the mind and exhausting the body. Their daily torment of 12 to 14 hours of grinding toil is mocked by their paltry wage. The factory owners, in order to increase their profits, snatch the last piece from the workers' wages through the fining system.

The young workers, broken down by poor food, physical exhaustion, sickness, mutilated by the machines, incapacitated for work, are thrown out on the streets to starve without receiving any assistance. The growing army of unemployed composed largely of young workers, still further hastens the process of degeneration and starvation of vast masses of the Indian peoples.

The youth employed in the small workshops and handicraft industries are absolutely at the mercy of the employer and his foreman. Only complete physical exhaustion limits their working day.

The growing burden of taxation imposed by British imperialism, the rent and exorbitant interest paid to the landlords and moneylenders, force the young peasants to overwork themselves on their land, to go out and get employment as farm labourers to save themselves and their families from starvation. In the native states the fate of the youth is absolutely dependent on the will of the princes and rajahs who have full power of life and death.

Young students live under terrible conditions. British imperialism uses the whole state machinery to disseminate special means of education among the Indian students, so as to make docile slaves of them, who can be used as minor officials, clerks, etc., since most of the state apparatus in the State machine and institutions are filled by proteges of Imperialism.

The great majority of **children** are mercilessly exploited, receiving a contemptible wage for an unlimited working day. By fist and stick the jobbers wake the children who from sheer exhaustion have fallen asleep or lost consciousness. Purchase of children for slavery in the factory is a common practice. **These children get no wages, and are absolutely at the mercy of the foremen.**

Young workers and all toilers in our country are completely deprived of political rights. The only right possessed by the youth in common with all other toilers is the right to starve.

Oppression and the lack of all rights have awakened in the minds of the young workers and toilers, a burning hatred and indignation against their enslavers,—against British Imperialism, against the landlords, princes, moneylenders and capitalists.

Awakening with an elemental force, the militant revolutionary movement of the young workers, peasants, students and town poor pours into the general stream of growing revolutionary struggle of the Indian proletariat, peasantry and all toiling masses for the overthrow of British Imperialism, the landlords, princes and moneylenders.

Only by the violent and merciless destruction of the political and economic rule of British Imperialism, only by the decisive destruction of its main support in our country—the landlords, native princes and moneylenders,—will the Indian youth, together with all the toiling classes succeed in winning independence and establishing a Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Government in India.

"An agrarian revolution against British capitalism and the landlords must be the basis for the revolutionary

emancipation of India"... "World history and the lessons of the class struggle in India prove that only the leadership of the working class can ensure the confiscation of the land and far-reaching democratic reconstruction of a revolutionary character. The working class in India, organized by the industrial process itself and by the class struggle, will, under the leadership of its Communist vanguard, perform its historic task of organising the scattered masses of peasantry and the poor of the towns for the struggle against the landlords and British domination."

(Platform of Action of the C.P. of India.)

**The National Reformists in the Struggle for the Youth.**

The greater the force with which the class struggle develops in our country, the more determined and fiercer the struggle of the Indian bourgeoisie for influence and ideological domination over the youth. The political class organisation of the Indian bourgeoisie—the National Congress, headed by Gandhi, J. Nehru and Bose, strive to bring under its influence wide sections of young workers, peasants and students, in order to use the youth against the revolutionary struggle of the toiling masses.

Now, having signed an agreement with British Imperialism (the Gandhi-Irwin Pact) and delivered hundreds of real devoted fighters for independence to the prison vengeance of the English, it is once more exposed as a faithful and obedient servant of the British imperialists, as the champion of the Indian manufacturers and landlords.

The Congress Youth Leagues, like the whole National Congress, including J. Nehru and Bose, stand for reforms within British rule, thus preserving the worst forms of oppression and enslaving of the toiling masses. They are for sitting at the spinning wheel, they call upon the youth to boycott foreign goods, picket the drink shops and spread the products of the Indian mills, thus turning the energies of the youth towards fulfilling the class interests of the Indian bourgeoisie and enlarging the profits and incomes of the Indian mill-owners and merchants while preserving the present ruling system. They thus turn the youth away from the revolutionary struggle for complete independence.

Nehru and Bose, like Gandhi, carry out the role of agents of the Indian bourgeoisie in the revolutionary youth movement. Every time the wide masses of workers, peasantry and town poor violently express their hatred of British imperialism, of the princes and landlords, money-lenders and capitalists, Nehru and Bose preach Gandhi's doctrine of non-resistance.

The call for non-violence is an expression of the terrible fear felt by the landlords, princes and money-lenders in face of the powerful ever-growing rise of the revolution which spells their inevitable doom. The call for non-violence is the expression of the infamous cowardice of the Indian bourgeoisie for the collapse of the system of colonial exploitation. The call for non-violence is the calculated treacherous effort of the representatives of the Indian bourgeoisie, Gandhi, Nehru and Bose, to disarm the toiling masses completely, and to render them helpless in the face of the massacres and the brutal violence of the British army and police. Nehru and Bose, by their opposition to the revolutionary violence of the toiling masses, defend the continual unlimited, open and brutal violence of British imperialism towards the toiling masses of our country, they defend the daily ruin and robbery of the toilers by the British officials, by the landlords, princes and moneylenders. The aim of Nehru and Bose is to suppress and defeat the revolutionary struggle of the toiling masses.

The only difference between Nehru, Bose and Gandhi lies in the fact that Gandhi openly defends the interests of the bourgeoisie and the landlords and the allies of British imperialism, while Nehru and Bose cover up their defence of the landlords and capitalists by pseudo-revolutionary phrases about independence, about Socialism, in order to keep their influence over the masses of toilers and youth who are becoming disillusioned by the National Congress.



When Nehru and Bose come out before the youth with phrases about independence, about a socialist republic and Socialism, they try to conceal the fact that to obtain freedom from British imperialism, it is essential to overthrow imperialism by violence and to destroy its main support in our country, i. e. the landlords, princes and moneylenders.

Only the violent overthrow of British imperialism, only the complete destruction of landlordism, the native princedoms and usury, will create the conditions for the toilers, under the leadership of the working class, to carry on a further struggle for Socialism. Without the violent destruction of British imperialism and its lackeys, the independence of India, the workers and peasants republic, and Socialism, are empty words. The concrete demands of Nehru and Bose are the class demands of the Indian bourgeoisie under the cover of pseudo-revolutionary phrases. Nehru and Bose are most dangerous enemies in the struggle for independence and for a Workers' and Peasants' Government, just because of the fact that by dulling the consciousness of the youth through their revolutionary phrases, they are leading the youth to defend the interests of the Indian bourgeoisie, thus making it easier for the National Congress to come to an agreement with British imperialism, to betray the toiling masses and the struggle for independence.

The agents of the Indian bourgeoisie, the "lefts" Nehru and Bose try to win the lead over separate groups of students and young peasants. Realising the great role played by the students and peasant youth in the general revolutionary struggle, Nehru and Bose are striving to make them the transmitters of bourgeois influence to the broad masses of the working class, peasantry and town poor.

**Naujavan Bharat Sabha**, while it has in its ranks some groups of revolutionary students and peasant youth, is unable as a whole to carry on a real revolutionary fight. It limits itself to the carrying on of campaigns for the non-payment of taxes to the British Government, for the boycott of British officials, for the violation of Forest Laws, and does not, at the same time, arouse the peasantry to struggle for the seizure of the landlord's lands, for the cancellation of indebtedness to the moneylenders, for the overthrow of the native princes, for the revolutionary struggle for independence.

