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Clara Zetkin: A Promise and a Deed

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CONTENTS

Politics.		
José Rodríguez: The New Armed Conflict in South America	723	Ruegg Trial to be Re-Opened on 10th August 729
T. A. Jackson: Divide and Rule: The "Black Hundred Trick" in India and Ireland	724	J. Louis Engdahl: August 22nd — the Fifth Sacco-Vanzetti Anniversary 730
Germany.		A Message from Mrs. Ada Wright 730
Ernst Thälmann: The Results of 31st July and the Next Tasks of the C.P.G.	725	William Patterson: Trial of the Pittsburgh Eviction Demonstration Prisoners 731
B. Steinemann: Nazi Assassinations — the Way to Hitler's Chancellorship?	726	In the Camp of Our Enemy.
The War.		R. Bishop: The I.L.P. Leaves the British Labour Party 732
Otto Heller: The Recent Events in Manchuria	727	How the First World War Was Prepared.
The Labour Movement.		End of Peace Talk. — Declaration of War on Serbia 733
Reformist General Strike Manoeuvre in Belgium	727	Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union.
International Fight Against War and Intervention.		J. A. Jakovlev: The Organisational-Economic Consolidation of the Collective Farms and the Development of Collective Farm Trade (Conclusion) 737
Clara Zetkin: A Promise and a Deed	728	In the International.
The First of August.		Tzirul: The Problem of Party Cadres 739
Anti-War Demonstrations Everywhere	729	Tom: Party Cadres in England 741
The White Terror.		Leb: Party Cadres of the C.P. of France 742
Friedrich Karikás in Acute Danger	729	J. Gomez: Party Cadres in the C.P.s of South America and Caribbean America 743

The Significance of the Election Results of 31st July.

By V. Knorin (Moscow).

The elections of 31st July have confirmed the fact that the revolutionary upsurge in Germany is advancing rapidly. In the midst of an acute national and international situation, and under the conditions imposed by Terror and slander drives, the revolutionary Party of the German proletariat has received 5,3 million votes, or almost 700,000 more than at the Reichstag election of 1930.

If the results of the Reichstag election are compared with those of the second ballot at the election to the Presidency in April 1932, the Communist Party will be seen to have gained 1,57 million new votes.

The rising curve of communist influence mirrors the change taking place among the masses.

Almost two years have passed since the last Reichstag elections. During this period the crisis has reached an astonishing pitch of acuteness (it did not begin to grow till September 1930). The number of unemployed has mounted to between 6 and 7 millions, and the income of the German worker has diminished by almost one half. In the summer of 1931 Germany went through a severe credit crisis, and actually experienced the bankruptcy of its greatest banks—a bankruptcy

which could only be patched up by means of state subventions.

The increasing acuteness of the crisis and the impoverishment of the masses have brought with them a violent aggravation of the class struggle.

In this situation of profoundest crisis, of growing discontent among the masses, and of aggravated class antagonisms, the German bourgeoisie has proceeded to impose its dictatorship by means of emergency orders and a policy of fascism.

The German bourgeoisie has been endeavouring to find a way out of the crisis at the expense of the working masses. In the pursuance of this policy it has received the entire support of the German social democrats. To the Brüning government too the task of the gradual actualisation of the fascist dictatorship has fallen. The emergency orders have reduced social insurance and working wages, fresh burdens of taxation have been imposed on the toiling masses, and the prices of agricultural products have been artificially raised by protective tariffs. These decrees have followed closely upon one another, without cessation.

The aggravation of class antagonisms has led on the one hand to the growth of fascism, and to successes for communism on the other. The petty bourgeoisie, ruined by the crisis, has thrown itself into the arms of fascism, in the hope that the legendary Third Empire would restore to them their pre-war prosperity and break the fetters of the Versailles treaty. Even a part of the unemployed have succumbed to the influence of the fascist demagogues.

At the same time the influence of the Communist Party has been growing. This growth has, however, not been regular. The pre-requisite conditions for the revolutionary crisis have matured.

The von Papen government replaced the Brüning government, in order to increase the Terror exercised against the working class, to shatter the resistance of the workers against the offensive of capital, to throw open the gates to the fascist dictatorship, and to accomplish the realisation of fascism in Prussia.

After Lausanne and Geneva, the Reichstag election was carried out in a changed international situation, under the conditions imposed by the violent aggravation of imperialist antagonisms, and especially of the aggravation of Franco-German and German-Polish antagonisms.

The German bourgeoisie did its best to exploit the international situation which had developed by 31st July, for the purpose of weighting the balance decidedly in its favour in the election struggle. The proclamations made by Schleicher, von Papen, and others, the fanning of nationalist and chauvinist passions—all this was exploited by the bourgeoisie for the purpose of deceiving the masses, and in order to demoralise the proletariat and the workers.

The bourgeoisie, thirsting for the restoration of its former imperialist power, demanding the right to arm, and already forging the weapons for the war for the re-division of the world, was anxious to receive a "mandate from the nation" at this election, and to ensure a "general vote of the people" sanctioning the intensified aggressiveness of German imperialism.

The results of the election show that the masses have learnt much of late, that they have passed through the hard school of the class struggles, that they have learnt by actual experience the treachery of the social democratic leaders, the Terror of the fascists, and the policy of the emergency orders—first those of Brüning and then those of von Papen. **The lessons taught by the election to the Presidency have not been in vain.**

The elections show that the Communist Party, fighting against the dictatorship of fascism and for the day to day interests of the workers, **is taking its place as the leader of ever broader masses of the German proletariat. One third of the German industrial proletariat has voted against fascist Terror and against capitalism. One third of the industrial workers of Germany has voted against the Weimar Republic and Hitler's "Third Empire"—for the Communist Party, for a socialist Soviet Germany, for the revolutionary way out of the crisis.** And this third of the industrial workers was joined in voting for the Communist Party by **hundreds of thousands of agricultural workers, poor peasantry, and employees, who recognise the Communist Party as their leader.**

This election success of the C.P.G. is of the **utmost international importance.** It shows that the **forces of the German revolution are growing and consolidating.**

The influence of fascism is, however, by no means broken. The National Socialist Party received 13.7 million votes, the German National Party with which it is allied 2.17 million. This gives the bourgeoisie a powerful weapon against the working class. The growth of the National Socialists is above all the expression of a concentration of the forces of the bourgeoisie for the struggle against the proletariat. They have been able to collect the votes of the majority of the adherents of the old bourgeois parties. The People's Party, the State Party, the Christian Social Party, and the other old bourgeois parties have practically ceased to exist. Besides this, the National Socialist demagoguery against Versailles and the Weimar republic has been able to trap a certain number of backward workers, especially among the unemployed. **The reconquest of these strata of workers, deceived by the bourgeoisie, is one of the most important tasks which the German communists set themselves.**

We pointed out, at the time of the election to the Presidency, that the National Socialists would not be able to retain these strata of workers in their ranks for long. Today

we are able to observe not only a stagnation in the number of votes cast for the National Socialists in a considerable number of industrial districts (Düsseldorf-West, Westphalia-South, Cologne, Aix-la-Chapelle, Berlin), but the **beginning of the disaffection of the workers hitherto deceived by the National Socialists.**

A point of no less importance from the standpoint of the perspectives of the class struggle against the bourgeoisie is the fact that the **C.P.G. has been successful in wresting the votes of hundreds of thousands of workers from the social democrats, and of ranging these workers in the ranks of the revolutionary struggle.** This shows that the working masses have grasped the revolutionary line of the communists, that the resolute struggle of the C.P.G. for the united front of the working class for the struggle against the bourgeoisie and its appeal for a determined combat against the fascist dictatorship have already been crowned by success. It shows that social democracy is losing its influence over the working class more and more, and that although it still has the greatest trade unions in its hands, none the less it is being converted to an ever increasing degree into a **party of the reactionary strata of the petty bourgeoisie.**

At this election the Communist Party received approximately the same number of workers' votes as the social democrats. In the majority of the most important workers' districts (Berlin, Westphalia-South, Düsseldorf-East, Düsseldorf-West, Cologne, Aix-la-Chapelle, Halle-Merseburg, Oppeln) the communist vote was larger than the social democratic, and in some of these districts larger than the national socialist vote. Very important too is the considerable increase of votes by the C.P.G. in the strongholds of "Left" social democracy, such as Dresden (where the C.P.G. received 18.8% of all votes cast) and Chemnitz.

The C.P.G. which has become the strongest party of the German proletariat in the most important districts, has at the same time **consolidated its influence conspicuously in the rural districts.** It is not long since the National Socialists were able to win over whole villages in a number of districts. The increase in the number of votes cast for the C.P.G., amounting to 83.1% in Lower Bavaria, to 54.8% in Franconia, to 57.9% in Brunswick, and to 18.5% in East Prussia, shows that the **Communist Party has strengthened its influence in these predominantly rural districts.** The rural proletarian and semi-proletarian masses see through the emptiness of national socialist demagoguery. **The masses of the villages are beginning to turn to the Communist Party.**

The forces of the German proletariat are gathering together. Social democracy feels clearly that it is on the downward path. But it is precisely in this situation that fascism will make its attack with intensified energy. The bourgeoisie will endeavour to accelerate the speed of transition to the open fascist dictatorship, to establish and extend the methods of this dictatorship, and to develop the Terror regime established on 20th July. And precisely for this reason the German communists will continue with redoubled energy their work of mobilising the masses for the revolutionary struggle against fascism, that the present wave of mighty revolutionary upsurge in Germany may be utilised for the fullest consolidation of the positions already gained.

The social democratic workers are already joining the communist workers, in ever increasing numbers, for the revolutionary struggle, and are rejecting the treacherous defeatist tactics of their leaders, carried out under the banner of waiting for the next steps taken by fascism.

Events of late in Germany have been such as to dispel rapidly all parliamentary illusions. **But these illusions will be dispelled the more rapidly in proportion as the C.P.G. is successful in leading the masses into the struggle against wage cuts, against the emergency orders, for the disbanding and disarming of the Nazi Storm Detachments, and against the robbery of the fundamental rights of the working class.** The rising strike movement in Germany, the increasing number of political demonstration strikes, the growing self-defensive measures against fascist provocations, all this shows that the German proletariat has no intention of confining its struggle against fascism merely to the casting of votes.

The leading circles of the Germany bourgeoisie dissolved the Reichstag and announced the fresh elections for the purpose of gaining a parliamentary majority for the Papen-Schleicher government. **They did not succeed in gaining this majority.** The disagreements among the German bourgeoisie

are so serious that even now, after the election, the fascist Papen government will not be able to lean on the parliament.

The Centre Party, driven out of the government two months ago, in spite of Brüning's readiness to form a coalition with the Right bourgeois parties, has not lost its specific weight in the Reichstag, but has increased it. **This shows that the bourgeoisie will have to continue in the future, whatever the composition of the government which will come into power after the election, to rule mainly without the Reichstag, with the aid of Hindenburg's emergency orders.** The Reichstag—if it is not dissolved—will probably simply serve to keep up the appearance of "democracy". The policy of wage cuts and reduced unemployment benefit, the cancellation of those articles of the Weimar constitution which have not yet been put out of force, and the tendency to call upon the National Socialists to take an immediate part in the carrying out of state business, **will continue.**

The elections have simply brought evidence of the acceleration of the process of the collapse of the bourgeois system of political rule.

Precisely for this reason the German proletariat must be on its guard. The fascists, well aware that the masses cannot be deceived for long, will exert even greater energy than before to get the state apparatus into their hands. **The Communist Party is threatened more seriously than ever with the danger of prohibition.** But the proletariat will be on its guard against any attempt to destroy the workers' organisation, against all attacks on the rights which they have gained in long years of struggle. The events in Germany during the last few months have afforded ample proof of this.

The social democrats have endeavoured to persuade the masses, not to take up the methods of determined class struggle against fascism, but to wait for the results of the election. But now the election is over. **And what now?**—This is the question which every social democratic worker is now putting to himself and to his leaders.

The results of 31st July have enabled the working masses to convince themselves once more that the attacks of fascism are not to be warded off with the voting paper, that social democracy has again deceived its adherents as it deceived them at the election to the Presidency, when it advised them to entrust to Hindenburg the guarantee of the Weimar constitution.

The Communist Party is exerting its utmost forces for the development of revolutionary action against fascism and capitalism, in order that the disaffection of the masses from social democracy may be accelerated, the struggle of the masses raised to a higher level, and the determination and will of the masses for the struggle mobilised for the socialist way out of the crisis.

POLITICS

The New Armed Conflict in South America.

By José Rodríguez.

The war which has broken out between the two republics of **Bolivia** and **Paraguay** is being fought between the only two South American States without a coast line. Thanks to large and navigable rivers Paraguay has at least an indirect outlet to the Atlantic Ocean, but Bolivia is completely cut off from the Pacific not only by the mountain range of the Andes, but also by the southern part of the republic of **Peru** and by the northern part of the republic of **Chile** which is the district which contains the two harbour towns **Tacna** and **Arica** and has been a source of conflict between Peru and Chile for a very long time.

The new war is a conflict between two of the numerous republics in which the descendants of the Spanish (in Brazil Portuguese) ruling classes exploit the Spanish, Portuguese, Italian and other European proletarian and semi-proletarian immigrants. They also dominate the native Indians and the Negro masses who are the descendants of the Negro slaves who were forcibly introduced in former times. Numerically the mixed descendants of the three races which have intermingled are still more strongly represented. At the same time the ruling classes are themselves more or less dependent on foreign imperialism.

The bone of contention between Bolivia and Paraguay is, however, not a district which offers direct access to the sea, but an inner area between the two countries. When the frontier was drawn neither country showed any particular interest in this district and the result was that the exact frontier demarcation was not carried out with any great accuracy. However, the district in question, a jungle area known as the **Gran Chaco** ("The Great Hunting Field"), proved about ten years ago to contain valuable oil deposits, and in consequence a bitter controversy began between the two Republics concerning the **Chaco Boreal** or **Northern Chaco**. (The **Chaco Austral** or **Southern Chaco**, sometimes called **Central Chaco**, belongs to the Republic **Argentine**.)

The conflict over this now valuable jungle area between the two Republics, both of which belong to the **League of Nations**, took the form of protests and demands within the framework of the League and occasionally one or the other of the protagonists issued stamps on the face of which a map of the area in question was pictured showing that it belonged to the State issuing the stamps. At the order of the League of Nations these stamps had to be withdrawn from circulation. In addition, frequent armed frontier conflicts occurred, and during the past five years the danger of war has been very acute on several occasions.

The danger of war between the two republics was particularly acute in 1928 when an armed conflict was prevented only at the last moment by the intervention of the South American Republics which are organised in the **Pan-American Union**. However, the question of the ownership of the disputed district remained unsettled. Diplomatic relations between Bolivia and Paraguay which were broken off in December 1928 were resumed only in May 1930. During the course of the past two years both republics have been busy building fortified points along the line of demarcation in the Gran Chaco.

The capital investments of the **United States** in the Republic of Paraguay are insignificant; they amount to 12.5 million Dollars only and are less than the capital investments of the U.S. in any other South American State. The capital investments of the U.S. in Bolivia, on the other hand, are considerable and since 1928 they have been still further increased. In 1928 they totalled 110 million Dollars and by the 1st January 1932 they had reached 122.7 million Dollars.

The **Standard Oil Company**, the biggest petroleum undertaking in the U.S., has purchased in the southern part of Bolivia several million acres of land along the disputed Gran Chaco area, and large oil deposits have been discovered or are suspected there. The Standard Oil Company is also conducting trial borings in the northern section of the Gran Chaco. It has also built an oil refinery in the town of **Tarija**. United States capitalists have also purchased oil land in the **Cochabamba** desert area in Central Bolivia and are planning a railway line from **Santa Cruz** in Central Bolivia through the Gran Chaco district to the source of the river Paraguay in order to facilitate the export of crude oil from Bolivia over the river network of the Republics **Paraguay**, **Argentine** and **Uruguay** to the **Atlantic Ocean**. United States capitalists are also taking part in the building of the "international" railway line from the capital and industrial centre of Bolivia, **La Paz**, to the Chilean harbour town **Arica** on the **Pacific coast**.

For decades a conflict has been proceeding between Peru and Chile over the two harbour towns **Tacna** and **Arica** on the Pacific coast between the two countries. A few years ago this conflict threatened to lead to war, and the government of the United States to which both parties appealed in order to bring about a settlement, most unexpectedly suggested that both towns should be ceded to **Bolivia** in order to provide that country with an access to the sea. It is clear that the United States government was thinking of facilitating the export of Standard Oil products from Bolivia to the Pacific Ocean. The government of Bolivia has used a part of the loans granted to it in recent years by the United States in order to build new roads from Central Bolivia to the Gran Chaco district.

Both in Bolivia and Paraguay chauvinism is being whipped up with all possible means. In recent years the Bolivian army has been reorganised and equipped along the lines of the pre-war German army (including the uniforms) by the notorious counter-revolutionary German General **Kundt**. During the recent civil war in Bolivia Kundt was compelled to flee to Europe, but in the meantime he has made his peace

with the new government and returned. It is interesting to note that Captain **Röhm**, the leader of the fascist storm detachments in Germany, was for a time a member of the staff of Kundt. In **Paraguay** volunteers are being hurriedly trained, and the girls of the higher schools have formed themselves into an amazon corps.

A number of South American States have come together at the last moment in order to organise mediatory negotiations between the two countries and to snap up any advantage for their own bourgeoisie which may offer itself as a result of the conflict. The present situation in South America shows the intensification of the political conflicts as a result of the severe economic crisis which has affected South America in the framework of the world crisis, and the intensification of the already strained relations between **United States** imperialism and the **British Empire** which are fighting out their economic and political differences to an increasing extent on South America territory.

Divide and Rule; The „Black Hundred Trick” in India and in Ireland.

By T. A. Jackson (London).

Outbreaks of rioting between Moslems and Hindus in India have occurred much more frequently of late, and they have in every case been so timed as to effect the maximum of damage to Indian Nationalism and being the maximum of relief to British Imperialism.

These facts of themselves have been significant enough; but now we learn observers sympathetic more to Imperialism than to Nationalism have become convinced that **“the outbreaks are being directed by an organisation with plenty of money and active brains”**.

These observers no doubt desire thus to provide “an alibi” for the Imperialist authorities. In fact they only complete the proof of their complicity.

The Imperialists in India are using with diabolic cunning an adaption of the methods used by the Tsar against the Revolutionaries of 1905-7—the method of the God-and-Vodka intoxicated “Black Hundreds”.

