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The Situation in Germany.

By W. Knorin.

The following article appeared in the "Pravda", the central organ of the C.P.S.U. We publish it—with a few small deletions—as expressing the view of an important press organ. Ed.

The situation in Germany has become exceedingly acute. About six weeks ago the leading groups of the German bourgeoisie, set up in place of the Brüning Government, which had fulfilled its mission, a Government of "National" Concentration representing the most important **common** interests of all groups of German finance capital, industry and the junkers. They formed a Government which should be a Government of the **strong hand**. This Government, supported by the national socialist party, its storm troops and the Reichwehr, has proceeded at an accelerated pace to set up the open fascist dictatorship and to suppress the working class by means of terrorist methods.

Germany is already faced with immediate economic collapse. The bourgeoisie are painfully endeavouring to postpone their open bankruptcy. The Versailles system has weakened Germany both in regard to home and foreign politics.

With the menace of bankruptcy, civil war and socialist revolution, the leading circles of finance capital which have formed the Papen government seek to bridle the conflicting interests of the trusts, banks and various capitalist groups who are fighting for their share of the considerably shrunken profits. The prospect of bankruptcy and the threat of the proletarian revolution were the most potent arguments which the German delegation at Lausanne employed against the

foreign Powers which have something to lose in Germany in addition to reparations payments.

The formation of the Papen government was called forth by the further deepening of the economic crisis and the shaking of the Weimar Republic. The disastrous increase of poverty and misery, a permanent unemployed army of 6 millions, the prospect of a further deterioration of the situation of all sections of the working population — all this served to undermine the main social support of the bourgeoisie, namely, the social democracy.

In order to maintain their influence on the masses who see in Socialism the only radical way out of the present situation, the social democracy had to come before the public with a comprehensive programme of State capitalism, with a programme envisaging an increase of the role of the bourgeois State in economic life: they had to represent this programme as being a socialist programme.

The bourgeoisie cannot rest content with the carrying out of only such anti-working class measures as can be tolerated by the social democracy. The programme of the Papen government in regard to the labour question means that the workers are to be deprived of the achievements which they won years ago and the remnants of democratic liberty. This programme cannot be realised by deceiving the masses; it can be realised only by means of open terror and

the destruction of the workers' organisations. The bourgeoisie, who are continuing to make use of the social democracy in their policy of shifting all the burdens of the crisis on to the workers, have decided to rely in the main on their fighting organisation, on the mass party of the national socialists and its storm detachments.

The discontent of large sections of the petty bourgeoisie and of the peasants who have been ruined by the crisis, and also of the intellectuals and employees who have been deprived of their livelihood, and who are beginning for the first time to take part in political life, is expressed in the first place in the growth of German nationalist chauvinism, as well as in the indignation against the Versailles Treaty which cripples and weakens Germany.

This wave of petty-bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism in Germany has also seized and confused considerable sections of the workers, especially the unemployed, who in the past eighteen years have been educated by the social democracy in the spirit of nationalism. The only internationalist Party, the Communist Party, under the conditions of an extreme accentuation of all international contradictions, has not succeeded in erecting an adequate dam against this wave, which is taken advantage of by fascism.

Arisen out of the profound shaking of the whole economic and political system of Germany, the fascist movement, thanks to the Versailles yoke, has become a tremendous political power and an instrument in the hands of the bourgeoisie for the fight against the international proletarian revolutionary movement.

The bourgeoisie has given the Papen Government three tasks in connection with the setting up of the fascist dictatorship:

Firstly, to obtain foreign-political successes for Germany, alleviate the Versailles system and thereby restore prospects to German capitalism and to draw the nationalist-minded masses into the fight against the international labour movement (Bolshevism).

Secondly, to bridge over the contradictions within the camp of the bourgeoisie in order to direct the whole attention of the bourgeoisie against the labour movement.

Thirdly, and most important of all, to destroy the Communist Party and all revolutionary workers organisations in order to render it possible to shift all the burdens of the crisis on to the backs of the workers.

Immediately it came into power, the von Papen Government dissolved the Reichstag, lifted the ban on the Nazi storm detachments, and issued emergency decrees imposing fresh taxes on the masses and further cutting down unemployment benefit.

It has, however, not given anything to the masses who are opposed to the Versailles Treaty and who had hoped that Germany would be saved by the abolition of the Versailles system. It has not been able to avoid the intensification of the fight within the German bourgeoisie over the distribution of profits, for profits are continually shrinking.

It has only rendered the political situation more acute, **increased the growth of elements of civil war in the country and accelerated the process of concentration of the forces of the revolution, which is shaking the confidence of the ruling class.**

1. The German bourgeoisie demagogically diverted the attention of the masses to the fight against the Versailles system; they have however shown themselves ready to come to an agreement with France. Von Papen, Baron Neurath and Count Schwerin von Krosigk hastily abandoned their nationalist threats and signed the agreement to pay a final sum of 3000 million marks, without the cancellation of the article in the Versailles Treaty which declares Germany to be solely responsible for the war. This "agreement" was in the interest of some influential groups of German industrialists. This "agreement" however does not render Germany free, but "commercialises" Germany's yoke. It does not give any prospects to the decisive sections of the German bourgeoisie, and before all it does not satisfy the chauvinistic masses whom the bourgeoisie has persuaded that the sole cause of all ills which Germany suffers is... Versailles, reparations and the circumstance that Germany has no big army.

The Lausanne agreement reveals new, profound contradictions in the camp of the German bourgeoisie. Even the national socialist masses will not be satisfied with the bare promise that the monarchy is to be restored. Even the petty-bourgeois national socialist masses have no confidence in and will have no confidence in an alleged policy of opposition to

Versailles, in an anti-Soviet agreement, in the Hohenzollerns who submit to Versailles, no matter whether this policy is pursued by a Papen-Schleicher or a Hitler government.

2. In connection with the extreme accentuation of the crisis two processes are developing simultaneously within the camp of the German bourgeoisie: a concentration of forces for the fight against the working class and the approaching revolution, and an increase of the differences of opinion and dissensions in the fight over the right immediately to determine the State policy.