The rule of British imperialism in our country will be completely and finally overthrown by the simultaneous destruction of its main support, the landlord system of the princes and moneylenders.

A lack of understanding of the class struggle and disappointment because of the treachery of the National Congress has led groups of the revolutionary youth to commit terrorist acts against representatives of British imperialism, landlords, moneylenders, etc. While greeting the heroism and self-sacrifice of the terrorists, the Young Communist League at the same time declares that victory will not be obtained by the method of individual terror, but by the revolutionary armed insurrection of the masses of the working class, the peasantry, the poor of the towns and the Indian soldiers, under the banner and leadership of the Communist Party.

All real revolutionary organisations which unite in their ranks the toiling youth, as well as the revolutionary students, will rally under the banner of struggle of the Y.C.L. of India.

The experience of the revolutionary struggle of the working youth of the Soviet Union, of China, Germany and other countries under the leadership of the Young Communist International has proved that the Y.C.L. alone leads the revolutionary struggle of all the toiling youth and that only the Y.C.L. represents and defends their interests.

Revolutionary youth of Nadjavan Bharat Sabhas! Establish Y.C.L. cells. Through merciless exposure of Nehru and Bose, rally the toiling youth under the banner of the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of British imperialism.

### **The Y.C.L.—Vanguards of the Tolling Youth.**

Only the working class under the leadership of the Communist Party can fulfil the role of leader in the struggle for the overthrow of British imperialism. This is especially clear to-day when the world is divided into two parts, when the contradictions and struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat grows fiercer every day, when the proletariat of the U.S.S.R., under the leadership of the Communist Party, is building socialism, and the conditions of the toiling masses grow better day by day, while in the capitalist countries there prevails an unprecedented crisis, mass unemployment and

robbery and ruin of the working class and peasantry. The Y.C.L. is in full agreement with the programme of the Communist Party, and fights for its realisation with youthful energy and enthusiasm and devotion to the cause of the emancipation of the toiling masses. The Y.C.L. of India will work under the direct guidance of the Communist Party and the Y.C.L., linking up all its work with the struggle of the workers and peasants against the exploiting classes. The programme of the Y.C.L. of India is the programme of class struggle of the proletariat and of the toiling youth for the violent overthrow of British imperialism for the establishment of the workers' and peasants' soviet power in India and eventually for the realisation of Socialism.

The Y.C.L. is the school of Communism for the toiling youth. Organisationally it is an independent, militant, political class organisation of the proletarian youth of town and country, attracting into its ranks the revolutionary peasant and student youth. The Y.C.L. carries on economic, political and cultural work among the masses of toiling youth, subordinating all its activities to the task of overthrowing imperialist slavery, to the winning of power by the working class and peasants. The Youth can learn Communism only by "linking up every step of its study, education and training with the incessant struggle of the proletariat and the toilers against the old exploiting society" (Lenin). The Y.C.L. of India is guided in all its work by these principles of the great leader of the workers and peasants of the whole world and particularly of the oppressed East—Lenin.

Young Workers! Organize Y.C.L. cells in the mills, factories and mines! Every mill, every factory, must become a stronghold of the Y.C.L., because only the working youth, which is an inseparable part of the working class, organised and consolidated by its very work in industry and by the class struggle, is destined to be the leader of all toiling youth.

The millions of young farm labourers in our country form the most downtrodden and exploited section of the village population, and therefore they are the most consistent, determined and irreconcilable fighters for the interests of all the peasants. They form the main support of the Y.C.L. in the villages.

Revolutionary youth in the towns and villages! Revolutionary students! Form Y.C.L. cells! Create a mass Y.C.L. organisation in India.

Only the mass organisations of the Y.C.L., connected with hundreds of thousands of young workers and peasants, are able to lead the revolutionary youth of town and country.

Young women workers and peasants! Join the ranks of the Indian Y.C.L. It is the only real defender of your interests. Only under the banner of the Indian Y.C.L. can you free yourselves from oppression, slavery and lack of all rights.

Hindu and Moslem youth! Do not let the provocation of British imperialism set you against each other. Form a united front of struggle under the leadership of the Indian Y.C.L. and the C.P. against the British imperialists, because you both suffer the same from British and native exploiters alike.

Revolutionary youth! The existing castes are supported by British imperialism and the landlords to cloud your minds, and thus make possible your slavery.

The Y.C.L. creates mass auxiliary organisations such as sport, cultural and other organisations, directing their work in the spirit of the class struggle of the proletariat. The Y.C.L. supports and develops the organisations of Red sportsmen in India.

The Y.C.L. calls upon young proletarians, peasants, students and all the toiling youth of India to struggle for the realisation of the slogans of the Indian revolution as put forward by the Communist Party:

1. The complete independence of India by means of the violent overthrow of British rule. The annulment of all debts, the expropriation and nationalisation of all British factories, banks, railroads, sea and river transport and plantations.

2. The establishment of a Soviet Government, the right of national minorities to self-determination up to the point of separation. The abolition of native states. The establishment of an Indian Federal Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Republic.

3. The confiscation without compensation of all the lands, forests and other property of the landlords, native princes, the churches, the British government, the officials and the moneylenders, and their handing over for use by the toiling peasants. The cancellation of all slave agreements and peasant debts to money-lenders and banks.

4. The 8-hour working day for adults and 6-hour day for young workers, up to 18 years and the radical improvement of conditions of labour for the workers, increased wages, and state maintenance for the unemployed. Equal pay for equal work.

### The Path of Economic Struggles.

1. The economic strike which aims at the immediate improvement of the conditions of life of the working youth and of the working class as a whole is a preparatory step towards the political general strike. The Y.C.L. of India, leading the whole struggle of the working class youth, takes part energetically in every struggle for the immediate improvement of the situation of young workers and of the whole of the working class.

2. The Y.C.L. of India appeals to the youth to support the revolutionary left wing of the trade unions and assist the Party and the revolutionary trade unions to prepare for the general revolutionary strike, as the main task of the present stage of the revolutionary struggle of the working class.

3. In order to organise the broad masses of the working youth for the defence of their daily interests and for the support of the general revolutionary struggle of the toiling masses, the Y.C.L. of India calls on the working youth to establish **youth sections** in all the trade unions and to elect youth representatives in the factories.

Our task in the reformist trade unions is to expose mercilessly the treacherous role of the reformists of all shades from the open agents of British capital, such as Joshi, Chamanlal and Firi, to the pseudo-left national reformists such as Bose, Nehru, Ruikar, Jinwalla, Kandalkar, who are agents of the Indian bourgeoisie and are united in the struggle against the revolutionary wing of the trade unions. The national reformists of all shades preach class peace with the employers instead of the class struggle and fight not for the interests of the workers, but for the safety of the employers' pockets.

Young workers! Help the revolutionary trade unions to lead the struggle of the working class of our country! Help the Communist Party and the Red trade unions to create a really powerful revolutionary trade union movement in India, to organise revolutionary factory committees in the factories!

Fight for the affiliation of the Indian trade union movement to the Red International of Labour Unions.