They take to this method with all the greater facility because it was **first used with bloody effect by British Imperialisms in Ireland**.

The Tsars did but copy the methods of the frenzied reactionaries who founded the **“Orange Society”** as a last desperate means of smashing the “United Irishmen” founded by the genius of Theobald Wolfe Tone—a Society which has been the tool of Imperialist reaction from its foundation in 1797 to this day.

Evidence of the evil legacy of this “true-blue” British invention of the “communal question” appeared in the savage hooligan assaults in Ballymena (Antrim) and Belfast upon train-loads and coach-parties of Catholics on their way to the Eucharistic Congress final celebration on June 26.

That the majority of the people of Ireland are Catholics is well known. That the Catholics are near to being a majority even in the six counties of “Northern Ireland” is not so well known; true though it is. Least known of all is the fact that not every Protestant in Northern Ireland is a “Protestant” and that not even every “Protestant” is an “Orangeman”.

The non-Catholic minority in Ireland has, in fact, never been an unity. They were divided firstly into adherents of the Established Church (the church of the landlords and the English “garrison”) and Nonconformists. The latter were and are divided yet again into Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers, Unitarians and Wesleyans.

It is the former and the former alone who were in '98 and are to-day known as “Protestants”. The latter were and are known generally as “Presbyterians”.

The distinction is of vast importance historically and politically. The Church of Ireland (disestablished in 1867 in an effort to placate the Fenians) was from the beginning the Church of English (“Protestant”) ascendancy in Ireland. It was the Church of the aristocratic landlord, of his toadies, and hangers-on; of the government officials and placemen, and their hangers-on. It was by the aristocrats, the squires, the squireens and their demoralised dupes that the Orange Society was formed.

The “Presbyterians” on the other hand were from the first as much the objects of the hatred of the English Ascendancy party and its church as were the Catholics, and only little less the victims of their oppression.

All the virtues commonly ascribed to “Ulster” as against the rest of Ireland find whatever basis they have in the enterprise, courage and steadfastness of the old Presbyterian stock. It was Presbyterians who defended Derry and Newton-Butler against the counter-revolution of Seamus-a-Cocker. The “prentice boys” who closed the gates of Derry and gave out the slogan “No surrender” were Presbyterians. As such they were hated by the aristocratic “Protestants”, and as such they were subjected, after the war was won and the counter-revolution defeated, to nearly all the limitations imposed upon the Catholics who had been drawn into the fight on the reactionary side.

The effects of the savage penal code in which the triumph of this Whig Revolution of 1688/90 culminated in Ireland remain to this day.

It was the penal code of 1691 and the succeeding years which made possible the impressive—nay the amazing display at the Eucharistic Congress in Dublin on June 26. It was the Orange Society of 1797, and its bloody deeds in 1798 with the perpetuation of its spirit and its organisation as a tool of imperial ascendancy that made this display inevitable.

The penal code was designed deliberately to make the term Irish-Catholic so synonymous with poverty, ignorance, wretchedness and inhibition from all the enjoyments of a civilised existence that (it was hoped) both Irishry and Catholicism would be in time totally exterminated.

It was by long odds the most savage code of repression ever applied by a victorious revolutionary class.

By comparison the terror of Robespierre was compassion and the deeds of the inquisition were exercises in benevolence.

It begot its inevitable reaction. It **did** make the Irish in bulk poor beyond all believing. But in making them too poor to patronise English schools and school masters, it left them to be instructed by the lineal descendants of the “scholars” of the old Gaelic civilisation which successive English invasions had destroyed.

This line of “scholars” has barely died out even in our own day, and there is no more heroic figure in history than the poor “hedge schoolmaster” teaching in the fields with scouts out to watch for the spies of the “English enemy”—and doing this for no reward beyond the love of learning itself, a share of porridge and potatoes and a warm seat by the fire.

The same penal code which made it a crime for a Catholic to teach a school, also barred the Catholics from all the learned professions. Priests of the Catholic Church were allowed to practise (under insulting conditions of registration), but solely because (a) the “poor must have some religion to keep them in order” and (b) because the peasant Irish were too poor to be worth any Anglican parson’s plundering.

That from the ranks of Irishmen who after making their way overseas to gain the necessary ordination returned to take up parochial duties amid such conditions of heartbreaking poverty, as Swift describes, there should have been found enough to keep the Catholic chapels of Ireland steadily in use says much for the intensity of the Nationalism begotten by inevitable reaction from the brutalities of the penal code.

Thus it came to be that in every Irish country parish the only man to whom the people could look for advice, aid, comfort and assistance—for a champion against the rack-renting absentee landlord and his agent or his virtually absentee “Protestant” parson and his ferocious tithe-proctor—was either the Celtic-traditional Catholic hedge-schoolmaster (whose existence was a crime) or the Catholic priest.

Is it any wonder that loyalty to the Catholic Church became inextricably associated with loyalty to Gaelic tradition and Irish nationality?

Wolfe Tone, whose brilliant insight and revolutionary genius is virtually unknown to English revolutionaries—who though bred a Protestant, had the capacity to rise far above such trammels—saw clearly that the Irish “devotion” to Catholicism was the product of historic circumstances, and like to lapse with their passing.

Using all his powers to persuade the French Republic to send an army to Ireland to precipitate a revolution, he replied to a doubt whether the Catholic clergy might not influence the people against the French: “I assured him, as the fact is”, he says, “that it was much more likely that France

would turn the people against the clergy". And he went on to give instances showing how readily the people resisted the clergy when these sought to check their struggle against their English oppressors.

It was at that conjunction when, as a result of the organising genius of Tone, the Catholic "Defenders" and "White boys" had united with the "Presbyterian" Republicans of the North to form the "United Irish men", that the reactionaries formed the "Orange" societies and commenced upon that series of pogroms and outrages against the Catholics which resulted in the insurrection in Wexford taking a predominantly Catholic form instead of a nationalist republican one.

Since that day, aided by successive reactionary governments in Ireland, the Orange Society has developed into a "Free Masonry"—a combination of secret political caucus and job-trust, which on occasion can always be relied upon to produce a pogrom when such will be politically convenient to British imperialist reaction.

Unfortunately for Ireland the sectarian interests of the priests have been able to take advantage of Orange sectarianism to warp repeatedly Irish nationalism in a similar direction.

The Catholic hierarchy is as little desirous of a truly united Ireland as are the Grand Masters of the Orange lodges, and as a proof thereof they have quite cheerfully imitated their methods. The "Hibernians" (Board of Irin) form a Catholic counter-part to the Orange lodges—equally a combination of political caucus and job-trust, equally capable of producing pogrom for pogrom. The "foulest brood that ever

came into Ireland" was Connolly's description of the Board of Erin.

As a set-off against this the neo-Fenianism of the Patrick-Pearce school, the Irish Republicanism embodied in, for example, the I.R.A., is in principle and practice diametrically hostile to "Hibernianism" and all its works, all the more so as the latter was the organisational basis for the old evil corrupt and cowardly Parliamentary nationalism.

Thus a conclusion may be provisionally drawn: The size and the enthusiasm of the Eucharistic celebrations are not at all proof of any "incurable" addiction on the part of the Irish people to Catholicism, superstition and mental enslavement to the priests. **In great measure they owed much of their success and their emotional force to the crisis in the relations between the British Empire and the Free State.**

Neither, on the other hand, does the outbreak of hooliganism in Antrim and Belfast prove that "Ulster" and "Orange" pogrom-politics are convertible terms.

There is a big danger of reaction indicated in each of these phenomena. But their significance is heavily discounted by the magnificent parade of 15,000 men at Wolfe Tone's grave on June 20 and in the signs of militant proletarian revival in the North.

Could we but bring to life another Tone who would unite the Republicans of the South and the Proletarian Militants of the North as Tone did, and as Connolly would have done had he lived—all the manufactured sectarian hatred of all the Mumbo-Jumbos, Orange and Green, would be unable to prevail against the united Irish workers and Farmers' Republican Party.

Germany

The Results of 31st July and the Next Tasks of the C. P. G.

By Ernst Thälmann.

I.

On 3rd August a Conference of the leading functionaries of the Communist Party was held in Berlin, and dealt with the results of the elections, the fascist coup d'état, and the next tasks of the C.P.G. The leader of the C.P.G., Comrade Thälmann, dealt with the latest events in Germany. The following is a brief resumé of his speech:

The election results of 31st July confirm clearly the correctness of the general line of our Party. The measures of the fascist dictatorship have not been able to prevent our advance, but have on the contrary promoted the revolutionary movement. There is no doubt that had our decisions been carried out correctly and actively all round, the election results would have been considerably better, and we should have gained at least one to two million votes more.

In these parliamentary elections we succeeded in reaching the highest number of votes since the Communist Party came into existence. The S.P.G. has lost 600,000 votes in round numbers, whilst we have won about 680,000 votes as compared with 1930. In 1928 we gained 11.8% of all votes cast, in the September elections of 1930 13.1%, and in the present elections 14.3%. Taking developments as a whole, the National Socialists have stagnated, and the Centre Party has gained chiefly among the petty bourgeoisie. It is extremely important that we have succeeded in warding off the Nazi advance into the working class, and in places in reconquering votes.

Taking into consideration the fact that the Nazis have gained a few hundred thousand votes from among the ruins of the bourgeois parties since the Presidential election, the restratification in the bourgeois camp, accompanied by the fact that we have gained considerably more votes than the S.P.G. has lost, results in our having won over—besides the S.P.G. voters who have come over to us—at least 200,000 votes of former Nazi voters, besides a number of former Peasants' League and Agricultural Party voters. This fact is of the utmost importance.

We have been able to book especially conspicuous success in the most important industrial districts, chiefly in the West German districts. A point worthy of special note, and one demonstrating the growing revolutionary power of attraction of our Party, is our advance in the rural districts, where we can record an increase of votes up to 400% in places as compared with 1930.

To-day we unite—this we can maintain fully—the same number of workers' votes for our Party as does the Social Democratic Party. The votes which the social democrats have gained in excess to ours are recruited chiefly from the petty bourgeois strata. The conversion of the S.P.G. into a party of the petty bourgeois strata continues. The masses of the workers are beginning to turn from the S.P.G. and to turn to Communism.

Our election victory is of great international significance. Although the wave of chauvinism and nationalism upon whose crest fascism is rising, especially in Germany, has not yet ebbed, still it has been forced to cease its advance. Our 5.3 million voters form a powerful barrage against international fascism, and oppose a mighty dam against the advance of the imperialist warmongers, a living rampart of human beings, standing in defence before the Soviet Union. A further important fact may be observed by a comparison with the last elections to the Prussian Diet and to the Presidency. We have succeeded in overcoming the isolation of the Party from the broad masses of the workers beginning at that time and in penetrating deeper into the masses.

The main reason of our success lies in the tremendous development of the Anti-Fascist Action, which has enabled the Party, on the basis of the united front from below, to gather together the workers and toiling middle strata who are ready for the anti-fascist struggle, and thus to reach strata far beyond the confines of the Party.

II.

Further developments have set the Party enormous tasks. On 20th July, the day of the fascist coup d'état in Prussia, the turning point was reached of the actual establishment of

the fascist dictatorship. The further policy of the Papen government, as the government of the fascist dictatorship, is directed towards accomplishing and securing the fascist coup, already successful in Prussia, in the Reich.

In the future as in the past our main strategic task lies in winning over the majority of the working class, especially the workers organised in the Social Democratic Party and in the trade unions—the struggle to win over our own class. We have succeeded in pressing back social democracy, and in many places in tearing down the barriers which the social democratic leaders have set up in the camp of the working class.

In the self-defensive mass struggle against the Terror exercised by the bands of brown National Socialist murderers, we need at the same time an intensified ideological offensive against the fascist deceivers of the masses. The election results show us that in spite of our advance in the rural districts, and in the outskirts of the industrial centres, still fascism possesses its strongest mass base in the agrarian districts. The election results show further that the National Socialists have maintained their influence in the towns over strata nearest to the proletariat, those of the masses of the small employees, especially in Berlin and Hamburg. This fact points out our task to us. The increase in the vote of the Centre Party warns us that we must devote serious attention to winning over the Christian workers for the Anti-Fascist Action.

Our struggle against the fascist dictatorship demands, finally, our most powerful offensive against the tribute policy of the German bourgeoisie, for the other aspect of this policy is the preparation of an anti-Soviet imperialist war adventure.

With the utmost determination, with the utmost clarity and resolute energy, we must present the **problem of power** to the working class, we must carry on our propaganda for the Workers' and Peasants' Government more intensively from the standpoint of the revolutionary perspective, and must fill our propaganda and day to day policy with the vitality of actual revolutionary action.

The next and immediate stage in the development of Anti-Fascist Action is the preparation and carrying out of the **Anti-Fascist Fighting Week from 14th till 21st August**, supported by the enormous moral and political power of our Party, now increased by the election victory of 31st July, the slogan of „Carry Anti-Fascist Action into the workshops and factories” must now be made a living revolutionary reality.

Nazi Assassinations — the Way to Hitler's Chancellorship?

By B. Steinemann (Berlin).

On the morning after the election, Storm Detachment Nazis pushed their way into the house of the communist town councillor **Sauff** in **Königsberg**, and murdered him by several shots in the head. A second troop shot the communist co-operative society functionary **Zirpius**. Other divisions swindled their way into the home of a social democrat editor, shooting him and injuring him severely, and into the home of a communist Reichstag member, whom they did not find, but shot a young woman comrade instead. Further troops of Storm Detachment men attacked the offices of the communist paper and of the bourgeois democratic paper. From this day onward there have followed a series of assassinations and attacks in different towns in **East Prussia**, in six towns in **Sleswick-Holstein**, in numerous places in **Silesia**, and in various parts of **Berlin**, **Bavaria**, and other parts of the Reich.

During the first few days of this the Nazi Party maintained an attitude of innocence and ignorance. But as the number of assassinations continued to increase, the Hitler party pushed aside its mask slightly. Hitler's „**Völkischer Beobachter**” wrote on 6th August:

„The desperate outbreaks of the anger of the people against the moral originators of the Red murder actions must surely have made it clear to the present responsible bearers of state power that in times of emergency it is no longer possible to deal out equal treatment...”

With this the National Socialist Party attempts to justify its assassinations as “outbreaks of the anger of the people”, thereby giving its recognition to the murderous Terror being exercised.

But two days later the Nazi party again attempted a clumsy falsification. The „**Nationalsozialistische Parteikorre-**

spondenz” publishes “sensational secret instructions of the Red Front Central Committee”, according to which Red Front members are commanded to attack their own buildings and assassinate their own leaders. Apart from the fact that no Red Front central committee exists at all, and every line of the “secret instructions” bears the stamp of a clumsy forgery, the governmental authorities politically allied with the National Socialist Party have meanwhile ascertained themselves that the Nazis were the assassins: The Königsberg Police Presidency states that the persons arrested on the charge of these murders have admitted to being **members of the 12th Storm Detachment**, and to the leader of the Detachment being one of them. The seven bomb throwers arrested in Sleswick-Holstein are stated in the official report to be **members of the National Socialist Party**, and even the Brunswick police admits in a declaration that the two bomb throwers arrested here are **members of the National Socialist Party**.

The assassinations are not only the work of the National Socialist Party, but are **systematically organised** and carried out by it.

The bomb throwing of the National Socialist Party has indeed its own special aims in view, as follows:

1. To overcome the disappointment of the Storm Detachments, who had already imagined the power to be in their hands, and to distract their attention from the coalition bargaining.

2. To induce the government to take sharper measures, to appoint emergency courts, to impose martial law (measures to be used solely against the anti-fascists, especially when the National Socialist Party is the government party), and especially to prohibit the C.P.G.

3. To exercise pressure on the governmental negotiations in order to ensure the carrying out of the National Socialist demands with regard to ministerial positions.

The National Socialist Party demands that **Hitler be made Chancellor**. On the other hand the newspapers publish a semi-official announcement of the Schleicher-Papen government, stating that “the participation of **National Socialist personages appears to be desirable**, but the super-party character of the present government as a ... **presidential cabinet must not on any account be lost**”.

Schleicher and Hitler are agreed in principle that the fascist dictatorship is to thrust all burdens upon the workers and to hold the masses in subjection. Schleicher is willing to rule with Hitler, but the Hitler party is to be co-ordinated, “channelled”. Hitler is willing to rule with Schleicher, but with the aim of exercising sole power sooner or later.

The **Centre Party** is ready for a coalition with Schleicher and Hitler. The Centre Party leaders held a meeting on 4th August in Cologne, but the report published gave no information, merely stating that no decisions had been arrived at. In reality the announcement made by the “**Deutschen Allgemeinen Zeitung**” (8th August) is perfectly correct in stating that the Centre Party is **ready for positive collaboration**.

Social Democracy, in accordance with its old and disastrous policy of the “lesser evil” is entirely in favour of the Nazi-Centre coalition. It need not be said that the S.P.G. paves this path of continued policy of toleration and capitulation to fascism, this path preparing the way for Hitler, by means of a number of “radical” phrases, without however succeeding in overcoming the depression and growing discontent in the S.P.G.

The weakening of the fascism of Schleicher and Hitler, and the utilisation of the differences between them, is of course possible only by means of the assembling of the forces of the workers in the factories, labour exchanges, and workers' quarters. This is the policy of the C.P.G. Precisely as the C.P.G. has brought the Nazi movement to a standstill by its anti-fascist mass policy—the 31st July has shown this—in the same manner the C.P.G. is now **strengthening anti-fascist action to the utmost of its powers**. At the meeting of the leading functionaries of the Communist Party, held in Berlin on Wednesday 3rd August, the leader of the Party, Ernst Thälmann, issued as main slogan the call for **anti-fascist action to be carried into the workshops and factories**. An Anti-Fascist Week has been fixed from 14th till 21st August for mobilising the shops and factories. The second stage of anti-fascist action will be dominated by the conquest of the works and factories.

The War

The Recent Events in Manchuria.

By Otto Heller.

The situation in the Manchurian province of **Kirin** is characterised by a threatening famine and a growth of the anti-Japanese movement. The Japanese occupation policy is beginning to be involved in difficulties of its own creation. The destruction of the whole agriculture in the territories between **Ussuri** and **Sungari** can become a very serious source of danger to the Japanese oppressors.