The first process is expressed in the support given to the Hitler movement by ever broader circles of the bourgeoisie; the second process is expressed in the increasing fight in connection with the economic policy of the government, on the question of inflation, of subventions, as well as on the question with what means the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is to be realised. The common interests of the whole bourgeoisie, which demand a severe repression of the working class, cannot overcome these inner contradictions.

The von Papen government was confronted with this fact when the Centre Party and the Bavarian People's Party, and also the Baden Government, adopted a sharp oppositional attitude to von Papen and when the emergency decree legalising the Nazi storm troops had to be carried out in Baden and Bavaria by means of a special decree of the Reichs Government.

If von Papen could satisfy all groups of the bourgeoisie and offer the prospect of a speedy emergence from the crisis, then it would be easy to bridge over these contradictions. But nobody is able to offer such a prospect. The increase of these dissensions, the maturing of the **crisis of the ruling classes**, especially after the Lausanne failure, can only be checked by decisive successes in the fight against the working class and by the setting up of the open fascist dictatorship.

3. The von Papen Government thinks it can make up for the failures in solving the two first tasks by destroying the revolutionary workers' organisations, in the first place the Communist Party. The German proletariat, however, has organisational traditions going back 70 years. After the war it created the Communist Party, which connects revolutionary tactics with a real organisation of the broad masses. Owing, however, to the rising wave of nationalism and chauvinism, the Communist Party of Germany has not yet succeeded in drawing the majority of the working class into the revolutionary united front. The social democracy still succeeded in holding back the working class from big revolutionary actions.

The going over of the bourgeoisie to the setting up of the open fascist dictatorship which will destroy the workers' organisations and do away with all the revolutionary achievements of the working class, considerably accelerates the process of mobilising the forces of the proletariat.

The social democracy proclaimed the Weimar Republic to be the basis and the prerequisite for the victory of Socialism in Germany. The Weimar Republic is being destroyed by Hindenburg, to whom the social democracy accorded its support. The social democracy said the State would bridle the national socialist storm troops. The State, however, has legalised them and let them loose against the workers.

This sad experience of the German proletariat has served to destroy many democratic illusions. A situation has arisen which accelerates the creation of a real united front of the working masses from below under the leadership of the Communist Party. This united front is being set up by the anti-fascist action of the Communist Party against capitalism, the von Papen government and fascism. The slogans of the Communist Party for the general strike, against the emergency decrees, against the cutting down of wages and unemployment benefit, against fascism and the von Papen government, for the people's revolution and the Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Government are becoming more and more popular among the masses. There exist the prerequisites for overcoming the lagging behind of the Communist Party. The forces of the German revolution are rapidly growing in these days and months.

The social democracy is straining all its forces in order to keep the masses from turning to the revolution. It is increasing its "Left" demagogy. The Communists, however, are increasing their exposure of the social democracy in order to show the workers that **it is the social democracy which is responsible for the present offensive of fascism. Only a**

united front which is created under the leadership of the Communist Party for the fight for the real interests of the proletariat, is actually a revolutionary united front.

The von Papen Government let loose against the growing united front of the masses the national socialist storm troops, who attacked workers' organisations and murdered workers. **The von Papen Government deliberately let loose civil-war in order to charge the Communists with letting loose civil-war.** The working class, however, is offering determined resistance to the attacks of fascism. It is defending itself against the terror of the storm troops.

The Hamburg barricades on July 17 were a sign of the growing alertness of the working masses and their increased determination to fight against fascist provocations. The Hamburg workers refused to allow the fascists to parade in the workers' quarters. The fascist ranks were thrown into disorder. The police of the social democrats Severing and Schönfelder, however, hastened to the aid of the fascists.

In various other localities the revolutionary workers still more successfully defended the trade union premises, the Communist press etc. Threatened with annihilation, clearly recognising that the time of decisive fights has not yet arrived, the workers are defending themselves with every means and dealing severe blows to the national socialists. The working masses of Berlin have come into movement.

By the imposition of martial law, by summary courts and the death penalty for revolutionaries, by the abolition of the last remnants of democracy, by the concentration of all the forces and means of oppression, the leading groups of the bourgeoisie wish to suppress the revolutionary movement. Although Severing, Braun and Grzesinski, these true henchmen of the bourgeoisie, devoted all their forces to the fight against the Communist movement, although Severing personally conducted the police actions in Hamburg, they are designated by the bourgeoisie as unsuitable for carrying out the concentrated terror against the whole proletariat at the present stage.

Von Papen has carried out a fascist coup in Prussia with the aid of the Reichswehr. To all intents and purposes a fascist dictatorship has already been declared in Germany. The Weimar Constitution has already been done away with under clause 48 of this same Constitution. The Communists and Communist workers are threatened with summary courts.

The fight has been transferred to the streets. The bourgeoisie have brought up all their forces against the working class. The fate of the German proletariat will now be decided in big political battles. Only the Communist Party is fighting against the fascist dictatorship. It has summoned the working class to engage in political mass strikes. It is organising the masses for the fight. In the meantime, there falls to Severing the role of last Don Quixote of the Weimar democracy: he demands his arrest instead of fighting.

The Weimar Republic is bankrupt. The revolutionary proletariat is not for a moment supporting the Weimar bankrupts; it is mobilising its forces against the Weimar Republic, **against Hitler's "Third kingdom" and the social democratic "Second Republic", for the Soviet Republic.**

Events are developing with extraordinary rapidity.

It depends upon the events of the next few days whether Germany will adopt the direct path to revolution, or whether the bourgeoisie will succeed, by consolidating the fascist dictatorship, by violence and terror, in retarding for some time the rate of growth of the prerequisites of the revolutionary crisis. In a country, however, in which the proletariat constitutes the absolute majority of the population, in a country in which the proletariat possesses great Marxist traditions and traditions of the revolutionary fight, in a country in which **the Communist Party has become a mass party**—in such a country it is impossible for a government of terror to last any length of time. The German proletariat has already more than once overthrown a government by means of mass actions.

Great upheavals are approaching in Germany. The bourgeoisie itself is aggravating the situation and accelerating the approach of decisive class battles. The development of events in Germany intensifies the whole international situation.

The Communist Party of Germany is faced with tasks of the greatest difficulty and responsibility.