The Y.C.L., together with the trade unions, appeals to its organisations and members, to the whole of the class-conscious youth, to organise and lead strikes of young workers in the struggle for the immediate interests of the working youth. The Y.C.L. draws all the working youth into the general proletarian movement.

The Y.C.L. of India calls upon the young farm labourers to take the initiative in the formation of a union of farm labourers and to take the most energetic part in its work for the defence of the interests of all farm labourers.

### What the Y.C.L. Fights for.

#### The special demands of Young Workers.

A real improvement of the situation of working youth is impossible while British imperialism dominates our country. Only a workers' and peasants' revolution and eventually a proletarian revolution can carry out this task. This can clearly be seen from the example of the Soviet Union. It is only in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics that the young workers from 14 to 16 years of age work four hours a day and young workers of 16 and 18 years of age work 6 hours a day receiving full wages as if they had worked an 8-hour day. It is only there that the young workers can go to sanitoriums at the expense of the State. Unemployment among youth does not exist. The working youth can study in factory schools where theoretical study is combined with work in industry. Hundreds of thousands of young workers are being educated in workers' faculties, technical schools and universities, and are supported by the State.

The Y.C.L. of India struggles for this programme of the demands of the working youth which have so far been carried out only in one country—the U.S.S.R. In addition, the Y.C.L. supports and struggles for all the partial demands which are directed towards improving the conditions of the young workers and of the working class as a whole, closely linking up these demands with the struggle for the general political slogans and the final aims of the Communist Movement.

The Y.C.L. puts forward the following **partial demands**:

1. The Y.C.L. of India is fighting for freedom of speech and assembly for all toiling youth, freedom of the press for workers and farm labourers of all ages. The Y.C.L. is fighting for the right of the youth to join trade unions and for election to all trade union offices.

2. Maximum limitation of the working day of the young workers without reduction of wages; against low wages, for higher wages; equal pay for equal work for women, youths and men; prohibition of the employment of children under the age of 14 and a simultaneous increase in the wages of their parents.

3. A weekly rest period at full pay and a paid annual holiday of 4 weeks for the youth under the age of 18; prohibition of the employment of youths under the age of 18 in all harmful industries and factory departments; prohibition of night work for young workers under the age of 18; special safeguarding of the labour of girl workers.

4. Introduction of professional training for adolescents at the expense of the State and employers, paying the adolescents a minimum living allowance; equal rights for girls to learn a profession, prohibition of apprentices being used on work not connected with the profession they are learning.

5. Social insurance at the expense of the state and employers; abolition of the system of money fines and physical punishment.

The Y.C.L. calls upon the young workers to organise the struggle of the unemployed youth for regular benefits at the expense of the state and employers, for work and opportunities to study.

The Y.C.L. calls upon the unemployed youth to carry on mass forms of struggle (demonstrations) and to struggle together with the organised youth and adult workers for the partial demands of the employed.

Monthly payment of benefits equal to the minimum cost of living, the abolition of payment of rent during unemployment, free supply of fuel and food by the municipal councils.

The Y.C.L. calls upon the working youth of the towns to help the young farm labourers in the villages and on the plantations to organise the struggle against all conditions of serfdom, against forced and contract labour, against the lack of rights and the exploitation of youth and child labour. This struggle is one of the main tasks linked up with the struggle of the masses of the peasants and peasant youth against the imperialists, princes, landlords and moneylenders.

### Demands of the Peasant youth.

The Y.C.L. calls upon the toiling youth of the villages to organise, together with all the toiling masses, political demonstrations by collectively refusing to pay taxes and rent, or to carry out the orders of the government and its agents or to do any work for the landlords, native princes and money-lender.

Toiling youth of the villages! Struggle against the payment of any debts to the government, the landlords, the money-lender and the banks. Rouse the peasant to struggle for the demands of the Communist Party of India and put forward in its platform of action:

1. Confiscation without compensation of all land and estates, forest and pastures of the landlords, moneylenders, feudalists and imperialists and the transfer of this land to the toiling peasants through peasant committees. Complete cancellation of all indebtedness and taxes.

2. Confiscation of the whole system of irrigation. Transference of the control and supervision of the work of irrigation to revolutionary peasant committees elected by the working peasantry.

The Y.C.L. calls upon the toiling youth in the villages to organise, together with all the toiling peasantry, revolutionary peasant committees, in order to carry on a fight to fulfil all the revolutionary democratic demands, thereby emancipating the peasantry from the yoke of British imperialism, landlords and moneylenders.

The Y.C.L. of India puts forward the following demands of the young agricultural labourers in the villages.

1. Maximum limitation of the working day. Equal pay for equal work for young and adult agricultural labourers. Against low wages, for high wages, against serfdom and slave contracts.

2. Establishment of professional schools for young agricultural labourers and all the village youth and the opportunity to study at the expense of the state up to the age of 16.

the agricultural labourers to be paid an allowance equal to the minimum cost of living.

The Y.C.L. of India is firmly convinced that the complete, consistent and permanent achievement of the above-mentioned political and social demands is possible only by the violent overthrow of British domination and the creation of a Federal Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Republic.

### The Demands of the Students.

The Y.C.L. of India calls upon the revolutionary young students to struggle under the banner of the Communist Party and Young Communist League of India for:

1. Freedom of speech and assembly, freedom of the press and revolutionary organisations in India.
2. Freedom of universities, free right to choose principals and teachers. Self-government in the universities and the secondary and elementary schools. The right to study in the native language.
3. General education free of charge with allowances at the expense of the state for needy students.

### Work among Soldiers and their Demands.

The army and police is the force by means of which British imperialism mercilessly suppresses the revolutionary movement in our country. British imperialism is preparing also in our country the mailed fist for military intervention against the U.S.S.R. and the revolutionary emancipation movement in the whole of the East. In order to free our country from the domination of British imperialism, in order to prevent British imperialism from using India as a military base against the U.S.S.R. and the revolutionary emancipation movement in the whole of the East, the Y.C.L. of India calls for the spreading of revolutionary propaganda among the soldiers and police, and the explanation of the necessity for an armed insurrection, together with the toiling masses of the country, against British rule.

The majority of the soldiers and police are also toilers, who have not realised their class interests. The Y.C.L. of India calls upon the revolutionary young workers, peasants and students, to explain to the soldiers and police that their interests are the same as the interests of the toiling masses in the town and village, that the only way to receive land and work, to abolish indebtedness, is the way of the revolutionary overthrow of British rule, the destruction of the system of landlordism and moneylenders.

The Y.C.L. of India considers that the appeal of the "left" nationalists to the soldiers to leave the army and to resign in accordance with Gandhi's teachings of non-violence is a treacherous appeal. The Y.C.L. follows the instructions of the great leader of all the toilers—**Lenin**, who said to the toiling youth going into the army:

"You will soon be grown up. They will give you a gun. Take it and learn how to use it. This knowledge is necessary for the proletariat: not in order to shoot down their brothers, the workers of other countries, but in order to fight against the bourgeoisie of their own country, in order to put an end to exploitation, poverty and wars, not by means of pious wishes, but by victory over the bourgeoisie and by disarming it."

The immediate duty every Y.C.L. member and of the whole revolutionary youth is to take part in the "establishment of a secret organisation of the revolutionaries in the army" (Lenin), the task of which is to struggle for the daily demands of the soldiers, to rally them under the slogan of revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of British imperialism.

