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WORKING MEN'S
ASSOCIATION

INTERNATIONALE DES
TRAVAILLEURS

ASOCIACION
INTERNACIONAL
DE LOS
TRABAJADORES

INTERNATIONALE
DE ARBEITER-ASSOCIATION

ASSOCIAZIONE INTERNAZIONALE DEI LAVORATORI



S.F.P. 9. ②

NEWS SERVICE

ISSUED BY THE
SECRETARIAT OF THE I.W.M.A.

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Editor's Note: The News Service of the I.W.M.A. is sent to the affiliated press as well as to those labour and revolutionary papers which apply for it. Please reproduce items of interest to your readers. The affiliated organisations are asked to introduce in the papers under their control a special section where reports sent out by our News Service would be regularly published. Please put us on your mailing lists and send us regularly your publications.

Number 7 (56) Berlin, July 6th, 1928
Resolutions of the IIIrd International Congress in Liege, Belgium
at Whitsuntide 1928

Declaration of Solidarity with the Victims of Class Justice.

Before the opening, the IIIrd Congress of the International Working Men's Association sends its brotherly greetings to all those who have become, in their struggle for freedom, the victims of world reaction.

The Congress reiterates that free expression of opinion is the holiest of Rights of Man and all those must be contemptible who with some force or other persecute the fighters, imprison them or murder them.

The Congress declares that the action of revolutionary, anti-authoritarian syndicalism would be incomplete without struggle for the release of prisoners and for stopping political persecutions in all countries.

For these reasons, the Congress warmly appeals to the world's workers and draws attention especially to the case of Com. Radowitzky who is being held by the Argentine authorities since the last 18 years under the most inhuman treatment and conditions. It demands of the workers to struggle against capitalist or political oppression energetically and wherever it be.

The Congress expresses its sympathy with all victims of dictatorship and imperialism in Italy, Spain, Portugal, Bulgaria, Cuba, China, Russia and all other countries and vows to work for their liberation.

On Capitalist Economisation (Rationalisation)

The Congress observes in the present economisation of capitalist industry only a next step in the developing stage of the capitalist system, which expresses itself in the liquidation of private capitalism in collective capitalism. This new phase means practically the downfall of the old principle of free competition and its replacement by the dictatorship of industry, which tries to develop by excluding every economic competition, consciously for the exploitation of the world according to a uniform plan.

The Economisation or Rationalisation is only the result of this change of basis of the capitalist world and represents in its methods only the brutal struggle of the machine with flesh and blood with the machine of steel and iron, whose advantages only serve the employers. For the producers however, this new method means the breakdown of their physical and mental health and the complete acquiescence by them to a system of industrial slavery, which leads them into a condition of mass unemployment and a continued reduction of wages.

The Congress, far from seeing in the new transformation of capitalist economics a possibility for the realisation of Socialism, sees only a more perfect form of exploiting the broad masses and consumers, and in the best case can be considered as only the indication of a State-capitalism to come, not at all a necessary preparation for Socialism.

The Congress is of opinion, that the road to Socialism is not merely through a steadily increased capacity for production, but in the first place must occupy itself with a clear knowledge of the social conditions and a fixed programme of constructive socialist action, both which find their expression in the struggle for personal freedom and Socialism is not merely

for personal freedom and social justice. Socialism is not purely an economic but also a psychological and cultural problem and it attempts to connect man again with his work by making work most varied and attractive for individuals, a attempt which never be made with the methods of modern economisation (Rationalisation). Not centralisation of the industries according to the principles of alleged national-economic peculiarities of the different people but decentralisation of our whole production system, as shown found conducive to the development of modern technic; not a pointed specialisation of all braches of production, but work unity, combination of agriculture with industry and a manifold education of man for the development of all his intellectual and manual faculties: In this direction alone lies Socialism.

The Congress opines further that the latest development of capitalism which is shown in the formation of gigantic, national and international trusts and combines, render the older tactics of the workers impotent and their struggle can only be made possible by the formation of international revolutionary economic organisations, which are determined for only for the defence of the immediate demands of the workers within the capitalist system but also for the practical reorganisation of society in the socialist sense firstly. Only by international co-operation of workers' movement for the socialist object and by giving up all conditions imposed by the interests of and institutions of the capitalist State, the working class will be in a position to achieve its economic, political and social emancipation and carry out socialism in practice.

The Congress is strongly of opinion that Free, voluntary Socialism is the only means of avoiding the new industrial serfdom and slavery and this great final object should never be forgotten through all the daily practical struggles.

The Congress stands for the systematic reduction of working hours as a most important means of ~~and~~ combating the endemic state created necessarily by the new conditions, viz. Mass unemployment. Every increased production must ~~lead~~ made to lead to reduced working hours.

The Congress considers that this object can be achieved only when the economic organisations of workers decide for the right of every worker to live and therefore to work, so that in the present economic slump not merely a part of the workers remain in employment and leave the rest to lie down on the plaster, but by enforcing the reduction of working hours so that others may take work without how-ever any reduction of wages. By standing for such a purpose, the workers' organisations will acquire quite another importance than now and their sense of solidarity will be increased a thousandfold.

The Congress demands of all members of the IWMA to make continuous propaganda among the masses for these ideas and thereby for the rapid realisation of free socialism and recruit therefor, and therefor to make the struggle for the Six-hour day in the forefront of their immediate actions.

On the Six-hour day

The Congress recognises that the unemployment crisis takes more and more a sharper and chronic character, that the proletarians of all countries are victims of this crisis, since its causes are:

1. In the development of the productive methods
2. In the steady increase of the proletariat, which is further heightened by the increased replacement of men by women and the stream of the country workers into the industries
3. In the introduction of new methods in production whose only effect is only to increase the output.
4. In the low wages resulting in the reduced purchasing capacity to buy the goods produced.

The Congress considers further that the improvement and development of the productive methods must lead to an improvement in the working conditions, but have only contributed to the advantage of the capitalists; the Congress which supports progress in all fields declares that this progress should never be purchased ~~at the expense~~ with increased human exploitation.

After thorough discussion of the new production methods known as Economy or Rationalism, the Congress considers them a degradation of humanity and an important factor in conducting to unemployment.

The Congress decidedly condemns, above all, the object of capitalists to create a vast army of unemployed in all countries to be used against the workers themselves if the workers demand better conditions. The unemployment is thus used to divide the workers, to render their struggles less effective, to force the workers to leave the revolutionary organisations to follow the lead of the labourite politicians.

The IWMA follows quite the opposite course, it wants that every arm should find work, that workers achieve more and more well-being and freedom, that they understand more and more the necessity for the struggle for their complete emancipation.

In order to improve the miserable conditions for workers of the world, the Congress wants immediate reduction of working ~~xxx~~ hours, as presented in its demands for the Six-hour day as a concrete measure.

Consequently:

The national organisations declare their readiness to propagate the Six-hour day struggle intensively; this agitation and struggle must be begun immediately. The demand for the six-hour day must take the forefront owing to the present conditions of labour and must occupy the major part of the energies of the Trade Unions.

Every organisation must deal with this problem seriously, so that the propaganda and action can be determined locally, in respective districts, nationally and internationally. The Congress stands

for a 14 day agitation on a world scale for the 6 hour day: During these days all organisations must occupy themselves entirely for the making known of this demand, so that the proletariat of all the world will take it up.

In order to be able to coordinate and achieve the greatest result, the national organisations should send to the Secretariat of the IWMA a report of the situation in the countries and the possibilities of the propaganda, after receiving which, the Secretariat which collects the information will fix the time for the 14 day agitation throughout the world for the 6 hour day.

In declaring for the six hour day and explaining that the result of such a reduction of hours will lead to the improvement of the conditions of workers and thus place the international workers in a better position to struggle against capitalism, the Congress is only acting in accordance to the best traditions of revolutionary Syndicalism. It declares beforehand to the workers that those persons groups and organisations which are not willing to stand and struggle for the six hour day for any excuse whatever, knowingly or otherwise, serve only the capitalists and hand over the proletariat to be sacrificed by capitalism.

The Congress appeals urgently to the workers of all countries to take part in this struggle and action which the IWMA is organising, ~~and~~ the only trade union body which alone can lead to the complete emancipation of the workers without any hindrance. The Six hour day is a life and death question for the proletariat. If this joins in the IWMA organisations, it will show to capitalism its will to live a worthy life and its desire for freedom. Long Live the Six-hour Day! Long live the International Working Men's Association!

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Attitude of the IWMA towards Trade Union Struggle of Today

Owing to the fact that the ruling classes of the State and Capital convert every achievement in the field of science and technic to their own advantage and thus to strengthen their own power and extend it over the oppressed classes,

and that Capitalism by its attempt to adapt itself and thus not only to maintain itself but also consolidate its might in times of great political troubles such as after ending the war, or in periods of economic crises as at the time of inflation in many countries or as by rationalisation (economisation) going on in all capitalist countries,

that the employing class not only defends itself within a given fatherland but erects into a permanent institution the international trusts and combines for the exploitation of the proletariat everywhere,

that the workers' movement under the sinister leadership of the political parties and those trade unions allied with them in reformism and state have not attempted to conquer, taking advantage of the favourable situation presented during the last decade, the economic position and power or even to enforce an improvement of the economic and political position of the workers within the existing society --- the 3rd Congress of the IWMA considers it imperative that the workers' movement should not advance on dogmatic lines but must go hand in hand with the modern tendencies and developments of industry and thus bring its struggles into line with the modern exigencies i.e. to make the movement elastic and change according to necessities, without however forgetting to encourage the struggles for freedom and human consideration of the proletariat, and to support the federalistic and autonomous tendencies of its organisations.

The Congress calls attention of all workers of the world to the politics of the reformist (legal and constitutional) and state true (believing and supported by the state) bodies of the workers' movement, through whose efforts the proletariat is pressed into the channels of "social legislation" within the capitalist or so-called socialist State, - a policy calculated to prevent the final and complete emancipation of the working class, to hold the proletariat bound in chain to the various forms of States and for the profit interest of capitalism in all those forms, and thus lead away from the objects of Social revolution more and more.

This demand for "social legislation" is not confined to any one or few countries but is becoming the cry in all countries and has its international center in the International Labour Office in Geneva. The few improvements demanded by the resolutions and acceptance proposed by the International Labour Office, for a few things and for a few categories of workers, even if carried out by legislation in many countries, cannot compensate for the havoc created for the proletariat in the moral field by destroying the root of revolutionary thinking which has come down as heritage from past revolutions and ~~xxx~~ is the most sacred to the oppressed classes.

However much this attempt to improve uniformly the workers' conditions in all countries - as by international legislation for uniform working time and uniform minimal real wages - may be praised, which may be subscribed to even by the Congress of the IWMA, it must not be forgotten that the national and international legislation is the best way to achieve anything, as a resort to this method of improving workers' conditions can only be a mentally misled attempt, for the ruling powers bow only to the force exerted by the workers themselves, not the polite and legal petitions of the leaders as it is amply ~~xxx~~ indicated and proved by the resistance and attack of the English Government to the ratification of the Washington Agreement about the Eight-hour day. It must therefore be pointed out clearly that even these small steps and improvements which have been talked about in the Washington Agreement or in the International Labour Office, are due to the development of a revolutionary epoch, at which the ruling

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the ruling forces make harmless concessions ~~xxxxxxx~~ out of fear of the revolutionary action of the masses, just in order to quiet them and to prevent, if possible, their revolutionary energy about to explode.

The IIIrd Congress of the IWMA therefore demands of the workers of all countries to ~~xxx~~ turn away from the road to understanding with the capitalist and state authorities of all forms, and in accordance therewith, to call back their representatives from the states and legislatures as well as from arbitration and wage settlement ~~xxxxxxx~~ boards, state arbitration boards, national and international labour offices of the state etc.

In its condemnation of the co-operation between labour and capital, attempted by labour movements, the Congress does not want to pass over the machinations of the reformist Amsterdam Trade Union Internationals which wants to send in delegates to the international trusts and combines. Apart from the fact that International capitalism is prepared now to turn down every demand, an appeal to it is self-contaminatory of the revolutionary movement and therefore to be refused, since it is an attempt to mix up the workers' movement with capitalism. Far from ceding to the working class any effective control or even a real insight into the intricacies of capitalist enterprises, as it has been proved in the case of the legal Workers' shop-councils, it will take away from the workers' organisations the last vestige of independence and self-respect. The struggle and successful defeat of the national and international trusts can be carried out only by revolutionary united action of workers, as has been proved by the failure of the English Miners' strike. In future it must take place either by national and international strikes and boycotts on a grand scale, either by calling international industrial strikes, of one industrial branch, or several or all branches and by international boycott action.

The revolutionary workers' movement must not lose time as organisations to collect figures and data on all branches of industry and on the relation of workers to production and consumption, which can be calculated by every industry by its federative unit, as basis for ~~xxxxxxx~~ international ~~xxxxxxx~~ production for useful consumption, after lands, factories and instruments of production have been taken possession of by the workers on the morrow of the social revolution which can alone be considered as the object of the workers' movement.

On War and Militarism

Militarism is the system of the monopoly in State authority, for the defence or expansion of the national fields of exploitation (wars of defence and offense), for conquest of new regions for exploitation (colonial wars), and for the suppression and oppression of the resisting and revolting people's masses (strikes, agitation, rebellion).

In all these cases, it exists only for the protection and increase of the profit interests of the ruling, i.e. anti-proletarian classes.

Militarism is the last and most powerful instruments of the bourgeoisie to hold down the working class in object subjection and suppress its struggle for freedom.

Wherever in national liberation struggles or in class struggles, a new militarism is formed (as in China and Russia), it is again and again applied against workers, because the nature of militarism is to become an instrument for the suppression of the masses in the interests of a privileged class and as such must be an enemy of every freedom. It is therefore the duty of the working class to combat not merely the Militarism of the present day capitalism but militarism as such in every form and destroy it. The most expedient means of combating militarism will be those which conduce to the anti-militarist and anti-bourgeois spirit.

In the first place of importance, an energetic propaganda must made to undermine the spirit of militarism, of discipline and submission in every form whatsoever, to explain to the soldiers these and to explain the nature of war and its in society as instruments and means torged to mowdown libertarian actions. In this way, the ferment of any discipl-

pline as war instrument and murder means against workers will be destroyed. The volunteer army, "white" army, Fascist bands and similar military formations must be boycotted already in peace times.

As the military chiefly consists of workers, and as at the present hight of industry, the army is completely dependent upon war industry, the workers can paralyse it by mass refusal to serve, strikes, sabotage (slowing down or non-performance at the places of work) even when the military action is taken by white troops.

The ~~best~~ best preparation for such mass action is even now by individual and collective refusal of service in army and the organisation of the proletariat to stop producing war materials.

The object to be continually aimed at is to prevent a declaration of war and to transform the present economic social order into a social revolution and thus to destroy the essential causes of war and militarism.

The Congress therefore demands of its affiliated national organisations:

- 1) To propogate the refusal of service in war works and to carry it through as soon as possible.
- 2) To convince the workers in the armament industry and works, which can be converted for war purposes that it is the sacred duty of the workers to go on strike if war breaks out, to take possession of the war supplies and the raw materials destined for them and to prevent the works from being used by capitalism.
- 3) To call at once a General Strike Committees which should declare in case of war threats a revolutionary general strike in all lands

These committees must find ways and means to occupy all working places and strategical points of the countries and make possessors innocuous. At the same time, they must occupy themselves with the defence of their achievements and must only destroy anything in case of necessity.

In a word, everything must be done to convert a general strike into a victorious social revolution.

An International Solidarity Fund

The developments of international capitalism necessitates also that the working class organise itself more and more on an international scale. The increasing reax-action of an international character demands measures of international solidarity of the proletariat. The correct tactics of the international proletariat would be international struggles, international strikes, international boycotts of employers and their goods, and even the propagation and extensions of strikes on an international scale i.e. an international general strike against the various attacks of international capital. If such a strike was called for example in the case of Sacco and Vanzetti, we would have saved their lives; the English miners would have also won their struggle if such methods of direct action had been resorted to by the international proletarians. Unfortunately such actions were not launched till now by the proletariat. That is why every attempt should be made to develop such actions in future, so that each section of the world proletariat may support all the rest, wherever they may be.

Solidarity of national and international character is the best defence of the proletarians. Today the masses of workers are burdened everywhere with the weight of economic misery and terrible pressure of all kinds, which are further increased in many countries by political dictatorships. If the proletariat of the world wants to march forward without severe hardships through this period of its trials and keep its organisations at least intact, it must hold together on the international basis and support each other on a world wide scale.

On different occasions our comrades have shown measures of solidarity on a world basis. The comrades of Portugal have approached the IWMA to bring together the territorial solidarity organisations into an international one of union.

The necessity of such international solidarity organisation has been seen by organisations of other kinds than ours and have been acted upon. International Labour Help and International Red Help have

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done much to help the international communist movement and the communist party members. It is therefore a similar duty of the Syndicalist international and libertarian movement to care for their member and even for the free, party-less members and for the victims of class war.

This is all the more ~~xxxxxx~~ dient to bring about a union among the solidarity organisation of the syndicalists, from a national basis to an international one as demanded from different sides for mutual solidarity and support. This is also possible since in almost all countries our comrades have their own organisations for the purpose.

The IWMA has itself has several times, on different occasions, organised International Solidarity and thereby served only a very needful measure which has to become permanent on an international scale owing to the great reaction in many countries. It should be of immense value for the whole International Syndicalist Movement. Our Comrades in Portugal, Spain, Holland, Germany, Sweden, Argentine, Italy, Mexico and America. But their solidarity should not be confined only to their country. It should also be beyond territorial frontiers and if possible every other frontier. That necessitates a solidarity organisation of an international character on an international basis.

At once, the IWMA organised help for Children, in order to make it possible for the German proletarian children a period of rest, so that their withered bodies of the war and inflation period may be restored. Norwegian comrades had taken up these children. German comrades had collected money for the children of the imprisoned in Italy. In Holland, Sweden, Germany and other countries our comrades collected money to help the striking miners in England.

These however must be looked upon only as beginnings of International help and should be improved and increased more and more. The IWMA has further organised a Committee for the Support of persecuted and imprisoned revolutionaries in Russia, in our German organisation many local unions have accepted hostship (ward) for Russian comrades, by subscribing monthly a certain sum for their support. The Dutch comrades have also an international solidarity fund with local groups in every place paying regularly 5 cents a week.

The object of the International Solidarity fund should be to develop international solidarity and strengthen it. The Initiative for actions of solidarity must be connected with one another in every place and must strengthen each other by practical examples. No suppression of independence should take place but encouraged or shown by increased and closed international cooperation for further capacity to perform services of solidarity. Thus will be possible to bring immediate help to the comrades who are in danger.

Articles of the International Union of Solidarity
of the Libertarian Revolutionary Labour Movement.

The Third Congress of the IWMA considers it valuable to co-operate together in all the existing Solidarity Funds or similar revolutionary Help or Support Committees or organisations within the IWMA. In countries where there are yet no Solidarity, Help or Prisoners' Defence organisations of the Libertarian proletarian organisations, such organisations should be called into existence. The Congress proposes the following ways and means for founding a new solidarity organisations:-

- 1) In all localities where there is yet no solidarity organisation but the possibility is given for founding such, committees or groups will be formed with the object of supporting the victims of class struggle morally and materially. These supports can be in the form of money, legal help or anything necessary or possible in the place.
- 2) The groups and committees so formed are completely independent; they administer their own affairs and determine how they shall raise the funds. They however undertake to send a part of their funds for international solidarity union.
- 3) This amount will be ~~xxxxxx~~ fixed in relation to the membership of the national (territorial) organisation in understanding with

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- the International Solidarity Fund.
- 4) On special occasions, the territorial Solidarity unions should be called to conference with the International Solidarity Union. The moneys for support will be distributed by the International Solidarity Union. The International Solidarity Union makes a yearly report on its activities to the affiliated organisations.
 - 5) The International Solidarity Union is affiliated to the IWMA. Its task will be to transfer all moneys paid in for purposes of International Solidarity.
 - 6) The Solidarity unions of territories have to submit a quarterly report to the International Solidarity Union which shall publish them.
 - 7) In special cases, such as trials, reactionary events, a special report must be immediately made. If there are struggles or events continuing for a long time, repeated reports must be made.
 - 8) International Solidarity will be shown:-
 - a) In all situations where the territorial units have not means for helping
 - b) In cases of mass arrests and persecutions
 - c) In case of dictatorship in any country (Italy, Soviet Russia, Chile Cuba cc.), for prisoners, deported and their families.
 - d) For political refugees abroad
 - e) To the families and children of the victims of class struggle.

Attitude of the IWMA to the Non-Trade Union organisations which have the same ideas and methods of struggle as the IWMA.

The IWMA consists exclusively of workers' trade unions which recognise the program and statutes of the International as fixed in the two preceding Congresses; it cannot take up any non-trade union organisations, even when their propaganda is based on the same ideological principles as those of the IWMA, as they differentiate themselves from the IWMA in the their immediate tasks.

The IWMA is however always ready to collaborate in all tasks with all revolutionary organisations which carry on a struggle for the political and economic emancipation of the proletariat and show their will to make a common revolutionary front with the workers. It is the duty of all comrades inspired by libertarian and anti-authoritarian spirit to take the first steps to strengthen the revolutionary front of the working class, by joining the revolutionary trade unions in their countries with moral, material and practical help. This collaboration will immensely contribute to the development of intimate relations and feelings of mutual solidarity between the organisations of the IWMA and the revolutionary community of interests which correspond with ours and which are common to those comrades.

The Congress is further of opinion that ~~the~~ closer co-operation between the different bodies can be carried on only by those comrades and organisations of the different countries which are affiliated to the IWMA who are interested in such works, for the special tendencies of the different movements can only be judged, for preparation to co-operate, by the local organisations in the territories concerned.

The Congress welcomes the co-operation of the IWMA with the International Anti-Militarist Office (in Hague), in which it sees the first steps towards union of all anti-militarist forces under the banner of class struggle and of the anti-authoritarian and anti-state organisations of the proletariat.

The Congress congratulates on this occasion the Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo in Spain and the CGT of Portugal who have found a basis of common action with the Anarchist Federation of the Iberian Peninsula, and addresses to them that they ~~may~~ members of the last may join the revolutionary syndicalist organisations of their countries; further, the Congress points out the necessity for similar union in other countries for collaboration in the common cause.