Who will be victor in the approaching class battles depends above all upon the working class, upon the devotion, discernment and the degree of organisation of the German Communists, upon the firmness of their connections with the masses, upon their capacity to make use of the revolutionary experience of the international labour movement in the decisive fights of the German proletariat.

The First Act of the Geneva Disarmament Farce.

Comrade Litvinov's Speech at the Geneva "Disarmament" Conference.

The following is an abridged version of the speech of Comrade Litvinov in opposition to the finally passed resolution at the Disarmament Conference:—

The resolution submitted to us has been going through a process of drafting, and has been awaited by the members of the various delegations for several weeks, if not months.

It seems to me that we are all bound to recognise that this resolution will bring bitter disappointment to all those persons and organisations who have been pinning upon the Conference all their hopes of peace. It rather justifies the dismal prophecies and forebodings of those who from the very outset did not share those hopes and illusions.

Although the resolution begins with the assertion that the time has come when all nations of the world must adopt substantial and comprehensive measures of disarmament in order to consolidate the peace of the world, all the subsequent contents of the resolution represent the utter negation of that assertion.

On the contrary, they would seem to constitute a recognition of the fact that the States represented at the Conference have not found the time ripe for the final adoption of a single decisive step towards disarmament.

I will take the liberty of analysing the resolution point by point. I shall not dwell on the general declarations and vague promises as to possible decisions in the future. We have had more than enough of these declarations at the Conference.

There is only one concrete decision in the resolution, namely, that concerning **chemical, bacteriological and**

incendiary warfare. But this decision in its essential parts is contained in the Convention on chemical and bacteriological warfare adopted so long ago as 1925, under the title of the Geneva Protocol.

This protocol has already been ratified by 34 States.

The clause prohibiting air attack against the civilian population is, of course, to be welcomed. But this clause is more relevant to the sphere of the Red Cross than to the problem of disarmament, since the clause in itself does not mean the reduction of military aircraft even by a single unit. In theory it can hardly be said that the right of bombarding the civilian population was ever recognised or asserted by anyone.

So long as military aircraft, or at all events bombing aircraft, are not absolutely prohibited, there can be no guarantees whatsoever for the civilian population.

The resolution says nothing about the abolition of military or even bombing aircraft, whereas such a measure is the only effective method of ensuring that air attacks shall stop. It is not difficult to supervise effectively the abolition of a particular form of weapon, or to discover those who violate their undertakings or commit abuses in this sphere.

But there can scarcely be any guarantee against its employment in war time, notwithstanding the Convention, if the prohibited weapon is in fact retained.

The Soviet delegation, therefore, is in favour of the total abolition of all military aircraft, but by way of compromise it now proposes that the resolution should at least provide, among other measures, for the abolition of bombing aircraft.

With regard to tanks and heavy artillery, there is reference only to the limitation of tonnage and calibre in general; yet, here again, no one ever objected to limitation in general, either at the Conference or in the commissions. But as soon as figures were mentioned, differences made their appearance.

Proposals were made in the commissions, for example, to fix the limits of the tonnage of tanks and the calibre of bombs at such a level as has either not yet been attained by technical development, or has only been attained experimentally.

If agreement is only possible within such limits, it would be ridiculous to classify this as the reduction of existing armaments.

Recent sessions of the General Commission may have created the impression that there was no discussion of the quantitative reduction of armaments because of the absence of any relevant concrete proposals, and that only quite lately was one such proposal received, namely, from the United States delegation, which, it may be supposed, arrived too late for the Conference to discuss it and adopt decisions, before breaking up for our holidays.

But this is far from being the true state of affairs.

As an alternative to its proposal for total general disarmament, the Soviet delegation proposed an absolutely concrete scheme for the reduction of all categories of armaments by 50 per cent. The Soviet delegation put forward this figure, not as an ultimatum, but as an expression of the substantial reduction of armaments.

But even since the American proposal was put forward nearly a month has gone by. If the General Commission had at once grappled closely with this proposal we could have had serious results by now, again, of course, on the condition that the declarations and pledges contained in the resolution now proposed actually correspond to the intentions of the Governments here represented.

The delegations have been condemned to complete inactivity, pending the results of certain private negotiations. Those results are now known; they are embodied in the resolution before us which may be regarded as being merely a repetition of the resolution which was adopted three months ago, to the effect that it had been decided to achieve a decisive step towards the reduction of armaments.

It was then supposed that the Conference would immediately set about the task of making the resolution concrete. But that did not take place, and the whole sense of the resolution now proposed lies in this, that we are asked to postpone making it concrete for another six months.

What guarantee have we that we shall be more successful in this task than during the last three months? What change will there be by that time? What obstacles which have hindered concrete decisions up to now will be eliminated by then?

The whole history of the problem of disarmament is a continuous series of such postponements and references to private negotiations and private conferences.

The Soviet delegation cannot agree to the exception from reduction of particular sections of the armed forces intended for police and colonial service, for this would mean the creation of a privileged position for the most powerful States which possess colonies, and which in this way would be subjected to reduction in a smaller proportion than weaker States.

Only in the event of the adoption of the Soviet amendments could the resolution be considered as a certain step forward in the cause of disarmament, and could it afford a minimum of satisfaction to the peoples who demand that disarmament.

The proposed measures could be strengthened by **the complete abolition and prohibition of military aircraft, the prohibition of tanks and of heavy artillery with a calibre exceeding 100mm.**

May I repeat that the Soviet delegation is far from intending to limit the programme of the whole conference to these measures, which it considers only to be the genuine first stage.

Such are the principal amendments which have been put in by the Soviet delegation to the draft resolution.

In order that the peoples should be able to draw valuable lessons from international conferences, it is absolutely

essential that these conferences should take place quite publicly, that all questions in dispute should be discussed and voted upon publicly, so that not only the points of agreement, but also the points of disagreement between the peoples should be clear.

Only by this means can we draw the peoples themselves into co-partnership in international life, and that co-partnership is particularly necessary to solve the problem of disarmament.

We cannot speak of the public character of our conference, when, in the course of three months, the General Commission has met only five times, and all the discussion has been concentrated in the private negotiations of a few delegations.