The Y.C.L. of India puts forward the following partial demands of the soldiers, closely linking them up with the struggle for the general political slogans of the revolution:

1. Service in native province. To return home in possession of weapons. Officers to be elected by soldiers. The Indian soldiers to receive increased pay at the expense of decreasing the pay of the officers and military officials. Abolition of courts martial and their replacement by comrades' courts.
2. Improvement of food and clothing for the soldiers and the transfer of control and supervision over all the questions of food into the hands of the soldiers themselves. The right to use their free time according to their own discretion.
3. The right of the soldiers to discuss their needs jointly. The right to attend public meetings and places on the same terms as other citizens. The right to read and keep books, newspapers and journals in the barracks without being checked

up by the officers. Complete abolition of censorship on letters received by the soldiers. Prohibition of the use of soldiers as household servants for officers.

The Y.C.L. of India calls upon the young workers, peasants and revolutionary students to establish everywhere separate workers', peasants' and students' detachments and also joint detachments for the safeguarding of the peoples' demonstrations, strikes and for revolutionary self-defence, and also for the purpose of systematically preparing the revolutionary struggle of the Indian people. Through the arming of the people, advance to the overthrow of British imperialism.

### Work among Children.

1. The Y.C.L. of India calls upon all the toiling youth to struggle for the complete prohibition of child labour up to the age of 14 in industry, agriculture, handicraft and auxiliary industries.

2. The Y.C.L. of India calls upon the toiling youth to assist the children in their struggle for general free education for all children up to the age of 16, in their native language at the expense of the state; in their struggle against nationalist, militarist and religious education, against physical punishment and conservative teachers, for the organisation of self-government in the schools, for the furnishing of food, clothing and school books.

3. The Y.C.L. of India calls upon the Communist Party of India, the Red Trade Unions, all the workers and peasants and all the toiling youth to assist the League in establishing a **mass Communist children's movement** for the conscious participation of the children in the struggle for economic emancipation.

4. The Y.C.L. of India calls upon the proletarian children to establish revolutionary children's organisations to take part in the general struggle of the working class.

### Conclusion.

The Y.C.L. of India calls upon the proletarian and toiling youth of India to rally under the banner of the Indian Y.C.L. and Communist Party for the successful conquest of power and emancipation from the yoke of the imperialists, landlords, princes and money-lenders. Only the successful solution of these problems will open up the possibility, with the help of the international proletariat and the class offensive of the exploited masses of our country, of the revolution developing through a number of stages into a proletarian revolution, thereby creating the requisite conditions for the development of our country on socialist lines, avoiding the further stage of domination of the capitalist system. (Programme of the C.P.)

Young proletarians and toilers of India! In this struggle we are not alone. The proletarian youth of the whole world and the whole working class will come to our aid. We shall be assisted especially by the revolutionary youth and all the revolutionary forces of **China** who have established a workers' and peasants' Soviet government on a territory with a population of 60 million and are successfully defeating the united attacks of the imperialists, Chinese landlords and bourgeoisie; they are the best example for us. We shall be assisted by the proletarian youth and toilers of Great Britain, led by the Y.C.L.G.B. and the Communist Party which are struggling together with us for the overthrow of blood-thirsty British imperialism. We shall be supported by the youth and toilers of the **Soviet Union**, the stronghold of the world proletarian revolution, the only country in the world where socialist society is being successfully built up, the only country in the world where the material and cultural conditions of the toiling masses are daily improving. Following the example of the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. we must overthrow the ruling classes in India and commence the building up of a new society.

Adult and young workers of Great Britain! Young workers of the Soviet Union, of Soviet China, of Germany and of the whole world! We are firmly convinced of your determined, bold and powerful support of the growing revolution in India.

The revolutionary movement in our country grows ever wider, more powerful, more open and bolder. The working class, the poor in the towns, the peasants in the villages are in revolt. All the toilers are rising like one. The great struggle is developing with unprecedented rapidity.

Neither arrests, nor prisons, neither bullets nor whips, can stop the growing and powerful rise of the revolutionary movement.

The revolutionary youth of India, under the leadership of the Y.C.L. and Communist Party, will strain all its forces to

achieve the greatest consciousness, firmness, simultaneousness and coordination in the actions of the working class, town poor and peasantry.

Proletarian youth of the town and village! Revolutionary young peasants! Revolutionary students! Close your ranks around the Communist Party and the Y.C.L. for the final violent defeat of British imperialism and of its supporters—landlords, princes and moneylenders.

For the independence of India through armed insurrection!  
Long live a Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Government in India!

Long live the working class, the leader of the toiling masses and its vanguard, the Communist Party of India.

Be ready to defeat the bloody slaughter that is being prepared by the imperialists against the U.S.S.R., the fatherland of the world proletariat and of the oppressed toilers of the East!

Stand firm for the defence of the Chinese revolution!

The revolution in India is a death blow to imperialism!  
Long live the general staff of the world revolution—the Communist International!

Long live the world revolution!

## Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

# Peasant Women's Role in the Socialist Reconstruction of Agriculture.

By *M a s t y u k o v a.*

In the Soviet Union, the socialist reconstruction of agriculture has been making gigantic strides in the last year.

According to the Five-Year Plan of the national economy of the U.S.S.R., it was proposed to place 20% of the peasant farms on a collective basis by the fifth year. By the end of the third, decisive year of the Five-Year Plan which has laid the foundations of socialist economy in the Soviet country, over 15 million peasant farms (15,426,000) or over 62% of the total number of peasant farms amalgamated into collective farms.

The year 1932 will be the year of compact collectivisation and of complete liquidation of kulakdom as a class. These gigantic successes have been achieved through the carrying out of the general line of the Party. These successes are due to the unprecedented growth of the industrialisation of the country, to the reorganisation of the technical base of agriculture.

Towards the end of the third year of the Five-Year Plan there were already 1,400 machinery and tractor stations (M.T.S.) in the Soviet Union. It is proposed to organise another 1,700 M.T.S. in 1932. Thus, by the end of the fourth year, the Union will have 3,100 M.T.S. which will be able to cater for the main sectors of agriculture, acting as an important lever in the reorganisation of agriculture into a truly socialist instrument of production on a large scale.

Another important factor which guarantees the growth of collectivisation is organisation of socialist forms of labour on the collective farms, of socialist competition and shock brigade activity, and introduction of the piece rate system. In the past year the growth of agriculture was expressed above all through the growth of the sowing area.

As the revenue and profitableness of collective farm production grow, the revenue of the collective farm peasant also grows, and his material well-being improves. On the Lower Volga, on the "Budenny" collective farm, the revenue per head in 1930 amounted on an average to 50-60 copeks per working day, in 1931, to 1.42 rubles, an almost threefold increase.

Participation in the productive life of the collective farms changes the psychology of the peasant—the psychology of the small owner—and converts him into an organiser of socialist production, into a builder of socialism.

An important role in the socialist reorganisation of agriculture, in the organisational and economic consolidation of the collective farms is played by the **peasant women** who have joined collective farms. In the commercial crops and stock raising districts, as well as in the districts where most of the men have been absorbed by the industry, these women participate all the year round in all the agricultural production processes, constituting 70-80% of the total labour power employed on the collective farms.