The Congress is also of the opinion that in supporting each other at present and for international solidarity, an agreement among the libertarian and anti-authoritarian groups is of great moral and material help for the propaganda of our common ideas and therefore entrusts the Secretariat of the IWMA with the task of finding ways and means by which such an international common action can be furthered.

The Congress states that world crisis within politics, economics and even in the revolutionary workers' movement is deepening more and more and appeals urgently to all who have made the cause of Social Revolution and of libertarian, anti-state communism their own to unite into one organisation which can unite the world proletariat against capitalism and the state, viz. the International Working Men's Association

Resolution of the Dutch Question

The Congress understands the desire of the the Federation of Syndicalist Factory organisations to join the IWMA; on the other hand, it points out that already there is a syndicalist territorial organisation in Holland affiliated to the IWMA, and according to the Statutes of the IWMA two independent organisations of one country cannot be ~~xxx~~ taken in by the IWMA.

In order, however, to amalgamate the two organisations into one body under most favourable conditions, the Congress resolves to admit the Federation of Syndicalist Factory organisations provisionally and as an exception.

It makes this provisional admission subject to their amalgamation before Jan. 1st, 1929.

On the Financial obligations to the IWMA

The Congress resolves that the organisations who have held back their contributions to the IWMA 1 1/2 years without any justifiable reason have no decisive votes at the International Congresses. Organisations which have not sent in their contributions for two years cannot be considered as belonging to the IWMA.

Preparation for International Congresses.

The IIIrd Congress of the IWMA resolves that the Secretariat send all motions submitted to the International Congresses be sent to the different territorial organisations, so that they will have the chance to consider them before the Congress takes place.

The Secretariat must demand 4 months before any Congress from its affiliated organisations what points they want to discuss in the international gathering.

The report of activity and finance must be sent by the Secretariat to the affiliated units six weeks in advance of any Congress to be held.

Yearly Reports

The Secretariat of the IWMA must make yearly reports of its activity and financial condition to all the affiliated organisations.

Every affiliated organisation is obliged to send to the secretariat every year a report in detail of its activities. The Secretariat shall make a precis of these reports and distribute them among the units.

Manifesto of the IIIrd Congress of the IWMA.

After the IIIrd Congress of the International Working Men's Assn. has terminated its sessions, it greets the workers of the world.

In spite of the various difficulties which it had to combat with, the International Working Men's Association has kept its flag of Revolutionary Syndicalism high. In the course of the proceedings of the Congress, it has been proved that the organisations of the IWMA in the various countries as well as their members are still subjected heavily to reaction. The Congress sends its greetings to the victims of reaction, and records that the persecutions has created indignation among all but at the same time it is proof that we are upon the right road to revolution.

The Congress inspired by a strong desire to prepare the workers of the world for the greatest possible well being and complete emancipation, has subjected the big problem of economics and society to a thorough examination and is endeavouring to find a fruitful solution for the proletariat.

The Congress draws attention of the workers to the demand for the six hour day, which alone is capable of reducing unemployment in the world and defend the interests of workers against capitalist rationalisation (economisation).

In discussing the ways and means of giving the struggle of the exploited a revolutionary object and a revolutionary impulse, the Congress examined the Anti-militarist Question minutely and looked at from the standpoint of practical reality.

In order to bring help to all victims of white and red Fascism most quickly, the Congress has instituted an International Solidarity Union, which is called upon to support the struggle of the down trodden comrade ~~effectively~~ with effective help.

Now it is time and the task of the working class to follow the lead which the Congress has given and do everything to put into practical effect the resolutions made.

The Congress is however conscious that the tasks examined by it are only a part of the problems which are facing the class-conscious proletariat.

The Proletariat must never for a moment forget that its final emancipation is possible only when the present order of society disappears and it succeeds to ~~take~~ conquer the means of production, distribution and transport. Only then can unalloyed socialism can exist, which shall allow everyone to live best.

Convinced of the correctness of the principles of the IWMA and the events of the last years having reinforced these convictions, the Congress declares that the greatest possible freedom can only be then realised if the working class achieves the greatest possibility for action, by refusing every political guardianship and collaboration between the classes so much striven after by the reformists, and follows the road sketched by the International Working Men's Association - Berlin. Our action can be all the more effective and powerful, the more the proletarians join together on the principles and practice of the International Working Men's Association.

The Congress therefore appeals sincerely to all the oppressed and exploited of the world and to organise themselves within the IWMA in order to be able to make their struggles practical and thus bring about their revolutionary emancipation.

Confident that this appeal will find echo and that the affiliated organisations will do everything to put the program into action, the Congress closes with the cry:

Long live the International Working Men's Association!
Long live the World Revolution!

ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE DES TRAVAILLEURS
 INTER-NATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION
 INTERNATIONALE ARBEITER-ASSOCIATION
 ASSOCIAZIONE INTERNAZIONALE DEI LAVORATORI



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Address: Fritz Kater (IWMA)
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Editor's Note: The News Service of the I.W.M.A. is sent to the affiliated press as well as to those labour and revolutionary papers which apply for it. Please reproduce items of interest to your readers. The affiliated organisations are asked to introduce in the papers under their control a special section where reports sent out by our News Service would be regularly published. Please put us on your mailing lists and send us regularly your publications.

No. 477/28 Berlin, 5. X. 1928.

Appeal for Solidarity

To all Revolutionary workers:-

The metal workers of Liege are in strike and syndicaliste comrades are also drawn into the struggle. While our organisation is small, the reformist unions have a larger membership. As the strike is procrastinating, our cash chest is being emptied even of the little support we have on hand. The Secretariat of the IWW therefore asks on behalf of the Belgium comrades for rapid collection of sums. If the help does not come, it is possible that the little group in Liege which is like an oasis in a desert will be effaced from the field. Thus the IWMA will lose its position there. Comrades! That should not be allowed to take place. Therefore we appeal to international solidarity. Money can be sent to the Secretariat of the IWMA, c/o Fritz Kater, Warschauerstr. 25^{II}, Berlin.

SACCO and VANZETTI

On the anniversary day of the murder of Sacco and Vanzetti, our organisations in all countries arranged meetings and demonstrations where the vindication of their innocence and the recognition of the guilt of the courts was demanded. The meetings went off grandly. In France, the officials refused demonstrations. It is necessary to protest yet to the American Consulates and Embassies demanding the vindication of the innocence of our martyrs in the American Courts.

U.S.A.

Tom Mooney is not free! It is 12 years since, on July 27, Tom Mooney and Warren Billings were falsely accused of a bomb outrage on Preparedness Day in San Francisco on July 23, 1916. On this twelfth year day, a deputation of the Iron Founders' Union went on their behalf to the Governor of California, demanding the liberation of our comrades and vindicating their innocence. The Governor turned them down and said that he is not convinced of their innocence. That is an indirect way of saying that he does not want them to be released, in spite of their innocence being known to everybody.

Ten years have passed since President Wilson had their case examined by the Labour Minister. In that report, it was said: "The way in which Mooney was persecuted enforces the conviction about the terrible and at the same time holy instruments of criminal laws have been employed knowingly or unconsciously by the enemies of labour in an industrial conflict like this."

The attitude of President Young of California can only be put on a par with that of Governor Fuller who handed Sacco and Vanzetti over to the executioners. The workers of all countries must support the case of Mooney and Billings and sternly protest for their liberation.

HOLLAND

It is well known to the revolutionary workers of all countries that the Dutch Union movement passed through many vicissitudes. It began with the falling out of the NAS (National Labour Secretariat) founded by Demela Nieuwenhuis, which separated from the Red TUI.

Afterwards, there were negotiations between the NAS and the Dutch Syndicalist Union (Ned. Synd. Vakverbond) for fusion. As these did not result in anything, the initiative was taken by the IWMA, in conjunction with the Syndicalist industrial organisation of Municipal workers, the SV van B., to bring about a fusion. At the IIIrd Congress of the IWMA in Liege, the last organisation was provisionally taken into the International subject to the fusion of the two organisations before the end of 1928.

In pursuance of this decision, there was a congress of fusion in Amsterdam on 8 and 9 Sept., under the chairmanship of the Secretary of the IWMA. After some difficulties were cleared, the union of the two organisations took place. The name of the federation of all syndicalist organisations will be NSV (Nederl. Syndik. Vakverbond). The new organisation will issue a weekly entitled the Syndicalist. Of the resolutions made, the one for a General Defense Fund should be called particular attention to, which will be raised for Strikes, 10 kruts and so on, the male members contributing 10c. a week, the women 5c. and minors 3c. Every local organisation has its own right and authority to take any action it likes.

All resolutions should be submitted for referendum to all the members of the syndicalist organisations, as it is the custom in all libertarian unions which consider the rank and file alone much decide to accept or reject the resolutions.. Meanwhile a committee of six persons should be formed to prepare the basis of unification for the new countrywide organisation. Another congress will be called thereafter to decide on the basis drawn up. The members themselves vote in the election of office bearers. The referendum should be finished before Oct. 15.

The new organisation should be based on the declaration of principles by the IWMA. But the Congress made a change there as regards parliamentarism: Not only discard parliamentarism but also carry on intensive propaganda against parliaments and no chief office bearer should take a seat in any political-parliamentary body." Similarly, members of a political-parliamentary body should not be elected to "office membership in the central committee". In this manner, it was considered necessary to prevent the purely economic revolutionary organisation from being made subservient to party political intrigues of office seekers. The new central committee will have to meet on Nov. 1st.

We have to congratulate the fusion congress for taking energetic steps against the splitting tactics in the syndicalist labour movement of Holland by the communist and other reformists. We hope further that further organisations will join the syndicalists in Holland, and that with the increase in struggle and strength, the successes will also be greater for the syndicalism.

GERMANY Militarism

According to the Versailles treaty, Germany is forced to keep no more than 100,000 professional soldiers and conscription is abolished. The German nationalists and socialists can therefore claim to have demilitarised and demand the same from other countries. That the German militarists have learnt to change the form of their organisation to suit the new conditions, is shown by the speech of the Chief of the German army, General von Seeckt which he delivered in Munich. He said that the improved technics in wholesale destruction of life and materials, which is the object of war, is proceeding ~~like~~ with the same rapidity as the machines have done in industry: More and more machines are used in war to replace human hands and their manipulations can be learnt by a few half-skilled" people, who only have to learn the automatic nature of the instruments and can "work" with it playfully. Thus a small army trained for destruction will replace millions of men formerly necessary. While this will be done, the voluntarily trained home military organisations must know that the future wars are for the destruction of civil populations and paralysation of industry and in this work it has to help the regular army in its destructive work and help

to save the civil whenever it is necessary.

This means that Germany is exactly the country which has such a concentrated army and must therefore be considered as most modern in respect of war capacity. If the highly developed chemical poison gas as accounted, Germany cannot be far behind any other country as to preparedness for war.

S W E D E N
End of Miners' Strike

The news from North Sweden says that the miners' strike there is ended. One of the longest struggles not only of Sweden but on record in labour history has come to an end. The strike last 8 months and was one in which the working class was most interested. Let us therefore dedicate a few lines to it:-

The strike began in Jan. this year. It was a sympathy strike for the miners in central Sweden. As the central Swedish miners are worse than the northern, the miners' union under communist leadership thought it best to called out the sympathy strike in support of the central miners, in order to support these in the struggle for wages. When the negotiations led in August to the end of the strike, the workers were forced to go back to the same old conditions. Thus the communist trade unions which work with the Russian money and prolonged the strike ended in a fiasco and the syndicalist theory that strikes should be short in order to be successful has been confirmed by the result.

The strikers numbered 8000. Only in case of piece workers, some unimportant concessions were made by the employers. And the new contract is valid, i.e. enforceable till end of 1930.

The communist scribblers were not ashamed to write against the syndicalists when the strike was going on; in spite of that, the syndicalists held out on the side of workers during all the 8 months when they were sure that the communist tactics will end in treachery, and defeat. The communists and reformist unionists have alike in vain tried to destroy during the struggle the syndicalist unions. While it must be easy for the 40000 strong reformist unions to support 8000 of their striker-members, it must be very difficult for the 35000 strong syndicalist organisations to support several thousand strikers of their own. The reformists therefore thought that if the strike is prolonged the syndicalists will be destroyed, but they were mistaken. Every syndicalist member contributed 2½ kr. a week for the striking comrades. In spite of that our SAC had to lend much money to be recovered after the strike and that they have done not to help the employers to defeat workers.

The communists brought much money from Russia in order to fool the workers that only with Russian money can the strike be won. But as our sister organ "Arbetaren" remarks: It is exactly the Russian money that has contributed to the defeat of the strike, since it could not come forever and the workers cannot win but only be demoralised by competition with employers in money matters. It has also strengthened the morale of the employers.

The strike could not have been won also for other reasons. The Swedish trust A.B. Grangesber had piled up large quantities of ores in the various parts of Sweden, so that it could go on without production for a long time. That was known to the communist strike leaders and yet continued the strike as if to demoralise and defeat the strikers to their worsening and detriment. It is only to be hoped that the workers will not venture upon such defeatist tactics, tactics loading and deliberately planned for sure defeat again as the communists have led them to this time.

Both the reformists and communists were at one in staring, prolonging and defeating the strike. Only the syndicalists who held out all the time against the employers have nothing to regret although they have lost much money out of their poor funds.

If only the workers see that short repeated strikes will lead to victory, they would make progress and avoid defeat.

FINNLAND

Lockout in Ship lines

Since June 2nd, 12000 port and transport workers are in struggle in Finland. The workers demanded higher wages and co-determination in conditions of work. As the employers refused these, there arose a deadlock.

Five later than the strike, the corresponding workers in Sweden, Norway and Denmark declared lockout in all Finnish ships carrying cargo strike-breakers and such measures against the strikers. This measure created strong protests among the employers in Norway and Denmark who demanded the prohibition of such measures. Many factories in Finland had to get the goods loaded in the ~~port~~ ships lying in harbour. That is the reason of the employers of different countries standing against the solidarity of workers. The Danish courts declared the blockade of the workers illegal and the workers who took leading part in such actions were called to court for injunction.

We welcome the sign of international solidarity of workers in boycotting Finnish ships so long as the Finnish transport workers have not been redressed of their grievances.

SPAIN

General Strike in Seville

The workers of Spain have maintained their energy in spite of the merciless dictatorship reigning in the country. When the Spanish government wanted to introduce wage taxes, our comrades in Barcelona declared a general strike which was successful to the workers. The taxes were not enforced. Similar strikes took place also in Bilbao.

Just now in Seville a similar strike has been declared. The employers wanted to reduce wages and demand over work without extra pay. The workers who are mostly syndicalists demanded the maintenance of the 8 hour day and a minimum wages of 7 pesetas. Minor demands of other kinds were also made. When the employers refused to grant them, they went on strike.

The Government at once went to the help of the employers. They tried to prove that it was a violation of the law and a flagrant non-recognition of the Arbitration Courts which exist since the dictatorship. A large number of our comrades were arrested and thrown into prison. The Government publishes a manifesto in which it says: The professional distributors of peace have driven the honest workers into a groundless, unjust and illegal strike. The ordinance contains the points:-

1. After publication of this order, absolute liberty is given to labour. Who calls for strike will be removed to 300 kilometers from Seville and hauled up before court for punishment.
2. A period of 48 hours will be allowed for retaking up of work.
3. The Opposition workers who will not return to work within a limited time will be dismissed.
4. The employed are bound to report to the Government the non-return of the workers within 48 hours. No worker absenting himself can be replaced without the consent of the Government, which will be judged in every particular case and punish the persons accordingly.
5. After 48 hours, the works will be carried on with the state employers will be taken to continue the work or such other measures as the Government thinks fit. - Jose Cruz Gonde, Civil Governor.

In spite of all these threats, the workers have kept away in strike. The CNT has appealed to the workers not to take up work. The manifesto says that the pure economic struggle of the workers has driven the Government to the length of protecting the employers. The economic demands of workers are represented as a "revolutionary conspiracy" in order to cover the truth about the conditions in the country and the situation of the workers. After pointing out that the Government has always protected the money powers dictating life, it is said:

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"The Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo (National Confederation of Labour i.e. Trade Unions) openly declares that every measure of violence against workers will be met with in the proper way found necessary by the workers' organisations in Spain. The working class of Spain shall not tolerate the robbery of the rights and achievements of workers."

From the above methods of workers described, it is clear that the working class of Spain is getting stronger day by day. The syndicalist organisation CNT is always at the top of the working class as a driving motor of the movement for emancipation.

ARGENTINE Anti-War Demonstration

On the 10th anniversary of the end of the world war, the Regional Workers' Federation of Argentine, the local union of Buenos Aires a big anti-war demonstration on the Lavalle Square. In the Anarcho-Syndicalist Daily, the Protesta, our comrades had carried on a great campaign against wars and published a manifesto which was also accepted at the demonstration. In that manifesto, Direct Action was recommended as the only effective means of preventing wars.

The 10th Congress of the FORA
to the Proletarian Prisoners
---of the world.---

The 10th Congress of the FORA (Region Federation of Argentine Workers) issued the following manifesto to the proletarian prisoners of the world:-

The 10th Congress of the FORA devoted special attention to the fate of the workers and revolutionaries imprisoned and persecuted by the Bourgeois and state reactionaries and addresses itself to the solidarity of the world proletariat for the effective abolition of the State idea and capitalism so that the working class may become free. The Congress greets the victims of Fascism and Reaction in all countries and will do everything to liberate the exploited and oppressed in any way. The Congress further sends to all its comrades in the different countries who are working for the same objects as the FORA. The delegates of the Congress promise to do everything by ACTION every-thing to which may improve their condition of the imprisoned and arrested by reaction and state and capitalism, in full co-operation with the International Working Men's Association. FEDERATION BRXFORA. Council.

BRASIL

The workers of Porto Alegre show great activity in spite of the reaction reigning since some time. The union of stone masons who are organised to 80% in this industry have started a union in Tristesa. The union of bakers are holding well attended meetings.

The Metal workers are organised into a syndicalist union of the revolutionary character. The made in a strike in the Firm of Campary and for it. That resulted in the increase of members. The German metal workers who form 30% in the industry are not at all organised. The metal workers' union is agitating against the bad hygienic conditions in the factories. They want to struggle against the conditions through the unions.

The Construction workers have also improved their organisation. They are preparing for concerted action against violation of the 8 hour day.

A union of printers has also been started affiliated to the local Federation. This union includes are workers in the graphic industry (including women) on the anarcho-syndicalist principles. Even here the German workers are well known for their non-unionism, which is clearly in evidence from the cutting which we make from the German paper "Free Worker".

Misery in the Forest Recedes
Warning against Emigration.

The U.S. of Brasil comprising 20 state is the 15th largest territory

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in the world. Its area is nearly half of all the S. American continent. Most of the territory is forest. On the lumber market of the world, Brazil is more noted for its quality goods than for the quantity. Brazil supplied the most sought for woods to the world. In 1926 a wood trust was founded by nearly 200 wood dealers and saw mill owners. In this trust the Franco-American Southern Brazil Lumber and Colonisation company plays an important part. This company has its head office in New York and possesses 3 most modern saw mills and employs 1500 workers who turn out 20,000 planks every day.

In Belem, capital of the southern State Para, there is an Anglo-French company with its head office in Bordeaux. The number of its mills must be at least 1200 and the hands employed 40,000. The workers are of a dozen different nationalities. Among them are many colored Brazilians, Negroes, Japanese as well as immigrants from all Europe.

85% of all Brazilians are illiterate. In spite of the great misery of native workers, the Government encourages foreign immigration, and therefore either the new comers swell the unemployed army or go to work for lowest wages in order to press the wage level down. In order to make matters worse, the Government goes recklessly and brutally against the trade and political movement of workers. Deportation to the notorious yellow fever islands are the sure methods of curing labour troubles. It is therefore quite natural that Labour movement does not progress easily.

The forest workers are the poorest population. They live in palm huts on naked ground among wild animals. The worst of them are in the marshy regions of the forests where terrible fevers kill them. There are no proper medical aids there. Further bad nourishment which are delivered on the Truck system of the employers make the workers undergo privations for weeks together - owing to transportation difficulties.

There are very few details about wage and price conditions. The big saw mills give out work on contract basis, mostly cutting down trees, to a sub agent who employs at minimum the workers at piece rate. An ordinary worker for 9 hours work only 6 Milreis (1 M. Reil - about 6d.) Except for the "high class" workers, the sawyers receive 9 to 10 milreis for 9 to 10 hours. Assisting workers are paid from 5 to 7 milreis while in the cities the prices are much lower than in the forests. Eggs cost 1 Mreis, beef 1,80 Mr., bread 0,9 mr. and so on. (2 lbs). Besides all this, many tricks are practised by the employers and their agents against the illiterate workers, such as notting down less wood than cut, so that actually less is paid for the work than promised.

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

PRESS SERVICE

Published by
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The IAC. consists of the International Workingmen's Association (I.W.M.A.) and the International Anti-Militaristic Bureau (I.A.M.B.) The Press Service of the IAC. is sent to all organisations of the I.A.M.B. and I.W.M.A. Moreover to all personal members of the I.A.M.B. paying a subscription of at least one Dollar per annum. Further to all newspapers and periodicals which ask for it. In return the IAC. is glad to receive all periodicals, pamphlets and books (if possible with duplicate) on matters appertaining to anti-militarism and cognate subjects for the purpose of reviewing and noticing.

S.F.P. 2.

No.

17 DEC 1928

THE HAGUE -
HOLLAND

Address:
Albert de Jong
Laurierstraat 127

AN IMPORTANT BOOK.

Press Service IAC.) The International of the War Resisters (I.W.R.) has just published in German a very important book about peace work: GEWALT UND GEWALTLOSIGKEIT, Handbuch des aktiven Pazifismus? (Rohlfelverlag, A.G., Zürich-Leipzig). This book of 388 pages octavo, admirably got up and costs only RM. 6.40 (bound RM. 8.-). The well-known Vienna solidator, Dr. Franz Köbler, has edited it. In spite of his many activities, he has shown himself able to compound a work which will shortly be known as a significant symbol of the international anti-war movement.

The reader is immediately struck by the broad views of the editor. A better editor could not have been chosen! There is no doubt but that in the first place it is here a question of a manual, that is to say, the whole breathes a pacifistic rather than a revolutionary anti-militaristic spirit. But everything is avoided which could make the book a dogmatic compendium of a single tendency in the anti-war movement. In addition Dr. Köbler has taken great care that the subject treated shall appear to the readers rather as a question than as an answer. The most varied views are represented in this book, and even persons, who in certain cases advocate the necessity of force, are allowed to express themselves freely.