The Japanese barred all traffic on the **Sungari** river, which connects the heart of Manchuria with the **Amur**. This was already to be seen from the reports on the situation on the **Amur**. This stoppage of traffic on the **Sungari** is now to be legally confirmed; in the next few days the Manchurian Government will prohibit the export of **Soya** beans via the **Sungari** and **Ussuri**.

What does this mean? The **Ussuri** and **Sungari** districts have hitherto always exported their **soya** beans via Soviet territory. The cargoes of **soya** beans were conveyed down the **Amu** to **Nikolayevsk**, and were there loaded on to Japanese ships. In **Winter**, the **soya** beans were transported in waggons over the ice of the rivers to the left bank of the **Amur**, from whence these huge quantities of the **soya** beans—they amount to many million poods—were shipped away when the ice was free. This transit-trade was of advantage to the peasants and exporters as well as to the Soviet Union.

An glance at the map will show that transport over the **Southern Manchurian Railway** to **Dairen** is an artificial and unprofitable matter. Nevertheless, the Japanese want to throttle completely the transit trade and place the **Southern Manchurian Railway** on a paying basis, no matter if the peasants who grow the **soya** beans in the **North-East** starve in thousands as a result. The transit-trade to the Soviet ports will, of course, be very hard hit by these measures, after the bandits, undisturbed by the Japanese troops, have destroyed the **Eastern** section of the **Eastern Chinese Railway** near the **Eycho** station not far from **Ninguta**.

The Japanese are, of course, not officially taking part in any of these measures. This is all done by the "independent" Manchurian government. The Japanese, as already reported, withdrew their troops some time ago. Most of their troops are stationed on the banks of the **Sungari** near **Sansi**. General **Ma** is no longer in **Fugdin**; here there are Manchurian troops, and the river is blockaded by four old Chinese gunboats, which of course fly the Manchurian flag, but the commanders and crews of which, strange to say, speak only Japanese. As the ships are old, the Japanese government, out of pure neighbourly friendship, will shortly place a number of new ships at the disposal of the Manchurian Government. The Japanese observers have also disappeared from **Lachassusu**; a colonel with 80 men represents **Pu-Yi** in the empty town. A few miles off there still waves the **Nanking** flag.

The population of the whole of **Kirin** is seized with panic. The peasants have cultivated 50 to 60 per cent. less land than last year; they have mainly sown poppies, which crop has the advantage that it is easier to transport and moreover yields the valuable opium. Where corn is to come from nobody knows. The cultivation of the **soya** beans is throttled by the blockade of the river. Rice comes in only in very small quantities from the South. The frontier towards the Soviet Union is closed. The Japanese are systematically bringing in Koreans from the South in order, in accordance with their general policy, artificially to stir up national feuds in Manchuria. As the misery and poverty in Korea has assumed indescribable forms (nearly ten per cent. of the population of Korea have been driven to begging) it is not difficult for the Japanese to bring people into Manchuria.

The situation of the so-called old "**Kirin**" troops, i.e., the anti-Manchurian (insurgent) troops of Generals **Li-Du** and **Toan-Chan-Dse**, is not very cheerful. General **Dinchao** has only very few forces at his command. **Toan-Chan-Dse** has taken up his quarters on the **Ussuri**. All these generals, with the celebrated **Ma** at the head, have an objective and subjective interest in involving the Soviet Union in their affairs; they hope to save themselves thereby. The troops of the generals are completely demoralised. Genuine and false partisans,

fighters for freedom and **Chunchus** are all mixed up together. One thing is certain however: the anti-Japanese movement, especially in the South, on the Korean frontier; but also in the neighbourhood of **Harbin**, has in the last week or two greatly increased in strength and extent. In the province of **Kirin** numerous anti-Japanese leaflets bearing an outspokenly revolutionary character have been circulated. In the town of **Changechun** an appeal of the **Anti-Imperialist League** against Imperialist War has been circulated. The Korean peasant youth will prove a source of trouble to the Japanese.

An new Japanese map of Manchuria has just appeared, which is extraordinarily interesting: It shows a new fourth Manchurian province, the province of **Chingan**, which is divided into three sub-provinces. Manchuria thus obtains a new distribution of administrative areas which greatly accords with the intentions of the Japanese. The question now is, what will the population of Manchuria say to this? Independently of the Generals they will proceed on the road to emancipation from the Japanese occupation and the treacherous Chinese bourgeoisie.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

Reformist General Strike Manoeuvre in Belgium.

Brussels, 8th August 1932.

A congress of the reformist **Miners Union of Belgium** which took place yesterday decided to proclaim a general miners strike beginning this morning. The congress was held against the will of the reformist leaders, and the decision to "proclaim a general strike" was taken in order to get control of the strike which is already proceeding in defiance of the reformist leaders. The striking miners of the **Central Mining Area** demand a real general strike of all industries in order to guarantee victory for the miners. The congress refused to touch this demand, but forwarded it to the **Socialist Party** for consideration.

The activity of the striking miners is intense. The scabs are having a bad time despite the utmost protection the police and military can afford them. Hundreds of strikers, and in particular communists, are being arrested. Big strike demonstrations took place this morning in the **Liège** district. The communist organ "**Drapeau Rouge**" is supporting the strike to its full extent and in consequence it is suffering much police persecution and its sale and distribution is prohibited at all railway stations and on the streets.

It is interesting to note that the threatened wage-cuts in **Antwerp** Harbour have been withdrawn. The Belgian bosses do not want to take on too much at once.

Trade Union Unity Conference of the Workers of Spain.

Some weeks ago there was held in **Madrid** a **National Conference for Trade Union Unity** convened by the independent **Trades Council of Sebastian**, at which 118 delegates from 153 trade unions and federations with a membership of 133,042 took part.

The most important items on the Conference agenda were: Report on the general situation and trade union unity; the situation in **Andalusia**; report on the organising of struggles; the industrial unions; report on the trade union organisation of the youth and of the women; the fights of the landworkers and the agrarian revolution; literature and press; the danger of war and intervention against the Soviet Union.

The conference was a great success thanks to its composition, the high level and thoroughness of the discussion, in which for the first time not only young workers and peasants but also working women participated, and thanks to the unanimity with which all the decisions were adopted.

International Fight against War and Intervention

A Promise and a Deed.

By Clara Zetkin.

The great **International Anti-War Congress** is now very near. It will meet on the **27th August** in **Amsterdam**, Switzerland, once so proud of its liberal tradition as an asylum for political fugitives, has refused to permit the congress to take place in **Geneva**. Those in all countries who desire peace will remember this preliminary incident for it is typical of the attitude of bourgeois society to the problem of peace. It shows unmistakably the necessity of developing a noteworthy protest action into a fighting campaign in which millions of people in all countries participate, a campaign which drives energetically towards its aim without taking heed of petty, timid precautions and considerations.

Imperialist mass slaughter and destruction is already more than a threatening future danger; it is a terrible present happening which must increase in extent and horror. The imperialist insanity of destruction must be countered by an unshakeable resistance, by an anti-militarist will to peace as hard as granite. The broadest masses of the proletariat, of the toilers of all categories in town and country in all capitalist States must form the numberless and invincible army of the anti-war campaign in its struggle for world peace. The Anti-War Congress will unite many hundreds of its representatives with those in all countries and all professions who desire peace. It will appeal irresistibly to still further masses, to the hesitant and uncertain, and rally them into action. It must put a great step behind it towards the great aim of world peace.

Imperialism threatens the peoples with the most fearful crime. The beginning of this crime is already with us; it is a present horror. Month after month Japanese imperialism which has burst victoriously into peaceful China murders, burns and destroys. Japan is the pacemaker for the big imperialist powers of Europe and America. Overt or covert they are all the sympathetic allies of Japan and at the same time its envious competitors in the struggle to force first of all China and then the whole of Eastern and Central Asia into a helpless colonial area of world capitalist exploitation. But the secret aim of the self-appointed protagonists of modern "civilisation" goes still further. They are planning to crush the Soviet Union and enslave the peoples who are united in it and who are striving towards the real culture and freedom which only communism can give. By force of arms in simultaneous military drives from the east and from the west the imperialists hope to accomplish their aim.

The insolent and provocative actions of Japanese imperialism and its white-guardist mercenaries, a counter-revolutionary remnant of Tzarism, prove this to all who have eyes to see. In the Western European countries the terrorist actions of the same white-guardist clique who enjoy the protection and encouragement of the bourgeois militarists and politicians, confirm the existence of this plan. Capitalism's security demands the extermination of the Soviet Union.

The repeated threats against the Soviet Union represent the flashes of lightning which herald the approach of the new world-wide storm. The activities and intentions of the little clique of monopolistic capitalists are by no means directed to preventing the horrible catastrophe. On the contrary, this little clique wants a new world war and is deliberately fanning the sparks of discord as a last attempt to maintain and consolidate capitalism.

Only political simpletons or impotent dreamers can believe that the League of Nations with its empty paraphernalia of disarmament and other conferences can ward off the terrible danger or even that it wishes to. The attitude of the League Council to the brutal and unprovoked military drive of Japanese imperialism against China should cure all but the voluntary blind of the illusion that the grotesque abortion called the League of Nations out of imperialist war by spineless pacifist phraseology can be anything but an instrument of imperialist war in the hands of the big powers. As so often, the last conference of the League of Nations showed that Comrade Litvinov, the representative of the Soviet Union and People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, was the only

delegate representing a State really and honestly desirous of world peace. His speeches and his proposals concerning the methods to secure a reduction of armaments mercilessly tore off the mask of pacifist phrases from the unambiguous war preparations of the capitalist States.

The hopes of the credulous supporters of the Second (Labour and Socialist) International and the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions that these organisations will fight energetically against imperialist war are also built upon sand. Fritz Adler, Otto Bauer and other leaders of the Second International flirt from time to time with the historical significance of the Soviet State and the international solidarity of the working class of all countries, but neither their gestures nor the recent decisions of the Second International must be permitted to obscure the fact that both Internationals are out and out reformist and bound up with the bourgeois order of society in life and death. The terrific hecatomb of corpses piled up by the last world war proves this irrefutably.

Facts speak louder than any words. The British Labour Party and the Socialist Party of Japan are both embellishments of the Second International. One of them justifies in a memorandum the slaughter and destruction carried out by Japanese imperialism in China and expresses itself in favour of securing it the support of the rebellious and hungry workers and peasants. At the same time it gives its support to the warlike provocations against the Soviet Union in Manchuria and along the Chinese Eastern Railway. The pacifist Hendersons and the Christian MacDonalds have bombed and are still bombing insurrectionary Indians who are unwilling to submit to British colonial oppression and exploitation.

The crimes of world imperialism and its future plans must determine the march route of the Anti-War Congress and give it its immediate practical importance. It is unthinkable that the Congress should be nothing but an auditorium of brilliant pacifist phrases and loud fraternal kisses. The Congress must carry the voice of tens of thousands over the whole world, rousing and leading the masses: We stand shoulder to shoulder with the workers, peasants and intellectuals of China, with the hundreds and hundreds of courageous women who are not dismayed by the certainty of a painful death, but who fight, and fall for the ideal of the Soviet State. We are aware that your heroic struggle against native and foreign exploiter is for our freedom also. Colonial oppression in China and in the other Asiatic countries means that the standard of living of the workers in Western Europe is forced down to the coolie level.

We creative workers on all fields oppressed or threatened by capitalism are closely allied with our brothers and sisters in the Soviet Union who are building up socialism. That which the first victorious proletarian revolution has created and is creating in the Soviet Union is the invaluable heritage of the international proletariat. It would be a shameful thing if the workers of those countries still under capitalist control were willing to leave the struggle for peace and freedom and for the safety of the Soviet Union exclusively to their comrades in the Soviet Union. The overthrow of the Soviet Union by the imperialist States would be the greatest world historical defeat of socialism and would strengthen the fascist class dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in all capitalist countries for a long period and intensify the exploitation and oppression of the havenots and small owners.

We, the exploited and oppressed, must fight with the utmost determination against the danger of world war which is so rapidly approaching. The coming world war would drown all our efforts for freedom in blood and fratricidal strife for a long period of time. The Anti-War Congress must be a great step in the organisation of this world-wide struggle. It must arouse the masses and underline the will to peace with action. Unanimously and without disagreement it must send out the slogan to be a binding law for millions that no hand may

move to produce and transport war materials of any sort for the coming imperialist crime. Counter-revolutionary actions on all hand demand that the Anti-War Congress be a Congress for the preparation of revolutionary actions. The Anti-War Congress must be the precursor of an invincible mass storm. A determined advance is the guarantee of victory.

FIRST OF AUGUST

Anti-War Demonstrations Everywhere.

Berlin, 3rd August 1932.

Big anti-war demonstrations are reported from all the big towns in **Denmark**. Twenty thousand workers took part in the demonstration in **Copenhagen** at which a special message of greetings to the German working class was adopted.

Anti-war demonstrations took place on the 1st August in **Latvia**. In **Riga** and its suburbs the demonstrations were broken up by the police and over fifty workers arrested. The police used their revolvers and a worker was shot through the chest and seriously wounded. A second worker was shot in the head and seriously wounded whilst hoisting a red flag.

Despite police prohibition and great preventive measures big anti-war demonstrations took place in several big towns in **Japan** including **Tokio** and **Yokohama**. In both cases violent collisions occurred. In **Tokio** over two hundred workers were arrested by the police and many banners and placards with anti-imperialist slogans captured. In **Yokohama** also numerous arrests were made.

Despite a police prohibition anti-war demonstrations took place in **Shanghai** both in the International Settlement and in the Chinese quarters. Great quantities of leaflets were distributed calling for a struggle against imperialism. The demonstrations were attacked and dispersed by large forces of police and many demonstrators were arrested.

Big anti-war demonstrations also took place in **Norway** and **Sweden**. Over six thousand workers took part in the demonstration in **Stockholm** and big demonstrations are also reported from **Göteborg**, **Norrköping**, **Sundsvall** and other towns. In **Norway** demonstrations took place in **Oslo**, **Bergen**, **Trondheim** and other towns.

Supplementary reports from **Czechoslovakia** show big demonstrations in **Moravia**, **Carpathian-Ukraine** and other parts. In many cases the demonstrations were preceded by protest strikes.

In **Bulgaria** the authorities adopted their usual tactics of making mass arrests prior to demonstrations. In **Sofia** over 400 persons were arrested in this way, in **Plovdiv** as many, in **Haskovo** and **Pasardchick** about four score each, in **Pestera** over sixty, in the village of **Ferdinadovitch** twenty, in **Kasitchen** fifty and in **Pernik** over a hundred. And still demonstrations took place. In **Stara-Zagora** the police fired at the demonstrating workers and wounded one of the leaders of the Workers Party, **Dimitrov**. In **Euski-Jumaya** the police fired over a hundred shots at the demonstration, and many workers were wounded. In **Perustitza** the police also fired and wounded two workers seriously. Eighty arrests were made. The police also fired in **Pasardchick** but fortunately only a horse was killed.

Berlin, 4th August 1932.

The Anti-War Committee of **Spain** held an **Anti-War Week** from the 24th to the 31st July in **Madrid** with numerous meetings. On the 1st August a big demonstration took place under the leadership of the Communist Party. In **Barcelona** 152 workers were arrested by the police.

Fine demonstrations took place in **France**. Not only in **Paris**, but also in the provinces successful demonstrations were held. 5,000 workers demonstrated in **Marseilles** where the police attacked the workers and made 150 arrests. 4,000 workers demonstrated in **St. Etienne**.

The demonstration in **Buenos Aires** was attacked by the police who fired at the workers wounding one man seriously. The police also attacked the demonstration in **Santiago (Cuba)**, and a number of workers were injured and many arrested.

Demonstrations and meetings took place all over **Poland** despite rigorous police repression and numerous "preventive arrests" which were carried out in many centres. In **Warsaw** the demonstrations were attacked and broken up by the police. Many workers were injured and many arrested. Mass arrests were made in **Vilna**, **Lodz**, **Lowicz** and in the **Dom-browa** mining district. In **Warsaw** a Polish officer shot down two workers during the demonstration. One of them was killed outright, and the other was seriously wounded.

Demonstrations took place in all the big towns in **Finland**. Meetings and demonstrations took place in **Helsingfors**, **Abo**, **Wiborg** and **Tammerfors**.

London, 2nd August 1932.

2000 workers marched in **Glasgow**. The demonstration culminated in a mass meeting attended by 5000. In **Bradford** a large meeting was held in the evening after a march through the working class districts of the town. In **London** a large number of local demonstrations were held in the form of meetings on open spaces preceded by marches. In **Portsmouth**, August 1 was the opening of **Navy Week**. Overnight the streets of the town were painted with anti-war slogans, which the authorities had been unable to remove in the morning when thousands of workers came into the town to see the war-makers' pageant. The slogans created a big effect, which was heightened when in the afternoon a flood of leaflets was poured to the ground from an aeroplane taking people on pleasure cruises in connection with **Navy week**.

32 workers were arrested in **Sydney** (New South Wales) in the course of a march by anti-war demonstrators on to the Japanese consulate. The procession was attacked by the police with batons, and there were a number of casualties on both sides.

THE WHITE TERROR

Friedrich Karikás in Acute Danger.

Vienna, 3rd August 1932.

The fascist newspaper "**Magyarsag**" reports that the Hungarian communist **Friedrich Karikás** will come up for trial before the court in **Miskolez** on the 10th inst. **Karikás** is accused of offences against the Hungarian bourgeoisie committed during the Hungarian Soviet Republic over thirteen years ago. A powerful protest campaign is necessary if **Karikás** is to be saved from the fate of **Sallai** and **Fürst**.

The **Central Committee of the Communist Party of Hungary** has issued an appeal to the workers of the world on behalf of **Karikás** who is described as a gallant soldier of the world revolution who fought in the ranks of both the Hungarian and Russian Red Armies, who occupied the post of **Red Director** in a big factory in the Soviet Union and served the cause of the international proletariat with sword, pen and tools.

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Demonstration at Graves of Murdered.

Vienna, 8th August 1932.

Yesterday morning a surprise demonstration of several hundred workers took place in **Budapest** at the graves of the two communist leaders **Sallai** and **Fürst** who were murdered last week by the **Horthy** gang. A large force of police was rushed to the cemetery in motor tenders and attacked the workers with reckless brutality. Many workers were injured and over seventy were arrested.

Ruegg Trial to be Re-Opened on 10th August.

Shanghai, 4th August 1932.