Millions of collective farm peasant women worked during the past agricultural season on the collective farm fields, they organised their work by brigades, applied new socialist forms of labour by means of socialist competition and shock brigade activity, which enabled them to do more than the set task, to bring forward counter-plans, to fulfil and overfulfil them. During the Spring sowing period, the weeding and harvesting sea-

son in 1931, according to statistics, which are far from complete, 122,564 special women's brigades of 30-40 members on an average worked in one-third of the districts of the Soviet Union. Apart from the special women's brigades, the women members of collective farms participated in the general brigades, to the extent of 30-50%.

As a rule, the shock brigades and individual brigade members more than fulfilled the norm fixed by the collective farms, or higher organisations. According to the data of 82 districts (out of 155) in the central black soil region 8,973 women's weeding brigades were organised. Among the brigaders are 5,452 collective farm peasant women. 97% of the brigades participate in socialist competition and in the shock brigade movement. In 54 districts, 4,982 peasant women on collective farms have been declared shock brigaders. At their suggestion, women shock brigades were organised during the weeding campaign. At the regional meet 185 women shock brigaders were given premiums in the form of places in rest homes, excursions to North Caucasus, the Ukraine, the Dnieprostroi, etc., for their splendid organisation of the weeding campaign.

In connection with the organisation of incubator stations, as well as in connection with all the measures of the Party with regard to the socialist reconstruction of agriculture, the kulaks carried on a frenzied agitation, and tried to thwart these important beginnings. At first the incubators of 24 stations in North Caucasus were working only at 30% of their full capacity. The Party carried on a big campaign among the women on the collective farms (meets, conferences, plenums, women's delegate meetings) around the incubator stations, and the women, having realised their role as organisers and masters of production did their utmost to make the poultry raising farms a paying concern by making their production fit for the market (organisation and coordination of the collection of eggs for the incubator stations according to contracts with the collective farms, help in the training of cadres for looking after the poultry, etc.), and in the course of a fortnight the incubators were already working at 80% of their full capacity.

Special mention deserves, for instance, the collective farm women's shock brigade of the Western Province which goes by the name of "Fourteenth Anniversary of the October Revolution". As a measure of collective farm mutual aid, it went to the meet of the collective farm women shock brigaders in the Urals, made itself useful on the collective farm fields, introduced the conveyor system and let the Ural women members of collective farms in the new districts have the benefit of its own experience in the struggle for a larger output, for a bolshevist tempo in harvest time, and for the organisation of socialist forms of labour in the flax producing collective farms.

By the end of 1931, women constituted 22% in the collective farm administrations, and 19% in their auditing commissions.

In 1931, 2,000 highly qualified agricultural women specialists graduated from the higher and secondary educational establishments in the R.S.F.S.R. alone. Further-

more, 1,000,000 workers of mass qualification (brigadiers, husbandmen, managers of dairies and poultry farms out of whom about a third, and in some branches of agriculture requiring much labour power even more, were women).

On the mechanised farms over 18,000 women tractor drivers are employed (under the direction of the Tractor Centre). At the instruction of the C.C. of the M.T.S. and agricultural labourers union, all the provincial and national committees of the Soviet Union must take into consideration that in all agricultural courses, schools and circles women must constitute at least 50% of the total number of students.

The collective farm peasantry in all provinces, regions and republics is liquidating at a colossal rate its technical and cultural backwardness in the process of building a new world of its own.

According to statistics that are far from complete, there were in the Soviet Union by August 1st, 1931, 2,384 permanent creches, 56,978 local creches, 4,043 field creches, 1,592 nursery schools, 66,545 children's playgrounds. By August 1st this network of children's institutions catered for 5,423,480 children.

With regard to public feeding, there were 4,423 permanent collective farm feeding centres and 112,082 field kitchens which catered for 6,175,000 collective farm members.

All these achievements are an incentive to the peasantry to join collective farms, and to struggle for their organisational and economic consolidation.

**During the recent agricultural campaigns most of the collective farm mothers, engaged in productive work, were well looked after owing to the existence of children's institutions and public feeding.**

The following examples will give an idea about the growth of social institutions throughout the Union:

In the western region where women labour is preeminently applied in flax growing and stock raising, 300 creches were organised in the villages in 1930, and in 1931 there were already 3,500 of them. In 83 districts of the Uzbek S.S.R. (Central Asia) where woman labour was almost entirely employed in the harvesting season, there were 482 creches and 23 playgrounds in 1930, whereas in 1931 there were already 1,453 creches catering for 50,800 children. In 1932 it is proposed to cater there for 70% of collective farm children of creche age, i. e. 391,000 children.

The growth of cultural and social institutions relieves collective farm mothers of constant child care, preparing food for the family and looking after it. This enables them to participate in the social and productive life of the collective farm, and to raise their qualification. This guarantees the cultural and political development of the collective farm peasant women, and their participation in the building of Socialism. Through the collective farms peasant women acquire complete economic independence. Their labour becomes as valuable as man labour.

The enormous political growth of the collective farm peasant women is indicated by the growth of C.P.S.U. and L.Y.C.L.S.U. members among them. Through the meets, the women shock brigadiers' conferences and plenums of women delegate meetings, thousands of candidates for the Party and Y.C.L. have been secured.

For instance, at the meet of the collective farm women of the Western Region in October, 1931, 80 of the 300 shock brigadiers at the meet applied for membership in the Party, and in White Russia 84 out of 350, etc.

Thus, in the last year the number of collective farm peasant women in the C.P.S.U. increased from 42,397 by January 1st, 1931, to 75,000 by the autumn of 1931.

## Women Workers' Participation in the Rationalisation and Invention Movement in the U.S.S.R.

By E. D. Laptev.

The enormous cultural and social development (children's homes, creches, public laundries and kitchens, repairing shops, etc.), the development of social services and of collective farming emancipate millions of women from household drudgery, and accustom them to social life and active participation in the process of production.

The initiative and creative ability of the masses get every encouragement in the full life of the present period. A vivid example of this is the workers' invention movement, which has become a mass movement. The inventors' society, established a little more than a year ago, has become a powerful organisation with over 300,000 members. The number of proposals regarding rationalisation and all sorts of inventions has reached hundreds of thousands. In the "Red Putilov" Works alone, 8,285 proposals were received in the first nine months of 1931, and 62,000 throughout the Leningrad industry in the first half year of 1931. With regard to their technical value, a series of proposals not only catch up but even surpass the technical attainments of other countries, even the foremost capitalist countries.

Women who take an equal share with men in the process of production, participate also in the invention movement, and have made a series of valuable proposals and inventions. For instance, through the realisation of the proposals of **Fedotova**, a woman worker and inventor in the tractor and engineering works (Leningrad), 9 million roubles have been saved. The recipe proposed by the woman worker, **Yudilevich**, means a saving of up to 20% in the cost of enamel.

The pedagogue **Smirnova** has designed children's furniture which has the advantage of being convertible: Any piece of furniture can be converted: 1)—into an ordinary sofa, 2)—into a bedstead, or 3)—into a table. In the "Trud Kommuna" boot factory of the 491 proposals received, 120 came from women, including three inventions, etc.