Only a person with broad views was able to complete such a task: a pacifist, who was broad-minded enough to consult other war resisters, may often even one of the best known representatives of the I.A.M.B. This work could thus become something far above sectarianism, in German a real encyclopedia of the war against war.

The book is divided in three parts:

1. The question of force.
2. The origin and growth of active pacifism.
3. The methods and practice of active pacifism.

More than 40 men and women from all parts of the world have caused this book to appear. The well-known psychologist, Alfred Adler, has contributed towards this typical manual as well as Mahatma Gandhi, Dr. Helene Stöcker, Romain Rolland, Hendrik de Man, Poulsonby, De Lagt, Boedgakeoff, the follower of Tolstoi and ex-general Freiherr von Schönaich.

Nearly half the pages are devoted to the first section. The essence of force, its historic rôle, force and social development, catholicism, protestantism and force, the state and force, self-defence - everything is treated. Interesting letters, exchanged between Max Hilla and Armin Wegner, Henriette Roland Holst and Clara Meijer Wichmann, Karel Capek and Heinrich Groag, illumine the questions treated from the most different sides.

The importance of the second part consists especially in the fact that here for the first time an attempt has been made to give a world history of radical war resistance - a history, which is ignored by the official historians, unconsciously falsified or even purposely obscured. China, Juda, Bohemia, Holland, England, Russia, India, Germany, Austria, Australia, in a word, the whole world participates. It appears unmistakably

that something very powerful, rooted deep in the ages, is beginning to grow at present!

The third part, however important the contents may be, seems to us to be too far from reality. Fortunately ex-general von Schönaich dete the i's, and concludes a series of arguments with an article in which Franz Köbber and B. de Ligt together give objectively all possible practical forms of combatting war. In addition there is a very successful article by Schermerhorn on alternative service.

Afterwards follow important documents, a comprehensive international bibliography, an addresslist of the principal organisations, seriously desiring to put an end to war, an address-list of collaborators and registers (that of the proper names is more complete than that of the subjects.)

Our chief objection is that not enough attention has been paid in the book to revolutionary syndicalism (the IAA., Berlin). Why do we not read a word about Rudolf Rocker? Otherwise this informatory work would have been almost complete.

Once again we welcome this manual, even in its present form, with great sympathy and deep joy. We should like to show our esteem for the eminent editor, who has tried his utmost to make from this work a book of universal purport. The appearance of the manual of the WRI. is itself a remarkable event in the history of the fight against war.

PRESS SERVICE

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24 DEC. 1928

THE HAGUE -
HOLLAND

Address:
Albert de Jong
Laurierstraat 127

GANDHI AND WAR.

Press Service IAK.) Important correspondence - Gandhi declares that he will not participate in any future war of the British Empire. When India is once free it is possible that Gandhi will vote for military training!

I. QUESTIONS OF DE LIGT.

In Evolution (51 Rue de Babylone, Paris) of June 1928 De Ligt has published an open letter, addressed to Mahatma Gandhi. In the name of the Europeans, who recognize the great importance of direct action in the form of passive resistance, he pays homage to Gandhi for what the latter has done in his life and work in this respect. He gives a survey of similar actions and movements in the history of the West, which are concentrated at present especially in the International Anti-Militaristic Bureau (IAMB.) and in the War Resisters International (WRI.)

Opposition to modern war, which threatens the whole world, is increasing from day to day. Asiatics are already refusing to kill other Asiatics, when the imperialism of the whites will compel them to do so. And in the white proletariat the tendency is already clearly to be seen to assist no more in a war for those who will exploit and oppress it, nor against other oppressed and exploited peoples.

Nevertheless a world slaughter is still possible. It is consequently a question of organising everywhere against such a fatal possibility. All who devote themselves to this work in all parts of the world, regard Gandhi as their congenial spirit. Many look upon him as the legal successor of Christ. Are they right in doing so? Information received from Mr. Andrews, Gandhi's most intimate friend about the manner in which the latter conducted himself during the world war, the deeds and publications of Gandhi himself in this time - see Speeches and Writings of M. K. Gandhi (Natesan) - cause us to doubt it.

During the Boer War and the Insurrection of the Zulus, during the World War, Gandhi organised the Red Cross in the service of the English imperialism, that is to say he participated indirectly in the wars. Tolstoy has already shown that the Red Cross is an indispensable part of war, and just for this reason many dutch nurses have refused to allow themselves to be inscribed for any coming war.

Moreover Gandhi made direct propaganda for war in India at the beginning of 1918 and urged the Indians to enter the British army. According to him, at that most dangerous moment for England, the Indians ought, without complaining, to give their full support to the Empire, of which they shortly hoped to become a part on the same footing as the Dominions. If India dared to sacrifice her sons for the Empire which was in danger, it would be rewarded for this sacrifice later. England would regard India as her equal and all racial differences would be abolished! "It would be national suicide not to recognise these elementary truths". The Indians ought to free themselves from the fear of militarism and make themselves capable of defending themselves, in order to bear arms and

use them."

How was it possible, that, during the World war, Gandhi so fought on the side of those who were in principle his opponents, the militarists and the imperialists, and left in the lurch the, at that time very small number of those, who over all the world did battle for his ideas. Gandhi himself has explained it more or less when he said that he was moved by a national egotism. But has not this egotism carried him too far?

De Ligt will not force Gandhi to a dogmatic, anti-violence standpoint. Although he gives preference to the employment of other methods, he recognises objectively, the right of all oppressed classes, of all oppressed races, to free themselves by resorting to arms. But Gandhi himself has always quoted Buddha, Jesus and Tolstoi as opponents of all violence. And now he defends it, makes a stand for it on behalf of... imperialism. He has allowed himself to be so deceived by the unfulfilled promises of the Allied imperialists, that he was ready to sacrifice the gold and the blood of the coloured peoples, so that one of the two groups of white imperialists should win the war! Was not such behaviour, worthy of Jesuits, very far removed from that which Gandhi declared he had borrowed from Jesus Christ himself?

Howsoever it may be - this now belongs to the past. At present those who said they would destroy all militarism and imperialism by conquering german imperialism and militarism have become more imperialistic and militaristic than the fanatic adherents of the german empire, and everywhere they are continuing to insult and torture the exploited races. The world is threatened by a new war of continents against continents, of races against races, by which mankind would be torn to pieces. What will Gandhi do if a new war breaks out? Again take the side of the british Empire?

De Ligt makes a passionate appeal to the Indian leader to choose the side of those who, all over the world, are fighting against imperialism in any form and against all war. ("Are you and the mighty masses, who follow you now disillusioned enough in the matter of the mendacity of the promises of the imperialistic governments, to be ready to march with us, when it is a question everything or nothing, against all imperialism, against that of your own government too?").

II. GANDHI'S REPLY

Without publishing the Open Letter, a translation of which was sent by the writer to the Indian leader, Gandhi gives a short answer to the questions asked in "Young India" of September 13th 1928. "Evolution" of November publishes it in french. The following is an extract from same:

"Judged only from the point of view of ahimsa (universal love) my conduct is not to be defended. I do not differentiate between those who use murderous weapons and those who work with the Red Cross. Both are guilty of the crime of war. But after carefully investigating the state of mind in which I was all these years, I feel that in the circumstances I was then obliged to go the way which I have followed, both during the Boer War, the World War, and the Insurrection of the Zulus in Natal in 1905.... As long as I lived under a system of government, based on violence, and as long as I voluntarily participated in all sorts of privileges and comforts, which this government gave me, I was obliged, when it was drawn into war, to help as well as I could. Otherwise I ought not to have co-operated with this government and ought to have completely foregone the privileges it offered me.

"Let us take an example", Gandhi continues, "I am member of an institution which possesses some hectares of land, the crops of which are continually threatened by monkeys. I believe in the holiness of all life and I cons-

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Yet I do not hesitate to incite people to make an attack on the monkeys, nor do I hesitate to lead this attack to save the crops..... in fear and trembling, humble and penitential, I assist in wronging the monkeys, hoping to be able to find a better solution sometime".

In the same way he has taken part in the three wars.... But now - Gandhi declares - my position in regard to the British government is quite different. Therefore I would not voluntarily take part in its wars, and prefer to run the risk of being sent to prison nay of even being condemned to imprisonment with hard labour, rather than allow myself to be compelled to take up arms or participate in any other way in its military enterprises.

"Still this does not solve the problem. If India had a national government, then I can imagine that, although never a direct part in any war myself, I should be obliged to vote for the "military training" of those who wish it. For I know that all do not believe in proceeding from violence to the same extent as myself. And it is not possible to compel a single person or a community to same.

Howsoever this reply may be, we note with pleasure that the British authorities can no longer count on Gandhi in any new war. A report has just been received from Simla by the "Daily Telegraph", that the well-known agitator Lala-Chant and about twenty nationalists of Lahore have proceeded to form a committee, the object of which is, to prevent India from participating in a future war. De Ligt is intending to continue his correspondence with Gandhi about war.

THE CHRONICLE.

Preparations of War.

Press Service IAC.) Persia is building 5 torpedo-boats and a cruiser; France will spend 6 milliard francs on strengthening the franco-german and the franco-italian frontiers. The United States is extending her armaments to an amount of 700 million dollars a year. China is going to make a great basis of Shanghai. Australia has voted 14 millions for the extension of the air-fleet. In the United States there is a bitter fight proceeding as to whether 15 or 71 war-ships are to be built. France spent 77% of his public revenue on war-debts, the army and the navy. The war-budget for 1929 is more by 800 millions than for 1928. In 1929 it is intended to build 31 war-ships: 2 cruisers, 6 scouting vessels, 6 torpedo destroyers, 10 ocean submarines, 3 mine-layers, 4 coastal submarines. Germany is building her first armed cruiser, and building opening atb Hanover - in the presence of Noske - a new cavalry school. She buys bombs from Soviet Russia and makes secret contracts with the "rad revolutionary" government in Moscow to found aeroplane, poisonous gas and ammunition works. Finland is using her budget-surplus for 2 light cruisers. Chili is going to build 27 military aeroplanes costing 700,000 American dollars.

War training.

Air manoeuvres above London, Leningrad, Nanking and Paris, in the latter case with 350 aeroplanes - two of which collided, resulting in one person killed and two wounded. During manoeuvres in Poland the cavalry galloped into the ranks of the infantry, who defended themselves with bayonets: result 40 wounded. During the military exercises in Czecho-Slovakia 6 soldiers died of exhaustion, 16 were wounded and one fell down dead. In Holland a soldier lost in Oldenbroek at the buttocks his two hands and was almost blinded. A military aeroplane flight is being made right across North-America. On the same day that the ammunition explosion took place at Abon in France, a bomb exploded during the manoeuvres

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in Czecho-Slovakia: 2 dead and 2 wounded. In Transjordan 2 aviators fell dead, in England one. During the manoeuvres in Sussex a young woman was killed. Military aviation in England alone was responsible this year for 100 killed and 2000 injured, although in civil aviation not one person was killed. In the same country manoeuvres have been held of the navy in combination with aeroplanes, one war-ship taking part, which was stoked, oiled and steered by wireless. A french military air pilot fell dead at Cazana. A gun boat sank near Oporto: 4 killed. At the accident to the n'th submarine (a french one this time) 43 persons were suffocated to death. In Czecho-Slovakia 2 military aeroplanes fell down. In Prague a military aeroplane fell on a house: pilot and a civilian killed. During naval manoeuvres in Japan a torpedo boat met with an accident: 4 killed. There were great naval manoeuvres in Spain. An English military aeroplane fell down in Belgrade: pilot killed, 2 civilians seriously injured. A military transport aeroplane fell down in Texas: 6 military airmen killed.

War-industry.

Explosion in french dynamite works: 8 killed, 20 wounded. Czecho-Slovakia: ammunition explosion: 2 killed, many seriously wounded. Ammunition-explosion in Nanking: 20 killed and wounded. Ammunition-explosion in Morocco: 57 killed and at least 300 injured. Ammunition-explosion in Antwerp (Three in one month). At the last (in Hoboken) only 2 killed. During the unloading of bombs from Hoboken one exploded: 1 workman killed, another had his arm torn off. Ammunition-explosion in Piacenza (Italy): 11 killed, 5 wounded. Ammunition-explosion at Orbetello (Italy): 5 killed, 15 wounded. Explosion in a german ammunition works: 2 killed. Explosion in Roumania: 3 killed, 2 wounded. During the explosion of a bomb near Paris 2 children were killed. During a fire in an italian gun powder works a woman was killed. In Castagnole (Italy) 6 men were killed by a boiler explosion in an ammunition works. The german chemist, Rössel, was killed when experimenting with a new filling for dynamite cartridges. Explosion at Constantinople in a gunpowder-works: 3 workmen killed. Near Vilna a bomb exploded in a meadow: 2 persons were severely others slightly wounded. Explosion in the Government ammunition works at at Pocisk near Warsaw: 2 killed, 2 dangerously wounded.

War-diplomacy.

Italy arranges military contracts with the Balkan lands, and concludes a military alliance with Greece. France and England attempt to conclude a military alliance, on the strength of which an extension of military armaments is advocated in the United States, and by which Italy considers herself threatened and will remove her ammunition works to the southern part of the country. Negotiations are in progress with regard to a military alliance against Russia, Germany and Jugo-Slavia.

But in the meantime we have the League of Nations for disarmament, but the people there cannot even agree about the date for the preparatory "disarmament" conference, much less about disarmament itself, which, moreover, according to Benes, a democratic League man, would have to take as basis the state of armaments in 1919 (namely when they were everywhere raised to a maximum) and every country would have to be allowed minimum armaments necessary for self-defence. Italy is ready to disarm to any extent whatsoever, provided no state has a larger army than Mussolini's.

In the meantime we have the Kellogg-pact. But immediately after signing England and France agree that the former may build as many small cruisers as she desires and the latter an unlimited number of submarines. Thereupon Coolidge told - during the decennial anniversary of the armistice! - that the United States must have a larger navy than any other country, after having declared immediately after the signing of the pact

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that naval construction goes on continuously, war-ships being used for selfdefence. which the pact allows. This is the state of affairs ten years after the "last" war.

N.B.: The Secretary of the IAMB. (The Hague, Holland, 127 Laurierstraat) urgently requests facts as above to be sent him.

INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS CONFERENCE.

Press Service IAC.) There is not much of importance to report about this conference, because the real work was done in secret commissioner meetings. On the platform the conference condemned "in the name of the whole civilized world" the chemical and bacteriological warfare, and pronounced itself to be in favour of the prohibition of this kind of war. Nay it has even passed a resolution against war in general. Five civil pacifists will perhaps rejoice at this, but the real meaning of such government and military pacifism is very aptly characterized by a journalist, who pointed out, in connection with the Kellogg pact, that at present no one can wage war without taking into account public opinion, and consequently good, modern war preparation requires just as much the influencing of public opinion with phrases about peace, as the building of cruisers, Aeroplanes and the manufacture of poisonous gases. In this way the Red Cross tries secretly to participate in the regulation of warfare.

SAVE MOONEY AND BILLINGS!

Press Service IAC.) For twelve and a half years now Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings have been imprisoned in the dungeons of the "earthly paradise" California, in the freest country of the world, the United States.

When in 1916 the american plutocracy considered the moment to have come the to risk the lives of millions of working men in the world-war, use was made of the ever corrupt press, of parades and military displays to incite the masses to war.

During one of the parades a bomb exploded on July 12th 1916 at San-Francisco. It turned out later that this bomb had been placed by government agents of the Central Powers. Tom Mooney, Warren Billings and four others were arrested, the two former were "found guilty" and sentenced to death.

By means of a photograph Mooney could prove that at 2.2 p.m. he was two kilometres from the scene of the explosion, which took place at 2.6 p.m. The photograph shows Mooney, his wife and some friends on the roof of their house. The watch of a church in the neighbourhood is clearly to be seen and points to 2.2 p.m. In addition this alibi is confirmed by a policeman, named Smith, who saw him on the roof of his house at the time of the attack. He was however not allowed to give evidence.

Billings was also able to substantiate his alibi with witnesses. Three of the four witnesses for the prosecution recanted their statements, saying that they had not recognized in our two friends the perpetrators of the attack, but that the police had suggested they make such a statement. The fourth witness, Oxman by name, was not in San Francisco on the day of the attack, but some hundreds of kilometres distant. Still he persisted in his assertion that he had seen Mooney and Billings at the scene of the attack, and brought forward witnesses who declared that they had seen him in San Francisco on this day.

Letters exchanged between him and one of the witnesses were published by

Densmore who investigated the matter in 1919, having been instructed to do so by President Wilson. Oxman promised 100 dollars and travelling expenses if his friend would declare that he had seen him in San Francisco, and added in one of the letters: "If your wife feels anything for it, let her come with you. She can also earn something in this business"

The same man wrote to the Public Prosecutor that 2500 dollars he would provide proofs of the guilt of both Mooney and Billings. You will ask why then were these two men, evidently innocent, condemned?

Because they were active organizers in trade unions.

Because they had played a leading part in the great strikes of 1912 and 1924.

Because they had helped to show up the corruption of the chief authorities in California, who had all been bribed by the great railway company, The Southern Pacific. For these reasons Mooney and Billings were sent to prison, not because they were guilty.

The secretary of the Public Prosecutor has said so/ "Even if the statements of Oxman - the chief-witness for the prosecution, whose evidence caused these men to be condemned - turn out to be false, I shall not move a finger to have them tried."

When these declarations, which clearly showed the innocence of Mooney and Billings, became known, President Wilson asked for a retrial. But even this remained fruitless. As in the case of Sacco and Vanzetti, the President of the United States may not interfere in the home affairs of one of the States.

That others were convinced of their innocence is proved by the fact that the two men were treated as political prisoners, while they were condemned for murder. All the judges, officers of justice and the whole jury now asked for them to be pardoned: for pardon, because retrial is not possible according to American law. But Governor Young continued to refuse!

For four months Densmore, a barrister-at-law, investigated the matter on behalf of the Ministry of Labour. His conclusion was: innocent. He made use of all the American methods of investigation: hidden cameras, microphones, dictaphones. The only result of all these protests was the commutation of the sentence to life-long imprisonment.

The enormous protest strikes of a hundred thousand men in Chicago, of ten thousands in Washington, of hundreds of thousands in California were influential in obtaining this commutation. A wave of protest spread over the whole world. The corrupt press knew nothing about it!

When at Leningrad (then still Petrograd) proletariat stormed the American Embassy by way of protest - the papers wrote that it was a question of a certain "Muny"; they had to copy the incorrect spelling from the foreign papers.

Friends, these two innocent men are still in prison. Add your protest to the many others from all parts of the world. Demand the liberation of Mooney and Billings. Show the rulers of America that the proletariat of the world will not allow a repetition of the tragedy of Sacco and Vanzetti.

SAVE MOONEY AND BILLINGS!

The response in the Press.

"Die Proletarische Revolution" (Frankfurt) began its campaign with a long article by the well-known danish writer, Karin Michaëlis, which first appeared in the bourgeois "Frankfurter Zeitung", and has since devoted many articles to the affair. The "Kampffront" (Berlin), "Brand"

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(Stockholm), "Opstand" (Amsterdam), "De Arbeider" (Groningen) and many other papers have followed suit.

The IWW. press (Chicago, Winnipeg, Los Angeles, San Francisco) is keeping the matter before the public, as also many other radical and socialistic publications in the United States. See to it that all papers follow this example!

THE MURDER OF DELLA MAGGIORA.

Press Service IAC.) On the 18th of October at 6.25 a.m. Michele della Maggiora died a hero's death under the bullets of a fascist execution platoon. The execution was performed by a special detachment of the fascist militia, protected by a squad of 600 men. Evidently neither the soldiers nor carabinieri (mounted police) were to be trusted with this execution.

The death sentence, pronounced by a special Court for the defence of the State, and based illegally, on the special law of the same name, was caused by the death of two fascist militiamen, killed by Della Maggiora.

Della Maggiora had returned to Italy from abroad where he had aroused the hatred of the Italian spies on account of his anti-fascist activities, to seek recovery from the tuberculosis he had got in the trenches.

The Black Shirts, however, made his life unbearable owing to their continued espionage, and prevented him from obtaining work. Then Della Maggiora killed two of them. The sentence is illegal because the special law only threatens with the death penalty in case of attacks on members of the Royal House or on Mussolini. Ordinary murder can only be punished by imprisonment.

The murder of Della Maggiora opens a new period in the fascist regime. So far many have fallen into the hands of the fascist bands (Matteotti), but they were killed secretly. By this execution the fascist government recognises civil war, and the sentence was also carried out by in accordance with martial law. Thus it was not the king who had to decide, whether Maggiora should be pardoned or not, but the commander of the army-corps.

To intimidate the populace a special proclamation relative to the sentence and the execution, was placarded in every municipality.

Della Maggiora died as a revolutionary. His last words were: "Down with fascism! Long live liberty!" His name occupies the last, but certainly not the least place among the many who have paid for their ideals with their lives. Matteotti, Lucetti, and now Della Maggiora. HOW LONG STILL!

THE RED CROSS AND THE POISONOUS GASES.

Press Service IAC.) The I.A.M.B. sent an open letter to the delegates to the 13th Intern. Red Cross Conference, The Hague, in which attention is drawn to the strange fact that the Red Cross, which will, among other things, protect the civil population in the gas war, co-operates with the governments, nay even in most countries forms a part of the war ministries.

It is clear that as soon as the governments have learned of the means of defence considered necessary by the Red Cross, the Ministries for Home Affairs will perhaps take into consideration the application of same, but it is sure that the war ministries will instruct their experts to

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experiment for gases against which the means of defence discovered is of no avail. Consequently we move in a vicious circle.

The IAMB. therefore invited the delegates to break off all their connections with the war ministries and to appeal to the people, openly acknowledging that in face of the terrors of the coming war, all Red Cross work is only miserable patchwork, and that there is only one way of protecting the people, to wit, preventing that war by ceasing all preparations for war.

The delegates were invited to set an example, just as Prof. Cohen of Utrecht has already done, and to incite their colleagues the intellectuals and working-men of all countries, to follow this example, as otherwise they will "serve Mars more than Man".