The Ruegg trial which was to have been re-opened on the 4th August has now been postponed till the 10th August for reasons unknown. At the same time it has been decided to leave Paul Ruegg and his wife in hospital and to take them back to prison on the 9th August only. This is undoubtedly due to the re-opening of the hunger-strike by the two.

The Chinese lawyer of the accused, **Tchen In**, was in **Nanking** yesterday and demanded the removal of the trial to **Shanghai**. He also demanded the withdrawal of the indictment in its present form owing to the fact that the evidence advanced by the prosecution offered no basis for the charges raised in the indictment.

August 22nd, —

the Fifth Sacco-Vanzetti Anniversary.

By J. Louis Engdahl.

August Twenty-Second this year is just five years since Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, two Italian workers, were strapped in the electric chair of the American ruling class and burned to death with 2,000 volts of electricity.

The arrogant dollar reaction, drunk with its so-called "prosperity", scoffed at the mighty world protest of aroused mankind, five years ago.

August Twenty-second is an anniversary of the **International Red Aid** and during the past five years it has grown in significance as a day of protest against all persecutions of labour.

This year, August Twenty-second, has a special significance. The electric chair is again being wheeled into action, this time for the **Scottsboro Negro children of Alabama**. We have just passed the sixteenth anniversary, July 29th, of the imprisonment of **Tom Mooney** and **Warren K. Billings**. But, also, every capitalist, colonial and semi-colonial country, adds up an increasing list of class war prisoners; a mounting number of our martyred dead, the many victims of the Nazi murder bands in **Germany**, the heroic revolutionary fighters done to death on the gallows of the Horthy hangmen in **Hungary**.

The Fifth Sacco-Vanzetti Anniversary raises again the class character of the capitalist courts, especially since many of the same judges on the bench of the United States Supreme Court, who refused even to listen to the appeal in the Sacco-Vanzetti case, will now review the proceedings in judicial lynching of the **Scottsboro Negro children** in the lower courts of Alabama. It is important to emphasize very sharply the part played by the highest judicial tribunal in what is supposed to be "democratic" America, and how closely its actions parallel those of Horthy's judicial lynchers of revolutionary workers.

Among the outstanding members of the United States Supreme Court in 1927 were **Louis D. Brandeis**, heralded by the socialists as a liberalising influence, a Jewish Zionist; **Harlan Fiske Stone**, another reputed liberal; **Oliver Wendell Holmes**, who with Brandeis and Stone is heralded by those who foster illusions as to capitalist class justice as an outstanding trio of "liberalism", champions of "fairness", pillars of "impartiality".

But everyone of these refused even to grant a stay against the electrocutters of Sacco and Vanzetti in 1927. It will be remembered that on the night of August 10, 1927, when Sacco and Vanzetti had already been dressed in their death clothes and scheduled to die within 45 minutes, with a whole army of soldiers surrounding the prison and with a whole horde of newspaper representatives at the threshold of the death house ready to spread the news of the judicial murder, the governor of Massachusetts granted a reprieve for twelve days in order to confuse and dampen world protest. During those twelve days the judges of the United States Supreme Court were on vacation and the court itself would not sit again until October, two months later. Lawyers for the defence

sought out the judges in their palatial summer residences and demanded that they grant an appeal that would stay the execution for two months until October. But every one of these "liberal", socialist-heralded justices refused to interfere and were outraged at thus having their holidays disturbed. So Sacco and Vanzetti died, victims of "liberal", as well as "reactionary", judges. Of these three, Brandeis and Stone will hear the **Scottsboro** appeal. Holmes recently retired 92 years of age.

In addition to these, however, **Charles Evans Hughes**, chief justice, several times candidate for president, corporation lawyer for the food, oil, radio, electric power and other monopolies, after having been originally proclaimed as a "trust buster", will pass on the **Scottsboro** appeal. Along with him the successor of the aged Justice Holmes, appointed by the hunger president, Hoover, **Justice Benjamin N. Cardozo**. Again Cardozo on his appointment was hailed as a "liberal". But when a Communist prisoner was nominated as candidate in the 1921 elections, Cardozo ruled his name off the ballot, although there was no basis in law for this action, and the law had to be changed in order to legalise this action. This same Cardozo upheld the conviction and sentence to one year's imprisonment of a young Communist for having written an anti-militarist poem that appeared in the "Daily Worker", New York. This is another "liberal".

Through the poisonous propaganda of the ruling class, that acts like a drug upon the minds of those who have no other avenues of information, the illusions as to "democracy" in the United States, and the "liberalisms" of its institutions, especially its courts, are fostered.

The Sacco-Vanzetti judicial murder did much to destroy these illusions. So does the long continued imprisonment of Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings. And now the **Scottsboro** judicial lynching. The cynical and brazen manner in which the dollar reaction carries through its reply to the hunger appeal of the masses was seen in the recent ordering out of cavalry, infantry and armoured tanks against the veterans of the recent world war mobilised in **Washington** in support of their demand for relief from the government that votes billions for the banks and the great industries, but does not have a single penny to relieve the mass misery of the jobless industrial workers and the stricken agrarian masses.

This ruling class with its lackey Supreme Court will only be forced to bend in the **Scottsboro** persecution, and free the **Negro children**, through the widest world protest. The mobilisations for the **Fifth Anniversary Sacco-Vanzetti Demonstrations** have, therefore, a tremendous significance. Through the complete shattering of all illusions as to the class character of the capitalist courts, there is built a broader basis for the **mass protest** that alone is able to tear the **Scottsboro children** and all working class victims from the grip of the oppressing class, and end the growing list of our martyred dead. In this way the Fifth Sacco-Vanzetti Anniversary, August 22, 1932, can be made historic.

Scottsboro Negro Mother Appeals for Wide Mass Protest on Sacco-Vanzetti Anniversary, August 22nd.

We have received the following statement from Mrs. Ada Wright, the mother of two of the Scottsboro boys, who are threatened with the electric chair. Ed.

I have just learned that "Freedom for the Scottsboro Boys" is to be the central slogan for Sacco-Vanzetti Day, August 22nd.

One year ago I had never heard how these two Italian workers, **Nicola Sacco** and **Bartolomeo Vanzetti**, a shoe maker and a fish peddler, had been burned alive in the electric chair at Boston, Massachusetts, August 22nd, 1927.

I know more to-day. I see that it is not our boys alone who are persecuted. The electric chair has been used before, I have learned, against the working class. I know that this new knowledge also extends to my own people, not only the thirteen millions of Negroes in the United States, but in the West Indies, in South America, in Africa.

I am sure that raising the **Scottsboro** slogan in the centre of the activities for Sacco-Vanzetti Day, will help widen the

mass protest on August 22nd against all forms of anti-labour oppression.

I did not know there was so much persecution of the workers in the world. One year ago I thought that we Scottsboro Mothers were alone in our misery. Now I see that the workers everywhere, except in the Soviet Union, are facing oppression in many forms. But I also see very clearly, that the workers everywhere are uniting against their oppressors. This gives me hope. My heart bleeds for my boys, and for the other Scottsboro boys in prison, facing the electric chair. But in these three months that I have travelled through thirteen countries in Europe, I have found that my cause is the cause of workers in all lands, and this gives me courage to struggle.

I have heard of the execution of our comrades in **Hungary**; I have heard of the tortures of our comrades, **Paul and Gertrud Ruegg**, in China; daily I hear of the attacks by fascists in Germany, like the lynch mobs in the United States, upon the workers.

When the Scottsboro slogan is raised in the centre of the Sacco-Vanzetti Day demonstrations, I know it will mean, as well, that the struggle against all these other persecutions will be increased.

It is in this sense that I appeal to all the members and supporters of the **International Red Aid** to exert their best energies in preparing for Sacco-Vanzetti Day.

It is in this sense that I appeal to all oppressed, of all races and nationalities, everywhere, to join in and help carry through successfully the Sacco-Vanzetti Day Demonstrations.

I have also heard that the International Red Aid is working very hard preparing for its **World Congress** to be held in **Moscow**, in November. This World Congress, I am sure, will strengthen our working class unity, build our struggles. We must let the workers everywhere know about this World Congress on Sacco-Vanzetti Day. They must understand its purpose, its tasks, and thus be better able to carry out its programme of resistance to all persecutions of the working class.

With this appeal also for the World Congress of the International Red Aid that brought hope to me in the faraway "Southland" of misery for the Negro masses in the United States; I urge the greatest possible mass support for the Fifth Sacco-Vanzetti Anniversary Demonstrations, August 22, 1932.

Ada Wright.

Trial of the Pittsburgh Eviction Demonstration Prisoners.

By William L. Patterson (New York).

The verdict of "not guilty" with costs assessed against the county, brought in by a middle class jury in the Pittsburgh eviction cases, freeing four working class leaders, three of them Negroes, from a threat of imprisonment, is symptomatic and of tremendous significance to the revolutionary movement as a whole. Together with the „Bell case"*) it outlines a new procedure in working class defence actions. It raises these to a higher political level. It is proof that victories can be won by workers in capitalist courts.

Such victories will depend upon the correctness of our tactics under the given conditions. But the tactics of this Pittsburgh case can be used generally as a guide. Every legal device must be used. There must be determined unmasking of the demagoguery of the courts and the prosecuting attorney. Mass pressure must be applied. The class character and hypocrisy of capitalist justice must be ruthlessly exposed. But the centre of the struggle must be to form a united front with the middle class jury. This must be based upon a clear exposure of the ruthless attacks of the ruling class upon the interests of the middle class. This can be secured only if we prove that only the leadership and tactics of the working class will avail against this attack. The defence in Pittsburgh followed this policy.

The jury of nine women and three men was drawn from middle class elements. It represented as far as could be

*) Fred Bell, head of the Pittsburgh district I.L.D., was arrested at a demonstration before Blawnox penitentiary. He conducted his own defence on a class struggle basis and was acquitted by a middle class jury in the Pittsburgh district.

determined from an examination of the jury panel, city and rural poor and the middle section of the petty bourgeoisie. Upon their shoulders the burdens of the crisis have and are falling heavily. These people see their life savings swept into the pockets of the capitalists through the fall of stock values in Wall Street. Bank failures, increasing taxation and mortgage foreclosures are dealing them terrific blows. Mass dismissals of civil servants, clerks, and other members of the ruling class bureaucracy is daily worsening their material conditions. The growing insecurity looms like a terrible spectre before them.

This peculiar situation demands of us an ability to adapt ourselves to a struggle against judge and prosecution for a united front with the jury in the capitalist courts. These sections of the petty bourgeoisie can be won for the proletarian struggle or they can be neutralized. The consistent revolutionary struggle of the working class has a tremendous influence upon these sections of the middle class.

The four days trial was a struggle of "class against class". A struggle transferred from the streets to the capitalist court room. The cases arose out of an attempt to evict a widow with four children and a man and his wife from their homes. All of the victims were Negroes. The events took place in the Negro and Jewish sections of Pittsburgh. In this section the unemployed Councils, though weak in Pittsburgh as a whole, had done their best work. Mass actions against evictions had taken place. More than 2,000 Negro and white workers were on the streets protesting against these evictions.

The charges formally made by the states attorney were "inciting to riot", "obstructing due process of law", and "resisting an officer". The court and prosecutor were anxious to begin with the appearance of general democracy.

The fact that the jury was all white and the defendants were most of them Negroes, gave the court and prosecution confidence. The prosecutor had removed the only Negro drawn on the jury panel from the jury. The defence later exposed this chauvinist act to the advantage of the worker defendants.

Neither the court nor state's attorney understood the changing mood of this section of the middle class which composed the jury: a new attitude towards society born of the vicious offensive of the ruling class against these people. They expected openly to exploit and capitalize the anti-red sentiment which they believed existed generally and which by their tactics they intended to concretize and aggravate. They hoped cleverly to exploit the white chauvinist tendencies which they believed the jury possessed. The court and prosecutor sought to build a united front with the jury.

On the basis of their common interest in the struggle against the ruthless attacks of the ruling class upon the standards of living of the toiling masses, the united front between the worker defendants and the middle class jury was realized. The defence unfolded before the jury the working class way out of the crisis. This remains the only avenue of escape for these sections of the middle class. The defence proved that the revolutionary struggle assured immediate material relief. And the trial itself also proved this.

The lessons of the Pittsburgh trial should not be lost. In the bourgeois courts, as in all other forms of struggle, we must make a concrete objective analysis of the situation. We must understand the inter-relationships of classes. Juries are for the most part drawn from among the middle class. We must take advantage of the shifting relationships, arising out of the vicious attacks of the ruling class upon the masses. The jury is a potential ally of the worker on trial.

The bourgeois courts must be a forum. But the bourgeois courts are also a battle field. We are there to win cases; we are there to win back our leaders for the struggle and not to surrender them without the most desperate fight. These battles cannot be won unless a united front is formed with the jury.

In the Pittsburgh trial a middle class jury accepted the policy of the Unemployed Councils as correct in cases of eviction. It endorsed the Communist leadership of the Councils. It rejected the chauvinist position of the ruling class courts and prosecutors with reference to juries. It placed its stamp of approval upon determined struggle as a correct method in court procedure.

Certainly this would not have been the case three years ago. Perhaps it would not have been the case a year ago. The economic decline of whole sections of the middle class, the open rotteness and decay of bourgeois society is having its effect. These are signs which must be recognised.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

The I.L.P. Leaves the British Labour Party.

By R. Bishop (London).

By 241 votes to 142 the special Conference of the Independent Labour Party, held in Bradford on July 30 and 31, has decided upon **disaffiliation from the Labour Party**. The decision to leave the Labour Party was taken on a motion submitted by the National Council.

Ever since the war the I.L.P. have played the deliberate role of attempting to hold the masses back from revolutionary struggle. In 1919 and 1920 there was a ferment among the rank and file of the I.L.P. as there was in every Socialist Party in the world. The leadership played the same game to hold back the struggle then as they are playing now.

In those days the leaders of the "Left" I.L.P. were **Philip Snowden** and **Ramsay MacDonald**. To-day MacDonald and Snowden are the leaders of the National Government and **Maxton** and **Brockway** are the leaders of the I.L.P.

In 1919-20 the I.L.P. negotiated through Snowden and **Jowett** for the formation of a revolutionary party in conjunction with the other Socialist groups in Britain. Nothing came of these negotiations. Then in 1920 a strong demand arose in the I.L.P. for immediate affiliation with the Comintern. To postpone the issue the National Council of the I.L.P. addressed 21 questions to the Comintern, questions deliberately framed to sabotage the chances of developing a Communist Party in Great Britain.

A straightforward reply was given to these questions, a reply drafted by **Comrade Lenin** himself. It made clear that the only choice before the I.L.P. was the camp of revolution under the banner of the Communist International, or the camp of capitalism. Faced with a growing discontent among their membership the I.L.P. leaders, chief among whom by this time was **Clifford Allen** now Baron Allen of Hurtwood for services rendered to MacDonald in forming the National Government, commenced a propaganda for "Unity between the Second and Third Internationals".

With the false cry of "Unity", they sidetracked the members of the I.L.P. into the Vienna International (the 2½ International) for just so long as the revolutionary tide was high. In 1923 when it was on the ebb, they crept back into the Labour and Socialist International.

So do the leadership aim at creeping back into the Labour Party when they think the time opportune, when, as they hope it will, the present ferment dies down.

Both, the first and the second Labour Governments have received the full support of the I.L.P. and at the last election they went forward on the cry of "Return a Third Labour Government".

But the I.L.P. now claim to have broken with their past, to have evolved a "new pacifist technique of Revolution" (A. F. Brockway). Yet as recently as May 12 this year when negotiating with the Labour Party executive on the question of Standing Orders, the ostensible reason for the breach, Brockway said to Lansbury:

"The I.L.P. accepts the objective of the Labour Party-Socialism, and in general, its programme. There are isolated issues upon which we differ in that programme. But on the major issues we accept it."

The I.L.P. leaders throughout the conference tried to evade their own responsibility for the misdeeds with which they charged the Labour Party. **Fenner Brockway** told the Conference that:

"The Labour Government reduced the standard of life of the workers in order to maintain the unearned income of the possessing class."

But he did not mention how the I.L.P. had helped to break the mass struggle of the working class against the worsening of their standards (which developed after the Invergordon mutiny) and tried to divert the struggle into parliamentary channels—channels completely harmless to capitalism.

Nor did Brockway mention that a year ago, in the "New Leader" of August 7, 1931, the I.L.P. had itself advocated a reduction of the standards of the workers. This was what this precious article said:

"If we are really going to scale down all round to suit the lower price level we should do as Germany did; she began with President Hindenburg's salary. We should start with the Civil Lists, and the royal grants and so on to ministerial salaries, and then we might without shame cut teachers' salaries, wages generally and even the dole".

With the slogan of "Equality of Sacrifice" the National Government carried through its "economy" campaign. Here it is from the mouth of the revolutionary I.L.P.

In the past few years they have put forward every kind of panacea. They developed an American cult, holding up Fordism as the desired end, they have seen salvation in Import Boards and in the Living Wage proposals, and in family allowances.

Whilst the I.L.P. broken with the Labour Party they do not want the break to be too decisive. **Campbell Stephen**, ex-M.P., was put up by the N.A.C. to urge branches to do nothing that would exacerbate feeling too much. Let us stand our ground, was the nature of his appeal, and if our members withdraw from the Labour Party and refuse to work for it the Labour Party will "soon realise that its autocracy and opportunism do not pay". **Brockway** and **Wallhead** made similar pleas. Everything was done to leave the door ajar for an early return to the fold when the ferment had died down.

Whilst it was clear from the conference that the rank and file of the conference were anxious to be freed from the incubus of the Labour Party, it was equally clear that they had very little realisation of the implications of this action. A **Revolutionary Policy Committee** has been formed inside the I.L.P. which expresses dissatisfaction with the split taking place on the formal grounds of Labour Party Standing Orders. They demanded the formulation of a revolutionary policy, but they took no steps to face up the leaders of the I.L.P. with their own past misdeeds. They were satisfied with the denunciation of the Labour Party providing that the N.A.C. would adopt a revolutionary sounding policy for the future. "Let us look to the future and forget the past" was the slogan with which they went into action.

The meaningless nature of the new "revolutionary policy" could not have been better illustrated than by the speech of **Middleton Murry**, a bourgeois writer, who has recently joined the I.L.P. and calls himself a Marxian! Said Murry:

"It is essential that the I.L.P. should have a revolutionary policy but it is equally necessary that it should understand the implications of that policy. We must have a revolution in our hearts and in our minds. We must keep the revolution in its right place—that is in our hearts and minds."