In Soviet conditions the invention movement is nothing spontaneous, like everything else it is subject to regulation according to plan. The inventors' organisations direct their initiative and creative power first of all towards the liquidation of technical backwardness and of weak spots in the process of production. The most valuable proposals in this or that domain, brought forward by individual inventors, are worked up and perfected by the whole inventors' organisation. The inventors' nuclei in the Leningrad province had undertaken to save the state 100 million roubles in 1931 through the realisation of various proposals and inventions. As a result of concerted work on the part of the invention nuclei with regard to their undertaking, 96 million roubles were saved in 9 months of the year 1931 through the realisation of the various proposals. One could give a series of brilliant examples of women's collective participation in the rationalisation of production and in the promotion of technique, and of measures that improve the conditions of labour and make them more healthy. A brigade of women workers in the "Krasni Treugolnik" works brought forward a valuable technical proposal: an appliance of a novel construction for the production of a semi-manufactured article. This does away with cutting out by hand, reduces the cost of production, and increases the output by 25%. The same brigade proposed a means of utilising waste material, through which 2 to 5 kopecks were saved on every pair of goloshes. Moreover, through this process the goloshes are not only more durable, but also of a more elegant shape. All proposals that result in saving money and improving technical and scientific processes, as well as proposals that simply improve the conditions a labour and make them more healthy, are awarded premiums. The premium benefits the comrade responsible for the primary proposal, as well as those who subsequently participate in the collective working up of the proposal, the share of each worker in the premium being fixed according to the value of the individual effort.

Twelve women (most of them factory workers), all of them members of the organisation "Zuboreznaya Kommuni" brought forward a proposal through which a saving of 206,013 roubles a year was effected. A premium of 17,000 roubles was given to the organisation. They worked out the best organisation of labour for the manipulation of the "Gliston", "Fellow", "Ebergardt" and "Leigh-Brander" machines, through which the productivity of labour has been raised, the working hours are more rationally utilised, and the manipulation of the article takes less time than under the American system.

The women of the Soviet Union, having shaken off the age-long yoke of Tsarism and capitalism, are rapidly conquering the place due to them in all the branches of production, science and technique, they march on boldly and full of confidence in themselves, for all the favourable objective conditions are on their side.

## **International Women's Day**

# **Appeal of the International Women's Secretariat.**

### **Toilers and Oppressed of the Capitalist World!**

On International Communist Women's Day March 8th mobilise your forces for revolutionary struggle against the war that is raging in China, against the direct danger of a new world imperialist war and military intervention against U.S.S.R., against Japanese imperialism, and world imperialism as a whole!

Abetted by the League of Nations, and the Second International Japanese imperialism has seized Manchuria. It has attacked the largest proletarian centres of China. It is bombarding Shanghai. The destruction of the unarmed population, of women and children is going on day after day.

Women-Workers, and toiling women, mothers, wives, sisters, whose husbands, sons and brothers will be converted into cannon fodder by imperialism—be on your guard! Do not console yourselves with the thought that the war in China is far away and will not reach you! The war in the East is the beginning of war in the West. Protest together with your men folk; close your ranks! Demand that the foreign troops be withdrawn from China! Turn aside the sword that is directed against you and your kin, against the whole of the working class of the world!

Decaying capitalism is unable to provide work for tens of millions of unemployed. It therefore wants to destroy them by war. For the bourgeoisie—war is a means of making fresh billions of profits, for you—it will bring fresh, monstrous, sacrifices, poverty, starvation, death.

Recall the horrors and tortures of the first world imperialist war. War will drive your husbands, sons and brothers into the trenches, while the capitalists will send you to the works and factories to produce munitions, bombs, and poison gas, to be used for the destruction of your fellow workers. The sons of the rich will "dig themselves in", in the headquarters and offices, while your sons will rot in the trenches and serve as cannon fodder!

The bourgeoisie, aided and abetted by the socialists of the Second International, these traitors who supported the first imperialist war—is doing its utmost to mask, to hide its military preparations. Amidst the roar of cannons in China, the "disarmament" farce of the League of Nations is being played in Geneva. The imperialists will never disarm. They cut down unemployed relief, they rob the workers, snatch the last crust of bread from the mouths of children, but they squander fabulous sums for further armaments. The Soviet Union alone is conducting a consistent and determined struggle for permanent peace and for complete disarmament.

Workers—men and women, toilers of the whole world! It is on you, on your struggle, on the strength of your resistance, that the question—whether the war is to be, or not to be—depends! Whether the flames of a new world war, compared with which the horrors of the past bloody slaughter will pale into insignificance, will spread through the world—depends on you. Oppose the new imperialist war and military intervention against U.S.S.R.! Prevent the sending of military forces to China, resist the shipment of arms and munition to the Far East!

Women-Workers of all countries! Capitalist rule has resulted in the closing of thousands of enterprises, works, factories, mines and shops. Tremendous stocks of food and staple commodities are rotting in the warehouses, are being burnt, destroyed, thrown out into the sea. You are suffering the horrors of poverty and hunger amidst plenty and luxury. The capitalists employ you because your labour is cheaper than the labour of your menfolk. They put you in the place of the workers whom they discharge, and pay you less than they do men. The capitalists increase their profits at the expense of your sweat and blood, at the expense of the health and life of your children.

Count up how much you have lost in wages as a result of wage cuts during the years of the crisis! Your wages now do not suffice to satisfy the most modest requirements—you are forced to eat less than necessary, even when you have a job!

If you are no longer able to work, you are thrown on the scrapheap to starve. Millions of you, discharged from the factories, have no hope of finding another job.

When you have no money to pay rent, you are evicted from your houses into the street. Many of you live in the conditions of savagery—in tents and dugouts, suffering incredible privations. Thousands of daughters of the working class are forced to sell their bodies to avoid starvation.

And your children! A cheerless childhood, privations, pangs of hunger drive them to premature graves. And for those that survive, capitalism is preparing a life of wage slavery still worse than that you are leading now.

Mothers! It is for you to decide whether your children are to be wage slaves of capital, or active and conscious builders of a society! It is for you to decide, whether you are going to stand aloof from the great struggle of the proletariat, and, by your passivity, assist the exploiters and oppressors,—or whether you will join the united front of all the toilers in the fight for a better future for yourselves, for your children, and for all humanity!

The Social-democrats and labourites have made their decision; they promised you a better life under capitalism. But the decaying capitalist system is increasing the unprecedented sufferings of the millions. The social-democrats and labourites have always betrayed you and will betray you in the future. They break strikes, they organise the shooting down of workers' demonstrations, they take part in bourgeois governments, which are organising new imperialist wars. They pave the way for fascism. Side by side with the fascists and the priests, they organise campaigns against the Soviet Union, and are organising intervention against the land of the Soviets!

Do not trust the flunkeys of capital, no matter what name they bear!

You can see yourselves the results of capital's rule—rictous luxury for a few exploiters and parasites, mad expenditure on armament and preparation for war, on the maintenance of the army, police and the gendarmeries, churches and prisons,—alongside with incredible poverty, privation and suffering for millions of toiling masses.

Only the overthrow of the decaying capitalist system and the seizure of power by the working class will put an end to the exploitation of tens of millions of toilers. The vivid example of the **Soviet Union** is before you. There is no crisis in the U.S.S.R., no unemployment. The toilers of the Soviet Union are busily engaged in the great task of building up socialism. During 1931 alone, three million new workers (men and women) were drawn into industry in the U.S.S.R. A seven-hour day is in operation; the wages of the working class have been increased by 16 per cent in comparison with a year ago. The proletarian state spent 2,122 million rubles for insurance alone during the year 1931.