This letter was handed to the delegates by three persons and was written in the german, french and english languages. Although the letter contained nothing of an inflammatory character, and there was no question of a disturbance of the peace, it was confiscated by the police, after about half the copies had been distributed. No law or regulation gave them the right to do this.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA 5)

PRESS SERVICE

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THE INTERNATIONAL ANTIMILITARISTIC COMMISSION

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No. 24

THE HAGUE -
HOLLAND

Address:
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Laurierstraat 127

MANIFESTO AGAINST WAR.

Press Service IAC.) On 1st December 1928, the following statement appeared in the English Press:

"The United States is busy developing this year into a great military and naval power. America is arming, France is arming, Germany is arming and so on. The vicious circle of power and fear is again busy developing. The coming war is being prepared for everywhere, although hardly four months have passed since the Kellogg Pact, which outlawed war, was signed."

It is true, preparations for war are in full swing. Political and economic conflicts are becoming more acute. Even Disarmament Conferences, the object of which is to regulate armaments, are continually being postponed. The naval agreements cause political conflicts. There is no way out of the vicious circle, presented by the alternative proposals: Security through Disarmament and Disarmament only after security has been achieved. The signatories of the Kellogg Pact are arming as never before. All responsible statesmen declare that sooner or later this arming must lead to war. That the technical methods of modern warfare threaten to exterminate the human race is acknowledged by the same governments which convene conferences to consider how they are to protect their people against the barbaric contrivances which they are preparing for other nations. At the same time, the war resisters, the real opponents of war and militarism, who are, in fact, acting upon the words of the governments, are treated in almost all countries as criminals and punished by imprisonment.

Since the end of the war, the ever-increasing contrast between the words and deeds of the governments has never been so clearly demonstrated as in the barbaric sentence of 133 war resisters in Yugo Slavia, belonging to the Christian Sect of the Nazareners. Seventy-two of these men, having already served five years' imprisonment, were in October last sentenced to a further ten years' imprisonment, but, following widespread international protest, have been released.

The persecution of these real war resisters deserves the interest of all opponents of war. It shows the fear of the governments for the action of direct war-prevention, their fear that their words about peace will be followed by practical deeds of peace. It is not sufficient merely to protest to the authorities concerned against these inhuman sentences. It is necessary for their example to be followed by deeds. Time passes. The people themselves must put a stop to war, which statesmen are organising in spite of peace treaties and peace pacts.

All sincere friends of peace should be ready to follow the example of the Nazareners, and in that and other ways to compel the governments to release the war resisters in every country. The achievement of Peace requires that in opposition to the present organisation of war by all states, we should actively prepare for its prevention.
Refuse to serve in the army, navy or air-force!
Put a stop to all war industry!

Organise before it is too late, individual and massed resistance to prevent the outbreak of war!

Signed by: The International Anti-Militarist Bureau,
The Syndicalist International,
The War Resisters' International.

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15 MAART 1929
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THE HAGUE -
HOLLAND
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CRUEL PERSECUTION OF THE DOEKOBOREN IN CANADA.

Press Service IAC.) The Doekoboren (the champions of the mind) formed originally a religious sect in South Russia, who put into practice christian anarchism. For instance, they refused to serve in the army, and even as early as 1792, some of them were condemned for this to be burnt. This sentence was commuted to exile in Siberia. During the whole of the last century they were repeatedly persecuted most cruelly under the regime of the Czar. In 1893 they decided not to take any intoxicating drinks, and in 1894 divided up voluntarily all their possessions. Finally they received permission to emigrate to Canada, for which purpose Tolstol prepared his "Resurrection" for the printer, and placed his copy-money at their disposal. 7000 were enabled to emigrate to Canada. Moreover english Quakers and many others assisted.

Now the Doekoboren have taken their children from the governmental schools, and how insolently the Canadian government is acting towards them, may be seen from a letter sent to the International Anti-Militaristic Bureau against War and Reaction, The Hague, Holland, by a Doekobor banished to British-Columbia by the Canadian government. He writes as follows:

"We wish to tell you about the "civilised" usurpaters who attacked our village, not far from Grand-Forks in British Columbia on January 28th.

Some days before the policemen came with the intention to arrest four people, whom the authorities considered to be more or less dangerous for the Canadian law. The brethren replied, that they could not comply with the demand of the police, as they had already proclaimed openly in writing in their towns and villages, thereby expressing our pacific intentions. Thereupon the policemen answered: "If you do not come with us, we will send 40 policemen and do our duty - we will show you what the Canadian law means." We were warned beforehand that the police were coming for us. On January 28th we met for peaceful negotiations, and suddenly we saw motor-cars coming towards us. 30 men descended and drew up in a line. When they were drawn up, they advanced. They were half drunk and brandished sticks. At their head was the chief-inspector of the provincial police, van Denwood, and the inspector of schools, Sheffield, who has passed through three universities and knows half a dozen languages. They forced an entrance into the house, without giving any warning, where we were gathered together, and where the brethren, for whom they were looking, sat at table. Some policemen advanced to the table, began to hit the men on their heads, to drag them away from the table and beat them with sticks. The brethren offered no resistance and tried to persuade the servants of Canadian law to stop their illegal proceedings, but no attention was paid to them. So pitiless were the police, that they forgot all humane feelings.

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When they had dragged two of our brethren outside, and the door was closed behind them, they broke the window-panes, brought lachrymatory gas inside, pulled some of the brethren outside and hit them with sticks. In the struggle the burning stove was overturned, which naturally increased the confusion. The "gentlemen" leaders, enraged, began to throw with whatever they could lay their hands on, at women too. One woman was hit on her nose, the child of another was dragged out of her arms; she was trampled upon and the child half killed. When they had forced all to leave the house, they divided them into two groups, drove the men to the motor-cars, and left the women standing. The leaders ordered 10 men to be chosen, placed in the motor-cars and taken to the prison in the town. Before their departure the prefect of police commanded the brethren remaining behind not to spread their ideas by means of the press, and not to hold any meetings in the towns. He added "otherwise you will suffer for it". Hereupon our undesired guests disappeared. When we reached the prison we discovered, that one of our friends was already there. He had been arrested in the town while walking in the street.

A policeman hit one of our friends, who had just been released from the hospital, black and blue, and drove him out of the town without any reason whatever.

Four women of the Doekoboren went to town to shop. The police heat them and drove them out of the town without any explanation at all.

A Doekoboor-farmer, who had no more wood, went to another person to fetch a load, and was suddenly attacked by the police and beaten. He said: "I obey the law and send my children to school". But the bandit continued to beat him and drive him on, saying, that that was no business of his.

Two Doekoboren, returning home from town, had the same experience.

Finally we will ask: Would it be possible, that we should not find people who would raise their voices for the protection of the truth?

In an accompanying letter the Doekoboren request the IAMB. to circulate the above communication internationally, which we have done by publishing this Press Service. It is being sent to the ordinary addresses and to all organisations and kindred spirits known to us, especially in America.

We urge all, who get to know the above facts, to spread same as much as possible, and to send their protest to the Canadian government. Moreover we attach importance to being informed about all that happens further in this matter.

THE DOEKOBOREN AND THE NAZARENERS.

Press Service IAC.) The IAMB. has received the following telegram with reference to the communications in this Press Service about the persecution of the nazareners in Jugo-Slavia, who are conscientious objectors.

"Brilliant (British Columbia) Doekoboren of Canada did away 30 years ago wit firearms and service in the army. Send expression of sympathy to their brethren, the nazareners who suffer in Jugo-Slavia for their faith and ideals. Protest against force of militarists. Appeal to their brethren in the world to raise their voices for the protection of truth of those who serve her.

(signed) Peter Verigin.

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30) 31) S.F.P.S. 30)
No. 25
12 April 1929.

THE HAGUE -
HOLLAND

Address:
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Laurierstraat 121

INTERNATIONAL ANTI-MILITARIST BUREAU.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARIATE FOR THE YEAR 1928.

In general the Secretariate of the IAMB. has worked in 1928 as given in the report of the years 1926 and 1927.

COMMITTEE.

After Wim Wessels had been nominated in the place of Herman Schuurman at the annual meeting of March 26th 1928, the Secretariate was as follows: Albert de Jong, secretary, L. V. Boel Jr., treasurer; Miss A. v. d. Plaats, L. Mounoury and Wim Wessels. (The committee meets as a rule the second Saturday in each month.) The same meeting nominated as member of the International Council G. Nabrink in place of M. Stevens. For the rest the composition of the International Council remained unchanged.

ACTIVITIES.

Persecutions. The IAMB has protested against the persecution of Fritz Röttcher in Germany (10), the Indonesian students in Holland (10 and 14), Radowitzky (10), the members of the I.W.W. (12), the political prisoners in Flanders (12), Folke Rosen, Sweden (14), the Finnish conscientious objectors (15 and 17), the antimilitarists in Roumania (15), the conscientious objectors in Switzerland (15 and 18), four anti-militarist miners in England (16), the French conscientious objector, Abrial, (17), the victims of the reign of terror in Cuba under Machado (17), the Nazarimers in Yugoslavia, who would not serve in the army (19), L. P. Neal (19), Mooney and Billings (20) and against the murder of Della Maggiona (20).

Official Pacifism. In connection with the Russian disarmament proposals at Geneva (12), the Kellogg-Pact (17), the disarmament conference (19) the IAMB. clearly laid down its point of view.

War preparations. In more or less regular chronicles, by means of the Press Service, a survey has been given to the international labour press of the ever-increasing war preparations in numerous countries, both as regards armaments and diplomatic measures, such as military treaties etc.. (10, 12, 20).

Armando Borghi. When on Monday afternoon, March 19th, at 4 o'clock the news reached the IAC. (in the form of an article in "The Nation" - New-York - March 14th), that the well-known Italian anarchist and syndicalist, Armando Borghi, was threatened with rendition to the Fascists, a special number of the Press Service (13), announcing this fact was published in the morning of March 21st and sent in four languages to 560 papers, organisations and persons throughout the world. Borghi has been saved in the meantime!

The Conscientious Objectors in Yugo-Slavia. When the IAMB. learned, via the WRI., that in Yugo-Slavia seventy-two conscientious objectors - Nazareners - had again been sentenced to ten years' imprisonment, it sent, by means of the press service (19), a résumé of the facts and an appeal to protest to the ordinary 560 papers, organisations and persons, and in addition to 120 Dutch dailies, to numerous prominent papers abroad and to many international organisations in Europa and America, with the result that, thanks to the work of the WRI. and other pacifist organisations, a general protest resounded and 112 conscientious objectors in Yugo-Slavia were set free! Among others, we received a telegram from Canada from the Douckobors exiled from Russia under the Czar, requesting further information, and later on a telegraphic protest.

Indonesian Students. A detailed report of the legal proceedings against the Indonesian students in Holland was circulated by means of the press service (14).

Sacco and Vanzetti. By means of the press service the IAMB. published an appeal on the anniversary of the death-day of Sacco and Vanzetti to demand internationally a revision of the sentence. In addition the IAMB. circulated many copies of the bulletin of the Sacco-Vanzetti Defence Committee, Boston, among the international papers outside America.

Red Cross Conference. The IAMB. distributed an Open Letter among the delegates to the Red Cross Conference, The Hague, in which an appeal was made to the delegates to refuse to co-operate with the governments rather than seek means to protect the civil population against chemical warfare (18). The Hague police confiscated the open letter!

Support. An appeal for help from an international committee for an old comrade, who has devoted his whole life to the fight for our ideas, was sent to 120 organisations in Holland.

INTERNATIONAL WORK.

Congress IAA. A. Miller Lehning represented the IAK. at the International Congress of the IAA., held in Liège, and the secretary of the IAMB. gave in a paper the point of view of the IAMB. with regard to anti-militarism in the proletarian fight for liberty. (See the detailed report in 16.)

Congress WRI. With the former president of the IAMB., B. de Ligt, the secretary, Albert de Jong, represented the IAMB. at the International Congress of the WRI. at Sonntagsberg. A full report was given in the press service (17).

Austria, Germany, Belgium. The secretary of the IAMB. explained at various public meetings in Austria and Germany the point of view of the IAMB. A meeting was held at Sonntagsberg with sixteen members of the League of Independent Socialists in Austria, who promised to contribute regularly and.... have kept their promise. In Belgium the secretary had interviews with various friends and editors of papers. The result was that the IAMB. gained a fair number of personal members abroad, contact with the organisations was strengthened and some papers decided to pay for the press service.

International Congress of Clericals. Mr. Bot welcomed the delegates in the name of the IAMB., and took advantage of the occasion to explain in a few words the point of view of our international.

IAMV., Holland. Just as in other years a short account of the work of the IAMB. in the past year was given at the Congress of the IAMV. in Holland, held at Christmas in the Hague.

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Co-operation. The IAMB. and the IAA discuss regularly with the WRI., the International Council of the Quakers, the International Women's League for Peace and Liberty, the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, the International Co-operative Women's Guilds and the Co-operative Women's Guild in England matters in which joint action can be taken. The first meeting was held on the 29th of November 1928 in London, where the IAMB. was represented by A. Müller Lehning, the secretary being prevented from attending. The chief matter under discussion was the persecution of the Nazareners in Yugo-Slavia. Meetings are to be held regularly in the future.

AFFILIATIONS.

The number of personal members is increasing regularly not only in Holland, but also abroad. The contributions of the affiliated organisations are being paid more regularly, and this year a larger amount than ever before has been received from the countries outside Holland. Negotiations are in progress with various organisations for affiliation. Though the situation remains difficult, slow but encouraging progress is to be noted.

PAMPHLETS.

A deed, from which we expect much success for the IAMB. is the publication of a small informative pamphlet about the IAMB. It has appeared in Dutch, and at the moment German, French and English editions are in the press, while it is to be published simultaneously in the Spanish language in the Argentine. Our friends of the syndicalist daily "La Protesta" are seeing it through the press.

PRESS SERVICE.

During 1928 there were published 12 numbers of the press service, containing altogether 59 articles. These numbers are issued in Dutch, French, German and English while in South-America they are sent to the press in Spanish by "La Protesta". Only once could the press service be published in Norwegian. A Swedish edition, which we had hoped for, had as alas not yet made its appearance.

As "Der Syndikalist", which has had the press service in the German language printed for us hitherto, was forced by circumstances to give this up, the publication in German was greatly delayed. We have now made fresh arrangements and are going to see to it ourselves.

Of the 59 articles sent in the 12 press services in 1928 - as far as we could check some 60 papers in 14 countries and 12 languages reprinted 302 times an article. Altogether 386 articles were published in 1928, as against 28 in 1927, and in the following languages: Dutch, French, German, English, Spanish, Swedish, Finnish, Roumanian, Polish, Japanese, Chinese and Esperanto.

It is our intention to ask sometime in 1929 for the press service one dollar for the IAC. of all the papers which are able and willing to contribute this amount. Then we shall issue more smaller press services, which can be sent immediately to the papers publishing our articles, and several numbers together to other addresses. This last measure will reduce our postal expenses. We also hope, that in this way more articles will be published than heretofore, and that they will be as actual as possible when appearing.

RESUME.

We think we can say that all that was possible was done last year, much even if the means at our disposal are considered. This appears when we inform you that one press service of eight pages costs Fl. 75,- and that in 1928, 2500 letters and printed matter were sent by the IAMB. and 5000 by the IAC. That so much was possible we owe to those kindred spirits, who have assisted us financially, and to our comrades, who have

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helped in the office. Many friends are more or less regularly occupied writing addresses, doing translation work, reading the foreign papers, supplying news or articles for the press service, dispatching the press service in typing and archive-work, etc., and though they change sometimes, in general an appeal is never made in vain. The regular help, of a typist proved to be absolutely necessary however, when Kroporaal, who has done so much for the IAMB., could assist us no longer, and although, true to our principles to incur no new debts, we have still been able to engage a typist for the Office of the IAMB. and IAC.

But our future - pecuniarily - is none too care-free. While IAMB. and IAA. have each contributed Fl. 950,- to the IAC. for 1928, the IAA. has been compelled to reduce its contribution for 1929 to Fl. 600,-. In addition we have also to arrange for the German press service, the purchase of a cyclostyle and typewriter of our own is becoming urgent, and the IAMB. will have to be represented at different congresses and conferences in 1929.

We must therefore, in order to continue our work at least in the same manner, and if possible extend it, make an urgent appeal for help to all our friends. We do not doubt however that our work will benefit not only the propoganda, but in the long run will lead to our IAMB., being better established both practically and organisatorily. Our brochure offers an excellent means of interesting more and more persons and organisations in our work, and we will conclude this report in expressing the hope, that the friends of the IAMB. will continue indefatigably to exert themselves to their utmost.

For the Secretariate of the I.A.M.B.,

Albert de Jong.

(Press Service IAC.)

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

REPORT OF TREASURER OF I.A.M.B. 1928.

Cash Account 1st January 1928 - 31st December 1928.

RECEIPTS:

Balance 31st December 1927		F. 185,25½
Contrib. Persons: Holland	F. 363,--)	
- - - : Abroad	F. 52,96)	F. 415,96
Contrib. Org.: Holland	F. 416,36)	
- - - : Abroad	F. 156,37)	F. 572,73
<u>Fin. Support:</u> Persons	F. 635,35)	
Organisations	F. 75,65)	F. 754,87½
Collections	F. 43,87½)	
<u>Sundries:</u> Report Conference Berlin		F. 10,90
Contributions IAMB.-pamphlet		F. 147,50
		<u>F. 2077,22</u>

EXPENDITURE:

1. Intern. Antimil. Commission (I.A.C.)		F. 950,--
2. Telephone and postage		F. 130,46
3. Printed matter		F. 11,85
4. Office requisites		F. 45,22
5. Hall-and Office rent		F. 98,--
6. Defrayment of travelling and sundry expenses		F. 507,95
7. Translation work		F. 21,--
8. Annual report: paper, ink, translations		F. 38,15
9. Stock		F. 20,--
10. Postal Collection Orders		F. 2,67½
11. Sundries		F. 1,90
12. French translation of IAMB.-pamphlet		F. 13,--
Balance per 31st December 1928		<u>F. 237,01½</u>
		F. 2077,22

BALANCE ON 31st DECEMBER 1929.

POSSESSIONS:

Cash balance		F. 237,01½
Contrib. to be collected: Persons	F. 50,--)	
- - - - - : Org.	F. 47,50)	F. 97,50
Stock		F. 92,96
Deficit		<u>F. 30,02½</u>
		F. 457,50

DEBTS:

Prepaid contribution 1929		F. 7,50
Creditors: H. P. Berlage	F. 150,--)	
C. R. Sijssling	F. 300,--)	<u>F. 450,--</u>
		F. 457,50

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BUDGET FOR 1929.

RECEIPTS:

Balance		
Contrib. Persons: Holland	F. 400,--)	F. 102,51½
" " : Abroad	F. 75,--)	
" " : Holland	F. 400,--)	F. 475,--
" " : Abroad	F. 175,--)	
Financial Support		F. 575,--
		F. 672,48½
		<hr/>
		F. 1825,--

EXPENDITURE:

1. I. A. C.	F. 600,--
2. Postage and Telephone	F. 130,--
3. Printed matter	F. 60,--
4. Office requisites	F. 45,--
5. Hall- and Office rent	F. 200,--
6. Meetings, travelling expenses	F. 250,--
7. Translations	F. 25,--
8. Annual report	F. 40,--
9. Typist	F. 300,--
10. Stock	F. 50,--
11. Creditors	F. 75,--
12. Unforeseen expenditure	F. 50,--
	<hr/>
	F. 1825,--

Remarks. In comparing the present cash-survey with last year's, which extended over nearly a year and a half, it is to be noted, that the contributions are increasing, especially as far as persons and organisations affiliated abroad are concerned.; contributions from general members in Holland have also increased.

In addition it is to be seen from this survey that the contributions do not yet form the most important part of the receipts, but only 50%. This proves that the financial position of the office, although improving, is not yet sound. We are still too dependent on the goodwill of persons and organisations, who, at any rate, with their pecuniary support, enable the office to function. It is, however, the duty of all of us to see that more and more organisations and persons join up. In this respect we hope much of the IAMB.-pamphlet, if only all our friends co-operate energetically.

The following dutch organisations have paid or nearly paid their contributions in 1928: Synd. Fl. Arb. Secretariaat, Krommenie-Wormerveer; Fabr. Arb. Ver. "Streven naar Verbetering", Koog a/d Zaan; Synd. Fed. v. Bouwvakarb, Krommenie; Vrije Soc. Groep, Wormerveer; Bond v. Rel. Anarcho-Communisten; L.C. der IAMV.; Ned. Synd. Fed. v. Overheidsper-
 soneel; Land. Verbond v. An. Jongeren; Soc. Anarch. Verbond, Enschedé.
 And of the foreign organisations: Ung. Soc. Förbund, Sweden; Föd. der Komm. Anarchisten, Germany; Bund der Herrschaftslosen Sozialisten, Austria.

In the balance of December 31st (F. 237,01½) is also included the money intended for the IAMB.-pamphlet.

Contributions towards this pamphlet amounted on December 31st to F. 147,50; disbursed Fl. 13,--; thus still F. 134,50 remain. In the budget I called the balance: F. 237,01½ - F. 134,51½ = F. 102,51½

L. J. Bot Jr.,
 Treasurer IAMB.

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THE HAGUE, May 28th 1929.

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Dear Comrade,

Herewith I send you our new pamphlet about the IAMB. Will you be so kind and mention it in your paper and tell your readers, that it is gratis sent to everyone who asks for it at our address, Albert de Jong, Laurierstraat 127, The Hague, Holland.

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

PRESS SERVICE

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Published by
THE INTERNATIONAL ANTIMILITARISTIC COMMISSION

No. 27
20th 1929.

The IAC. consists of the International Workingmen's Association (IWMA.) and the International Anti-Militaristic Bureau (IAMB.). The Press Service of the IAC. is sent to all organisations of the IAMB. and the IWMA. Moreover to all personal members of the IAMB. paying a subscription of at least one Dollar per annum. Further to all newspapers and periodicals which ask for it. In return the IAC. is glad to receive all periodicals, pamphlets and books (if possible with duplicate) on matters appertaining to anti-militarism and cognate subjects.

THE HAGUE - HOLLAND
Address:
Albert de Jong
Laurierstraat 127

FOR THE PURPOSES OF REVIEWING AND NOTICING THE DEFENCE OF THE REVOLUTION.