The Soviet delegation expresses the hope that at subsequent sessions of the conference there will be no repetition of these methods, which affront the dignity of the delegates and of numerous countries, and, moreover, have not been justified by results.

The Soviet proposal for total disarmament was rejected as extremely impractical. Ten years of preparatory work and six months of the Conference have, however, demonstrated fairly convincingly the impractical character of the other proposals which were put forward as a counterblast to the Soviet scheme.

The method of objective proportional reduction, recommended by the Soviet delegation in the Preparatory Commission and at the present Conference, did not meet at first with support in any quarter.

We now find this method in the proposals of the United States Government as well to which a number of other delegations have acceded. **From numerous letters and resolutions of various national and international organisations, the Soviet delegation learns with satisfaction that its position is receiving wider and wider recognition.**

It counts, however, not only on recognition, but also on active support. The Soviet delegation will continue, in the further stages of the work of the Conference, to maintain its positions firmly, and to show, on the appropriate occasions, the necessary steadfastness, in the interests of the movement against war, in the interests of genuine universal peace.

POLITICS

Imperialist Aims At Ottawa.

By R. Bishop (London).

Seven Cabinet Ministers (including the Minister for War), the Secretary and chairman of the Trade Union Congress, representatives of the Federation of British Industries and a whole army of experts and advisers have reached Ottawa where they will form the British delegation at the Imperial Economic Conference.

The principal aim to be pursued by the British Government at this conference is to arrive at such **tariff and preference agreements** inside the Empire as will increase British trade at the expense of foreign competitors—in the first place the U.S.A.

Of recent years the imperialists have become increasingly dependent upon Empire trade. Whereas in 1913 British trade with the Empire was 37 per cent, it had risen to 44 per cent in 1929, whilst the trade with the 11 leading European countries had declined to 24½ per cent, from 31 per cent. Nevertheless the countries within the Empire are taking a smaller proportion of Empire goods than before the war. India takes only 41 per cent as against 62, South Africa 43 as against 59, Canada 15 as against 22, New Zealand 49 as against 58. Australia alone shows a slight increase from 40 per cent. to 41 per cent. The pre-war figures are an average of the years 1910-14, the post-war for the years 1929-30.

The proposition the British imperialists will make to the Dominions at Ottawa is: We will take more of your agricultural produce, provided you take more of our manufactures.

This proposal is naturally one to which many of the Dominions farmers are not averse, but it is one to which the Dominions manufacturers are fiercely opposed. They do not want to see special privileges accorded to British

manufacturers, which can only have the effect of weakening their own position in the home market. There are a number of British industries, the secondary ones in the main, which do not compete directly with the Dominions manufacturers, and it is probable that some form of preference will be arranged for them in return for similar concessions to Dominions agriculture. The brunt of any such arrangement will be borne by the workers, in Britain and in the Dominions.

An attempt will be made to arrive at some agreement with regard to a **standard Empire currency based upon the £ Sterling**. This will meet with strong opposition, especially from Canada. Not so much in the public eye, but equally of importance to the imperialists, Britain will ask from the Dominions an assurance of **common action in the event of war**. On the agenda will be the question of strengthening the Singapore Naval base, built as an answer to the U.S. naval base in the Philippines. Staff Admirals have been asked to draw up plans to this end. It is because of the war significance of Ottawa that the Minister of war will be attending this "economic" conference.

The last Imperial Conference which met in **London** in 1930 was a complete fiasco. The Dominions refused point-blank to lift their tariffs against Britain or to increase their amount of British imports, while Britain refused to increase her quota of Dominions products without corresponding concessions.

The attitude of the Dominions has not materially changed in the interim. King, the leader of the Canadian Liberals, has declared that "The high tariff policy of the Canadian conservatives will lead to failure at Ottawa". He also declares that the Canadian Government's policy "is only concerned with the interests of the manufacturing class. It loses sight altogether of the needs of great basic industries such as agriculture, lumbering, fishing and mining". The recent visit of British cotton magnates to Canada ended in complete and ignominious failure. In their report they stated that the British delegates to Ottawa show a grossly inaccurate knowledge of the Canadian situation based upon the prejudiced views of Manchester merchants and Canadian importers. The British requests which were put forward in the form of demands for the division of the Canadian market are declared to be excessive and quite unacceptable to the Canadians as a basis for discussion. What is true of Canada is also true, to a greater or lesser degree, of every one of the Dominions. Any general preference arrangement which will damage their industries is out of the question.

Throughout the Empire a huge quantity of literature has been spread broadcast, dilating upon the advantages of Empire Trade. Prominent among this has been the **joint memorandum of the Trade Union Congress and the Federation of British Industries**. This precious document advocates: fewer restrictions on Empire and international trade; restoration of the level of wholesale prices; creation of a sterling currency area; planning of production throughout the "commonwealth" (which is the tricky fancy name applied to the Empire by the Labour reformists). This innocent-sounding programme is intended to conceal the fact that the reformist labour organisation is to be used to further the policy of war, high prices and further tariffs, which the imperialists are pressing forward at Ottawa.

Despite the oft-repeated verbal optimism of the imperialists it is doubtful if the Cabinet itself expects any decisive economic result from Ottawa. The fate of the textile mission is a significant indication of what the outcome of the conference is likely to be.

An important factor at Ottawa will be that Britain is not in a position to meet the main need of the two chief Dominions, Australia and Canada, namely the disposal of their wheat surplus. When it comes to selling Canada's products abroad, especially grain, Britain can only absorb about one-third, at the outside, of her export surplus, and Canadian merchants are not anxious for a policy which must lead to reprisals against her grain in Europe. Even if an agreement on a wheat quota is reached, Canada is still faced with the problem of selling 150 million bushels of wheat on the world market, in face of the fierce competition of those countries which will have been shut out of the British market.

"**Empire Economic Unity**", laid down as the goal of Ottawa, is a myth. The conflict within the Empire and the growing economic crisis which condemns millions of workers and peasants to poverty and hunger in the colonies, the Dominions and the "Mother Country", is the reality. This

does not mean that nothing at all will come out of Ottawa. The British capitalists will exert every ounce of energy to extend their markets and may make certain agreements.