In the land of the Soviets, labour has become a matter of honour. Workers—men and women—are active and conscious builders of socialist society. The result of their labour, instead of benefiting a few parasites, is used for the improvement of their own conditions, and for the furtherance of socialist construction. Their collective, creative will has secured the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan of national economy in four years. By their own hands they have laid the strong foundations of socialism. Under the leadership of Lenin's party, with the support of the workers of all the countries, they will fight during the second Five-Year Plan for the complete elimination of the causes of class differences and exploitation and will build a **classless socialist society**.

Before every man-worker and woman-worker in the U.S.S.R. the doors to knowledge, to science, to engineering and art are wide open. Hundreds of thousands of women-workers in the U.S.S.R., formerly quite illiterate, backward, uncultured, have become engineers, doctors, teachers, leaders in party, trade union, co-operative and economic life. Women take an active part in the government of the country. The women workers and members of collective farms in the U.S.S.R. are in the front ranks of the shock-workers in socialist construction.

Social insurance, protection of maternity and infancy release the woman from all care of to-morrow. She becomes a mother with joy, feeling safe and confident of the future of her children for the state takes care of them. From year

to year the Soviet government is increasing the construction of homes for mothers and babies, of creches, kindergartens, forest-schools, sanatoriums for children, and homes of rest. Whereas in the capitalist countries the schools are closing their doors one after another, hundreds of thousands of new schools are being opened in the U.S.S.R. The contented, happy, laughing faces of the children in the U.S.S.R.—the future citizens of classless society—are the best proof of the great achievements of socialist regime.

The example of the U.S.S.R. shows to the whole world that only by overthrowing the capitalist system, by abolishing parasitic classes can the proletariat and the toiling masses secure a better life for themselves.

Women-workers, and toiling women of town and country! The tide of popular indignation is rising high throughout the world! You have already shown your revolutionary activity, firmness and fighting spirit in strikes, and numerous class skirmishes and bloody collisions with the police and gendarmery. Your place is in the ranks of the fighters against the onslaught of capital. Fight against wage-cuts and for increase of wages! Demand equal pay for equal work! Demand social insurance for all workers—men and women and young workers! Fight for the seven-hour working day without reduction of wages—for full wages for a reduced working week! Fight for social insurance for the unemployed workers! Fight for the immediate relief for the unemployed at the expense of the state and the employers! Demand the protection of maternity and infancy, following the example of the U.S.S.R.—8 weeks vacation before and 8 weeks after confinement, with full pay for the entire period! Resist the eviction of the unemployed and their families from their houses—demand complete suspension of payment of rent by unemployed during the whole period of unemployment. Demand free medical aid at the expense of the state and the employers for all workers, working women and their families. Fight for the free feeding of school-children!

Toiling peasant women! Fight against taxation and forced labour, for the cancellation of debts and rent, for the confiscation of the lands belonging to landlords, and big landowners without compensation, and for the free distribution of the land among the toiling peasants.

Toiling women of the colonies and semi-colonies! Mobilise your forces against the foreign imperialists and the national bourgeoisie who are aiding them. Only under the leadership of the working class, and its Communist Party, will you be able to achieve complete national and social emancipation!

Workers—men and women, toilers of the whole world! Remember the horrors of the first world war; do not allow another outbreak of world imperialist slaughter!

Women workers of France, England, America, Japan and Germany! You must mobilise all your forces, all your discipline, all your class consciousness for the struggle against the war already begun!

Women workers and peasants of **China!** All up to defend the independence of China! Repel Japanese imperialism! Ruthless struggle against the corrupt Kuomintang, the lackey of imperialism! Reinforce the Chinese Red army; strengthen the Soviets. Long live the Chinese Communist Party—the only leader of the toilers of China in the struggle for independence!

Workers of **Japan!** Your enemies are not the Chinese toiling masses, your enemies are the Japanese imperialists! Fight your enemies in your own country! The war against China brings you new shackles! Demand the withdrawal of all troops from China! Prevent the sending of new troops to China! Under the leadership of the heroic Communist Party of Japan, resist the instigators of war!

Proletarians—men and women—of all countries! Stand up for the **defence of the Soviet Union**—the fatherland of all the toilers of the whole world!

Women workers and members of collective farms, toiling women of the U.S.S.R.—exert every effort to fulfil the Five-Year Plan in four years, to prepare for the Second Bolshevik Five-Year Plan: join the front ranks of the builders of classless socialist society! Reinforce the defence of the land of Soviets!

Workers and working women of the whole world! Rally under the banner of the Communist International! Long live the International Communist Women's Day! Down with the Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie! Long live the World Proletarian Revolution!

**International Women's Secretariat of the Communist International.**

## Women and Children in the White Districts of China.

By M. Din.

Women and children constitute over 50% of the industrial proletariat of Shanghai. In Tientsin, Tsinjtao, in the Shantung Province, in some parts of South China and Manchuria, women and children constitute a very considerable part of the industrial workers. Women and children play a predominant role in the textile industry, which is the largest branch of the Chinese industry. Women and children constitute about 90% of the workers in the silk branch of the textile industry, and about 80% in the cotton branch.

In Shanghai and in Woosun (towns in the Kiangsu Province), 125,000 women and children are employed in the silk spinning mills (the raw silk for weaving is prepared in these mills). In Antung, Manchuria (near the Korean frontier) 15,000 women and children are employed in the silk weaving mills. In the above-mentioned, localities, there are large cotton mills, employing 2 to 3 thousand women and children.

The Anglo American Tobacco Company has a series of cigarette factories, where thousands of women and children are employed. In the Shansi province the Anglo American Tobacco Company has taken on lease large tobacco plantations, where many women and children are employed. In Hongkong (British Concession), many young girls are employed under conditions of the so-called Mutsi system: they receive just enough food stuffs and commodities so as to be able to work, and no money wages. (Most of them are domestic servants.) Woman labour is either fully or predominantly employed in the innumerable small enterprises — carpet, matches, chemical and hair-net enterprises. Many women work in the capacity of coolies.

Most of the **silk weaving mills** are in Chinese hands. They are old, delapidated buildings, regular death traps in case of fire. It is not allowed to open windows in the silk weaving mills even during the unbearable hot and damp summer months. Women and children work in rooms filled with steam, without any break whatever, up to 17 hours a day. **Children** from the age of 6 stir the silk cocoons in scalding hot water with their bare hands. Overseers are always behind the workers, and as soon as they notice the latter conversing, they beat them with sticks.

In the silk branch of the textile industry, strikes are a common occurrence, owing to the great pressure exercised on women workers. Being lease holders, the employers do not care to spend money on the improvement of buildings and plant, and are not at all anxious to invest capital in the amelioration of the primitive methods of work and conditions of labour. The wage of women employed in the silk industry of Shanghai and Woosung amounts to about 40 Chinese cents a day (less than 10 American cents). In Antung, Manchuria, women's wages in the silk industry are 9 Chinese dollars (about 2 American dollars) a month, plus a daily portion of rice. Nine dollars are paid only for 30 full working days, which means that women employed in the Antung silk industry have no free days.