As we have already announced in an earlier Press Service, we propose to open a discussion on the above subject. The following article is to serve as a basis. We request that articles on the subject be sent to the Secretariate of the IAC., Laurierstraat 127, The Hague, Holland, so that they can be circulated internationally by means of the Press Service. For these articles the editor of the Press Service is, of course, not responsible. We urgently recommend that these extremely important articles be published widely!

Press Service IAC.) At the Third Congress of the IWMA., held in Liège a special item of the agenda was devoted to the fight against war and militarism. A resolution was passed, in which attention was drawn to the fact, that the working-class was able, by direct action, to paralyze all military action, as, on account of modern war-technics, the armies are absolutely dependent on the industry. As a preparation for this anti-war action, the desirability was recognised of the application of individual and mass refusal to serve in the army, and also of the refusal of the organized proletariat to manufacture war-materials. Although the methods of fighting of revolutionary anti-militarism against war and war-preparation were accepted by the Congress, the following paragraph, originally proposed, was not passed:

"on the outbreak of war to strike after having destroyed the war-material and the raw materials intended for same, and after having rendered the works useless for further production by means of sabotage"

This passage was objected to by Huart (France) in particular, on the ground that, in the final struggle against state and militarism, force will inevitably have to be resorted to, and that it is possible the revolution will likewise have to defend itself against contra-revolution. This was the reason, that he replaced this passage by the following, which was passed by the Congress:

"It is the duty of the class-conscious working-men to strike on the outbreak of war, to make themselves master of the stocks of war-material, and of the raw materials, which can be used for the manufacture of war-material, and to withdraw the works from the control of capitalism".

The question, which was thus put on the order-paper, was no longer merely concerned with anti-militarist tactics and the fight against war, but treated the special problem of the defence of a victorious revolution. We think that the means proposed by Huart, in the resolution passed, for a consequent fight against militarism, are dangerous and unacceptable. Our objections to the proposed tactics can be briefly summed up in the three following points:

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- 1. in connection with the fighting-means against war passed in the same resolution;
- 2. in connection with modern war-technics;
- 3. in connection with the methods and objects of the social revolution.

1. In the same resolution the anti-militarist fighting-means of the direct action were accepted. The Congress incites the working-men to propagate the refusal to produce war-materials, and to carry it out practically if possible. If one is of the opinion that the revolution has to be defended by force and militarist methods, then it is inconsequent to incite to the refusal to do industrial work. Propaganda for industrial, for individual and mass passive resistance, has no other object than not only to wrest the military apparatus - the chief force of the state - from the bourgeoisie, but also to destroy it. If this apparatus is not to be destroyed, but to be used if necessary, then preparations must be made to maipulate same. Then the slogan of passive resistance, stoppage of war-production and of sabotage must be dropped; one must apply oneself exclusively to rendering the military apparatus unreliable for the bourgeoisie.

2. It goed without saying that in case of revolution, the bourgeoisie will use the methods of modern war, which are being more and more mechanized and given a scientific character, against the "enemy at home". For defence against the contra-revolutionary attacks of a victorious revolution, there are only two possibilities: either efforts must be made to move the working-men to stop war-production and to paralyze the armament and war-industry, or attempts must be made to get at one's disposal the same means to fight the bourgeoisie with its own weappons.

It is at once clear that the greatest difficulties will arise in the application of these means. The time of street fights and of the barricades is essentially past, likewise the "arming off all working-men", who, without forming a special military force, could, for instance, defend the works occupied.

What is armament at present? Mechanized cavalry, machine-gun columns, flame-projectors, tanks, aeroplane squadrons, fire- and poison-gas bombs. There is not the least doubt but that in the decisive struggle the bourgeoisie will not hesitate to employ these means to try to save the constitutional authority.

When, some months ago, reports appeared in the bourgeois papers about the so-called secret plan of a communistic revolution for the conquest of Paris, the following paragraph was to be read in the bourgeois press:

"In the semi-official declaration of the "Matin" is pointed out, that the time of the barricades is past; tanks, machine-guns and aeroplanes have changed everything. This is intended for those who, under the influence of romantic remembrance, still think that, just as in 1789, 1830 and 1848, the people would be able to occupy Paris by marching through the streets with revolvers, rifles and swords from the gun-rack".

It is only too true; not only tanks and aeroplanes, but the whole chemical and war-industry will act when it is a question of saving the capitalistic consitution. The specializing of military technics, supervised by experts, renders the utilizing of these means by revolutionaries more and more difficult. A civil war waged by such means, would, in addition, threaten a part of the population with extermination, just as modern war. From a socialistic, from a humane point of view, these means are really not applicable for revolutionaries.

He who would point out that the Russian revolution was victorious, thanks to the army, forgets that at the end of the war, modern war-technics were not so far advanced as now, ten years after the conclusion of peace. And in the second place that the Russian revolution was the result of a lost war, while the object of revolution must be the prevention of war by the sabotage of the military apparatus.

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The Kapp-putsch in Germany, on the other hand, is an instructive example of how, by a general strike, the reactionary attempt to overthrow the government, was paralyzed.

3. He who will utilize the means of modern militarism must organize them. He must build up the military apparatus, and for technical reasons must centralize and monopolize armed force. The manipulation of modern military means is only possible by a highly specialized and militarized body - this is the result of the development of modern war-technics. All this must inevitably lead to the forming of a dictatorial power in the revolution.

For those - for whom the condition of a socialistic society exists in the destruction - and not in the taking over! - of the political authority, and who will replace same by the economic groupings, the means which must inevitably lead to a military dictatorship, are just of the greatest danger. For the re-organization of society economically, syndicalistically, the means borrowed from the arsenal of the state-politics of all parties, are inexpedient.

The destruction - not the taking-over! - of the state, which must be one of the objects of the social revolution, includes, of course, the destruction - and not the taking over! - of its main apparatus of power: the military system.

Just as little as the revolution is a matter of barricades and street fights, can the defence of same be assured with the arming of the proletariat. As long as the basis of militarism is not only withdrawn from the contra-revolution, but completely liquidated, the same can threaten the revolution, while the military combatting of the contra-revolution alone, from a technical point of view alone, will necessarily lead to a military organisation. This results in the military and consequently the authoritative development of the revolution, which will thereby be threatened with destruction in the dictatorship.

Press Service IAC. In 1904, just 25 years ago, The International Anti-militaristic Society was founded on the initiative of Domela Nieuwenhuis of Amsterdam. It was soon to have national sections in different countries. But of these the Dutch section, founded on October 9th 1904, only remained alive.

It was this society which once again took the initiative in 1917 to arrange an international congress, held in 1921, and where the International Anti-Militaristic Bureau against War and Reaction was founded (I.A.M.B.).

To celebrate its 25 years' existence, the Dutch section of the IAMW. is publishing an extra number of "De Wapens Neder". Organisations, and persons, who desire to show their interest, can do so by sending in time a short contribution for this extra number to the following address: Editor "De Wapens Neder", Laurierstraat 127, The Hague, Holland.

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PRESS SERVICE

Published by
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S.F.P. 10 (41)
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No. 28

July 1st 1929.

**THE HAGUE -
HOLLAND**

**Address:
Albert de Jong
Laurierstraat 127**

THE INTERNATIONAL ARMAMENT INDUSTRY.

Press Service IAC.) When the war broke out and all "Internationals" collapsed, one International remained firm: the international armament industry, whose profits are based on the defence of the fatherland and universal murder. The endeavour of all capitalistic industry to extend its markets and increase its profits means for the armament industry an endeavour to augment armaments, which in the end must lead to war, when the greatest profits are to be obtained. This industry, which lives on war and warpreparations, can be bought by the press and political parties, that support these war-preparations, and because of its monopoly, it can dominate the state. It could do this all the more because competition is excluded by secret international agreements, which made these industries international concerns. These trusts remained in existence even during the war. Important material about this international co-operation of the armament industries of the various countries before, during and after the war has just been published by Otto Lehmann-Russbüldt under the title of: "The Bloody International of the Armament Industry" (Die Blutige Internationale der Rüstungsindustrie, Fackelreiter-Verlag Hamburg, 82 pag., Preis 1 M.).

Even during the war the dynamite trust remained in existence. In Germany shares of the English trust could be exchanged for those of the German concern! All kinds of war materials were delivered to the enemy via the neutral countries. Numerous examples of this are given. Before the war ammunition works supplied any country where something was to be earned: friend and enemy.

In 1912 Krupp reported that of the 53000 guns made, 27.000 had been sold to 52 different countries. Austrian soldiers were mown down with Russian machine guns supplied by Austrian works. The English ships were bombarded by the Turks with English guns, and one English warship came to its end in the Dardanelles on an English mine.

After the war the co-operation in the armament industry has not only continued, but has even been extended to the raw materials for war production. By means of the new war technics the "armament industry" has been extended enormously, and all the industries, which have to do directly or indirectly with war, make enormous profits in armament competition. Iron, steel, coal, and above all oil, are the raw materials for war. In addition for poison-gas the chemical industry, which is already an international trust.

Numerous examples are given of different states having established during the past few years armament works in other countries. The example of the Skoda Works, which have been nationalised by the Czecho-Slovakian state, but nevertheless take part in other lands - Poland and Roumania - in the erection of ammunition works, and export greater and greater quantities of war materials (for 8.298.576 dollars in 1926) is a proof for the writer that even the nationalising of this industry can curb the natural desire for markets, and that all armament industries, based on export and profit-making, and whether they are in the hands of a state, a limited company or a private person, have in them the germs of war. We would urgently draw attention to this important book with its wealth of facts. It ought to be widely circulated, translated into other languages - and supplemented. May it contribute towards the war industry being stopped, or at least towards a practical beginning being made.

PASSIVE RESISTERS IN HOLLAND.

Press Service IAC.) There are regularly about 30 passive resisters in prison in Holland. Their treatment has of late been repeatedly the subject of public interest and protest. On March 26th Joh. Jurriaans, a passive resister, died from stomach trouble. The prison doctor had refused to treat him earlier, as he thought that Jurriaans was simulating. Only when it was too late, he was taken to the military hospital, where he died some days later. A week before Jan Roos, likewise a passive resister, died at his parent's home, after having been ill three months and being pardoned too late. While the protest movement against the treatment of passive resisters is in full swing, another case has come to light of the barbaric treatment by the Dutch government. Sip van der Wal, a passive resister, who had been sentenced to 10 months' imprisonment, complained two months earlier to the doctor about pains in his head. While most passive resisters are not subjected to solitary confinement, Van der Wal, however, was. On April 27th the doctor suddenly considered it necessary to remove him to an asylum on account of nerve strain. Nerve doctors, who were consulted, declare his condition to be highly serious. It is quite possible that he will become permanently mad. The anti-militarists, with these facts before their eyes, are trying to rouse public opinion and to launch an action under the slogan: all passive resisters must be set free!

PASSIVE RESISTANCE IN BELGIUM.

Press Service IAC.) A pamphlet "Lode Bonten and his experiences in the army" published by "Het Legerwraagstuk" Antwerp, 1929, tells of a young Flemish soldier, who refused to obey an order given in the French language. The military authorities did not know what to do with him, sent him to the military hospital and then dismissed him. The whole story is an illustration of the insuperable power of passive resistance.

PASSIVE RESISTANCE.

Press Service IAC.) Comrade Brun of Gland (Switzerland) refused to serve in the army for religious reasons as a member of the sect "Les Anges du Christ" (The angels of Christ.)

Marc. Dubois of Le Locle (Switzerland) refused for the seventeenth time to enter military service.

Gottlieb Leuenberger of Berne refused service for the fourth time. He has been in prison six months altogether. His religious convictions prevented him from doing military hospital service too. The judge of the court martial treated Leuenberger with tact and several times expressed carefully his sympathy with Leuenberger's steadfastness. The sentence ran: 4 months' imprisonment; 3 years' deprivation of civic rights; banishment from the army; costs of the legal action (Fr. 10,70). After having served his term of imprisonment Leuenberger will be free from military service.

Czecho-Slovakia. Josef Lewy, who has already been imprisoned twice for twelve months each time, has been called up again. The German group of passive resisters has sent a petition to President Masaryk in connection with this matter.

For reasons of health Alois Riemer has been liberated from prison and sent home.

In Bulgaria Andreas Krestow of Vidin, a teacher, has been secretly murdered by unknown persons. His body has not yet been found. He was an as-

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tive propagandist for our ideas. He defended in the neighbourhood of the Servian frontiers, the rights of foreigners, but was hated in clerical and military circles because of his convictions and his translations of Tolstoj.

Lithuania. Religious anti-militaristic manifestations in Lithuania began in 1921.

A. Pajuodis, a simple peasant boy refused to go as a soldier on account of religious convictions. Local police thrashed him brutally believing that he would abandon his convictions. He remained firm and they put him in prison with criminals. In the Court there was a learned theologian of the Roman Catholic Church as an expert who "proved" that the Christian religion does not forbid going as a soldier and that to kill in war is not a sin. The prisoner was pronounced a coward and sentenced to ten years hard labour. But his friends and comrades asked through an influential person the President of the Republic to pardon him or modify the sentence, and this was done. After a one years' imprisonment Pajuodis was set free.

Pr. Zigulis, to outward appearance an ordinary manual labourer was called up for military service in 1925 and absolutely refused on account of his religious convictions. He was arrested and put in prison for 3 weeks. The doctor examined him, pronounced him healthy and he was immediately set free. He was entered among the reserves.

A. Baltrusaitis, a post office official telegraphist refused in 1926 on account of his religious convictions. But he could not resist his unhappiness, weeping and imploring mother and he agreed to serve. But after one month he refused a second time. Now they sentenced him as a soldier for breach of discipline to three years in the disciplinary battalion, but upon appeal the sentence was changed in three years civil prison. After 18 months, thanks to an imposing manifesto, he was set free, but they will again summon him.

J. Petrusis, an educated village boy refused in 1925 for religious convictions. At first he agreed to serve for an unknown reason, but after one month he absolutely refused a second time. They kept him in prison without a trial for some months, then they tried him and sentenced him to three years in the disciplinary battalion. They tortured him terribly, both mentally and physically, but he suffered the torture of the Inquisition with mildness and love. He was kept in an horrible dungeon and infortunate insane prisoners, who had lost the semblance of human beings beat him. No appeal or request that they should rather kill him, had any effect. After some months he began to fast for a whole week and consequently became physically weak. Then they took him to the hospital; the chief torturer was obliged to report about this to the magistrate. The doctors persuaded him to take food, assuring him that he would be transferred to the civil prison. The starving man agreed, but when he got stronger they again placed him in the disciplinary battalion, where he was not tortured any more and soon transferred to the civil prison. He spent a year in the disciplinary battalion. Not long ago he was tried and sentenced to eight years' imprisonment. Judging from his letters he feels well physically and spiritually.

S W E D E N .

Press Service IAC.) Björklund in Stockholm informs us, that comrade Cester has been sentenced to three months' imprisonment for throwing pamphlets in the Parliament and for an article in "Brand".

The conscientious objector, Rosen, has refused to take food in the military prison. The bourgeois press is occupying itself with the matter.

The bourgeois pacifistic organisations have begun a campaign against poison-gases.

Twenty years ago Rickard Almskoeg, a passive resister, was murdered in the prison of Västervik. In Kalmar, where he was buried, and in Västervik large public meetings were held, C.J. Björklund and G. Sjöström speaking. A play by Björklund was performed in Kalmar, giving episodes out of the life of Almskoeg.

FRANSESCO GHEZZI ARRESTED IN RUSSIA.

Press Service IAC.) According to a report in the "Bulletin Communiste" the Italian anarchist, Ghezzi, has been arrested by the G.P.U. Ghezzi is a well-known Italian revolutionary, whose whole life has been devoted to the fight for the liberation of the proletarian class. Before the war already he was imprisoned for anti-militaristic propaganda, and when the war broke out he left Italy. In Switzerland too, he was persecuted. After the war he took part in all the revolutionary movements in Italy. In 1921 he was in Russia, where he was strengthened in his anti-state views by the development of bolshevism.

A year later he was threatened by the social-democrate, Sewering, with extradition to Mussolini's reign of terror - as Boldring had been threatened before. Thanks to the organised protest movement of the German syndicalists, in which the communists also participated, this extradition was prevented, and Ghezzi could leave for Russia on certain conditions. As Lazarévitch reports in "Le Libertaire", Ghezzi is in danger of losing his life. He appeals for an international protest action, to save Ghezzi from the hands of the bolshevik Czecha, who have more than once murdered anarchists without a legal trial.

On the strength of the above mentioned report the IAMB. has telegraphed to the People's Commissioner of Justice, Karski, of Moscow, and written to the Embassy of Soviet Russia in Berlin, requesting information about the reasons for this arrest. But so far no reply has been received.

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS IN PENAL COLONY.

Press Service IAC.) Pierre de Thèse, a French journalist and socialist, was condemned in 1915 for his refusal to take part in the war. After serving seven years in France, he was shipped to Guyana, the penal colony on the South-American coast. Obligated to live without resources in a colony without industry, agriculture or trade, he and many other c.o.'s were employed at very hard work at a starvation wage; many died after indescribable suffering. Some twenty c.o.'s are still there, whose terms are up, but they have to find themselves the means to get back home. The American Fellowship of Reconciliation has advanced the 125 dollars necessary to get De Thèse back to France. On his return he counts on holding a conference, showing a film and writing a book on the heart-rending situation of the c.o.'s and the 2000 common criminals exiled for life after completing their sentences in France and who are literally dying of starvation. The facts Pierre de Thèse reports have been verified. Contributions can be sent to: Secretariate IAMB., Laurierstraat 127, The Hague, Holland.

CATHOLICS IN FAVOUR OF WAR RESISTANCE.

Press Service IAC.) A pamphlet has been published by the War Resisters International, entitled: "Catholics vote against war", containing a number of articles by leading catholics advocating war resistance. Among the writers are the Jesuit priest, Graf Rostworowski, Don Luigi Sturzo, Henri Demulier, Dr. Franz Keller, Father Franziskus Stratmann and Dr. Joh. Ude. The pamphlet is to be obtained from the Secretary of the W.R.I., 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex, England. Price 6 d.

A HANDBOOK FOR THE PEACE MOVEMENT.

Press Service IAC.) We would draw attention to a handbook published by Florence Brewer Boeckel: "Between War and Peace, a handbook for Peace-workers (New York, 1928, 591 pages), which is an important collection of material for the peace movement. Although written especially for America, it is of general interest. Peace and education, the church, women, trade, the labour movement, the farmers, ex-soldiers, young people, are treated in separate chapters.

Another section of the book is devoted to the influences for and against peace: the League of Nations, the Kellogg-pact, arbitration, the International Court of Justice, co-operation, pacifism, imperialism, etc. The book is of special importance on account of the large number of facts and the detailed bibliography.

B. de LIGT - CONTRE LA GUERRE NOUVELLE.

Press Service IAC.) Rivière, the well-known French publisher, has just issued an important book, written by the former president of the IAMB., B. de Ligt (Barthélemy de Ligt, Contre la Guerre Nouvelle, préface de Marianne Rauze, Paris, Rivière, 1928, 235 p.)

The book deals with modern war problems from an economic, political and technical point of view. It is in particular an analysis and contestation of pacifism. The connection between capitalism and militarism is demonstrated and the pacifistic idea is contested that war can be banished from the world without a radical reformation of society. It exposes the delusion of the disarmament of the state and federation of states. The character of the coming war and the new war-technics are discussed. Facts are given especially with reference to the chemical and bacteriological war.

As opposed to the policy of the pacifists, which finds expression in the League of Nations, the direct anti-militaristic action is explained. This action is gaining more and more ground. Individual and economic conscientious objection is mentioned. A special chapter is devoted to the importance and place of women in the fight against war.

Thus this book forms the most complete survey which the antimilitaristic movement has at its disposal as far, since it treats of the problems and facts of the new war and its combatting.

It is an indispensable book for everyone who will have active antimilitarism and not merely talk. It is a manual of the antimilitaristic fight for all real war resisters.

NEWLY AFFILIATED SOCIETIES.

Press Service IAC.) We are very glad to report that "La Ligue Eugéniste Préventarisme" (Rue d'Arcole 1, Croix, Nord) has been affiliated with the IAMB.

Our friends of the "Ligue Eugéniste" are well-known patriots, who have been repeatedly persecuted. They quite agree with the principles and methods of work of the I.A.M.B. The "Ligue Eugéniste" is continuing eagerly and persistently the fight against the scandalous law of July 1920, which forbids the spread of anti-conceptual means, under threats of severe punishment.

The cannibals will renew the stock of cannon flesh, and to attain that end, they compel proletarian women to produce children continually, although the tuberculosis and diphtheria epidemics are considerably thinning the French proletarian families.

For more than 30 years our friends in the North of France have understood that, to combat war effectively, a conscious regulation of child-birth is first of all necessary.

(45) (46) (45)
P.S. IAC. No. 28 - 6.

Another result of our propaganda with the new French pamphlet about the IAMB., is the affiliation of the group "Friends of Germinal in Lens and Seclin" and the Libertarian Group of Lille.

The Dutch Syndicalistic Federation of Foremen has been affiliated with the Dutch section of the IAA., and as it now thus forms part of the IAC., it has left from March 3th last the IAMB. It was decided however, by a large majority, to pay the full contribution to the IAMB. for the year 1929/30 by way of subsidy.

In addition the Amsterdam Society of Stuoco workers has also been affiliated.

M A K H N O.

A committee has been formed to assist Makhno. Contributions can be sent to: Couderc, 101 Rue de Charonne, Paris. (Chèque postal, Couderc, 521-48, Paris.)

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

PRESS SERVICE

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No. 29 (46)

July 20th 1929.

THE HAGUE -
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Address:
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Laurierstraat 127

The IAC. consists of the International Workingmen's Association (IWMA.) and the International Anti-Militaristic Bureau (IAMB.). The Press Service of the IAC. is sent to all organisations of the IAMB. and the IWMA. Moreover to all personal members of the IAMB. paying a subscription of at least one Dollar per annum. Further to all newspapers and periodicals which ask for it. In return the IAC. is glad to receive all periodicals, pamphlets and books (if possible with duplicate) on matters appertaining to anti-militarism and cognate subjects for the purpose of reviewing and noticing.

TO THE WORKING-PEOPLE OF ALL COUNTRIES -
- RISE AGAINST THE THREATENING WAR- DANGER!

Press Service IAC.) It is fifteen years since the contrapositions of international capitalism led to the outbreak of the world-war, and plunged the people into the most terrible blood-bath of history. The remembrance of these days and of the four long years of horrors and bloodshed, which followed them, must kept alive among the working people, not only because they were the one and immediate sacrifice of the imperialistic contrapositions, but also because they have still to bear the consequences of this fatal event, in the form of heavy taxes and deprivations.