On July 20 (the day before the Conference opened) it was announced that an agreement had been reached between British and Canadian steel interests, which, according to the Labour Party's "Daily Herald", "may mean that Britain will be able to cut out the huge U.S. imports of iron and steel into Canada". The basic antagonism between the British and American imperialists could not be better expressed than it is in the social-fascist rag.

But we live in a period when war and war threats are the chief methods of waging the struggle for markets. If British Imperialism is to extract bigger profits from its Empire it can only be done at the expense of those foreign States which have penetrated into the Empire. This means, above all others, the United States of America.

Ottawa follows close on the heels of **Lausanne**, where Britain built up a European United Front against America under the guise of a "gentlemen's agreement" not to pay war debts. On the day the British delegation left for Ottawa the King led his £60,000,000 battle fleet into a mimic battle, as a demonstration of Britain's gigantic war strength, and a challenge to the Hoover proposals. The eve of the Ottawa Conference is made the occasion for the declaration of economic war upon the people of the **Irish Free State**, because, as imperialist politician after imperialist politician has made clear, Ireland is a valuable war base for Imperialism and must be kept completely subservient to British imperialism.

A similar instance of the subservience even of trade to the war aims of the imperialists, is shown by the manner in which the National Government has rejected the request of credits to the **Soviet Union** to the tune of £3,000,000 for shipbuilding, at a time when the shipbuilding industry of Britain is in a state of absolute decay.

Lausanne and **Ottawa** clearly reveal the antagonism between the imperialist giants, **Britain and America**.

War, not economic unity, is the real purport of the Ottawa Conference.

The Result of Lausanne.

By L. Magyar.

Has the reparations question actually been decided? Does the Lausanne agreement do away with a single one of the accursed consequences of the war, a single one of the other causes of the sharpening of the world economic crisis?

"The growing difficulties in the way of paying or receiving reparations and war debts have brought about an embitterment of international relations and an increasing disturbance of international trade, until to-day we are faced with universal depression and stagnation alike—a depression which skilled economic and financial investigators assure us is mainly due to this legacy of war liabilities."

Thus writes **Lloyd George** in his book "The Truth about Reparations and the War Debts". It stands to reason that **Lloyd George**, one of the principal authors of the Versailles Treaty, in his book entitled "The Truth about Reparations and the War Debts" **does not speak the truth about them**. The reparations, the war debts, high tariffs, the incorrect distribution of gold and armaments are not causes of the world economic crisis. The reason for the peculiarly far-reaching, devastating and acute character of this crisis is the fact that it is a **crisis of monopoly capitalism in the period of the general crisis of capitalism**.

Lloyd George and the other bourgeois statesmen, theorists and ideologists deliberately turn the relationship of things upside down so as to conceal the true reason for the crisis and to sidetrack the anger and indignation of the masses from the fundamental attributes of capitalism itself.

The German Nationalists, the National Socialists, and representatives of all bourgeois parties in Germany, social democratic leaders included, have striven their utmost to prove that the reparations are the cause of the crisis of German capitalism, the cause of all the sufferings of the masses. By fanning the flames of nationalism and chauvinism they have attempted and not without success, to divert the blows of mass revolt from the German bourgeoisie and direct them against the competitors of German imperialism, who defeated Germany in the first imperialist world war.

It stands to reason that the reparations played a role of no small importance in adding to the acuteness of the crisis in Germany. But France does not pay reparations; it receives them, and the economic crisis has thrown French capitalism back to a level lower than that of 1913. The U.S.A. does not pay reparations or war debts and finally gets the lion's share of the reparations; but the economic crisis in the U.S.A., from the point of view of the cutting down of production and the growth of unemployment, is **more far-reaching than in Germany.**

Even if the reparations question had actually been solved at Lausanne, even if the German workers were relieved of the reparations payment, the world economic crisis would not be solved. But the fact is that Lausanne did not provide a definite solution even of the reparations question.

The reparations question has been the subject of discussion at 38 international conferences. The history of this question presents in itself an added proof that the leaders of the bourgeoisie are not able to recognise the laws and possibilities of their own economic system. At Versailles the victor states still counted on being able to squeeze out of Germany 700 milliard marks. The British government commission, composed of the "best" economists, calculated that the defeated countries would be able to pay 24 milliard pounds sterling, and figured that the annual payment of 1.2 milliard pounds sterling, i. e., 24 milliard marks, would not be an excessive demand.

When the Lausanne Conference met, the amount still to be paid by Germany according to the Young Plan amounted in theory to 38 milliard marks. But this was in theory only. In actual fact Germany had not paid anything since July 1931 and was unable to pay on the reparations. The millstones of the economic crisis ground rapidly and effectively.

Germany has neither gold nor foreign valuta sufficient to pay its reparations even for one year.

For the period 1924-29 Germany paid reparations amounting to 10-11 milliard marks, chiefly by importing capital and obtaining foreign loans.

At the present time the interest and principal payments on these loans amount to 1,200,000,000 marks. A large part of this sum actually represents reparations in the form of private and commercial debts. At the present time Germany is not able to pay interest even on its foreign and commercial debts, which chiefly affect the U.S.A. and England. So far, however, the question of revising private and commercial debts has not been brought up. On the contrary, the National Socialists and Nationalists have been very strongly emphasising the readiness of the German bourgeoisie to make payments on the private debts, if the reparations are annulled. It is not an accident, however, that immediately after the Lausanne conference the leader of the Nationalists, Hugenberg, brought up the question of the revision of private and commercial debts.

A considerable portion of the amount due for reparations has already been converted into commercial debts. Thus, on the bonds floated in accordance with the Dawes Plan, Germany has to pay up to 1949 an average of 75 million marks annually, and on loans floated in accordance with the Young Plan, approximately 55 million marks. As indemnification for the German paper money issued in Belgium during the war, Germany must pay about 10 million marks annually. Thus far the question of Eastern reparations, i. e., payments for the small allies of the big imperialists, has not yet been decided. Moreover, Germany must pay the U.S.A. every year about 66 million marks for various war expenditures.