Beckett, one of the ex-M.P.s who supported disaffiliation, also threw an interesting sidelight on his conception of revolution:

"Don't let us talk too loudly of revolution", he said, "it will have a bad effect in the constituencies. Let us first of all get our Parliamentary majority and then we can proceed to use our power."

The I.L.P. is the same old I.L.P. Many of its leading lights, like **Kirkwood** who draws a salary from his trade union dependent on his being a Labour Party Member of Parliament, will drop out. Others who are Councillors etc., will also resign to safeguard their seats.

The members of the I.L.P. in the main sincerely want a break with the past. They must be made to see that disaffiliation from the Labour Party does not in itself constitute such a break. The new policy which works out in doubtful detail how to feed the workers after the revolution but omits to state how they are to feed themselves now, cannot satisfy them for long.

Despite the confusion that reigns at present, there can be little doubt that experience of the new "revolutionary" policy will carry the disillusionment of the I.L.P. rank and file a stage further, and bring the genuine proletarian elements away from the cloudy phraseology that befogs their minds a present, into the ranks of the mass struggle and of the Communist Party.

How the First World War was Prepared

Peace Talk as a Cloak for War Preparations.

Documents from the Period Preceding the First
Imperialist World War.

End of Peace Talk. — Declaration of War on Serbia.

War Commenced, But As Yet No Declaration of War.

Vienna, July 27. The mobilisation of 8 army corps has been ordered.

The first Prisoners.

Vienna, July 27. On the Danube, near Kocevo, the Servian troopships "Vardar" and "Tsar Nicolas" were seized by the Austrian boats of the Danube flotilla, and thus the first Servian prisoners were captured.

("Der Tag" July 28.)

Mobilisation in Austria.

Vienna, July 27. The first of the three mobilisation days commence officially to-morrow. In reality, however, the transport of troops, guns and munitions has been going on already for several days. The whole mobilisation is proceeding smoothly.

("Lokalanzeiger" July 28.)

Germany Suggests that Austria Negotiate Directly with Russia.

The Reichs-Chancellor to the German Ambassador at Vienna.
Berlin, July 28, 1914.

The Austrian-Hungarian Government has definitely declared to Russia that it does not think of making any territorial acquisitions in Serbia. The reply, now to hand, of the Servian Government to the Austrian ultimatum shows that Serbia has complied with the Austrian demands to such an extent that in the event of a completely intransigent attitude on the part of the Austrian-Hungarian Government, we shall have to reckon with a general revulsion of public opinion of the whole of Europe against Austria.

The obvious conclusion is that the Russian Government will also realise that once the mobilisation of the Austro-Hungarian army has commenced, national honour will demand an advance into Serbia. It is intended to occupy Serbia in the same way as Germany occupied France after the peace of Frankfurt, in order to secure the demand for war indemnities.

Will Your Excellency at once have a discussion with Count Berchthold in this sense, and suggest an appropriate demarche in St. Petersburg. It will be necessary for you carefully to avoid creating the impression that we wish to hold Austria back.

Bethmann Hollweg.

(German Documents on the Outbreak of the War, vol. II. pages 38/40.)

England Proposes Mediation.

London, July 27, (Reuter). Bonar Law asked a question in the House of Commons to-day regarding the European situation. In reply the Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Grey, stated that he had telegraphed yesterday to the British Ambassadors at Paris, Berlin and Rome, instructing them to enquire of the governments with whom they are accredited, whether they would be disposed to instruct their Ambassadors in London to meet him (Sir Edward Grey) here in conference for the purpose of discovering an issue which would settle the present difficulties. At the same time he had instructed British representatives to request these governments to inform

their representatives in Vienna of the proposed Conference and to request that all active military operations should be suspended pending results of the Conference.

Germany Rejects Mediation.

The Reichs Chancellor to the German Ambassador in London.
Berlin, July 28, 1914.

Sir Edward Grey has expressly and repeatedly declared that the Austro-Servian conflict did not concern him, but on the other hand he was prepared to mediate in an Austro-Russian conflict, and in this reckoned on our assistance. We had expressed ourselves in complete agreement with this standpoint. Sir Edward has now abandoned this standpoint and requested our mediation in inducing Austria to accept the Servian reply as satisfactory, or at least as a basis for further conversations.

It is impossible to fulfil the first request.

Although we are in complete agreement with England and are striving and hoping to continue co-operation with her in every direction, we cannot recognise the right of Russia, or even of the Triple Entente, to come forward in support of the Servian machinations against Austria.

Bethmann Hollweg.

(German Documents on the Outbreak of the War, Vol. II. page 6.)

Austria-Hungary Declares War on Serbia.

Count Berchthold to the Austrian Emperor.

Vienna, July 27, 1914.

Sire!

I take the liberty of submitting herewith to Your Majesty the draft of a telegram to the Servian Foreign Minister containing the declaration of war on Serbia, and would humbly suggest that Your Majesty empower me to have this telegram sent off to-morrow morning, and at the same time to publish the official declaration of war in Vienna and Budapest simultaneously.

(Signed) Berchthold.

I approve the enclosed draft of a telegram to the Servian Foreign Ministry, which contains the declaration of war to Serbia, and give you the desired authority.

Bad Ischl, July 28, 1914.

(Signed) Franz Joseph.

(Diplomatic Documents on the Outbreak of the War 1914, part 2, pages 149/50.)

Text of the Declaration of War on Serbia.

Count Berchthold to the Royal Servian Foreign Office at
Belgrade.

Vienna, July 28, morning.

The Royal Servian government not having answered in a satisfactory manner the Note of July 23 presented by the Austro-Hungarian Minister at Belgrade, the Imperial and Royal Government are themselves compelled to see to the safeguarding of their rights and interests, and, with this object, to have recourse to force of arms.

Austria-Hungary consequently considers herself henceforward in a state of war with Serbia.

The Austrian-Hungarian Foreign Minister Count Berchthold.

The Austrian Press on the Declaration of War.

Vienna, July 29. War is declared. For some days past there has been no doubt for the population of Austria-Hungary that it was not to be averted. The feelings of the people, which found powerful expression, have sanctioned the decision of the government. The people feel neither vacillation nor faint-heartedness. For the people the war was already there . . . ("Fremdenblatt.")

Austria Rejects English Mediation.

Count Berchthold to the Imperial and Royal Ambassadors at St. Petersburg, London, Paris and Rome.

Vienna, July 29, 1914.

For Your Excellency's information.

I have to-day handed the Imperial German Ambassador the following Memorandum in answer to a *démarche* made by him:

Memorandum:

The imperial and Royal Government have received with deep gratitude information of the communication which the Imperial German Ambassador made to them on the 28th inst. with regard to a request of the British Cabinet that the Imperial German Government should use their influence with the Vienna Cabinet that they might regard the answer from Belgrade either as satisfactory, or as a basis for discussion . . .

The Imperial and Royal Government must point out that to their great regret they are no longer in a position to adopt an attitude towards the Servian reply in the sense of the British suggestion, since at the time of the *démarche* made by Germany a state of war between the Monarchy and Servia had already arisen, and the Servian reply has accordingly already been outstripped by events . . .

If the British Cabinet is prepared to use its influence on the Russian Government with a view to the maintenance of peace between the Great Powers, and with a view to the localisation of the war which has been forced upon us by many years of Servian intrigues, the Imperial and Royal Government could only welcome this.

(Diplomatic Documents on the Outbreak of the War 1914. 3. vol., pages 25/28.)

Exchange of Telegrams between Wilhelm and Nicolas.

Kaiser Wilhelm to the Tsar.

Berlin, July 28, 1914.

I have heard with the greatest anxiety of the impression which is caused by the action of Austria-Hungary against Servia. The unscrupulous agitation which has been going on for years in Servia, has led to the revolting crime of which Archduke Franz Ferdinand has become a victim . . . Doubtless You will agree with me that both of us, You and I, and all other sovereigns, have a common interest to insist that all those who are responsible for this horrible murder shall suffer their deserved punishment.

On the other hand I by no means overlook the difficulty encountered by You and Your Government to stem the tide of public opinion. In view of the cordial friendship which has joined us both for a long time with firm ties, I shall use my entire influence to induce Austria-Hungary to obtain a frank and satisfactory understanding with Russia. I hope confidently that You will support me in my efforts to overcome all difficulties which may yet arise.

Your most sincere and devoted friend and cousin
(Signed) Wilhelm.

The Tsar to Kaiser Wilhelm.

Peterhof Palace, July 29, 1914. 1 p. m.

I am glad that You are back in Germany. In this serious moment I ask You earnestly to help me. An ignominious war, has been declared against a weak country and in Russia the indignation which I fully share is tremendous. I fear that very soon I shall be unable to resist the pressure exercised upon me and that I shall be forced to take measures which will lead to war. To prevent a calamity as a European

Note by Wilhelm: State of siege is to be proclaimed; the streets are to be cleared of socialists.

war would be, I urge You, in the name of our old friendship to do all in Your power to restrain Your ally from going too far.

(Signed) Nicolas.

"Russia Shall Remain a Spectator"

The Kaiser Wilhelm to the Tsar.

Berlin, July 29, 1914.

I have received Your telegram and I share Your desire for a conservation of peace. However: I cannot—as I told You in my first telegram—consider the action of Austria-Hungary as an "ignominious war". Austria-Hungary knows from experience that the promises of Servia as long as they are merely on paper are entirely unreliable.

According to my opinion the action of Austria-Hungary is to be considered as an attempt to receive full guarantee that the promises of Servia are effectively translated into deeds. In this opinion I am strengthened by the explanation of the Austrian Cabinet that Austria-Hungary intended no territorial gain at the expense of Servia. I am therefore of opinion that it is perfectly possible for Russia to remain a spectator in the Austro-Servian war without drawing Europe into the most terrible war it has ever seen. I believe that a direct understanding is possible and desirable between Your Government and Vienna, an understanding which—as I have already telegraphed You—my Government endeavours to aid with all possible effort. Naturally military measures by Russia, which might be construed as a menace by Austria-Hungary, would accelerate a calamity which both of us desire to avoid and would undermine my position as mediator which—upon Your appeal to my friendship and aid—I willingly accepted.

(Signed) Wilhelm.

The Tsar Recommends that the Austro-Servian Problem Be Submitted to the Hague Tribunal.

The Tsar to Kaiser Wilhelm.

Peterhof Palace, July 29, 1914.

Thanks for Your telegram, which is conciliatory and friendly, whereas the official message presented to-day by Your Ambassador to my Minister was conveyed in a very different tone. I beg You to explain this divergency. It would be right to give over the Austro-Servian problem to the Hague Tribunal. I trust in Your wisdom and friendship.

Nicolas.

The Tsar to Kaiser Wilhelm.

Peterhof Palace, July 30th, 1914, 1.20 p.m.

I thank You from my heart for Your quick reply . . . The military measures now taking form were decided upon five days ago, and for the reason of defence against the preparations of Austria. I hope with all my heart that these measures will not influence in any manner Your position as mediator which I appraise very highly. We need Your strong pressure upon Austria so that an understanding can be arrived at with us.

Wilhelm: No!

Wilhelm: No, this is quite out of the question!!!

Nicolas.

With Giant Strides Towards the World War.

Grey: "Then it is perhaps also too late to avert a General War."

Count Mensdorf to Count Berchthold.

London, July 29, 1914.

I have spoken to Sir Edward Grey, who declared that the situation had become much more serious and he was very much disturbed. There were reports from Berlin of a Russian mobilisation, and reports from Vienna that the Austria-Hungarian Government refuse to negotiate with Russia direct. Thus the danger of a great European conflagration approaches ever nearer . . .

I pointed out to him that after the declaration of war and the commencement of hostilities it is probably too late...

"Then it is perhaps also too late to avert a general war", he exclaimed...

(Diplomatic Documents on the Outbreak of the War 1914. vol. 3, page 12.)

French Government Firmly Determined to Act in Concert with Russia.

Russian Ambassador at Paris to the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Paris, July 29, 1914.

Viviani has just confirmed to me the French Government's firm determination to act in concert with Russia. This determination is upheld by all classes of society and by the political parties, including the Radical Socialists, who have just addressed a resolution to the Government expressing the absolute confidence and the patriotic sentiments of their party....

(The Russian Orange Book.)

Isvolsky.

"We have no Alternative but to Hasten on our Military Preparations"

Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs to Russian Ambassador at Paris.

St. Petersburg, July 29, 1914.

The German Ambassador to-day informed me of the decision of his government to mobilise, if Russia did not stop her military preparations. Now, in point of fact, we only began these preparations in consequence of the mobilisation of eight corps in Austria and owing to their evident unwillingness to accept any means of arriving at a peaceful settlement of their dispute with Serbia.

As we cannot comply with the wishes of Germany we have no alternative but to hasten on our own military preparations and to assume that war is probably inevitable. Please inform the French Government of this, and add that we are sincerely grateful to them for the declaration which the French Ambassador made to me on their behalf, to the effect that we could count fully upon the assistance of our ally, France. In the existing circumstances that declaration is especially valuable to us. It is also highly desirable that England, without losing any time, should join France and Russia, for only in this way will it succeed in averting the dangerous disturbance of the balance of power in Europe.

(Signed) Sasonov.

(M. Pokrovsky: Secret Archives of the Tsar, page 28.)

"England, Russia and France have Secretly Agreed to Conduct a War of Annihilation Against Us."

The German Ambassador at Petersburg to the German Foreign Office.

St. Petersburg, July 30, 1914.

I have just had an hour and a half's talk with Sasonov, who summoned me to him at midnight. His object was to persuade me to urge my Government to participate in a quadruple conference to find means to induce Austria-Hungary, in a friendly way, to give up those demands which touch upon the sovereignty of Serbia. I could merely promise to report the conversation and took the position that, after Russia had decided upon the baneful step of mobilisation, every exchange of ideas appeared now extremely difficult, if not impossible.... I added very solemnly that at this moment the entire Austro-Servian affair was eclipsed by the danger of a general European conflagration, and I endeavoured to present to the Minister the magnitude of this danger.

Note by Wilhelm: Is the Russian mobilisation a friendly way?

Wilhelm: Quite right!

Wilhelm: Non-sense! This sort of policy involves the most serious danger for the Tsar!

It was impossible to dissuade Sasonov from the idea that Serbia could not now be deserted by Russia. No government could conduct such a policy here without serious dangers to the Monarchy....

Pourtales.

Wilhelm's concluding remarks: England, Russia and France, using as a pretext the Austro-Servian conflict, wish to conduct a war of annihilation against us. W. (Wilhelm.)

July 29: Russian Government Orders Mobilisation.

Telegram from Sasonov to Russian Ambassador at Berlin. Dated July 28, 1914.

In consequence of the declaration of war by Austria against Serbia, the Imperial Government will announce to-morrow (28th) the mobilisation in the military circumscriptions of Odessa, Kiev, Moscow and Kasań.

Please inform German Government, confirming the absence in Russia of any aggressive intentions against Germany.

(Sukhomlinov: The Russian Mobilisation in the Light of Official Documents and Revelations in the Trial of 1917, page 11.)

Russia Denies Mobilisation.

Telegraphic Report of the German Military Attaché in St. Petersburg.

July 29, 1914.

The chief of the General Staff of the Russian Army has asked me to call on him, and he has told me that he has just come from His Majesty. He has been requested by the Secretary of War to reiterate once more that everything has remained as the Secretary had informed me two days ago. He offered confirmation in writing and gave me his word of honour in the most solemn manner that nowhere there has been a mobilisation, viz., calling in of a single man or horse up to the present time, i. e. three o'clock in the afternoon. He could not assume a guarantee for the future, but he could emphasise that in the fronts directed towards our frontiers His Majesty desired no mobilisation.

I must consider this conversation as an attempt to mislead us as to the extent of the measures hitherto taken in view of the abundant and positive information about the calling in of reserves.

Pourtales.

French War Preparations and Germany's Counter-Measures.

The German Chancellor to the German Ambassador at Paris. Berlin, July 29, 1914.

Urgent! News received here regarding French preparations for war multiply from hour to hour. I request that you call the attention of the French Government to this and accentuate that such measures would call forth counter-measures on our part. We should have to proclaim a threatening state of war, and while this would not mean a call for the reserves or mobilisation, yet the tension would be aggravated. We continue to hope for the preservation of peace.

Bethmann Hollweg.

England Already Adopted Serious Measures on Land and Sea.

London, July 27 (Reuter). The first naval squadron which has assembled at Portsmouth has received orders not to disperse. All ships of the second squadron are to remain in their home ports.

The German General Staff Intervenes.

The General Staff to the Reichs Chancellor.

Berlin, July 29, 1914.

... Austria, if it advances into Serbia, will be confronted not only by the Servian army, but also by a much superior Russian army, and therefore will not be able to wage war against Serbia without securing itself against Russian intervention. That it to say, it will be compelled to mobilise the other half of its army, for it cannot place itself at the mercy of Russia, which is prepared for war. The moment Austria mobilises its entire army, however, the conflict between it and Russia will be inevitable. That, however, is for Germany the casus foederis. Unless Germany wishes to break its word and to allow its ally to be crushed by the superior forces of Russia, it also must mobilise.

Mobilisation against Mobilisation.

The Reichs Chancellor to the German Ambassador
at Petersburg.

Berlin, July 29, 1914.

Please point out to Herr Sasonov very seriously that further mobilisation measures by Russia will compel us to mobilise, and then a European war will be almost inevitable.

Bethmann Hollweg.

Italy Declares that it is not Pledged to Take Part in a War.

The German Ambassador at Rome to the Foreign Office.

Rome, July 29, 1914.

In reply to my reproaches Marquis di San Giuliano said to me to-day rather seriously that Austria's action was against Italy's interests, so long as Austria did not recognise article 7 of the Triple Alliance Treaty, so long as Austria would not give compensation in the event of her acquiring territory in Servia. So long therefore Italy could not grant Austria full diplomatic support.

Flotow.

German-Turkish Secret Military Convention.

The German Ambassador at Constantinople to the Foreign Office.

Constantinople, July 28, 1914.

The Grand Vizier invited me to him to-day and asked me to submit to His Majesty the Kaiser the request of his sovereign that Germany should conclude with Turkey a short-term protective alliance against Russia, and that Turkey should thereby be enabled to enter the Triple Alliance. The casus foederis shall arise if Russia should attack Turkey or Germany or Austria-Hungary, or if Germany, i. e. the Triple Alliance, should proceed to an attack against Russia. Turkey does not demand protection against any other country than Russia.