With lies and deception the working masses have been lured to the battle-fields; they were supposed to be fighting for justice, peace and liberty. The whole war and the post-war period have, however, clearly proved that behind all these fine words was hidden nothing but imperialistic love of power and profit of the ruling class, and that the millions of dead and wounded on both fronts have sacrificed their lives and blood only for the base interests of speculators, manufacturers and government cliques.

The bloody traces of the murder of the peoples have not yet been wiped out, though another war rises threateningly on the horizon. The war 1914-1918, which according to the declarations of diplomats and statesmen would be the last, seems, in spite of its destructive results, to be an introduction for still greater conflicts, now preparing, and of the terrible form it will assume, people have no idea. The contrapositions between the imperialistic powers are becoming everywhere more acute, and the incessant fight for raw materials, colonies and markets, and the control of the seas, is becoming daily sharper. The violent outbreak of these conflicts is only a question of time. Armaments of all kinds are being augmented; naval and aerial fleets are being built without limit. Military treaties are being signed, explosives manufactured, poisonous gas, bacteriological war-means, people are working feverishly in workshops and laboratories at the construction of murderous instruments, in short the coming war is being prepared for.

Disarmament conferences, disarmament proposals and hypocritical Kellogg-treaties, with all sorts of reservations, are, in view of these undeniable facts, only a tragi-comic prelude of the coming catastrophe. In spite of all these compromises, all states are engaged in subterraneous war-politics. They are lying in wait for one another only till the most favourable moment comes to commence fighting. From which side will the first blow fall? The conflict-sphere is so enormously large, that one cannot forecast it. But one thing is certain: the world-atmosphere is so full of war-danger - on account of the clashing interests of various ruling groups - that the outbreak of the slightest skirmish can cause an explosion of unheard of vastness, the elementary force of which will change whole countries into a great heap of ruins.

Still a little sharpening of the imperialistic contrapositions, and we shall have war, scientific war, with all its means and results. The whole of humanity is threatened by this danger, but in particular the international labouring class, who will have to pay the piper just as in past wars.

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And when the labouring masses cherish the naïve illusion, that the League of Nations and democratic or social-democratic governments will be able to change this situation, then they will be sadly disappointed, just as they were in 1914. The League of Nations is a creation of the imperialistic powers. It is in their power, and no real peace is to be expected from its peace-comedy with secret war aims. The social-democratic governments with their national and even nationalistic politics, and their belief in the state, strengthen the power of the capitalist regime, enhance its power of resistance and embody the best instrument for the imperialistic purposes of the commercial magnates and financial concerns. The social-democracy and the reforming trade-unions, which made war possible in 1914 and promoted it, have now even given up their pre-war apparent opposition and accept the necessity of armies and consequently the necessity of war.

The communistic international and all its parties and adherents are no reliable anti-war factor either, because of their complete subjection to the Russian government and their diplomatic intrigues. Their loudly proclaimed organisation of an anti-war campaign is only a form of agitation to support Stalin. While, by order of Moscow, they will see war danger only in a problematical attack on Soviet Russia, they divert the attention of the proletarian masses from the real war danger and from the real combatting of same. The communistic leaders themselves know very well that there is now no danger of an attack on the Soviet-Union on account of the present anti-revolutionary course and after the reconciliation of Stalin with Deterding, the European petroleum king. But the real object of their so-called anti-war meetings is only to place the international proletariat in the service of the imperialistic opinions of the Russian authorities.

The prevention of war will never be able to come from the side of the political Camarillas, who are at the head of the so-called Labour Parties: the diversion of war-danger and the prevention of every attempt to wage war is and must be the direct task of the labouring class itself. The international proletariat is the only force which can, in its own interests, put an end to the criminal war-preparations of the imperialists of all kinds, if it does not allow itself to be misused for the party-political aims of the loyalist parties.

No working-man, who has experienced the terrors and the sufferings of the last world war will wish for the repetition of such inhuman conditions. But it is not sufficient to wish that only, one must also have the will to combat and prevent all attempts at war with all possible means. The organized labouring-class has at its disposal efficient weapons to be able to wage with success this war against war. They must only be willing to use these weapons. Just in this respect the tactics of the direct action of the proletariat can be fully employed for fighting to the finish of all militarism, by means of refusing to serve in the army, refusing to manufacture war-material, and by the revolutionary general strike should war threaten to break out. The working people of all countries must at last understand that only by applying these means themselves can they make war impossible, and that it is always the state - whether bourgeois, fascistic or proletarian - which is the cause of all wars for conquest and destruction. So that if the proletariat will free itself from all war-danger, it must combat the state first of all. For this fight the International Workingmen's Association and the International Anti-Militaristic Bureau call on the international working-class to organize in the economic class-organisation under the slogan:
 Arise for the liberation of the proletariat!
 Against war!
 Against Capitalism!
 Against all Dictatorship!
 Against the State!

International Working Men's Association.
 International Anti-Militaristic Bureau.

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THE HAGUE -
HOLLAND

Address:
Albert de Jong
Laurierstraat 127

Press Service IAC.) As we wrote in a previous Press Service, The IAMB. wired to the People's Commissioner in Moscow and wrote the Soviet Russian Embassy in Berlin for further information about Ghezzi's arrest. No reply has been received.

As we have learnt in the meantime, Ghezzi has been heard and condemned "administratively" (that is not by a court of justice, but by the G.P.U. without any opportunity of defending himself against an accusation) to three years' imprisonment.

The Secretariate of the International Working Men's Association (IWMA.) has sent the following protest to the People's Commissioner in Moscow:

"We have learnt from a reliable source that the Italian revolutionary, Francesco Ghezzi, was arrested in Moscow on May 12th by the Russian police. As his arrest has not yet been officially made known, we are uninformed as to the reasons for this arrest of a revolutionary exile. But just this suspicious silence, and the fact that we know Ghezzi to be an honest and self-sacrificing fighter for the proletarian liberation, gives us the right to assume that, in this case, we have to do with an arbitrary act of the political police, who forms a link in the endless chain of systematic persecutions of opposing revolutionaries in the Soviet-Union. Above all Ghezzi has not been respected in his rôle of political exile. Up till now this suppressive measure of the state has only been applied against the Russian elements of the socialistic opposition of all kinds, but to-day it is directed against foreign exiles in Russia, who will not fall into line with the present political course. The first victim of this arbitrary political action was the Italian exile, Alfonso Petrini, who seems to have completely disappeared in the Russian prisons. The same fate is now threatening Ghezzi.

Ghezzi was persecuted in 1921/1922 for so-called participation in the Diana-Attack, but he nevertheless succeeded in escaping the danger threatening him from the side of the Italian police and extradition by the German government. He went to Russia in the opinion that this country would be an enemy of reaction and fascism. For years he has worked there as a labourer. He was an anarchist - that was known in Russia, when he was permitted to enter that country - and he has remained an anarchist. This is apparently his greatest crime, and this is without doubt the reason for his present arrest. For in Russia, just as in Italy, free socialistic thought is not permitted, and in this respect one can speak of a state-communistic reaction, with methods similar to those of the capitalistic reaction.

Is not it bitter irony that almost at the same time Ghezzi was cast into prison in Moscow for "political police reasons", the fascist general, Italo Balbo (one of the participators in Matteotti's murder) was received in Odessa with great honors at the head of the Italian fleet navy, by the official representatives of the first "Working men's State" "for diplomatic reasons". This sad fact speaks for

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itself, and proves clearly that the original spirit of the October revolution has long been buried.

We do not understand with what rights the Soviet Union calls itself the place of refuge of the persecuted revolutionaries. The cases of Petrini and Ghezzi prove that those who have fled to Russia, in as far as they are not communists, have to pay for this refuge by giving up their convictions or otherwise by imprisonment. Francesco Ghezzi has preferred to go to prison rather than give up his ideas. That raises him morally far above his persecutors and oppressors and for this reason too, he deserves the greatest possible solidarity of the international proletariat.

In the name of hundreds of thousands of revolutionary organized workers, we protest against the arrest of Ghezzi and demand:

1. Official information about the charge against Ghezzi, which has led to his arrest.
2. A quick and public trial with a Russian or foreign defending counsel.

We shall continue our campaign for this demand in the conviction that it will lead at last to the liberation of Ghezzi and the branding of the methods of his persecutors. The free international proletariat, which has already saved Ghezzi once from Fascism, will not let him be destroyed by the G.P.U.!

For the Secretariate of the IWMA.,
Rudolf Rocker Orobón Fernandez.

WAR PREPARATIONS.

Press Service IAC.) In connection with the fact that the Turkish navy is being enlarged, Greece, too, considers it necessary to order a large number of ships. A short time ago Turkey ordered in Italy and Holland for one and a half million Turkish pounds, two torpedo destroyers of 1600 tons, two submarines of 500 tons and four submarine destroyers. The Greek government has now given the Ansaldo wharf in Italy an order to build two torpedo boat destroyers, provided with the newest technical inventions, and with the greatest possible speed. They will be armed with six torpedo launching-tubes and the necessary anti-aircraft guns.

The United States have given instructions while Dawes and Mac Donald are discussing disarmament, for the 15 cruisers, forming part of the naval program, to be continued. Again two cruisers of 10,000 tons have been put on the stocks. In American government circles it is said that the program of the 15 cruisers does not hinder disarmament, since this will have no result as long as the American navy is not equal in strength to the English. The naval program must be ready on July 1st 1931 and costs about 275,000,000 dollars annually.

At the same time the American War Department has announced that it has decided to build 162 aeroplanes for a sum total of 5,000,000 dollars. The orders for these aeroplanes have been given to four different companies.

The Canadian minister of Defence has announced that two torpedo destroyers, which are to cost 7,500,000 dollars, will be built at Southampton.

Bombs on own troops.

A Mexican air-pilot, who was making a reconnaissance flight in the neighborhood of Sarranca, saw a detachment of troops, who had entranced themselves and whom he thought were rebels. He accordingly threw out bombs, but it turned out, that they were Federal troops. The losses were 16 killed, including one officer, and 15 wounded.

Colonial Wars.

The reports from North Africa remind one that both France and Italy are still busy waging colonial wars. A short time ago the French troops suffered a defeat in South Morocco, about a hundred soldiers and officers being killed. French public opinion became very alarmed at the news, and the nationalistic and militaristic press is continuing to call for a fresh great war, as in 1925 against the Rif-Kabyls, so that the whole district may at last be conquered.

In Tripoli the Italians have been engaged in sanguinary fights with rebel tribes. The rebels have more than 500 killed and hundreds of wounded. The fascist troops took about 1100 camels and 7000 sheep. For these plundering expeditions the fascists prefer to use natives from Somaliland, who are compelled to serve in the army.

The Red Cross.

At the moment the Red Cross is occupied with the treatment of prisoners of war in war-time. Again a proof that this peace organization is counting on a coming war, and is preparing for it. As we have already repeatedly written, it is nothing else than a part of these war preparations.

Fortunately the pacifistic organizations are beginning more and more to grasp this character of the Red Cross, and protests against it are increasing. For instance a number of pacifistic organizations in Switzerland - among them being the Schweizerische Zentralstelle für Friedensarbeit, Women's League for Peace and Liberty, Arbeitsgemeinschaft antimilitaristischer Zürcher Lehrer, Vereinigung antimilitaristischer Pfarrer der Schweiz - have sent a letter to the Red Cross in which they protest against the prize offered for the best way to protect the civil population against gas warfare. Instead of expecting the Red Cross to raise a protest against war, we find it pointing out the dangers to which the civil population is exposed from the poisonous gas warfare, and appealing for money to be collected so that the civil population may be sufficiently protected. Protection against poisonous gas warfare is no less a tragic than a ridiculous utopia, with which people, who, as the experts of the Red Cross, have studied this question, ought not to occupy themselves. The resolutions of the Congress held in Frankfurt by the Women's League for Peace and Liberty and the commissions of experts appointed by the Red Cross itself have proved clearly enough, that there is no way of protecting the civil population from the destructive means out of the air.

"Taking these facts into consideration, we must declare it to be a fatal and irresponsible misleading of the peoples when they are given to understand that protection against this danger exists. We therefore feel obliged to protest against your methods and instead of collecting money for gas-masks, to point out to the people that the only real protection against poisonous gas warfare is the prevention of war altogether."

FINLAND.

Press Service IAC.) The anti-militaristic society in Finland published a circular on May 1st in which an appeal was made to combat militarism, the army and navy, as these are the pillars of present-day society and the working class has the power to put an end to same. The manifesto pointed out, the disarmament lie, the pact deception, such as Kellogg's, etc. The manifesto advised that all money for armies be refused, no work done for militarism, conscientious objectors released from prison and no work executed in the war-industry. Only by these means disarmament is to be brought about practically. The leaflet was widely circulated in Helsingfors and was confiscated by the police.

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SERVICE

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THE I. A. M. B. AT THE ANTICOLONIAL WORLD CONGRESS.

The Revolutionary Antimilitaristic tactics defended at the Second Congress of the League against Imperialism and for National Independence held in Frankfort on the Main.

Press Service IAK.) The Second Congress of the League against Imperialism and for National Independence was held at Frankfort on the Main from July 21st to July 27th 1929. No fewer than 33 countries sent 257 delegates of all races and colours. Besides the European lands, the following were also represented: Indonesia, India, the United States, Mexico, Venezuela, Cuba, Columbia, the Argentine, Uruguay, Peru, Corea, China, Indo-China, South Africa, Palestine, Egypt and Annam. In addition 50 delegates from various countries were prevented from attending the Congress, their respective governments refusing them the necessary passes or visa, or even arresting them.

Negroes from America and Haïti were to be seen, Chinese and Tonkinese, Venezuelans and Arabians, British Indians and Egyptians, several being in national costume. In a word the congress was a podium on which all peoples of the earth met one another.

Politically, too, the composition of the congress, was extraordinarily many-sided. Although the congress was of a pronounced revolutionary character, there were nevertheless very strong nationalistic-bourgeois elements present; also, the most-extreme elements from the Second International, as for instance, the president Maxton, who is likewise president of the English Independent Labour Party (I.L.P.) and Edo Fimmen, secretary of the Modern International of Transport Workers.

The chief delegates to the congress, the representatives of the colonial peoples, were of all shades of opinion. As contrasted with the First Congress in Brussels, China had now hardly any except communists as representatives. From India were represented the revolutionary nationalists (Gypta), followers of Gandhi and the communists, the latter forming a very small minority. In general the colonial people are not Boljevistic. Yet the prevailing tone of the congress was boljevistic, and, especially under the influence of the chinese-russian conflict, persistent attempts were made to get the League to follow in the steps of the Muscovites, to make it subordinate to the rulers of Soviet-Russia.

This domination of the congress by the boljevists is to be explained by the fact that the colonial peoples, in as far as they are not boljevists, regard the communistic party as the only reliable political party of the white people, as regards the colonial struggle for liberation, and Soviet-Russia as the only government supporting this fight.

It is clear what a severe fight the three representatives of the IAMB., our friends Bot, De Ligt and Müller Lehning had to wage in order to get on the order-paper and justice done to the revolutionary-antimilitaristic tactics and the anti-authority views of the colonial struggle for liberation. This all the more as, of the anti-loyalist, white revolutionaries there were represented besides the IAMB. only the Dutch social-anarchistic League and the Anarchistic Young People's International.

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This second congress of the League differed in two important points from the first congress in Brussels. The Brussels Congress was in the first place a demonstration, a first powerful meeting of all oppressed races and classes, a preliminary getting acquainted, so to say, of the various authorities and forces fighting imperialism. The Brussels Congress was in the constellation of the initial victory of the Chinese revolutionaries, who caused feverish excitement to spread through the whole of Asia. The congress in Frankfurt, on the other hand, was a first attempt consciously to determine the character and method of work of the League at least for the next two years. But, at the same time, the delegates were deeply under the impression of the treachery of the Chinese generals and of the tremendous defeat of the revolution in the Far East.

While, moreover, there was no direct contact in Brussels between the revolutionary working-men and the congress, in Frankfurt it met with a tremendous response on the part of a large section of the German revolutionary proletariat. Even the opening on Sunday July 21st was an enormous demonstration of the people. And what rendered this all the more exciting was the possibility of war between China and Russia, especially as from Moscow in the traditional manner war propaganda was used and ill-feeling aroused against the possible enemy. From the very opening of the congress it appeared that the purposeful policy of Moscow was to place this congress, and, if possible, the whole League, behind the policy of the Soviet Government.

These two questions, by which the congress was dominated, the Chinese-Russian conflict and the character of the League, found immediate expression in the magisterial speech of Pollitt, the representative of the opposition in the English Trade Union movement. By a sharp-witted and comprehensive analysis of the political-economic state of the whole world, Pollitt tried to render it feasible that the League ought to place itself without any reserve behind the Soviet Government in the Chinese-Russian conflict - even in case of war - and he demanded that the League should be purified of all uncertain elements and those which are, from a revolutionary point of view, unreliable. But he denied most emphatically that the League was a boljevist machination.

Immediately afterwards, Helene Stöcker, pointed out that the struggle for liberation demanded a revision of the methods used. She stressed the great importance of strikes as a method of combatting imperialism and war, where-by the English working-men could prevent a war against Soviet-Russia in 1920, and pointed out the great value of the methods preached by Gandhi.

On behalf of the IAMB, De Ligt then opposed the view that, for the fight against imperialism, the League ought to place itself immediately behind the policy of Soviet Russia and of the Third International. For, chiefly as a result of the conflicts with the English Empire in Asia, Soviet Russia and the Comintern are adopting most opportunistic a line of policy, which has already led to the rise of military bourgeois states, such as Turkey, Persia and China.

He uttered a warning against the furtherance of national independence, which can mean for the peoples concerned nothing else than the dependence and slavery of their new national rulers, of the international ammunition and bank capital, nothing else being fostered for the revolutionary struggle than fresh, powerful opponents. The League ought not to take part in such politics; it must rather try to prevent the militarisation of Asia. At the same time the working-men in the West ought to put into practice the methods employed there, namely direct action (boycott and co-operation) and general strikes, both against war and against all war-preparations in the factories and in the whole economic life.

After, among others, Katayama (Japan) had strongly supported the views of Pollitt, and Gupta, on the other hand, had declared that India was preparing by means of non-co-operation (that is refusing to work together in any way with the English ruler) refusal to pay taxes, and other methods of passive resistance to free itself from English imperialism if it had not become completely independent before January 3rd 1930, Müller Lehning of the IAMB, found an opportunity, after Chio Wito's paper of the Chinese

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question in briefly and clearly the revolutionary tactics, as advocated by the IAMB. Miller Lehning put the question on the order-paper - in connection with the course of the Chinese revolution, the pending Chinese-Russian conflict and the views of the majority of the Congress - as to whether war and militaristic methods can be considered usable for the liberation and defence of a people. He called to mind, that in Brussels he had pointed out the danger of these methods for the struggle of liberation. The development of events in China, where the same generals, who had been applauded at the least conference in Brussels, have now introduced a fascist rule, which terrorizes masses of working-men and farmers, has fully confirmed our views. All this is only possible by the complicity of the white working-men, who manufacture arms and transport them to China. The best help which the white proletariat can give the oppressed peoples, is the destruction of the imperialistic war machine by the direct revolutionary action. In addition the liberation of the oppressed peoples is above all a social-economic problem, which cannot be solved with war-methods. For this reason we applaud the fighting-methods of the Indians, both for practical and fundamental reasons. Even if the Russian revolution is not identical for us with the Muscovite government, yet we too wish to employ the most extreme measures to prevent any attack on Soviet Russia. But we do not wish to declare ourselves solidary with the politics of the Russian government, and we must reject the methods of fighting, which can organise war on a still larger basis.

If Pollitt's view is correct, that the League is no communistic machination, then it may not place itself under the dictatorship of a certain party or government politics. Then a fundamental basis must be discovered, upon which non-communistic, anti-imperialistic organisations in the League can co-operate for the liberation of all oppressed classes and races throughout the world.

These views of the IAMB. were, it is true, protested against, but nothing fundamental was brought forward. The communists tried to disqualify the views of the IAMB. as pacifistic and a support for imperialism, because the IAMB. did not wish to follow the Russian state policy.

There appeared to be two communistic tendencies at the congress, embodied in Münzenberg and Mervitzanski (the official representative of the All-Russian Trade Union). Those who will make of the League an organisation standing really above the parties, and those who will make the League exclusively a trailer of Moscow, and even wished to make Maxton, who was attacked by almost every communistic speaker, resign. This fight was fought out in the commissions and behind the scenes and ended with the recognition, expressed by Münzenberg in a concluding speech, that anarchists and syndicalists can also fight in the League, and in Maxton's much applauded speech, that he would defend the standpoint of the League in England.

When voting on the resolutions the representative of the IAMB., Bot, made a declaration to the following effect:

Although not sufficient account is taken in the political resolution of the views regarding the tactics of the revolutionary anti-militaristic and anarchistic organisations, their representatives have decided to vote in favour of the resolution, as they accept the essential points of same and the loyal expositions of Maxton and Münzenberg accentuated, in addition, the ex-party character of the League. They regard the League as an organisation in which the white proletariat can fight with the coloured peoples for the liberation of the world.

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REVOLUTIONARY ANTI-MILITARISM AND ANTI-IMPERIALIST TACTICS.

Speech made by A. Müller Lehning, delegate of the I.A.M.B. to the Second Congress of the League Against Imperialism, at Francfort-on-the-Main.

Press Service IAC.) The feeling of the majority of this Congress concerning the chinese question and especially the present conflict between China and Soviet Russia is that the League must place itself behind the Soviet Government and its policy even in the event of war.

However, the question whether modern war is still effective for the defence of a nation, has not been considered nor has the question how far military methods are still suited to the fight for the freedom of oppressed peoples.

The development of the chinese revolution justifies this question and has shown that the people must not rely upon the expectation that they will gain their freedom through generals. Our chinese comrade CHIU WITO has just reminded us that at the Brussels Congress several generals were present, who have now gone over to the counter-revolution. In Brussels when the chinese revolutionary army was advancing victoriously we pointed out this danger, and events have confirmed our fear. The present situation in China places this problem - the question of the efficacy of military methods and war - in the middle of any discussion of anti-imperialist tactics. The polemics of Wijnkoop and Pollitt against De Ligt which were full of misunderstanding show that they have not grasped the significance of this question.