Whatever the economic situation turns out to be in the future, the economic system of Germany will meet it with a trade balance, **which already includes annual obligations amounting to approximately 1,600,000,000 marks.** This is a little less than the payments according to the Dawes Plan for the first years. As a result of the reparations and their conversion into private and commercial debts, the German workers are burdened for generations to come with the added weight of obligations amounting to 1,600,000,000 marks.

Germany still remains an imperialist country without colonies, crushed by the Versailles system, disarmed and weighed down by the huge burden of foreign debts.

Either reparations—or private and commercial debts—, that is how the question stood at Lausanne. And the Lausanne

Conference decided in the main in favour of private and commercial debts.

The "Vöossische Zeitung" and other German publications blabbed out an open secret when they declared that the Lausanne Conference was subjected to maximum pressure from the international bankers. These international bankers got the upper hand in Lausanne, when in actual fact they buried the Young Plan and when the victor countries recognised that in the future Germany had to pay its debts first of all, and when they decided in Lausanne that instead of paying 38 milliard marks in accordance with the Young Plan, Germany had to pay 3 milliard more in the form of reparations.

But this decision is only conditional and by no means final. During the first imperialist war government debts increased seven times over. International debts also increased to gigantic proportions. A whole complicated network of international debts was created. Germany paid reparations to the victor countries and these in turn paid more debts to the U.S.A. The payments of European countries to the U.S.A. on war debts amounts to 250-280 million dollars a year, i. e., over a milliard marks. With the discontinuance of the Young Plan the entire system of agreements with regard to the payment of international war debts has turned out to be a pyramid without any foundation,—it is left so to speak, hanging in the air.

This is why a "gentlemen's agreement" was drawn up at Lausanne with regard to the ratification of the Lausanne agreement only after the settlement of the questions of war debts between England, Italy and other European countries, on the one hand, and the United States on the other. If no agreement is reached between the European countries and the U.S.S.R., the Lausanne agreement remains a scrap of paper, but **at Lausanne the European Powers magnanimously settled the reparations questions partly at the expense of Germany, and partly at the expense of the United States.**

In any case, at Lausanne the reparations question was linked up with the question of the war debts and the question of the relations between the European countries and the U.S.A. **At Lausanne the contradictions were not removed, but were shifted to a higher level.**

The Anglo-French manoeuvre at Lausanne consists in the fact that British and French imperialism established the connection between reparations and war debts, to which the U.S.A. has always objected. At the same time, through the establishment of their "Entente Cordiale", England and France are attempting on this basis to form a "united European front" against the U.S.A. Italy is also interested in the annulment of war debts, because she has to pay war debts not only to the United States but also to England; the annulment of the Young Plan and its replacement by a final amount was also to the advantage of Germany.

It goes without saying that the Anglo-French manoeuvre was not without a response in the United States.

The manoeuvre of the U.S.A. was as follows: First of all, the U.S.A. objects as before to any sort of formal connection between reparations and debts. Secondly, the U.S.A. announces its readiness to conduct negotiations with regard to war debts, but it intends to conduct these negotiations not with any sort of bloc of European powers, but with each country separately. Thirdly, the U.S.A. is attempting to establish, if not formally, at least in actual fact, a connection between the question of war debts and the question of armaments. The counter-manoeuve of the U.S.A. really amounts to an attempt to split up the European Powers, for negotiations on war debts with each country separately offers tremendous possibilities for the U.S.A. to utilise the question of debts for political combinations.

But it can hardly be doubted that for example, Italy, and to a great extent Germany, will be ready, for the sake of concessions, to support the U.S.A. on other questions, particularly the question of armaments. "The European United front" is in this respect built upon sand, and while Italy at Lausanne is outwardly supporting the Anglo-French bloc, at Geneva it is going hand in hand with the U.S.A.

However, France and England are no more willing to recognise the connection between war debts and armaments than the U.S.A. is ready to recognise the connection between reparations and war debts. But Italy supports the American thesis on armaments because it is directed against France. Germany supports the American thesis because it is directed

against the most strongly armed imperialist countries. Moreover, the question of armaments is likely to give rise to sharp friction between England, France and Japan, whose interests on these questions are sharply opposed.

The speeches at Lausanne introduced a new era of sharp clashes in the camp of the imperialists. They opened a new chapter in the history of imperialist wars and of the liquidation of memories of the first round of imperialist wars, only in the sense that the imperialists are edging their way into the second round of imperialist wars, which has opened with the war of Japanese imperialism in China. There is no doubt that the Anglo-French agreement is directed also against the Soviet Union.

The Lausanne agreement is of great significance in the political life of Germany.

Papen, representative of the "National Camp", signed the Lausanne agreement, which imposes new burdens on the German people, leaving in force the old burden of payment of private and commercial debts, which is to a great extent a disguised form of reparations.

The National Socialists and German Nationalists are attempting to evade responsibility for the Lausanne agreement, in order to forge themselves a sharp weapon of national demagoguery for the election campaign.

The Centre Party, which at the present time is not in the government, is attempting to play the part of a national opposition against the national chancellor Papen, declaring that Brüning would not take upon himself any form of new obligations.

The Social Democrats are loudly singing the praises of the Lausanne agreement signed by Papen, so as to offer an added proof to French imperialism that the Social Democracy stands firmly on their side.

The Communists are unmasking before the masses the true role of the National Socialists and German Nationalists, and are unmasking their capitulation to French imperialism. They are explaining to the masses the true role of social democracy, which supports the foreign policy of German finance capital.

At Lausanne it turned out that "the fruits of the fulfilment policy, the fruits of the policy of the Erzbergers, Rathenau's, Stresemann's and Brüning", as "Vorwärts" writes, "were gathered in by the Rights", and already the National Socialists are pointing out that if France and England signed the Lausanne agreement with Papen, they will reach an agreement with Hitler also.

From this point of view Lausanne is of tremendous significance.

In the acceptance of the Dawes Plan in 1924, a definite settlement was reached between the U.S.A., England and France with regard to the extent and methods of plundering Germany. This settlement was at the same time one of the chief preliminary conditions and an expression of the temporary and shaky stabilisation of capitalism. Does the Lausanne agreement signify a new settlement between the imperialists, leading to the stabilisation of international relations on a new basis? On the contrary. The Lausanne agreement complicates the reparations question. It ties up into a still tighter knot the tangle of imperialist contradictions. It accelerates the final releasing of these contradictions.