Wangenheim.

(German Documents on the Outbreak of the War. Vol. II, page 7.)

The Slaughter Begins.

Nish, July 30. (Official.) Belgrade was bombarded during the night. Several shells fell into various parts of the town and caused considerable damage. . . . The artillery fight is being continued near Vichnitza, five kilometres distant from Belgrade.

And the Social Democracy . . . The First Act of Treachery.

The Central Committee of the Austrian Social Democracy on the Declaration of War.

Working men and women, Party comrades!

The peoples of Austria are on the threshold of tremendous events. Austria stands at the commencement of a war, with all its horrors. . . .

In this moment our first greeting is to our soldiers, our warmest wishes to the workers who are called to the colours. We still hope that the worst will be spared them. We wish from the bottom of our hearts that they will be permitted to return to our midst unscathed, to return to our ranks, to the fight of the working class for their emancipation.

Our second word, however, is addressed to you, men and women comrades, who remain at home.

History teaches that warlike events are always followed by great changes in the inner lives of the States and of the peoples. The war will create a new Austria. It will essentially alter the conditions of our fight. Our most important task to-day is, to be equipped and to remain equipped for the period after the war.

Therefore, it is your duty at this hour to maintain our organisations.

. . . . Everything is to be avoided which could give the authorities a reason or pretext for suppressing or molesting our organisations. The Government decrees issued as a result of martial law, especially the regulation regarding permission to hold meetings, are to be carefully observed. Comrades must be reminded that any incautious word which might lead to

serious sacrifices is to be avoided, and to be on guard against spies and informers . . .

Working men and women! Do not be discouraged! Remain true to your cause, true to the cause of the working people!

(„Arbeiter-Zeitung“, July 28, 1914.)

Another Voice.

“Our Time Will Come!”

To Our Readers and Party Comrades!

In this terribly serious hour we appeal to you. The furies of war can be let loose at any moment, and any hour a terrible world conflagration can break out. The fate of millions of people hangs on a thread.

The danger of war has already resulted in the abolition of the remnants of that political liberty which we still possessed in Austria. The **freedom of the press** is already limited by a special decree. It is not due to lack of courage if we do not say in the face of war-intoxicated official and unofficial Austria what we think regarding these happenings—we lack the possibility because our words could not reach you.

Party comrades, readers! We expect that you will appreciate this serious situation and, come what may, will remain true to us. Do not be misled if in these days everything you read will be in favour of the war and its favourable prospects, for unfavourable news will be suppressed . . . The Russian proletariat has precisely in the last few days given battle to the Tsarist rulers, and the working class of Germany is preparing for powerful demonstrations against war, of which we shall be able to give you only very meagre if any news. The workers of France will also protest energetically against French blood being caused to flow for the sake of Servia and Tsarist despotism.

Therefore, heads erect and stand bravely by your cause! Our time will also come!

(Leading article of Reichenberg „Vorwärts“ July 28, 1914.)

* * *

Prague, July 29. The Reichenberg „Vorwärts“ has been prohibited under martial law.

The Württemberg Social Democracy against War.

On Saturday and Sunday there took place in Esslingen the conference of the Württemberg social democracy. Before proceeding to the agenda, the following resolution, moved by Comrade **Zetkin**, was adopted.

“The present threatening danger of war can at any moment become the most horrible fratricidal slaughter . . . This meeting reminds the masses that the powerful and ruthless assertion of their brotherly feelings with the exploited of all countries and their unshakable will to peace are the only sure guarantee that the criminal incitement of the war-mongering cliques will not kindle a war conflagration.

The representatives of the social democrats of Württemberg pledge themselves to rally and train the masses on the basis of the revolutionary class struggle, in order that they will be ready, in a spirit of joyful self-sacrifice, to exert the whole of their economic and political power to maintain peace. They greet the heroic revolutionary proletariat of Russia, which has again put to the test the weapon of the mass strike in the fight for the economic and political rights of the exploited. They greet the Russian masses as a strong bulwark of peace in this fateful hour. The Russian proletariat, by paralysing tsarism, one of the most unscrupulous war-mongers, by means of the mass strike, proves by deeds what a strong power a bold, self-sacrificing working class can exert in the fight for peace and freedom.”

(“Vorwärts”, July 28, 1914.)

Immediate Convocation of the International Socialist Congress.

Brussel, July 29. The International Socialist Bureau has unanimously decided not to postpone the Congress, but on the contrary, on the proposal of the German delegates and with the hearty approval of the French delegates, to hold it on August 9, in Paris. The first item of the agenda will be: “War and the proletariat.” (“Vorwärts”, July 30, 1914.)

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

The Organisational-Economic Consolidation of the Collective Farms and the Development of Collective Farm Trade.

By J. A. Jakovlev (Moscow).

(Conclusion.)

X.

The decisions on collective agricultural trade are inseparably bound up with the fundamental questions of the alliance between the workers and the peasants. The consolidation of the alliance between the workers and the peasants is to an enormous extent a task of the alliance with the collective peasants, since of late approximately 60 per cent of the masses of the peasantry have joined the collective farms. The absorption of about 15 million individual peasant farms into collective farms has greatly furthered this alliance, greatly strengthened it, and given it a new and firmer foundation. This is easily understood. The alliance with the individual middle peasants, and even with the small peasants, whose economics are based on small private ownership, is something very different from an alliance with the collective peasants, whose economics are based on large-scale socialised ownership. In the former case we have to deal with small private individual economics, continually yielding capitalist elements. In the second case we have to deal with socialised economics, becoming more and more socialist in character as they develop.

This means that with the transition to the collective farms we have achieved the highest form of the alliance. The alliance has become secure. It may be said that it has gained a greater firmness than ever before in any period of the development of the Soviet Union. It is not for nothing that the decisions of the VI. Soviet Congress formulated so clearly the fact that the transition of the majority of the peasants to the collective farms signifies the creation of a "real and firm support of Soviet power in the village".

But it does not by any means follow from all this that the work for the consolidation of the alliance no longer needs so much attention.

The production alliance of course now acquires paramount importance. The fact that more than one-half of the collective farm sowing done in this spring was accomplished with the aid of the agricultural machinery and tractor stations, and that therewith the most effective productive aid was given this spring to one half of the collective peasants, is in itself enough to prove the whole power and importance of the production alliance. It need not be emphasised however that this alliance with the working peasantry in the sphere of production, an alliance which has transformed the middle peasant of yesterday into a collective peasant, to a support of the working class and of the Soviet power, has by no means annulled the alliance with regard to trade in articles of consumption. Any more, the further consolidation of the production alliance demands at the same time the strengthening of the alliance in the direction of the exchange of goods between town and country, by means of the provision of articles of mass consumption.

It is obviously not sufficient that the supplies of agricultural products increase on the market and in the market places. It is imperatively necessary that goods should be supplied from the town to the village. The increase of the supplies of industrial goods for mass consumption is the sole firm basis upon which the development of the exchange of goods between town and country can be founded. The advance of industrialisation makes it possible for us to achieve a large increase in the manufacture of mass articles within a short time. This was what Stalin referred to in his report at the XVI. Party Congress, when he declared:

"Hitherto we have saved on everything, even in light industry, in order that heavy industry might be reconstructed. But now we have reconstructed heavy

industry. All that is now necessary is to develop it further. Now we can turn to light industry, and further its advance at an accelerated pace. The new feature in the development of our industry lies in the fact that we have now the possibility of developing both heavy and light industry at a greater pace."

The possibilities of producing manufactured goods for the rural districts have greatly increased. Within the last three years alone both the reserves and the production of the industries have been doubled, and at the same time the production of agricultural raw material has made great progress, permitting a number of mass manufactured articles to be made (in the Soviet Union, for instance, the amount of cotton fabrics produced in 1928 was only 14.9 millions poods, whilst in 1931 this amount had increased to 24.5 million poods, thanks to the mechanisation of cotton growing and the victory of collectivisation in the cotton districts).

In referring to the tasks connected with the development of the sale of goods and with the consolidation of the alliance between town and country, Stalin laid special stress on the question of the extension of the market reserves of mass manufactured articles chiefly intended for the peasantry. The Central Committee therefore undertook a strict checking up and restriction of the amounts of goods hitherto demanded by the People's Commissars and economic organs for their own needs. And on the other hand, it ascertained that it was possible to increase very considerably the manufacture of goods for mass consumption in all industries, including the metal industry. It was thereby possible to increase the quantities of industrial goods for the rural districts in 1932 to a value exceeding by 604 million roubles the quantities laid down by the State Planning Commission. A number of factories have already followed the initiative of the Central Committee, and have increased the production of mass manufactured articles. A special Commission appointed by the Central Committee checks up daily the progress made by economists in accomplishing their tasks with regard to the increased output of goods for mass consumption.

It is certainly not by chance that the Central Committee has taken steps simultaneously in the field of collective agricultural trade and for the increase of the output of articles for mass consumption. The development of the production of mass manufactured articles, especially of articles required by the peasantry, has become today a fundamental question for the consolidation of the alliance between town and country. And to consolidate this alliance means to consolidate the Workers' and Peasants' State, which is founded on the alliance of the working class and the peasantry.

XI.

There still remains one question to be examined. The agents of the kulaks, and the proclaimers of capitalism in the person of the Right opportunists, are very fond of stating that the development of collective agricultural trade signifies that the Soviet power is returning to the stage of the N.E.P. in 1921/22.

That this assertion is ridiculous is obvious. Such assertions arise chiefly from the malice felt towards the policy of the Communist Party by persons who, during the period of the sharpest struggle against the kulaks, actually preached the alliance with the kulak, and who, now that the kulak has been practically eliminated from a number of the most important districts, are not disinclined to scoff at the measures taken by the Soviet power to consolidate the alliance with the working peasantry.

The Party has given its support to the agricultural artel, proposed by the masses of the peasantry as the fundamental form of the collective agricultural movement. It raps sharply on the knuckles those who attempt to leap over this form of agricultural collective.

At the same time, the Party has helped the peasants who have joined the collective farms to shake off the yoke of the kulaks, and has liquidated the kulak as a class in the leading agricultural districts.

The Party, whilst promoting the development of the Soviet cattle breeding farms, and helping the collective farms to the utmost, is striving at the same time to ensure that the progress of these socialised units is accompanied by a growth of the livestock breeding undertaken by the collective peasants.

The Party, in the whole of its practical work in the rural districts, recognises that the stage of the agricultural artel will last some time, and puts a decisive stop to all attempts to accelerate by any mechanical means the transition from this stage to the next.

The Party is fighting for the consolidation of revolutionary legality, against the application of the methods of simple administration to the collective farms.

The Party is fighting for the development of the exchange of goods between town and country, and gives a place to collective agricultural trade in Soviet trade.

The Party organises the production of mass manufactured articles as a compensation for the increased supplies of agricultural products, and is enlisting the broad masses of the workers for this increased manufacture.

At every stage of the development of the Soviet Union the Party follows the line laid down by Lenin on the alliance between the working masses and the peasantry.

This simple enumeration of the measures carried out by the Communist Party shows quite plainly that only hopelessly Right opportunists or their confederates among the "Left" could speak of a retreat on the part of the Soviet power. Only those who do not envisage the advance to socialism as Lenin and Stalin, by means of the alliance between the working class and the working peasantry, but prefer to imagine it without and against the working peasantry, can speak of a retreat.

Anyone who talks to-day about a return to the first stage of the N.E.P. has evidently slept all through eleven years of the Soviet power, to put it politely, and has no longer any idea of what the Soviet Union represented in the first stage of the N.E.P. and what it represents in the present stage of its development.

What have we to-day, after the lapse of more than 10 years? It need not be said that the small producer of goods, in the person of the individual peasant farmer, has not disappeared. It need not be said that even in the agricultural artel petty bourgeois elements still exist in so far as a certain individual section of farming economics remains to the collective peasant, and in so far as the collective farms and collective peasants offer for sale on the markets the surplus left after the quota of grain claimed by the State has been given up.

Of course, the small-scale production of goods is still interwoven with other and socialist types of social economic forms.

This is not the main question or the fundamental essential, but the circumstance that in a great part of the Soviet Union, in the most important agricultural districts, the majority of the peasants have joined the collective farms, and the collective farms have become the main producers of grain and industrial technical plants in the Soviet Union. Hence the economic forms enumerated by Lenin under 1 and 2 as being dominant have already ceased to be the dominating and fundamental elements. In the most important agricultural districts of the Soviet Union at least they have been replaced by the socialist form of the large-scale farm. It is an actual fact that the collective farms, whose share in the peasant grain production was only one to two per cent in 1928, supplied sixty per cent. of the grain grown by the peasantry in 1931. The uninterrupted development of the socialised foundation of agriculture and of the agricultural artel is a real fact (in 1928 we possessed only one agricultural machinery and tractor station, in the spring of 1930 we had only 158 such stations, but by the spring of 1932 the figure of 2,200 had been reached, and more than one half of the total area of the collective farms was being cultivated with their aid).

The small-scale production and exchange in kind formerly dominating peasant economics have been replaced, at least in the most important districts and as far as the most important crops are concerned, by not only collective farms, but Soviet farms. It is again a fact that in 1931 the Soviet farms of every system; in spite of the drought in the Eastern districts of the Soviet Union, supplied the State with no less than 108 million poods of grain (or only slightly less than the 126 million poods which the whole of the big peasants together put on the market in 1927).

Lenin enumerates as the third important element of social economic forms, the economy of private capitalism. In agricultural production it is represented by the kulak. It is a well known fact that during the last three years the kulaks have been essentially liquidated as a class in the leading agricultural districts of the Soviet Union by means of the complete collectivisation of the peasantry.

Hence socialist production (Soviet and collective farms) has not only supplanted the formerly dominant small-scale production and traffic in kind of the peasant farms in the most important agricultural districts of the Soviet Union, and replaced this as fundamental and dominant form, but it has also supplanted the private capitalist form of economics as represented in the village by the kulak class, now practically eliminated in the process of complete collectivisation.

The results of the spring sowings confirm this statement fully up to the present. Four-fifths of the total area cultivated fall to the collective and Soviet farms, whilst the individual peasants have only sown one-fifth of the summer grain.

The fact that the collective and Soviet farms have cultivated four-fifths of the total area is the best proof of the real consolidation of the socialist system in the Soviet Union, the best sign that socialism has been finally victorious in the Soviet Union.

These changes in the economic form of the Soviet Union during the last ten years are the result of the different role now played by the private capitalist in the development of trade in agricultural products. At the time when there were still no co-operatives, and 20 million small peasant farms saw themselves confronted with a devastated industry, it was inevitable and necessary that the private individual should act as intermediary between town and country. This position as middleman gave him a certain position. It was unavoidable that the Soviet power had to tolerate to a certain extent the rebirth of private trading capital.

At the present time the situation is quite different. Now we have a network of co-operative and state shops. A very great part of the small craftsmen carrying on their trades at home are organised in craft co-operatives; 15 million peasant farms are amalgamated in 200,000 collective farms; the Soviet farms supply relatively large quantities of agricultural products to the State; the reserves of mass manufactured articles have increased tenfold; the factories of the Soviet Union turn out 250 tractors daily, enabling ten new agricultural machinery and tractor stations to be opened with a working radius covering 300 to 400 new collective farms. Under these conditions, the development of collective agricultural trade cannot signify in any respect that the gates are going to be thrown open to the private dealer, speculator, and cornerer, anxious to enrich himself at the expense of the collective peasants and the city consumers. These elements have already learned, that the Soviet power has a firm hand. They may be assured that simultaneously with the development of collective agricultural trade **the Soviet power will adopt all the necessary measures for preventing the private individual from gaining any foothold or opening shops and businesses, for eliminating the buyers up and speculators who are endeavouring to fill their pockets at the expense of the working class and toiling peasantry.**

XII.

Let us once more recapitulate the practical conclusions to be drawn from the decisions of the government with respect to the collective farms.

1. The consolidation of the agricultural artel as the main form of the collective agricultural movement at the present stage of development. Severe penalties, including expulsion from the Party and legal prosecution, in the case of attempts to leap over the stage of agricultural collectivisation represented by the artel. It must be kept constantly in mind **that the central task to be accomplished in the village is the consolidation of the agricultural artel, the improvement of**

the economics of the artel, the concentration of attention on the economic questions of the collective farms.

2. Better leadership of collective agricultural production; no substitution of a simple administration for this real leadership. **Stricter adherence to revolutionary legality**, keeping constantly in view that the affiliation of the majority of the peasant farms to the collectives does not weaken the necessity of adherence to the principles of revolutionary law laid down by the government, but intensifies it. All who fail to keep the revolutionary laws are to be severely punished.

3. Greater support for the agricultural machinery and tractor stations, which must be manned by the most efficient of our workers. The task must be fulfilled of ensuring that by the spring of 1933 the agricultural machinery and tractor stations are tilling the whole of the cultivated area embraced by the collective farms, at least in the most important agricultural districts.

4. Simultaneous help for the "supplementary" enterprises of the members of the agricultural artel, especially in poultry breeding. Aid for the collective peasant in obtaining live-stock, never forgetting that every collective peasant must have a cow and his own small live-stock and poultry.

5. Promotion of the growth of the collective agricultural cadres. There must be no appointing of heads of the collective farms, for by this the well known directives issued by the Central Committee are undermined. The goal which we must set ourselves is for the leading cadres of the collective farms (members of the management, brigadiers) to remain at their places of work for at least two or three years, in order that they may study both the agricultural aspect and the leadership of a socialised farm. Capable non-Party members of the collective farms should be called upon to take part in the leadership, and any communists must be sharply reprimanded if they fancy that "they can solve all the tasks of collective agricultural construction by their own powers". (Stalin: "Questions of Leninism".)

6. The all-round development of Soviet trade, which must take the place of the system of bureaucratic centralised distribution of goods. Aid must be given the collective farms, the collective peasants, and the individual working peasants, in trading in agricultural products, by the railways and other traffic institutions, and at the same time any attempts to frustrate in any way the regulation of collective agricultural trade, as embodied in the decisions issued by the government on 6th, 10th, and 20th May, must be relentlessly suppressed.

7. Indefatigable efforts to exterminate buyers up and speculators endeavouring to enrich themselves by collective agricultural trade.

8. The **consolidation of the alliance** between peasants and workers by means of an increased output of **mass manufactured articles**. This increase must be the work of thousands of factories, of the whole of the co-operatives in which the handicrafts and small trades are amalgamated. It must be kept constantly in mind that the development of the production of and trade in mass articles is an extremely important economic and political matter, is indeed the next and therefore the most important link in the chain of the alliance.