It is not possible only to sketch the fundamental meaning of these tactics in a few minutes. We will only point out the uncontested fact that every national war today threatens to become a world war for which all states are feverishly arming. This modern, scientific, mechanised, chemical and bacteriological war is no longer a war of soldiers against soldiers, but of people against people. Its aim is no longer the defeat of the hostile army but by employing the devilish means of aerial fleets and poison gas to destroy the political and economic centres of the other nation, which means the extinction of the civil population. If, for instance, the present chinese conflict should lead to war, it would not be the Nanking or the Moscow Government which would be hit, still less the imperialist intrigants and interested parties, but both the chinese and the russian people. The task of the working class in all countries must be to make war impossible by destroying the war machinery by strikes, refusal of military service, sabotage and by holding up the production of munitions.

The organisation of the war against war, of the counter-war, must not wait until war breaks out but must be begun immediately. The arming of the chinese army today which has murdered tens of thousands of chinese workers and peasants has only been possible through the collaboration of the white proletariat which has forged and transported the weapons and has imported them into China to a value of millions of dollars in the interests of the capitalist munition manufacturers.

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Therefore this Congress must call upon the white workers of the whole world to make a start with the holding up of the production of armaments and their transport. This will be the best help which the white workers can give to the chinese people and all other coloured peoples who are fighting for their independence. Their aim must be to end war by disarming the state, by means of revolutionary direct economic action on the part of the working class. The principal support of the imperialist rule is thereby destroyed.

Events have shown that military methods threaten the full and free development of the social revolution. It is not a question whether some generals who in Brussels were loudly applauded and later became counter-revolutionaries, have turned traitors, but whether it is not shown that the whole military machine is not suited for social emancipation.

The aim of the oppressed peoples must be to take their whole economic existence into their own hands and to build up a new society upon the basis of a really free Soviet-system, the condition of which is the destruction of the political state machine. For just as the emancipation of the working class is also the freeing of the oppressed peoples in the first place the social-economic problem which cannot be solved by military victories.

We have heard with great interest the statements of comrade GUPTA, the representative of the All Indian National Congress, that a revolt against the british government by means of a boycott, non-cooperation, non-payment of taxes, etc., is being prepared. Comrade Pollitt strongly criticised these methods and went so far as to say that they have caused the loss of opportunities to win independence and that they have cost great sacrifices. But have the methods which Pollitt advocated and which have been employed by China, led to success? The result is there: fascism of the counter-revolutionary generals which has led to a terrible slaughter of workers and peasants and has happened in no other country of the world.

We believe that all military violence and even a military occupation of the country is of no avail against the systematic non-cooperation. Therefore we place more reliance on such social-economic methods, and history will show whether India will not realise emancipation sooner than China.

We are not pacifists nor adherents of any form of pacifist non-violence. We are revolutionary socialists. Beyond doubt we recognise the historical significance of the russian revolution, but for us the russian revolution is not identical with the Soviet government of today. Nevertheless we call upon the proletariat of the capitalistic states to be constantly on their guard against the imperialist governments and the social-fascist tools of these governments - the parties of the Second International - so as to prevent any attempt against Soviet Russia. But we must not allow our solidarity with the russian people to involve us in support of the policy of the russian government and we must refuse to fight war in a way that means in fact organising war on a world scale.

Our attitude is clear and can only be intentionally misunderstood. We will carry on the most energetic struggle against all preparations for war on Soviet-Russia, but with means which make war impossible. In the struggle against imperialism we stand shoulder to shoulder with the oppressed peoples. Since the beginning of this century the movement which I represent here has stood for the complete emancipation of the colonial peoples. This movement was the first proletarian organisation that, in Holland, stood for the complete independence of Indonesia. The International Anti-Militarist Bureau works in close connection with the International Working Men's Association, the syndicalist International of Berlin in which several hundreds of thousands of revolutionary workers are organised in both hemispheres. And at this Congress there are delegates from organisations representing millions of workers and peasants who hold the same point of view.

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Pollitt at the end of his speech declared, that there is room in the League for all revolutionary anti-imperialist organisation. Within the League colonial peoples who use different methods in their struggle for freedom, are collaborating with organisations of white workers who again employ different means in the fight against imperialism. Pollitt said: "The League is no communistic manipulation, but a union of all anti-imperialist forces". If this is true, it must not subordinate itself to the dictatorship of a single political party, nor to the dictatorship of the policy of a particular government. Then its character as a federation must find expression in its resolutions and principles. Therefore I hope, that a line will be laid down which will make it possible for those anti-imperialist organisations which do not accept the party doctrine of Moscow to remain in the League, and that we shall find a basis for a common struggle for the complete social liberation of the oppressed classes and races of the whole world, for a common struggle not only against imperialism, but against every capitalist system and against every war.

FIRST ANTI-IMPERIALISTIC YOUTH-CONFERENCE IN FRANKFORT-ON-THE-MAIN.

20 - 21 July 1929.

Press Service IAC.) In connection with the Second Worldcongress of the League against Imperialism and for National Independence, a conference was held in Frankfort of the youth from the imperialistic countries and the colonies. Besides most european countries, the following were represented: Corea, China, Japan, India, Indonesia, North-Africa, South-Africa, South-America, the United States, Mexico, Russia and the Balkans. As international youth organisations were represented the Communistic and Anarchistic Youth International, The "Weltjugendliga" and also the young people of the Red Trade Union International.

The many representatives of the communistic groups, in particular from Germany and Russia, also from China, threatened to give the conference a one-sided character, which was accentuated by tactless management. The representatvies of the Anarchistic Youth International supported a declaration of the Netherlands Anarchistic Youth, which led to numerous incidents. A proper discussion did not take place. The anarchists and some other non-communistic groups refrained from voting when the resolutions were proposed. An international secretariate of the Youth section was chosen.

SOCIALDEMOCRATIC YOUNG PEOPLE'S CONGRESS IN VIENNA.

Press Service IAC.) Eighteen socialdemocrats, members of the english Parliament and also of the WRI. (War Resisters' International) and its english Section, the No-More-War-movement, made a strong appeal to the Second International Congress of the Socialistic Youth in Vienna, in which the following passage occurs:

"Some of us were imprisoned during the war for refusing to fight against our comrades across the sea. Others are ex-soldiers, who have decided never to participate again in the murder of our brethren. We are continuing the fight for our ideals in the firm conviction that you, the socialistic youth of the world, will join us in our fight, and will return to your country ready to oppose military service, the granting of war credits and any other sort of war preparations, and that you will refuse to take part in war or preparations for same".

Among those who signed were Lansbury, Walter Ayles, Fenner Brockway and Wilfred Wellock.

The League of Free Socialists in Austria (Bund Herrschaftsloser Sozialisten) affiliated to the IAMB, was at its post by circulating in large numbers a manifesto in which an appeal was made to the socialdemocratic youth to oppose all armament and war, even a war of defence, by applying the principle "no drill, no money, no man for any form of militarism" and by means of a general strike and the destruction of all war-material.

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SIR HENRI DETERDING'S PRIVATE WAR AGAINST SOVIET RUSSIA.

Press Service IAC.) Two years ago a large quantity of false Russian money was discovered in Russia. Various Georgians were then arrested who will now be prosecuted. The false Russian rubels were coined for political purposes: the object was to obtain money to finance a Georgian rising. The startling revelations made by the chief accused throw a strong light on the rôle of the great oil-concerns, whose politics have been not only of decisive influence for post-war world politics, but who have also not hesitated to organise wars and insurrections and to finance same when it was to their interests.

In the struggle for world control between English and American imperialism, oil plays an important part. Oil-power means world-power, and also war-power, because oil is the indispensable raw material for the navy and air-fleet, the tank and motorlorry, the decisive factors of modern war. There has been hardly any important conflict in international politics where the opposition of the American Standard Oil and the English Shell/Royal Dutch has not played a part. Important political conferences such as those of Genoa, April 1922, and the following conference in the Hague, were at bottom only petroleum conferences about Russian concessions and the failure of the conferences was caused by the attitude of the Standard Oil, whose interests were looked after by the French diplomats.

During the war already the Caucasian petroleum field, which is one of the richest in the world, was an object of war strategy, and after the peace repeated efforts were made to take possession of same - the socialdemocrats even proposed to set up, in the south of Russia a petroleum state under the protectorate of the League of Nations, of course in the interests of the petroleum trusts.

In particular Deterding, the influential director of the Royal Dutch, has tried everything for years to be able to exploit the fields which the Royal Dutch possessed before the war. Both the negotiations and the attempts at armed intervention failed. The insurrection in Georgia was led with the help of the oil capitalists. Through Georgia run the most important oil pipes in the world: from the oil fields in Baku to the port in the Black Sea. For this reason the attempts of the Georgians to secure independence met with so much sympathy and support in certain circles. There is no doubt that the Bolsjewiki have oppressed Georgia most brutally, and have forcibly occupied the country. Two years after the occupation more than thirty thousand socialists, of whom the majority were socialdemocrats, were arrested. The national movement among the peasants was suppressed with terrible excesses by the Red Army. There was an insurrection in 1924, led by the exiled socialdemocratic leaders, without doubt with the support of the oil magnates. It is probable that Deterding, after the failure of his negotiations about the " stolen oil", propagated a war of the civilised world against Russia, expected that the Soviet regime could be overthrown from South Russia. There is also no doubt that the rising against Moscow for independence had the sympathy of the great majority of the Georgian people.

The revelations of the Tjerwons coiners prove that Deterding did not even give up his attempts later. In 1926 - the year in which the negotiations with the Soviets were definitely finished, but in which the Standard Oil endeavoured to come to an agreement - the leader of the Georgian nationalists came to Berlin to discuss the struggle of Georgia and the Caucasus against Bolsjewism. Two weeks later he was requested to come to London, as responsible English circles would support his plans morally and financially. In March 1926 there was a conference in The Hague, a German general, Max Hoffmann, who was to supervise the rising technically, attended, and for the English Sir Henri Deterding, his chief secretary and two prominent members of the Royal Dutch. After 4 weeks the Georgians received news, that everything was in order and that a new conference should be held in London. Deterding was to finance the insurrection. General Wrangel of the White Guards was visited in Paris, but he could not agree with Hoffmann about the military plans. One of the conditions Deterding made, was that the Standard Oil should be consulted, so that joint action could be taken. He went himself immediately to America to lead the negotiations. But the plans were not executed. It was decided to carry out the plan eventually without English help. To get money Russian money was coined.

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Anglo - Russian Parliamentary Committee

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W. P. COATES

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FROM THE PRESS DEPT.

NO. 82.

WEEKLY BULLETIN.

16th May, 1929.

THE U.S.S.R. AND DISARMAMENT.

In the course of his declaration on behalf of the Soviet Delegation at the closing session in Geneva of the Preparatory Disarmament, M. Litvinov, the chief Soviet delegate, stated that the results of the work of this session had justified the most gloomy predictions which could possibly have been made. In contra-distinction to previous sessions, when the Commission had been afraid to make any steps one way or the other, the final results had been invariably nil, the present session had taken steps backward and produced negative results.

After enumerating some of these negative results, protesting against the rejection of the Soviet proposals for the definite reduction of armaments and expressing the demand of the Soviet delegation for the speedy summoning of the disarmament conference, M. Litvinov continued:-

"The Soviet Delegation by no means regrets its participation in the work of the Commission. By its presence in the Commission and by its proposals which always aimed at the maximum possible reduction of armaments, the Soviet Delegation has destroyed the legend of the Soviet Union being an obstacle in the way of universal disarmament.

"The Soviet Union is a State subject to greater danger of external attack than any other State here represented: the U.S.S.R. is an object of general hostility and hatred. She has many enemies and scarcely any friends. In the case of an attack upon the U.S.S.R. she can only rely on her own armed forces, on her Red Army and Red Fleet. Nevertheless, the delegation of the U.S.S.R. did not consider it necessary to speak here of her lack of security or of the peculiar conditions in which she finds herself and did not demand that any special exceptions should be applied to the U.S.S.R. On the contrary, the Soviet Delegation agreed to the most radical forms of disarmament and indeed itself proposed these. This example, however, was not followed even by such States as are in a considerably happier position with regard to their national security than the U.S.S.R.

"When voting in favour of proposals for some more or less real measure of disarmament or for the narrowing down of the extent of future wars or for the limitation of the horrors of these wars, the Soviet Delegation was invariably in the minority and most often in a minority of one.

"This by no means dismayed the Soviet Delegation. On the contrary, it was proud of this isolation. It is in this same spirit of readiness to make sacrifices and real concessions for the purpose of disarmament, it is in this spirit of a true will to peace that the Soviet Delegation is prepared to attend the disarmament conference, the earliest possible meeting of which it urgently recommends."

HEALTH SERVICES IN THE U.S.S.R.

The health services in the U.S.S.R. are improving from year to year - the following are a few example of medical aid extensions in the R.S.F.S.R. alone (not including that at various centres on the transport system):-

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2. Wholes
3. ~~Agents~~
4. Annie Holson
5. Raja Sahab
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FROM THE PRESS DEPT.

17th October, 1929.

NO. 99.

WEEKLY BULLETIN.

THE TRUTH ABOUT GRAIN COLLECTIONS.

In the course of a report of the progress of grain collections, printed in Izvestia on October 8, 1929, it is stated that in the first quarter (July 1-Sept 30, 1929) of the current agricultural year (July 1, 1929-July 1, 1930), the total amount of all grain collected was 175% in excess of that in the corresponding period of 1928-29 and the quantity of food grains 113% in excess. Compared with the estimates, the amount of all grains actually collected was 39% and of food grains 7% in excess. The State and collective farms gave 11.1% of the total collected, whereas according to the estimates they should have given 1.3%.

This, says the report, shows that the estimates for grain collections based on the improved harvest this year were fully justified. The increase in the grain collections is due to a certain extent to improved organisation but far more to the progress of grain cultivation in 1928-29 - the extension of the area under grain, the increase of collective and State farms, and the extension of the practice by collecting organisations of contracting for the individual peasants' harvest.

Another aim of the authorities was to finish the main grain collections during the first half year - this too is well on the way to being accomplished. The amount of grain collected during the first quarter was 43% of the total estimated collections for the year. The corresponding proportion in the first quarter of 1925-26 was 26.6%; of 1926-27, 21.8%; of 1927-28, 20.6%; and of 1928-29, 21%. The corresponding figures for the food grains were, 1929-30, 39%; 1925-26, 30%; 1926-27, 24%; 1927-28, 27%; 1928-29, 22%.

The work of the grain collection organisations had been actively assisted by the poorer and middle peasantry in many districts, but the richer peasants and the kulaks (peasant profiteers) as in other years, have held back their grain in order to sell them at much higher prices to speculators with the peoples' food. The kulaks were also endeavouring in their own interests, in order to disorganise the grain collection campaign and to deal a blow at collective and State farming, to persuade the middle and poor peasantry to follow their example and where this agitation does not meet with success the kulaks have not hesitated to use arson, murder, destruction of agricultural machinery, etc.

In cases where the kulaks, frightened by the hostility towards them of the poorer and middle peasantry, have sold grain to the State collecting organisations, they have only offered the cheaper fodder grains, hiding the food grains (rye and wheat) in order to obtain higher prices from speculators later. This explains the smaller increase in food grain collections as compared with that of other grains. In general during the first quarter, the kulak grain had yet scarcely been touched and during the next quarter energetic efforts must be made to compel them to disgorge their grain at the reasonable prices fixed by the State in order to protect the food supply of the country as a whole.

The so-called reports from Riga printed recently in the "Times" and other papers regarding the "failure" of the grain collections are absolutely false. The "Izvestia" in a leading article (Oct. 6, 1929) calling for energetic methods in dealing with the illegal and unsocial behaviour of the kulaks says: "All local authorities must place grain speculators in the centre of their activities - This, not because there are quieting symptoms in the grain collection campaign - on the

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... we have never before. ... grain collections in all ... absolute quantity and in relation to the proportion of the ... ly plans collected. The September estimates were double those of August and they have been carried out."

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Similarly, the "Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn" in calling for more perfect organisation of the grain collection campaign and the need to pay particular attention to those regions which have not carried out the plans, lays stress on the fact that, as a whole, the plans have been more than justified and, so far, have been satisfactorily fulfilled.

OIL SALES AT HOME AND ABROAD.

During the first 11 months of 1928-29 (Oct. 1, 1928-Sept. 30, 1929), 3,120,000 tons of oil were sold abroad and it is estimated that the exports for the year will be over 3,500,000 tons - this represents an excess of 30% over the 1927-28 exports and is nearly four times those of 1913. In addition, whilst before the war there was an overwhelming preponderance of kerosene in the oil exports, at the present time the chief article of export is the more valuable benzene of which the quantity exported is 7 times that of 1913. The sale of Soviet oil is progressing very favourably in Great Britain, Germany, Italy, Spain and France.

Up to the year 1928-29, most of the more valuable oil products, such as benzene, kerosene and lubricating oils, were exported, but commencing with that year, the home market has demanded larger and larger quantities of these more valuable products. This is but another sign of the developing national economy of the U.S.S.R. With the realisation of the 5 years' plans for automobile and tractor construction, the demand for oil products at home is expected to increase very considerably.

The total sales of oil on the home market in 1928-29 increased by 15.5% as compared with 1927-28, whereas the estimated increase was only 11.8%. The use of kerosene for lighting and cooking purposes increased by 27% as against an increase of 14.4% in 1927-28 and 18.5% in 1926-27.

The amount of kerosene used by tractors increased from 140,000 tons to 260,000 tons. The quantity of benzene sold at home increased by 37% and of lubricating oils by 35%.

The Oil Syndicate spent 22,000,000 roubles on capital expenditure during the year. A short time ago an oil storehouse of capacity 150,000 tons was completed at Tuapse and the construction of a new storehouse was started at Batoum. The fleet of the syndicate has increased by 2 tankers of 10,000 tons each - one of these having been constructed in France and the other at Nikolaiev. Storing place in Great Britain and in Germany has been considerably extended.

In spite of the progress made, however, it is generally agreed that the output of oil has some difficulty in meeting the growing demands of the foreign and home market and ways and means are being considered for an even more intensive development of the oil industry than hitherto.

PROGRESS OF THE TURKESTAN-SIBERIAN RAILWAY.

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A report from the Turkestan-Siberian Railway points out that in spite of exceptionally difficult climatic conditions and the distance from the labour and goods markets - the difficulties of transporting goods along roadless or very bad road tracks, etc., the program for the year (1928-29) has been carried out to the extent of from 80% - 100% in the various classes of work for the construction of the railway. It is remarkable that under such conditions it is actually hoped that the union of the Northern and Southern railway track will occur some 18 months in advance of the date originally thought possible. "Providing we receive the necessary quantity of materials and workers," says M. Shatov (Director of the Administrative Board of the Turkestan-Siberian Railway)... "then as a result of the intense efforts of the 30,000 army workers, officials, engineers and technicians we shall complete the union of the Turkestan-Siberian Railway 18 months earlier than

estimated and shall
and Southern track in May 1930

THE SEVEN HOUR DAY.

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The plans for the introduction of the 7-hour day in 1928-29, have been fulfilled completely. During the year, the 7-hour day was applied to 156,100 workers in the heavy industries and to 131,800 workers in the light industries. The plans for 1929-30 provide that by the end of the year (Sept. 30, 1930) a total of 40% of the workers employed in the industries controlled by the Supreme Economic Council (i.e. the large scale State industries) should enjoy a 7-hour day. In the heavy industries the proportion is to be 41% and in the light industries 39% of the total workers employed. It is thus expected that about 1,000,000 workers (including transport and postal workers) will work the 7-hour day by the end of 1929-30. During the first quarter (Oct. 1-Dec. 31, 1929) 194 enterprises, employing 148,500 workers are to adopt the 7-hour day. The Government Commission organising the transfer to the 7-hour day reports that although in some cases there were miscalculations and mistakes, in general, the economic results of the introduction of this reform have been quite favourable. Thus, in the metal industry the introduction of the 7-hour day has led to an increase of 9.2% in the number of workers employed, the increase in wages was 5.3% and in output 12.2%, and there was a fall in the cost of production. This is true, for the most part, in the other industries affected.

It has been decided that it was quite practicable to make the 7-hour day general throughout industry by the end of 1932-33 and that this would lead to a more rapid development of industry increasing the quantity and improving the quality of the output.

The Council of Peoples Commissaries whilst approving in general of the work done instructs the Govt. Commission, Departments and organs concerned to increase more rapidly the transference to the 7-hour day of the workers in the heavy industries. To prepare the way carefully by the introduction of rationalisation measures, etc., to increase the number of shifts in enterprises working the 7-hour day and to improve the health and cultural services for the workers - particularly where women are employed on the 3 shift system.

The Commissariat for Labour is also instructed to continue their investigation of the results of the 7-hour day and of night work on the health of the workers and to suggest practical ways and means of counteracting any harmful results they may observe.

The Trade Unions and the masses of the workers must be attracted to take a direct part in the reorganisation and other measures necessitated by the introduction of the 7-hour day.

DISCOVERIES IN THE BASIN OF THE KOLYMA RIVER.

Some months ago, an expedition was sent out to investigate the Basin of the Kolyma River. It is now reported that this expedition has made some unexpected geographical discoveries. This river and some of its tributaries having been found to be navigable and in the region of one of the tributaries, the Omolona river, there are gold deposits. It has also discovered two mountain ranges, within the system of the tributaries, 200 and 300 kilometres long, respectively.

In the view of the expedition, the districts around the central and upper reaches of the river could be used for settlement purposes as they are suitable for agricultural exploitation. The expedition has mapped out the best routes for the supply of goods to the Kolyma population and the necessary equipment for the gold industry.

SCIENTIFIC EXPEDITIONS TO MONGOLIA.

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An agreement has been concluded between the Academy of Science of the U.S.S.R. and the Scientific Committee of the Mongolian Republic for the organisation of a number of Soviet scientific expeditions into Mongolia to carry out geographical, ethnological and archeological in-

LABOUR WOMEN PREPARE

Tremendous Majority for Family Allowances

BEFORE we went to Buxton some of us felt that it was a pity the Conference was being held at a time when we wanted to be busy in our districts preparing for the coming Election. After the Conference I think we all realized that the tremendous enthusiasm generated during the three days would be carried all over the country and help to bring victory on May 30.