The Result of the Parliamentary Elections in Rumania.

By Maria Tchobanu.

The purpose of the Parliamentary elections in Rumania was to awaken among the exploited masses the illusion that their situation would be improved and to facilitate the task of the government "chosen by the electors" of adopting the measures recommended by the experts of the French bankers and of the French General Staff (reduction of wages, increase of taxes, fresh dismissals of State employees, more drastic measures for collecting the taxes), in order to secure the payment of foreign debts and preparations for war on the Soviet Union.

In order to be able to adopt these measures, a government was necessary which would have some appearance of being democratic and a certain support among the masses. The Vaida-Mironescu Government after being fourteen months in opposition, was again brought into office, in order to make use of its experience in deceiving the exploited masses and to carry

out the election so that a broader social basis for the coming government would be created.

The workers and peasants bloc was prevented by the bloody election terror from taking part in the election. In some towns, such as Constantza, Kronstadt, Temesvar etc., the candidates and those who signed their nomination papers were arrested two or three times. The total number of the arrested amounts to about 1000. The exclusion of the workers and peasants bloc from the election facilitated the struggle of all the bourgeois and social democratic parties to capture the masses.

The election developed into a fierce fight to win these masses. There were 5,000 candidates for 385 Parliamentary seats.

The intensification of the antagonisms in the ranks of the bourgeoisie, on the basis of the deepening of the crisis and the radicalisation of the masses, led to the creation of new parties, formations and groupings, which are striving their utmost by demagogic phrases to prevent the masses from turning to revolutionary struggle. As the workers and peasants bloc had been excluded from the election, the main fight for the masses took place between the two big parties of the Rumanian bourgeoisie and big landowners—the national Zaranist party and the National Liberal party.

The catchwords in the election propaganda were connected with the burning questions which arouse the broad masses: the conversion of the agricultural debts, the taxes, payment of wages and pensions, unemployment. The promises of the various parties, especially of the so-called "extremist" oppositional parties, knew no limits. In spite of the election gerrymandering and the bloody terror, the national Zaranist party, which had at its disposal a strong organisation and a huge apparatus, did not poll more than 40.38 per cent. of the votes. The belief that in Rumania any party which is in the government can obtain majorities by means of terror and falsifying the elections, was shattered in face of the determination of the masses, who are becoming increasingly revolutionary.

In 1928 the National Zaranist (peasant) party polled 77.77 per cent. of the votes.

Although the result of the elections showed that the influence of the National Zaranist party is considerably shaken, it still remains at the present moment the strongest support of the bourgeoisie and of the big landowners in the ranks of the peasantry.

The elections show a growth of the influence of the "opposition" parties, who increased their demagogic phraseology and their demagogic democratic manoeuvres with the increase of the discontent and radicalisation of the masses. Even the National Liberal party, the party of the big bourgeoisie and landowners, was able by means of promises to reduce the taxes, to obtain money for peasant credits, to develop industry and overcome unemployment, to ensure punctual payment of wages and pensions, to poll 13.48 per cent. of the vote.

A characteristic success is that of the anti-semitic fascist organisations, the "Iron Guard" and the League of National Christian Defence. By making use of the most shameless demagoguery: distribution of land among the peasants, collectivisation and socialisation of the mining industry and of the heavy industry, electrification of the country and introduction of planned economy etc., this organisation polled a total of 129,889 votes and obtained 16 seats. They received most of their votes where the poverty and the indignation of the masses is greatest: in Bessarabia, Bukovina, in the Moldavian district, and especially among the ranks of the peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie.

The radicalisation and discontent of the nationally oppressed Hungarian masses were exploited by the Hungarian party, which received 193,140 votes, i. e. 13,000 more votes than last year.

Although the social democrats were in an extraordinarily favourable situation, as in this election they did not have to reckon with the competition of the revolutionary organisations, their vote was even slightly less than last year (1931: 94,953, 1932: 94,089). Nevertheless, the social democratic party still maintains its treacherous influence over compact masses of workers in Reschitza (war industry), Shiltal (mining), Temesvar (textile industry).

The independent socialists (social democratic "Lefts") took part in the elections for the first time. Although the vote polled by them does not serve as a means of judging exactly the influence of this party, one must nevertheless record an

increase of their influence in those places in which the oppositional movement is stronger than the leadership of the social democratic party (Prahova Valley, Hermannstadt, Jassy, Bucharest).

The workers and peasants bloc was able to set up lists in only nine districts; it received 9941 votes, whilst in 1931 it polled 73,711 votes, when it put forward candidates in 47 districts.

The election in Rumania will not solve the government crisis. The National Zaranist party is exposed to the pressure of the broadest exploited masses in town and country. The peasants are demanding the cancellation of their debts and the reduction of taxes. The workers are demanding bread and work. The government employees, the elementary school teachers, the pensioners, are calling for the payment of their salaries and pensions which have been due for months past. At the same time, the State revenues are falling off and the foreign bankers refuse to grant any loans, so that the State finances are faced with bankruptcy.

The "Adeverul" of July 20 writes: "The lessons of the election show that a great wave of discontent prevails in the whole country. We cannot estimate the influence of the Left, because the Communists were not permitted to take part in the elections. In those places, however, where they were able to put forward their lists of candidates, they obtained votes which must be counted as double and triple, for it is known that to be a Communist means running a risk which demands courage and conviction."

GERMANY

After the 20th July.

By B. Steinemann (Berlin).

Now, immediately after the coup of July 20, the fascist Schleicher-Papen Government is endeavouring in the first place to consolidate the positions it has gained; at the same time it is putting through a number of repressive measures as a prelude to new comprehensive actions which are intended to be carried out after the 31st of July.