9. The Right opportunists must be recognised and repulsed as the chief danger at the present stage of development, as also their allies and confederates the counter-revolutionary Trotskyists.

10. The organisation of the **bringing in of the crops** must be commenced at once. Every collective peasant, every collective farm, must know:

a) that the complete fulfilment of the schedule of production laid down for the state supplies by the government is a matter of honour, of imperative duty, for every collective peasant and every collective farm;

b) that the collective peasants and collective farms, after having supplied to the State the quota required, will have more products for sale on the open markets and for their own unrestricted use in proportion as they produce more, harvest more, and carry out the harvest work efficiently.

The decision of the Council of People's Commissars and of the Central Committee on the carrying out of the harvesting campaign cancels last year's practice of not increasing payments in kind to those collective peasants who had a greater number of working days to their credit. In other words, the collective peasant who has worked more now receives more remuneration, not only in cash, but in kind, in proportion to his greater performance of work. This decision also provides that the collective peasant receives a certain amount of payment in kind in advance, in accordance to the number of days

which he has worked. It also ensures to the collective agricultural brigades and brigadiers who have distinguished themselves in the harvesting work an additional remuneration of 10 to 20 per cent., and vice versa reduces the income of bad workers proportionately.

All these decisions serve to further the organisational-economic consolidation of the agricultural artel, which is built up on the basis of: **Every collective peasant participates in the joint income of the collective farm in proportion to his participation in the joint work of the collective farm.**

The efficient organisation of the harvest, the real struggle against losses, the rapid bringing under cover and threshing of the grain, the delivering up of the state quota, and the distribution of remuneration in accordance with the directives of the government, shall ensure such a situation that the collective farms which have been most efficient in sowing, harvesting, and supplying their quota to the state shall have the largest amount of grain at their own unrestricted disposal, and those collective peasants who have accomplished most work in the interests of collective agricultural production shall receive the greatest amount of remuneration, in kind as well as in cash.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Problem of Party Cadres.

By Tzirul.

The Party must have an experienced staff if its leadership is to be on correct lines. "Without ten or so talented (and talents are not as thick as peas) reliable leaders with a trade union training and with considerable experience in Party work who are able to work in harmony with each other, not a single class can carry on a steady struggle in contemporary society",—wrote Lenin ("What is to be Done").

The practical application of the political line of the Party, as well as of its tactics and strategy, are closely linked up with the problem of guaranteeing to the Party an efficient cadre of activists, with the question of how the Party forces are distributed, how closely they are connected with the masses of workers, to what extent they are politically trained and tested, and theoretically prepared. That is why the Bolsheviki, headed by Lenin, were always so intent on the education and training of Party cadres, and carried on this work in the midst of ruthless struggle against opportunist deviations from the political line of the Party.

To the question: In the struggle against what enemies did Bolshevism grow in strength and steadfastness within the labour movement? Lenin's answer (Left Wing' Communism) is: "First of all, and principally, in the struggle against opportunism, which, in 1914, grew definitely into social chauvinism, and finally deserted to the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. This was naturally the chief enemy of Bolshevism within the movement of the working class, and this remains the chief enemy also developed on an international scale." ... "Bolshevism grew up, developed, and hardened itself in long years of struggle against petty bourgeois radicalism, which is similar to anarchism or has borrowed much from it and deviates in all essentials, from the conditions and requirements of a consistent proletarian class-struggle."

Ruthlessly sweeping aside all opportunists of the Right and "left" variety, the Bolsheviki headed by Lenin also kept an attentive eye on all advanced revolutionary workers, they drew them into the Party and promoted them to leading Party posts.

We still frequently see in the C.I. sections inability to make an adequate use of promoted advanced workers for important political activity under C.P. leadership. The Communist Parties still have Cadres that are too weak numerically, and yet the movement of the proletarian masses is expanding and the need of Communist leadership, as well as the work involved in it are growing. This discrepancy is one of the reasons why many Communist Parties in capitalist countries have not yet been able to give an adequate lead to the growing activity of the masses.

The tendency (inherited from the social democracy) to restrict cadres to a narrow circle of people, has not yet been overcome, and this frequently leads to insufficient contact between some parts of the Party apparatus and the rank and file of the Party.

The Comintern and its sections, supported by the main mass of Party members, have succeeded in forming in all the most important C.I. sections a fairly steady leading kernel that carries out the line of the Comintern. This was attained through ruthless struggle on two fronts; against left sectarians, especially against Right opportunists who had come to us from the social democratic parties under the influence of the revolutionary upsurge. New cadres consisting of workers have taken the place of people who turned out to be opportunists and were expelled from the Party. While in some Parties, in the first years of their existence, their C.C.s consisted almost entirely of intellectuals and people of free professions, workers constitute an overwhelming majority in the present C.C.s. This improvement in the social composition of the leadership of the Party is noticeable, for instance, in the C.P.s of France and America. As to the C.P. of France, there was only one manual worker among the 24 members of the first C.C. whereas there are 40 manual workers among the 54 members of the present C.C., including 20 factory workers.

In the C.C. of Czechoslovakia 32 of the 60 C.C. members are factory workers. There are 16 factory workers among the 36 members of the C.C. C.P. of Great Britain, and so on. There is a similar situation also in other C.I. Sections.

The newly formed leading kernel has gained sufficient experience in leading work to be able to ensure a definite continuity in the leadership of the Party. But this process of establishing stable Bolshevik cadres is not yet complete in most of the Parties, and still requires considerable work and attention.

There is a certain improvement in the composition of district committees in a number of Parties, but more is required in this direction. This applies above all to the connection of these organs with the factories of their district. There are comparatively few members from the factories in the District Committees, and where there are any, they seldom come from the chief factories of the district, but rather from the small or less important factories. These comrades from the factories are not drawn in a sufficient measure into the daily leading work of the Party committee. The entire work of the Committee is generally done by paid functionaries, frequently by only one secretary or two or three committee members, whereas the comrades from the factories are only invited to meetings, and not always that, as the meetings are generally held during working hours. This is one of the reasons of the inadequacy of Party work in the factories.

In all Parties the weakest sector of the cadres are the middle and lower organs—the district and nucleus cadres of the Party. As long as the Communist Parties do not work seriously for the consolidation of the local and nucleus organs of the Party, and do not also strengthen district (provincial) leadership, do not concentrate on the factories a definite change in the work of the Party in the factories, and in its mass work generally cannot be expected.

Where are the forces for such consolidation to come from? They must come from the ranks of the Party masses themselves. Lenin's remark in the article "New Work, New Forces" that "as soon as new tasks arose before the Party, new forces for their solution sprang up as if out of the ground", is true for all the Communist Parties. One must only be able to see and understand these new forces. In the last years there were strike waves and demonstrations everywhere, as well as unemployed meetings and other mass movements. In all of them new forces came to the fore, capable of leading the masses. These are the cadres, connected with the masses, that can and must strengthen our Party organs, and must be promoted to leading work in the Party. This is not a new task. For it is stated already in the Resolution of the V. E.C.C.I. Plenum on Bolshevisation that:

"One of the foremost tasks of every Communist Party should consist in selecting very carefully the leading cadres among the more advanced workers distinguished by their energy, capability, knowledge and devotion to the Party ... These workers must be systematically helped to become real organisers of the masses, Party and trade union leaders ... Working class leaders should be treated with patience and care and encouraged to work for their own improvement, given opportunities to prove their worth by the allocation of more important and increasingly responsible work."

The Parties have not yet taken up properly the carrying through of this directive. To bring to light the abilities of the new activists, and to promote them to more responsible

leading work, to help them systematically in their work, such must be now the most important part of the organisational work of all Parties, their organs and, above all, of the central leadership of the Parties. It is essential that the C.C. and the district committees should make a study of the basis cadres, registering all comrades who distinguished themselves during strikes, demonstrations and through their Party activity in general,—all these who have shown capacity as organisers and have influence on the masses. This can be attained through the instructor-apparatus, by visits of leading party functionaries to the organisations, by receiving reports from the basis organisations.

The Party leadership must know its cadres, must be able to allot everyone his proper place, where he is most suitable and most needed,—this is the crux of the matter. To enable the Party leadership "not only to advise (as this has hitherto been done), but really conduct the orchestra, one must know exactly who is playing first or second fiddle, and where, what instrument he was taught, where and how, where and why he plays out of tune (when the music begins to be trying to the ear), and what changes should be made in the orchestra so as to remedy the dissonance, etc."—this is what Lenin wrote on this subject. (Letter to a comrade on our organisational work).

The problem of strengthening the cadres can only be solved by making a number of changes in the methods of Party work. This applies particularly to the methods of work in the Party committees. The Party organs must guarantee the activation of all their members: more workers must be drawn into active Party work than heretofore. We must no longer have a state of affairs where the work is done not by the whole committee but only by a few members or the secretary. This does not mean that we must have a larger staff of paid Party workers. On the contrary, in some cases (for instance in the C.P. of America) this staff must be reduced. A redundant Party apparatus leads to the bureaucratisation of Party work, to work by circulars, to isolation from the masses.

Comrades must be made to understand that it is their Party duty to work in the Party committee. This applies above all to the members of the given committee, and after them also to other activists. Members of the Party committee from the factories must above all establish a connection between the committee and the factory; they must keep the Party committee informed about the mood of the workers in their factory, about their own activity and that of their nucleus, they must secure influence for the Party, first, in the factory, and then also in their own district.

Collective work in the leading organs must be accompanied by the development of self-criticism. This will be conducive to bringing to light new forces and giving them an opportunity to show what they can do. On the other hand, this guarantees the possibility of finding out incapable workers and replacing them by others.

In order to help the new Party workers one must organise conferences of instruction on various questions, courses, etc. Great help can be given them through instructors, who certainly must not only familiarise themselves with the situation in the various nuclei and organisations, but must also help the local workers to bring a change and an improvement into their work.

To equip the Party cadres with the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism is one of the most important parts of cadre training, all the more so as there are Party members still in the grip of social democratic traditions, and as many Party workers have not had a serious Marxist-Leninist preliminary training.

Meanwhile, one frequently notices an inadmissible disdain for theory on the part of some Party activists. "Over-burdened with practical work", such is frequently their excuse for not giving more time to reading Marxist-Leninist literature, of which in most cases there isn't very much in the various Parties. Neglect of theory is demonstrated by the, in some cases, inadmissibly small editions of Marxist-Leninist literature, and of periodical publications of the Parties.

With the exception of a few Communist Parties (the C.P.s of Germany and Poland) which have already a definite, though far from adequate, network of Party education, there is hardly any serious attempt to raise the theoretical level of the Party activists. The network of schools and circles is restricted and not permanent. The school syllabuses are too ambitious and dissociated from the immediate tasks and activities of the Party. It frequently happens that sensible and well written literature is conspicuous by its absence. Problems

of Party construction do not receive sufficient attention in the periodical press of the Parties, in Party journals, in the newspapers, etc.

In this respect, the Communist Party of Great Britain has made a step forward; it has a special column in the "Daily Worker" devoted to problems of Party construction and work in the factories. However, the "Daily Worker" has not yet found it necessary to respond to the "Inprecorr." articles on regulating the growth of the Party and work in the factories. It did not take up these questions even after the "Manchester Guardian" had shown an interest in these articles.

The special column which made its appearance in the central organ of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia, "Rude Prave", devoted to Party problems, has again disappeared. After the reorganisation of the Party periodical of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia, "Bolshevik", the discussion of questions connected with Party construction has also disappeared from its columns.

After the January number of the org. periodical, "Party Organiser", the C.P. of America has evidently stopped its further publication.

Hardly any of the Parties (except some beginnings in the C.P.s of Czechoslovakia and France) have as yet been able to produce a manual on the history of their Party. Without bold promotion on a large scale of new forces of the proletariat, armed with revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory, it is impossible to do justice to the over-growing tasks of the Communist Parties — winning of the majority of the working class and leadership in the class struggles of the proletariat. More attention to Party cadres!

Party Cadres in England.

By Tom.

Up till now the Communist Party of England has occupied itself with the question of cadres only in so far as it was a question of the C.C. itself or of the closer district committees. In the C.P. of England, systematic work is lacking for the promotion and training of cadres in all the organisations of the Party, especially in the nuclei and the lower committees.

In most cases there is practically no collective leadership in the lowest organisations, but the entire work is mainly carried on by the secretary, who in the C.P. of England is known under the name of organiser. Quite often this organiser is not yet a leader in the correct, Bolshevik sense of the word and he limits himself to organisational-administrative activity, to giving over the decisions of the higher committee to the lower organisation, and also the carrying through of the decisions of the membership meetings or of the committee when such exists. This is explained by the fact that these cadres are still untrained and have little experience and that they receive very little help in their work. The following requirements which the Party has to place before these important sections of Party cadres, already in the present stage of its development, arise from this characterisation. In brief the tasks are as follows:

A precise review and knowledge of the forces which the lower Party organisation has at its disposal. The organiser must know each member, his line, capabilities and weaknesses, possibilities of development and tendencies. In conformity with that the leading comrade in the factory or street nucleus, or in the local organisation, must form a real collective leadership (a nucleus of 7-10 members can already have a nucleus bureau of 2 or 3 members) and see to it that every member has a **permanent definite Party task**, in one form or another, in accordance with his possibilities and capabilities.

The leadership of each Party organisation is duty bound to undertake an exact study of the concrete situation and conditions in their sphere of activity and to develop their work in accordance with that. We must not continue as at present when it even happens that the Org Secretary is sometimes not in a position to give a satisfactory answer to the question as to which are the largest and most important factories in his locality; or where it often happens that a nucleus consists only or mainly of members who only work in one department, and very often not in the most important department of the factory, and that the nucleus does little or nothing so as to extend its influence in other departments or in other factories belonging to the same company. And very often it happens that the nucleus or another lower organisation is informed very late on the mood and the demands of the workers. All

these most elementary preliminary conditions for the carrying out of the Party decisions have, above all, to be created through the activity of the lowest section of the Party cadres. The leader of the nucleus should also have precise knowledge of the opponents, their activity, strength, weaknesses, of the employer, his organisations and spies.

If the Party will devote the greatest attention to lower functionaries (nuclei leaders, members of the committees, leaders of the fractions, the leaders of the various lower units of the mass organisations), then there will also be a constant connection between the lower organisations and the entire Party, which has hitherto been quite inadequate; and there will also be a sound extension and development of the Party cadres.

It is obvious that the present strength of the cadres of the C.P. of England must absolutely be extended, for which the more rapid growth of the Party which has set in also offers greater possibilities. In connection with the concentration upon 50 of the most important factories, the C.C. of the Party has indeed decided that within a period of six months 150-200 new Party workers have to be pushed forward and drawn into responsible work. But there must, above all, be clarity about the role of educational work in the development of cadres. The Communist Party is a fighting organisation and not a sort of Fabian society of propagandists and platonic followers of Communism. It is, therefore, wrong to believe that the necessary new cadres can only or chiefly be developed through education in circles, schools, etc. The training of Party cadres, the completion of their knowledge, the raising of their theoretical level from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism is an extremely important task of the English Party. But educational work is only one element in the entire work with regard to the development of Party cadres.

The chief thing is the constant drawing in of new co-workers into the various fields of work of the Party. Every district and every organisation must be orientated towards the systematic bringing forward of new cadres from their **own** midst, by drawing the Party members into the daily work; every organisation must constantly have in mind the best and most capable of these members so as to assure their further development and drawing them into higher tasks. If the existing practice of having the districts look to the C.C. and the organisations, relying upon the sending of the necessary cadres from other organisations or from higher organs, will not be changed, then all the decisions and desires for the development of cadres will not be realised. In all parts of England, strikes and other mass actions take place daily. These struggles are the most important sources for the development of new cadres. Through such work the Party will get many hundreds of new capable cadres who are linked up with the masses and have their confidence and, at the same time, have great valuable experience.

We shall only give one example which clearly shows how many valuable elements have been lost for us (only temporarily, of course) through not understanding this task. During the big mass demonstrations against the robbing of unemployment benefits, the Glasgow District Committee, through an open invitation, called a meeting of workers who are ready to help the Party in various parts of the town and asked them to form detachments of defenders of the demonstration (from the attacks of the police, for assuring the demonstrations, etc.). Hundreds of workers who were hitherto not connected with the Party appeared at the meeting, they developed the greatest initiative in the creation of this elementary form of the workers' defence organisation, and within a few days several thousand strong defence detachments were formed. It is clear that out of the ranks of the best of these workers, active members could have been obtained for the Party, but all that was neglected.

The various mass organisations (Minority Movement, the unemployed organisation, the Young Communist League, Friends of the Soviet Union, etc.) are also to be regarded as an important source for the development of cadres for these organisations or even for the Party.

The content and the form of the work of various committees does not have the effect of furthering the development of new cadres. It would be wrong to treat the problem of cadres separately from the entire activity of the organisation. One conditions the other. There is no doubt that the improvement of the work of each organisation and each district has and will continue to have a positive reaction

upon the development of cadres. But there are a number of measures which can immediately be taken and the carrying through of which will radically improve the conditions for the development of cadres in England. For instance:

Elimination of the fear to draw new young elements into responsible work. The Party has almost trebled its membership during the last ten or twelve months. There are a number of examples which show that many new members are more active and better understand how to carry through the Party line and decisions than some of the old functionaries who sometimes have too much of a trade unionist heritage. There should not be any fear to draw these new elements into responsible work.

Development of collectivity in each committee. In most of the committees there is an artificial trade unionist separation between the deciding functions of the committee and the functions which carry these decisions into effect. The committee meets, makes decisions, and in most cases the "organiser" is the only one who has to carry them out. The members of the committee must not confine their function as members only to participation in meetings or to the making of decisions, but they should also exercise their function in the time between meetings.

Furthering of self-criticism from below and making the committee responsible for this. It is necessary to regularly and frequently give reports to the membership on the work carried out by each committee, and to link up the election of each committee with the political estimation of the experience and work of the previous committee.

Abolition of the departmental separation of the Party work through the improvement of the collective guidance of the work of the department by the entire leadership of the organisation.

Introduction of the elements of planning in the work of the committees. Owing to the lack of planning out the work, it very often happens that very much time, energy and strength is spent upon the taking up of the most unimportant questions at the expense of the most important tasks.