Mrs. Jennie Adamson's presidential address struck the note of the Conference in sounding a clarion call to women to fight for the abolition of poverty and war, the twin evils of Capitalism. Messages of goodwill were received from the Socialist women of many countries, all saying that they are looking to the women of Great Britain to return a Labour Government in order to secure a more rational international policy.

Family Allowances

The debates were good. Much indignation was expressed, on a resolution dealing with the Miners' Relief Fund, at the delay and parsimony of the authorities. Alderman Rose Davies, of Swansea, pointed out that, despite the dire straits of the coalfields, £600,000 has not yet been distributed. Margaret Bondfield and Jennie Lee both urged the need of constructive measures to stop the compulsory idleness in the coalfields.

The annual report of the Standing Joint Committee revealed that nothing has been done to alter the constitution of the Conference on the lines so ably proposed by Dorothy Jewson, and passed at Portsmouth last year. Dora Russell (I.L.P.) made an eloquent appeal for a full discussion by the Women's Conference before a definite decision by the Executive of the Labour Party. Ellen Wilkinson urged women, as the dominant political power, to get a much bigger representation at the National Conference of the Labour Party.

There was a large crowd of visitors from the surrounding districts when Susan Lawrence, M.P., presented the report on "Women and the General Election." The utility of the Food Council was emphasised by Jean Roberts.

The Standing Orders Committee did not permit the reference back of the report, but to urge that non-contributory Family Allowances should be included in the next Election Manifesto, but a resolution, such as was moved at a later stage by Mrs. Porteus (I.L.P.) and carried with only four dissentients. The women of the Labour Movement are behind the proposed Family Allowances, although some of our more radical propagandists, although some of our more radical friends is still very necessary.

Women and War

The discussion on Pensions, Maternity, Milk and Child Welfare showed how strongly the women resent the iniquity of the last four years.

The demand for security against war, moved in an able speech by Dora Russell (I.L.P.), was well received, and proved that mothers are thinking of war as never before.

The I.L.P. delegation, though much smaller this year, were able to make their points to the Conference. As an I.L.P., we must carry forward our propaganda to the women at each and every opportunity.

E. A. PERKMAN (Mrs.).



SLINGS AND ARROWS

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CAN WE DISARM? By H. N. BRAILSFORD

An ingenious person would have no difficulty in constructing a plausible argument to prove that disarmament, even in the more modest sense of a drastic reduction in armaments, is an impossibility in the world as we know it. After reading one of Lord Cushead's speeches in Geneva, it is indeed difficult to refrain from doing it. The facts would all be behind such an essay. For ten years the League has been fumbling with this problem, and it has not yet succeeded even in compiling a statement of principles and definitions to guide it in the actual business of reducing armies and navies. One might even argue that its actual achievement has been negative, for, since the United States the other day followed our Tory Government in accepting the French thesis about reservists, it is fairly certain that there can be no real reduction of land forces.

What is Disarmament?

The case, indeed, is worse than this, for the effect of saying that armed and trained reservists are not to be reckoned in measuring a Power's military strength, will be to range the League behind the Versailles Treaty in sanctioning perpetual inequality as the law of Europe. For the adoption of this principle means that France and her allies will remain nations under arms, while Germany and the other defeated Powers (except Turkey) may possess only lightly armed and severely limited professional armies.

Of two things, one. It is just and reasonable to doubt the word of Germany, the only great Power which has yet ratified an unconditional promise to arbitrate every dispute: in a case it would be dangerous to disarm.

It is unjust and rising diable in which case mastery of the Continent, the power to retain British Government, as yet, to sanctify every Channel Tunnel is another evidence of the same general sense of insecurity.

"Disarmament," to quote Professor Hull's sound, if original, definition, "is an agreement between all nations, as to the use to which they will put their armaments." If the Allies generally suspect that Germany may use hers for a violent *revanche*, or if they retain theirs to enforce a claim to hegemony, it is obvious that Europe is not ready for an innocent or co-operative use of armaments. One must assent to the general case which Señor Madariaga, the brilliant Spanish man of letters, for ten years the director of the League's disarmament service, has put in his disturbing book ("Disarmament," Oxford University Press, 1935). "Disarmament will follow, naturally and inevitably, when we have created an effective World-Community. It seems that the first step to cure the anarchy, under which the League of Nations and Covenants, was still being. When the World-Community effectively exists, arms will have no use, save for such purposes of police as it may be necessary for the general good. How far we are from such a decay of the concept of national sovereignty, every debate testifies, not merely in London, Paris, or Washington, but in Geneva also."

Urgent Business

It might well supplement this argument, by emphasising the use of armaments to win economic advantage for capitalist groups which trade beyond the frontiers of the national homeland, or, under the name of police, to

maintain their privileges at home and in the conquered territories of empires. On these lines, only the most pessimistic conclusion can follow. Moscow, we should have to say, was right; its proposal for immediate and total disarmament was a bold stroke of satire, which revealed the place and significance of force as the *motu quo* of the whole present structure of our world, social, economic, imperial.

In spite of this argument, men continue to hope, and Socialists (and the resolutions lately showered upon Geneva testify) yield to no one in the energy of their belief that something might even now be done. To put it at the lowest, there is a case, as even Professor Madariaga admits, for testing our progress, from time to time, towards the idea of the World-Community by exacting from it in disarmament all that it will yield at the moment. To my own thinking, there is a much stronger reason from the standpoint of democratic strategy for continual and furious insistence on the duty of disarmament.

One agrees that the question cannot be isolated. Its solution depends on the amount and the quality of the co-operativeness that the world has attained. But may one not, by making it difficult for the world's rulers to go on arming, compel them to turn to the Co-operative solution for very safety? When it becomes a really difficult and unpleasant task for a British, French, or American Government to force its estimates for defence (with the taxes they involve) through an angry and obstructive House, may it not dawn upon its mind that it would be simpler to treat the organisation of peace as an urgent business, in which success is desirable at all costs?

America Helps

It happens that the way has been cleared for us, almost magically, by the speech which Mr. C. G. Gibson delivered last week to Mr. Hoover's name, at Geneva. It is not hampered by the intellectual prejudices which afflict Europeans. She does not see the need for an organised Peace. She thinks that war can be banished by the institutions of Mr. Kellogg's formula. That may be, says Mr. Madariaga, argues, cogently, in a roughly a profound delusion. Let us, then take every advantage of it. It is the eighteenth century would have called a delirious delusion.

Naval disarmament (in which alone we can lend us probably, as this able and courageous book argues, rather easier than disarmament on land. It raises imperial questions less directly. The Land Powers, rather than the Sea Powers, are interested in maintaining those parts of the Versailles Treaty, which are the most difficult to revise. There are only three naval Powers which count in the world, and they have already agreed on the ratio which should obtain between them. Japan is the silent partner who will assent to what the others propose. And now Mr. Gibson has announced in plain words that America will accept any reduction, however drastic. It seems, then, to lie with us to fix the measure of what is a possible reduction.

I have sometimes dreamed that it would be both reasonable and practicable to propose the complete abolition of capital ships (which, in the view of the younger school of sailors, are of doubtful utility), to halve the total tonnage of cruisers and destroyers, and to abolish submarines. The last step would become possible if we scrapped our battleships, for the French could no longer argue that the poor man must

be allowed his revolver, since the rich man keeps a cannon in his back garden. This is a revolutionary proposal, but it is in line with Mr. Hoover's appeal. For if we have really made up our minds (as he put it) that the British and American fleets will never fight each other, why in the name of sanity should we continue to ruin ourselves to build battleships?

What are the difficulties? Chiefly, one supposes, prestige. A dull and unconvincing Note from Downing Street would have behind it no longer the pageant and menace of these armoured titans. A powerful caste would fight this, or any genuine reduction. Scrapping battleships would involve some sort of payment (mitigated by pensions) in the Senior Service. But the chief difficulty, when one comes to arguments which can be publicly stated, would be in the fact that our Admiralty does not accept Mr. Hoover's promise that all armaments are relative. It seems to the layman that we should cease talking by a reduction which affected all alike.

Old Arguments

But one recalls the familiar arguments of the Admiralty that there is a certain absolute minimum of naval strength which we must retain, however much others may disarm. This is the patrol argument. The sea-roads for our fast submarines must be kept open, and with as many as seventy small cruisers (Lord Jellicoe's minimum), each cruiser would still have 2,700 miles to police. One may ask, Against whom? But when one has reached this point, it is obvious that any final solution raises the thorny question of the Freedom of the Seas. It was good to have Mr. MacDonald's frank undertaking, in his Albert Hall speech, to deal with this difficulty.

One can be too logical in such matters. It may be true that we cannot disarm, till we have realised the World-Community. It may be true that we cannot say how many cruisers we require, until we know what are their functions and rights according to Sea-Law. But linked as these pairs of things are, one can approach them from either end. With fewer battleships (or, better still, with none at all) we should be much nearer to the World-Community. With fewer cruisers we might find that the views of British and American Admirals on the Freedom of the Seas were less absolutely opposed than they had believed.

A Grave Mistake

It would be a grave mistake, I am convinced, to postpone the reduction of navies, until we have summoned the world's legal profession to debate the infinite subtleties of Sea-Law, with the probability, when the interminable conference was finished, that the United States Senate would reject out of hand any treaty which failed to conform with Senator Borah's impossibly old-fashioned notions. Let us not forget the Senate, as the architects of the League forgot it. An agreement over Sea-Law would be impossible, given the present temper of Congress towards Europe in general and this country in particular. That temper can be changed if we confront America with a friendlier, a more constructive, and a more courteous Government than it has known during the Tory era.

H. N. Brailsford



FLAMEO

The Dying Dud

by ELLEN WILKINSON M.A.

Drawing by J.F. HERRABH

THIS Parliament has been dead so long that really the corpse ought to be carried away by the sanitary authority. After the Snowden "crisis" had died down, many M.P.s gave up the pretence of attending, and took themselves off to their constituencies. (At least that was the general excuse, politely accepted. We understood why Tories and Liberals had the wind up so badly.)

A few staunch veterans remained to put up some sort of a fight on the Finance Bill. When these five dull years pass into history, I hope due credit will be given to sturdy warriors like Petrick-Lawrence and Gillett, who in all the dull times were found doggedly at their posts, making speeches, moving amendments, watching intricate financial points that few understand or care about, and which, therefore, can be used so dangerously by the big business interests.

The Challenger

The one bright spot in the week has been Jennie Lee's maiden speech. With little warning, she intervened in a debate on the Finance Bill, following a Director of the City of London, and contrast in speech and a contrast in tone. Contrast the millionaire banker, to whom the mass of men are but figures in a ledger, and their lives and destinies mere incidents in his calculations; and the middle-aged, stout-witted, but the sense of unshakable power, and Jennie Lee, the girl from the coalfield, beautiful, ardent, and—the challenger.

For Jennie's speech was essentially a challenge, the call to the duel which we celebrate on May Day. This Parliament has been fitfully reconstituted by its Banker Greenfields. Its majority has been that of wealth and arrogance and assured privilege. Jennie did well to describe herself as a "crisis of the next Parliament," and I hope the rest of the members to her example. If we get new blood and plenty of it, our Parliamentary institutions will do us good.

The difficulty about a long-expected election, with the date known weeks beforehand, is that the electors, smart from the knowledge of it long before polling day arrives. The electoral system gives the whole thing the effect of a Dutch auction. I felt some sympathy with Mr. Baldwin when, speaking of Mr. G. L. G.'s bids, he said, "I am not a competitor. I am, of course, and his party is bound to bid and throw millions into the street, but how decent people want to get away from the cheap bargain basement that the Liberals are trying to make of politics."

The Short Labour Programme is now in circulation, and one is thankful that by it the Labour Party has been said contemptuously to Lloyd George's tame men, "We are not competitors." There is no cheap and shoddy cut-and-dried programme, and no measured doses of social aspirin. There is an honest

attempt to diagnose the disease and prescribe accordingly, instead of an airy prescription of three pangs from a yellow book and five from a green.

But, heavens above, I do wish the Labour Party leaders would lose this fear of the middle classes, and would realise that it is impossible to placate "Daily Mail" devotees by using the word "reorganisation" instead of "nationalisation." We are Socialists. We are pledged to Socialism. Socialist speeches and Socialist fighters have raised the Party to its present position. Think of the Socialist speeches that J. R. M. and Snowden have made and are making now. It is the replacement of private Capitalism by nationally-owned resources that is the drive behind our Movement. This faith is implicit in every speech we make. Why not glory in it instead of talking in our programme about "reorganisation" when what we want is nationalisation? Do we intend to use public money and public credit to reorganise industry and then hand over the profits to the present supine shareholders instead of to the community? Of course we don't, and the Party would soon call to account any leaders that proposed it. Then why not say so?

Wanted—Audacious Lead

I am told that such a course would lose votes, that the unemployed can't wait for nationalisation. As to votes, what use are votes to people?

Labour Party unless they are from people who at least are prepared to allow us to win it, who are not so sure if they are not Socialists? Better we should do the thing men and have the chance to win by a properly than risk disaster by any weak premature Government that will support out of the Commons. Surely we should have taught us that. And we should be properly looked after while we see the way to go. To argue that we must reorganise industries under Capitalism because we may win it the unemployed will be annoyed and will quickly cut the foundation from under Socialist teaching that while Capitalism is dominant unemployment and poverty must continue, for they are the reverse side of the capitalist medal.

But the right stuff is in the Labour Party Manifesto. I am merely urging our keen J.L.P. comrades not to be disappointed by the phrasing. I confess that I belong to the C.A. spells-out brigade, who like to put their meaning down as bluntly and as swiftly as possible, but I have no doubt that there are many good comrades who prefer the polysyllabic method.

It was an interesting study in the real feelings of our Movement to watch the great crowd in the Albert Hall on Saturday while MacDonald was speaking. To the passages about family emigration with which, oddly enough, he began the constructive part of his speech, the audience listened politely. When he left these proposals and dealt with the great schemes of Socialist reorganisation, on which "Labour and the Nation" is based, the audience

cheered to the echo, especially his threat to deal with profiteers.

The Movement is ripe for an audacious lead. The error in mass psychology displayed by the Conservative "Safety First" poster is obvious. Mere Safety, as Baldwin understands it, is simply nummulation. Frozen assets, un-mobilised gold, the sacrifice of every living impulse in the community to the necessity for guaranteeing the interest of the wise and the bondholders—this is turning the stomach of the young. The May Day led to a re-dedication of our Movement to the faith, to boldness of outlook and to the speech, "Safety First" is the motto of the cemetery. I would like to see a poster in every boarding, chalked in every meeting, the slogan—

DON'T GRIN AND BEAR IT, VOTE LABOUR AND CHANGE IT!

The Indian States

I seem a lot of misundertaking, especially in the address here about the Findings of the Butler Committee. The Committee have entirely and emphatically rejected the fact, set by the Princes that their political relations were direct with the Crown as distinct from the Government of India; that they were governed by the terms of their treaties only; and that they were 50 nearly independent sovereign States having a sort of international status, bound by no obligations, except those imposed by the so-called treaties.

The Princes went so far as to contend that the Acts of Parliament from 1956 onwards, so far as they placed them in subordination to the Government of India or constituted by those Acts, were ultra vires of the Parliament itself. All these arguments have been rejected (para para 39, 40, 42 and 38, with paras 37 and 35 of the report).

The recommendation made by the Committee not to place the States under a Government of India responsible to an Indian Legislature, apart from being outside the terms of reference and the scope of their inquiry, as admitted by the Committee itself, is based not upon the findings of the Committee on the legal rights of the Princes, but on the desire of the Princes alone.

In that sense it is not the subordination of the findings that the States to present constituted Government of India as it is, however subordinate.

This desire of the Princes Parliament Parliament to satisfy the obligations of its people for a change to the present form of the States Government, definitely recognised in para 36, will not give effect to the Committee's conclusions without accepting to divide India for all time, and I trust the wishes of the 80 million of India I trust the days of the Part.

It is hoped that Parliament's recommendation to the Committee's conclusions without accepting to divide India for all time, and I trust the wishes of the 80 million of India I trust the days of the Part.

P. L. Chatterjee, Member of the Indian Parliament.



OF MOURNERS - WE NOT LOOK UPON ITS LIKE AGAIN

THE RED RIBBON By ALFRED UHLMANN

(A German Ex-Service Man)

This Is a Thrilling Story of a May Day During the War

HERE is recorded the story of an unknown French soldier who, on May Day eleven years ago, seeing the red flag of the Socialist proletariat trampled in the dirt because no other red was of value except the red of streaming blood, fastened a piece of red ribbon in his cloak. It was in Flanders, a hell in which towns were smashed, woods burned, rivers filled with blood, fields desolated, and soldiers of all the world slain for their Fatherlands.

Fatherland? The call was a lie. Teachers, parents, and sergeant-majors had fogged our common sense, confused our minds. They had led us from workshops, offices, factories, and shops, and hunted us against our foes like furious dogs.

Who Are the Foes?

Against whose foes? Against the foes of the shareholders, the owners of the forges, factories, and spinning houses, the imperious and the well-fed. Did we fight for our mothers who had labored early in factories, for the aged women and starving children? NO! We had gone to fight for those who, during strikes, had urged that we be shot and smashed on the head by policemen; for those who reduced our wages in order to build more factories, castles, churches and gun shops; for those who deprived, sold and oppressed us.

Who were our "foes"? They were our brothers who fought in other camps, the same miners, spinners, officials, farm workers—workmen as ourselves. They were our comrades, with whom we had shaken hands in the congresses in Berlin, Paris, London, Rome, and Vienna. And now the same hands which had exchanged fraternal salutes, manipulated guns, knives, hand bombs, cannons, machine-guns and flame-throwers.

Our strength had been taken from us. We did not feel it a crime to shoot one another for capitalist profit, dynastic ambition, and the hollow desire for treaties. We were possessed of a false faith and had been made stupid.

We were lying, that bright afternoon of April 30, 1918, on a bonafide plain where heaven sort of rose and fell, where white clouds of gas undulated, and where the air was filled with

the pitiless song of hissing and hursting iron. A village, a damned heap of bricks which only mad generals could name a village, lay before us. We had to take it by assault. Its miserable remains were shining in the setting sun, its tree stumps were stretching ghost-like out of the black smoke clouds of bursting projectiles.

Our orders were to go on. We took machine-guns, ammunition cases and bomb-throwers. With heads down and bodies bent we walked over the fields to the village. It was named Dranoëter, and was situated on the Kemmel.

From the village it came raging over the devastated fields—the thunderstorm of mortal iron beat us down. Over there were our brothers, the founders, merchants, spinners, officials, perhaps our comrades, shooting us like hares. They sent our nerves tearing and buzzing like bees; they moved us down with the horrible lash of their machine-guns; they served their cannons with the projectiles which sifted us.

Our Brothers

That mad storm of furious, raging splinters was their fault; they compelled us to lie down with glowing temples and hammering pulses, and wait, second by second, for the chance which smashed one after another of us in a senseless selection.

By the devil! Over there they were said to be our brothers, our comrades. Nice brothers! A terrible rage rose in us and all our common sense went to the devil. We took our machine-guns, pressed, with our own fingers, the cartridges into the chambers, and shot until our cartridges were all used up, and our machine-guns were wrecked, and until we were all dead and buried. Then we were crying in our various camps, while we were by fear and hope, words, we turned, whipped. We reached the village, pierced in frenzy, and blew and burst. We reared like beasts, shouldered and we struggled for earth, we selected animals, smashed the machine-guns with pie-aces, and beat like madmen around us.

The village was ours! That night we marched off with a batch of French and English soldiers into the First of May.

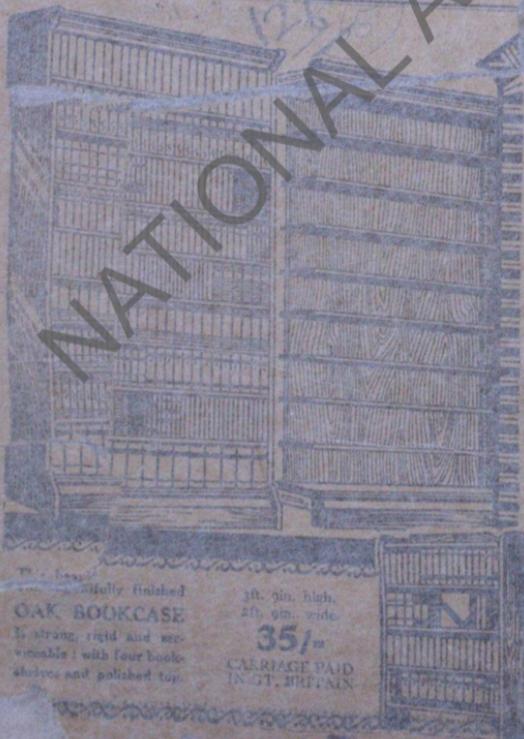
In the afternoon we were far behind the front. There was spring. We saw with astonishment while the browns and pinks trees blowing in the wind, the browns and greens of the fields changing to the bright yellow of the fields of rape seed. The Lys, which had drunk so much blood, flowed quickly in its cool water. Cocks were crowing, bees were buzzing. We were sitting with French prisoners in the midst of meadows of daisies and marsh marigolds.

The Red Banner

We spoke brokenly with them in strange language, we exchanged cigarettes, and chewed sorrow. We smiled into each other's eyes and felt we were brothers. Then an miracle happened. One of the Frenchmen drew a piece of red ribbon from his pocket, while he was talking gaily with his comrades, he was fastening it into the button of his dirty cloak. His friend took all of his dirty cloak, and, when I looked on in astonishment at that, one pulled out his dirty notebook, opened it, and showed me the First of MAY!

A little something in our lining burst open. Suddenly the world was in a bright light. The flowers opened, the woods sang, and that little ribbon became in a moment the banner of socialism embracing all the world. It grew and grew and followed up the roads of the world, walked over mountains, rivers and oceans, and spanned the whole world in its circle. And then we five men—three Germans and two Frenchmen—gave each other our hands, and though we could not speak the same language, we understood that we were two sons of Mother Proletariat. Faith in a new world rose again. Socialism was not destroyed, the ideal of May Day was not dead.

And as we five, eleven years ago, so we vow our hands in the spring sunlight, so we vow to-day never more to pollute our hearts and hands. Trenches are levelled now, we have broken with the past. Brothers in the world, give us your hands! Help us men who have suffered with us, to finish the work. No enmity again between us, no more quarrels. NO MORE WAR!



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