In **Shanghai**, workers employed in the silk weaving mills, live in crowded conditions, near the Suchow Bay. Many of them live in "Saupans" (small boats). In this bay the workers bathe, wash their clothes and rice, and use it also as a latrine. Many workers employed in the silk industry live in straw huts, which catch fire easily and burn down in no time. Children left behind in these huts by their mothers, who have gone to work, perish in the flames.

The large **cotton mills in China** are owned by British and Japanese imperialists. Women employed in these mills are paid 30 Chinese cents a day. According to the investigation of the Nanking University, to satisfy the bare, daily needs, **all the members of the family** of a worker employed in the cotton mill must also work. Parents are frequently compelled to give their children to the imperialist owners of the cotton mills in the capacity of apprentices. These child apprentices begin to work in the cotton mills at the age of 6, on the strength of agreements concluded for from 3 to 4 years between their relatives and the employers. They do not get any pay, only a portion of rice, and sleep in the factory premises. They work from morning till night, and are not allowed to leave the territory of the factory even at the end of the working day.

According to the „Shanghai Times“, 30 000 corpses were

picked up in the streets of Shanghai in 1930, and 18,000 in Hongkong. Most of them were children's corpses.

In Shanghai, from November to March, 1931, the silk weaving mills were closed. In April, there was a series of general strikes in the silk industry, after which most of the silk weaving mills were again closed. During unemployment, or strikes, Chinese workers have no source of income whatever. The monthly two days' rest formerly enjoyed by workers in the silk industry, has been abolished, and the system of fines for being late, or not turning up at work has been introduced (even if illness is the cause).

The brutal methods of capitalist rationalisation applied by the imperialist owners of the cotton mills, as for instance, dismissal of married women and girls over 16, substitution of child labour for women labour, have driven many women into the ranks of the army of unemployed. Machines with low spindles, adapted to the size of children, are being introduced in the mills.

Many more Chinese cotton operatives will be thrown out of work, owing to the sharp competition between the British and Japanese cotton mill owners in China, who fight each other for control over the Chinese market (the majority of the Chinese population that exceeds 4 hundred million, wear only cotton clothes), and for the sole right to exploit the cheap labour of the Chinese women and child workers. British imperialists make use of the anti-Japanese boycott in China, in order to drive the Japanese enterprises out of China. Small cotton mills in England were closed, and new mills were opened in China under Chinese names, but are actually controlled by Englishmen.

The number of women's strikes in the white districts of China is increasing. In the course of 10 weeks (up to April 1931), 70 big women's strikes took place in the cotton mills and silk factories. In some of the strikes, from 3,000 to 20,000 women workers participated. All these strikes were spontaneous. Most of the demands were for repeal of the imposed wage cuts. Women workers downed tools to protest against the dismissal of some fellow workers, against brutal treatment, to demand better labour conditions for children and higher wages. The second general strike in the Shanghai silk factories, in April, took place in spite of the prohibition of the strike by the Kuomintang government.

The counter-revolutionary Kuomintang trade union bureaucrats are alarmed at the activity of the women workers and their readiness and will to fight, and think it wiser not to call meetings of rank and file trade union members. In the silk industry, trade union membership fees are deducted from wages by the employers. To enterprises employing women, "elder sisters", frequently relatives of the trade union bureaucrats and foremen, are sent to carry on propaganda for the counter revolutionary trade unions. In the cotton industry, most of the women are not organised.

For fear of the rapid growth of Soviet influence among the workers of the white districts, the Kuomintang government has issued a new factory law, with paragraphs relating to women workers. The trade union bureaucrats tried to make the women believe that this law will really improve the conditions of working women. However, chiefly under the pressure of British and Japanese cotton mill owners, the Kuomintang government, in August 1931, put off for 2 years the promulgation of the paragraph of the law that is supposed to protect woman labour.

During the militant strikes of the women workers, the trade union bureaucrats gave direct help to the Kuomintang police in the suppression of the strikes.

The **revolutionary trade unions** in the White districts have considerable influence on the women workers, owing to their former work. But in view of the non-Bolshevist line of Li-Li Siang last year, owing to which the revolutionary trade unions in China were liquidated, the organisational strength of the **All China Federation of Labour** among the women workers in the White districts is not very considerable.

The new leadership of the All China Federation of Labour is beginning to re-establish the organisational forces of the revolutionary trade unions among women workers. It carries on an energetic fight against the new right group (which

was expelled from the federation in the beginning of 1931), that tries chiefly to demoralise the mass strikes of the workers in the silk industry. The A.C.F.L. publishes a textile workers' newspaper, and a special illustrated paper.

The A.C.F.L. despite the terrorist methods of the Kuomintang Government in regard to the revolutionary workers, has held a series of successful women workers' meetings in connection with Women's Day (March 8th). These meetings were attended by women employed in the silk factories and cottons mills. The A.C.F.L. carries on heroic work, in order to mobilise working women for support to the Chinese Soviets and the Chinese Red Army, and also for defence of the U.S.S.R. against a war of intervention. The bourgeois press in China is alarmed at the enormous number of working women who leave their domicile and go illegally to the Soviet districts of China. These working women in the Soviet districts carry on responsible work not only in the Soviet apparatus, but also in the Chinese Red Army.

## Our Martyrs

### Comrade Harry Simms.

By A. G. Bosse (New York).

Harry Simms, youth organiser of the National Miners Union in the **Kentucky-Tennessee coal strike**, was murdered by deputized gun thugs of the Rockefeller interests at Barbourville, Kentucky, on February 11. His assassin, Arlan Miller, a professional killer, shot him down in cold-blood as he was walking along the railroad track to meet a delegation of miners who had walked twenty miles across the mountains to a strike meeting. The thugs passed Simms and another strike organiser, then turned back and shot Simms in the stomach without a word of warning. They dragged him back to town, then let him lie in the street bleeding for over an hour while the hospital authorities haggled about who was to pay for the operation. The operation and a number of blood transfusions proved in vain and after suffering for a day and a half, Simms died.

Comrade Simms was a member of the National Executive Committee of the **Young Communist League**, and its district organiser in the Alabama district (famous as the prison of the Scottsboro boys). He was the son of working class parents, started working at the age of 14 in textile and metal factories. When 17 he joined the Y.C.L. and after a year's work became its district organiser in Connecticut. In the famous March 6 (1930) unemployed demonstration he led 10,000 workers, as a result of which he was beaten up and jailed for 6 months. At the end of 1930 he was sent to Tennessee as district organiser, where he was arrested repeatedly for his work in organising the Negro and white workers of the South. Last year he went to Kentucky as youth organiser of the N.M.U. Despite the extreme terror he built up some units of the League and became the leader of the strike when the others were all jailed. A day before he was murdered the first successful youth conference in the South, which he had organised, was held.

A mass demonstration was to have been held in Pineville, but was prevented by the greatest mobilisation in the course of the strike of gun thugs, special deputies, and National Guardsmen from Harlan, who guarded every road with machine guns, turning back the miners. A threat to kidnap and mutilate the body caused it to be taken to New York, where 2,000 workers met and marched with the casket to the C.P. headquarters. There thousands of workers passed the corpse as it lay in state with an honour guard of members of the N.E.C. of the League and the C.C. of the Party. Later a mass demonstration was held attended by 10,000 workers, at which 7 of the 25 miners who had come with the body joined the Party. The great crowd paid their last honours to this heroic 19-year old martyr and pledged to carry on his work to build the revolutionary movement.