Systematic leadership of the work of the various mass organisations. Hitherto this leadership was only carried out directly through the fractions in each of these organisations. As a result there are always misunderstandings and friction between the comrades from these organisations and the respective Party committee, and close co-ordination between the Party and such organisations is also often lacking.

Reorganisation of the work of the Party apparatus with the purpose of having the greatest part of the time of each functionary spent upon activity among the masses, in the enterprises, trade unions, labour exchanges, etc., and not upon the participation in various meetings of an internal character.

Carrying through of the principle of the distribution of work so that the active comrades will also have time to do some reading, to further their knowledge and to be able also theoretically to establish their practical experience through study, the reading of periodicals and books.

All this can immediately be taken in hand in the English Party.

The carrying out of this advice which, on the one hand, is the result of international experience, and on the other of the present situation of the Party, together with the realisation of a firm turn to the enterprises, to the preparation and development of the struggles of the workers, will greatly promote a sound development of good, new cadres in the English Party.

Party Cadres of the C.P. of France.

By Leb.

The formation of leading cadres for every Communist Party is an important task without the solution of which it is impossible to form a genuine Bolshevik Party. The whole history of the C.P.F. is a direct and plain proof of this.

In the C.P.F. things are not satisfactory even now without regard to cadres. Until recently the C.P.F. had no firm Bolshevik policy of cadres. There was no planned and rational utilisation of Party forces, no proper distribution of them, no regrouping to correspond to the demands of Party development. The Party had no plan for retraining and remoulding the old cadres, selecting and promoting new ones, improving the qualifications of its cadres by Marxist-Leninist education or a systematic guidance of their practical work.

The replacement of cadres took place chiefly from case to case, and mostly automatically. There was no attentive observation of every new young force which was advanced or any help to it. This is a relic of the time when the old cadres feared and suspected the young new forces. This was especially noticeable after the Congress at Tours in 1920.

Of course it cannot be said that during the 12 years of the Party's existence no young forces have come forward. On the contrary, the development of the C.P. of France during this period is characterised by the fact that a considerable renewal of its cadres took place. This periodic cleansing of the Party cadres from unstable elements who felt the pressure of social-democratic and bourgeois ideology was connected with the struggle of the Party against opportunism and was of tremendous assistance to Party work. In the struggle against this kind of deviation, the Party became Bolshevised, grew up ideologically and became organisationally consolidated. However, the process of the Bolshevisation of the Party cadres is not yet complete and the work of training cadres as a special task and sphere of work remains unsolved.

If we take the social composition of the C.C. elected at Tours in 1920 we find that out of the 24 members of the C.C. there was one worker and the other 23 were journalists, lawyers, doctors, teachers and parliamentary candidates. The Communist Party was too "narrow" for these people with the exception of a few members who were genuinely devoted to the working class and the Party. They could not stand the Party discipline, as they had grown up in an atmosphere of social-democratic looseness. Many of them were thrown out by the Party at the time of the Paris Congress in 1922, and the remainder left in 1929 with Louis Sellier, Garchery, etc.

The last Party Congresses show an improvement in the social composition of the leading cadres of the Party.

The following figures will illustrate the change which has taken place among the Party cadres for the 10 years 1920-1930. This survey includes 29 districts and 442 members of these district committees. Among them:

77	joined the Party in 1920	33	joined the Party in 1926
30	" " " " 1921	22	" " " " 1927
19	" " " " 1922	28	" " " " 1928
27	" " " " 1923	35	" " " " 1929
38	" " " " 1924	18	" " " " 1930
29	" " " " 1925		

It follows from these figures that less than one-fifth of the members of district committees had been in the Party since 1920. The introduction of younger elements among the cadres of the C.P.F. took place on the basis of a struggle with social-democratic deviations, but there is no doubt that the fluctuations in the Party also played no small role in this matter.

During the period of 12 years, tens of thousands of workers have passed through the Party. Only a part of recruited members remained in the Party ranks, and very rarely the Party leaders asked themselves the question where and why these workers went after being a short time in the Communist Party. Probably they were not finally lost for the Communist Party. The best of them evidently joined those non-Party activists who for years have existed around the C.P. and who are the chief means of influence of the C.P. on the masses. These fluctuations of membership, which according to the figures of the C.P.F. in summer 1930 amounted to 60 %, inevitably had an influence on the fluctuations among the lower Party activists.

There is no doubt that the overwhelming majority of the present leading cadres of the Party consist of good proletarian revolutionists. But these cadres have not and could not have Bolshevik experience and instincts and are not prepared for the struggle against social-democratic influence. They have grown up under the ideological influence of the October Revolution which has filled them with enthusiasm, but they have not the concrete experience of Leninism which led the C.P.S.U. to the victory of the proletariat after a quarter of a century of struggle. This breach must be filled up by their own experience of struggle, but such experience unquestionably demands time and is not obtained without mistakes.

One of the characteristic shortcomings of these activists is their disdain of theory. This is shown by the poor distribution of Marxist and Leninist literature and the lack of attention to questions of Party education. The chief works of Marx,

Engels, Lenin and Stalin are sold in France in very insignificant numbers. During the whole period of the existence of the C.P.F. there have been sold 15,546 copies of the Communist Manifesto, 2,993 copies of the Civil War in France, 2,315 copies of 18th Brumaire, 3,951 copies of Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, 9,466 copies of Lenin's State and Revolution, 1,610 copies of Stalin's Leninism, etc. During the course of three years, 3 district schools lasting from 8 to 14 days have graduated only 50 comrades. The Central School of Journalists has prepared 7 or 8 comrades. From 1925 to 1929 no central Party school existed.

With regard to ages, the present Party cadres are mostly young. Out of 397 members of district committees (according to figures for 1930), 207 are under 30 years, 67 of them being under 25 years and 21 under 20 years old.

However fine the revolutionary qualities of these young Party comrades may be, they cannot impress the masses of workers who associate the Communist Party with the names of certain authoritative comrades who have been connected for years with the workers' movement. As a consequence a certain gap has grown up between the old and young generation, which has led to sectarian feelings among the younger elements. There has appeared a mood of looking down on the older members as being old fashioned and unable to understand real Communists. To a certain extent the mechanical approach to the question of inner-Party life was connected with this circumstance. The methods of Party leadership were often replaced by methods of simple administration. Inner-Party questions were very rarely discussed at big meetings of the members and were incapably discussed. The initiative of the rank and file members was not sufficiently developed, and this in turn sometimes led to the replacement of concrete leadership by circulars and to the blunting of instincts in mass work.

This situation in the last few years led to the formation in the C.P.F. of the group of Barbé which generalised all these shortcomings and carried them to the level of caricatures. There is no branch of Party work, probably, in which this group has brought so much harm as in the selection of Party cadres. Presumptuously taking on itself the monopoly of Bolshevik tendencies in the C.P.F., this group carried on a policy of putting its own people in all Party organisations. It formed a kind of secret C.C. inside the C.C. of the Party, which changed, advanced and appointed Party workers at preliminary meetings and carried its decisions through the C.C. of the Party owing to its fractional discipline. Naturally, the decisive criterion when selecting and distributing Party forces was not the political reliability of the cadres, not loyalty to the Party, but their readiness to give unhesitating support to the sectarian group of Barbé.

In reality this was a policy of disorganising the cadres which had grown up for a number of years after Tours, and which had become steeled politically although inadequately in the struggle against opportunist Right and "left" deviations. These cadres were replaced by new ones, by elements which were absolutely inexperienced both in political and organisational matters and in addition were selected on the grounds of their readiness to support the group of Barbé. Such a "policy of cadres" weakened the already weak cadres of the C.P.F. and undermined the influence of the C.P. among the masses of workers. The period when the Barbé group was in the leadership is characterised by a sharp decline in the number of members of the C.P. and Y.C.L., a fall of mass work and a lowering of the quality of the ideological and political life of the nuclei.

However, if the Barbé group, on the one hand, showed what a bad condition there was in the C.P.F. with regard to the question of cadres up till recently, so, on the other hand, it became quite clear in the course of the campaign for the liquidation of this group that the C.P.F. has an excellent proletarian stock. It was just this circumstance which made it possible very quickly and comparatively painlessly to liquidate the Barbé group, despite the fact that for a long time it held the entire Party apparatus in its hands.

Each campaign and each struggle of the Party and of the C.G.T.U. have revealed a wealth of revolutionary forces of a high quality and has disproved the oft-repeated mistake of saying: "There are no people." The textile workers strike in the North of France in 1931 has shown results which have drawn such "dead" sub-districts as that of Tourcoing into the struggle. When French imperialism wanted to strike a big blow, on the occasion of the Gorgulov Affair, hundreds of members of the lower organisations went into

action around the mass sale of "Humanité". During the election campaign for the Chamber of Deputies, there were quite often hundreds of functionaries, very often non-Party, to be found among the masses of the workers, so as to carry on the struggle against the bourgeoisie and its pillars inside or outside of the Party. There was not a single struggle of the workers (for example, Renault) which did not bring forward an agitator or organiser from the mass of the workers themselves. The drawing in of the new members which are flocking to the Party by the hundreds, their training in schools, etc., as the Paris Region is doing, is the correct path which will give the Party the proletarian and devoted cadres which it is so much in need of.

After the liquidation of the Barbé group in the C.P.F., there was some improvement both in the organisation of Party work and in a more attentive attitude to the question of cadres.

During the last few months, a central Party school has been organised, the correspondence Party school has been improved and enlarged to include 300 persons, the Agitprop of the C.C. has published a number of popular pamphlets on urgent political questions, supplying the rank and file members with arguments in the struggle against class enemies, steps have been taken to raise the level of inner-Party life (the development of self-criticism and discussion), elections of the leaders of the Party organisations have been held in the Paris district, Bas Seine, Auvergne, Bordeaux, Marseille, Lyons, and partly in the Nord and in some places a start has been made to improve the work of the Party activists. A campaign has gone on in "Humanité" against the penetration of police provocateurs into the Party, increasing the vigilance and caution of the Party in the matter of more carefully verifying the members. All these achievements of the Party are only the first steps, because the task of creating firm Bolshevik cadres cannot be solved in a few weeks or a few months. This is a lengthy task, requiring for its solution a radical improvement of all the methods of inner-Party life and organisational work.

First of all the Party must have a well thought-out and distinct policy of cadres. The Party must decide on measures for systematically advancing new forces who have become prominent in mass work, re-educating and raising the qualifications of the old cadres, developing in every possible way the initiative of the lower Party organisations and giving greater intensiveness to Party life, setting up a firm system of control over the work of the lower Party organs and bringing about guidance of them. It is only by carrying out such a policy of cadres that the C.P.F. will be able to reconstruct itself organisationally to correspond to the new political circumstances which are being created in France as a consequence of the deepening and sharpening economic crisis and as a result of the revolutionising of the broad masses. Only such a policy will be able to penetrate among these masses, to rally them around our slogans and to lead them forward to a victorious struggle against the dictatorship of capital.

Party Cadres in the CP.s of South America and Caribbean America.

By J. Gomez.

The basic shortcoming in this matter consists of the unsatisfactory social composition of the leading Party cadres (which is to a great extent a reflection of the social composition of the higher organs of the C.P.s). While the lower Party cadres (members and secretaries of the bureaux of nuclei) and the middle Party activists (members and secretaries of district committees) in the main are workers, among the higher leading Party activists i. e. members of the C.C. and the workers in its departments, the proportion of workers is insufficient and the proportion of office-workers and intellectuals, etc. is too high. On the other hand, the worker members of the leading Party organs are chiefly occupied in small and middle factories in secondary branches of industry, which greatly hinders the contacts of the C.P.s of South America with the workers in the basic branches of industry (mines, oil, plantations, etc.).

In addition to this there is another important shortcoming—the unsatisfactory national composition of the Party cadres. The rise of the revolutionary movement among oppressed nationalities—Indians and Negroes—which has been noticeable recently raises before all the C.P.s of South America the urgent task of winning the leadership of this movement, converting what has up to the present been a

spontaneous struggle into an organised struggle. But this task requires the formation of reliable political Party cadres from among the Indians and Negroes, who know the language and the conditions of life of the oppressed nationalities. In this respect, however, most of the Sections of the C.I. in South America have done nothing.

To some extent the C.P. of **Peru** is an exception. It has in its ranks several thousand Indians but so far it has promoted from among them a very small number for leading Party work. The C.P. of **Brazil** has several dozen leading Party workers of Negro origin in the districts. The C.P. of **Mexico** is now only taking the first steps to attract Indians into the Party and to promote them to the Party leadership.

The next big shortcoming is the extremely low political level of the Party cadres in the C.P.s of South America and Caribbean America. This applies not only to the lower Party activists but to the majority of the leading workers of the C.P. Frequently the leading workers of the C.P. do not even know the basic decisions of the Party and still less the decisions of the Party and still less the decisions of the Comintern. It is therefore not surprising that in a number of cases trends and ideologies which are hostile to us (anarcho-syndicalist, reformist, petty-bourgeois and bourgeois) are reflected in the practical work and even in the political documents of the C.P.s. The political past of the majority of the Party cadres in the C.P.s of South America and Caribbean America (ex-members of various anarchist groups, anarcho-syndicalist and reformist T.U.s, etc.) creates favourable circumstances for the penetration of such influences into the ranks of the C.P.s.

However, the majority of the C.P.s of South America up to the present time have not set themselves the task of politically re-educating the Party masses as a whole and the Party activists in particular, the task of raising the level of the Party cadres on the basis of the theories of Marxism-Leninism. With the exception of the C.P.s of **Argentina**, **Brazil**, **Uruguay** and **Cuba**, which have organised circles, schools and courses under the district committees and the C.C. for the study of various questions of the revolutionary movement, have formed Party schools even in the prisons, combining these forms of political study with many others such as question and answer evenings, periodical conferences of Party workers on various questions and spheres of the work, conferences of secretaries of Party nuclei, agitprops, org workers, etc. conferences and reports for the Party activists, with these exceptions, all the other Sections of the C.I. in South America and Caribbean America have done nothing or next to nothing with regard to the political re-education of existing cadres and the preparation of new ones. Here also can be felt the influence of anarcho-syndicalist under-estimation of political study both by the leading organs and by the lower activists and most of the members of the C.P.

The C.P. of **Mexico** is a characteristic example. The Party school under the C.C. (one-month course) which has been formed for the first time during the last 3 or 4 years, began with 20 Party members but at the end of the month only 6 graduated. Such fluctuations can be explained firstly by the poor organisational work of the Party school (for which the C.C. itself is to blame) and secondly by an under-estimation of the importance of political study by the Party activists.

Party literature is distributed among the Party members very badly, and finally it is practically not read not only by the rank and file members but even by the leading Party activists. On the other hand until very recently the members of the Parties in various C.P.s were still reading all kinds of literature of the anarchists and Trotskyists which is hostile to us and had not the possibility of receiving Communist literature. Not all the C.P.s have utilised the possibility of publishing Party literature in their own country. In this respect, only the C.P.s of **Argentina** and **Uruguay** are doing definite work, while the C.P. of **Chile** has recently taken the first steps.

In the Party committees, work is usually done by one or two comrades but most of the comrades who are members of Party committees, departments and commissions do not regularly participate and sometimes take no part at all. There is no doubt that such practice of the Party committees is a great hindrance to the preparation of Party cadres.

Among the basic tasks which are of decisive importance for the C.P.s of South America and Caribbean America in the matter of preparing and improving the qualifications and the political level of the Party cadres, we should point out the following:

Increasing the proportion of factory workers and ensuring a majority of them in all Party organs by promoting the best worker activists from the big factories in the chief branches of industry to leading Party work, giving them every possible support on the part of the old Party workers who have experience already in leading Party work, setting up special short courses for them on questions dealing with their direct and concrete Party work and on general political questions. At the same time the policy of the proletarianisation of Party cadres must not become a weapon of struggle against leading workers from the intelligentsia, office workers, etc., who have worked for years in the C.P. and have shown their ability to carry out the line of the Party and the C.I. consistently. A struggle must also be carried on against mechanical promotion of workers to leading Party work, i. e., without taking into account their activity, Party standing, etc. and above all without giving them the necessary support in their work.

The C.P.s must take every effort to raise the political level of Negroes and the Indians among the Party members surrounding them with special attention, giving them all possible help in carrying out the tasks given to them. The C.P.s must take into consideration that in view of the different languages and distrust of the whites and even half breeds by the broad masses of the subject nationalities, the winning over of the Indians and Negroes requires the direct participation of people from these nationalities in Party work.

To prepare new Party cadres on a wider scale, the C.P.s of South America and Caribbean America must organise the collective work of all the Party committees, departments and commissions (including the bureaus of nuclei), must distribute functions among all the members of the leading Party organs, establish systematic control and verification of the fulfilment of tasks which are given to each member of Party committees.

An important task is the struggle for the theoretical and political training of Party cadres on the basis of Leninism so that they will be capable of orientating themselves under all conditions, leading the mass revolutionary struggles and carrying out in practice the general line of the Party and the Comintern. This means first of all the development of a struggle against the relics of hostile anarcho-syndicalist and reformist ideology, the struggle against the still strong influence of the petty-bourgeois and bourgeois parties, groups and trends which penetrate into some parts of the Parties.

The C.P.s must organise Party schools, circles and courses on various questions of the revolutionary movement, for studying the programme and the chief decisions of the C.I. and the C.P.s. Leninist study combined with daily revolutionary practice will be the strongest weapon for preparing and reeducating Party cadres.

The C.P.s must also raise the problem of the self-education of the Party members. While distributing Party literature, not delaying it for a single extra day, all the organs of the C.P. must set the task to all Party organisations of observing that the Party members read the literature and giving them aid by organising the discussion and study of various questions dealt with in the literature. The Party organisations must be mobilised to struggle against the distribution of anarchist, Trotskyist literature, etc. among Party members and workers.

The preparation of Bolshevik Party cadres capable of fighting for the general line of the C.P. and the C.I. presupposes the mobilisation of all the Party masses in the struggle against deviations from the line of the Comintern, against any manifestation of Right and "Left" opportunism. However, up to the present in most of the C.P.s the struggle against deviations and opportunist mistakes was a matter only for a narrow circle of leading Party workers and not for all Party members. This abnormal state of affairs must be radically changed. The C.P.s must develop Bolshevik self-criticism from top to bottom directed towards the improvement of the work. The C.P.s must bring all the Party members into the discussion of the chief questions of Party life, Party decisions and everyday work on the basis of the development of self-criticism.