The interviews which the military commander General von Rundstedt and Bracht, the deputy State Commissioner for Prussia, gave, and in which they attempted by non-committal statements to make their first actions appear as more or less harmless measures, served to consolidate what they have already achieved. Of great importance for the Reichs Government was the Conference of the Federal States which took place on July 23, in Stuttgart. At this Conference the Centre, which dominates the South German States, and the social democratic party, which has positions in the Hessen, Hamburg and Bremen, governments, were strongly represented. According to the press reports and the official communiqué, von Papen declared that the power of the Reichs executive will not be extended beyond Prussia and that the elections will take place on July 31. The Conference—that is to say, the Centre and the social democratic party ministers, expressed themselves satisfied with von Papen's promises. The Prime Minister of Bavaria, in the speech he delivered on Sunday in Weiden, specially emphasised that "Bavaria's fears have proved to be groundless". This attitude of the South German States is to be attributed to the fact that the Centre hopes that, after the election, under the patronage of Schleicher, it will participate together with the Nazis in one way or another in the formation of the Reichs government. And the social democratic leaders follow the lead of the Centre. Of course, the difference between the Reichs Government and the South German States have not been removed as a result of the Conference. Nevertheless, the official unanimity between Papen and Held means a considerable support for the Papen Government, a justification of the action of the Reichs government on July 20 and the imposition of martial law, which has since been repealed.

The fascist Schleicher-Papen Government has to thank the social democratic party for a further moral success through Severing's petition to the Supreme State Court. When Hindenburg and the Schleicher-Papen dictatorship set up a Reichs Commissioner for Prussia, imposed martial law over Berlin-Brandenburg, removed the Prussian Ministers without encountering any resistance, and with a Reichswehr officer and twelve soldiers took possession of

the Berlin police headquarters, the social democratic party sharply opposed any idea of a strike and announced that their action would consist in an appeal to the Supreme State Court. It was perfectly clear that the Court would ratify the measures adopted by Hindenburg and Schleicher. Although the complaint submitted by the Prussian government was kept within the most modest limits, although Severing in no way demanded that the Reichs Commissioner be removed, but only asked for an order which would allow the displaced Ministers to retain some insignificant rights alongside of the Reichs Commissioner, the State Court rejected the appeal. The fascist-military-dictatorship can now point to the legal decision as justifying them in the exercise of their dictatorial powers.

In the meantime, the fascist Schleicher-Government is continuing its repressive measures. In the last few days a whole number of papers, mainly Communist, have been prohibited. The following are among the prohibited papers: "Die Rote Fahne", in Berlin, "Volkswacht", in Mecklenburg, "Freiheit" in Düsseldorf, "Der Klassenkampf" in Halle "Die Süd-deutsche Arbeiter-Zeitung" in Stuttgart, "Die Arbeiterstimme" in Dresden and the "Thüringer Volksblatt" in Erfurt. In addition, there is the prohibition of election literature: in the last few days about 200 distributors of anti-fascist leaflets have been arrested in Berlin alone. An exhibition arranged by the Berlin Red Aid "Brown Murder in Word and Picture", has been closed by the police; a demonstration held by the Red Aid has been prohibited. The printing works of the "Rote Fahne" have been closed and sealed by the police. General Rundstedt, the military commander, has issued an order imposing the severest penalties on anyone propagating the political general strike and has also issued instructions to the police to show greater ruthlessness in the use of their revolvers. Under the designation of a "relaxation of the prohibition of demonstrations", a decree has been issued which in practice facilitates the holding of meetings and parades by the Nazis in the open air. It should also be mentioned that the Reichs Government has placed the wireless at the disposal of all parties—from the Nazis to the social democratic party—with the sole exception of the Communists, who are debarred from using this effective means of propaganda. A number of social democratic and even bourgeois democratic papers, such as the "Berliner Volkszeitung" and the "Acht-Uhr Abendblatt" have been prohibited.

All the oppressive measures introduced after July 20 serve at the same time as preparation for the far-reaching fascist plans intended to be carried out immediately after the election, especially the preparation for the prohibition of the Communist Party.

The cowardly capitulation of the Central Committee of the social democratic party and of the Ministers and police presidents has greatly increased the discontent and oppositional feeling of the rank and file social democratic workers and members of the "Iron Front". The indignation of the Reichsbanner workers was reflected in the conference of functionaries of the "Iron Front" which took place in Berlin on July 24. Serious complaints were made against the passive attitude of the social democratic party committee, and against Severing and the Berlin police president Grzesinski, because they allowed themselves to be removed from office without offering any resistance, and because Grzesinski in addition signed a declaration that he capitulated, so as to be immediately released from temporary arrest. The rejection by the supreme Court of Severing's petition will undoubtedly increase the rebellion in the ranks of the social democratic party.

The national socialist party has so far not succeeded in emerging from the defensive. The economic emergency decrees of the Schleicher-Papen Government, the cutting down of pensions, the occupation tax, the salt tax, the increased customs duties and the further reduction of unemployment benefit and poor law relief, which came into force on 25th inst., is causing these oppressive measures to appear even in the eyes of the misled followers of the Nazis hardly as measures aiming at the national emancipation of Germany. The Nazi demonstrations held in connection with Hitler's propaganda tour through Germany were still attended by large masses, but not larger than at Hitler's demonstrations on the occasion of the Presidential elections; and the mood is far less enthusiastic than at that time. A great sensation was caused by the meeting which the Nazis convened a few days ago on Saturday last in the Pharus

Hall in **Wedding**. The attendance at this meeting was so poor that it had to be abandoned.

The Communist Party of Germany is increasing its anti-fascist action. On July 21 there took place in **Wuppertal** a meeting of all factory councils from the textile mills, at which 57 mills were represented and at which it was decided to mobilise the workers in the mills for the anti-fascist action. Numerous crowded mass meetings are taking place every day throughout the whole country.

FASCISM IN GERMANY

Other Fascist Organisations in Germany.

By Hans Jäger (Berlin).

We have already dealt with national socialism, the biggest fascist party, and with the Stahlhelm, which apart from the Brown Army is the biggest fascist defence organisation. But this does not in any way complete the list of fascist organisations in Germany. In this concluding article we shall deal briefly with the remaining fascist organisations. Of the parties which bear an openly fascist character, there should be mentioned the German nationalists, whose social composition is similar to that of the Stahlhelm; the Landvolk party, which represents purely big agrarian interests but makes out to the peasants that it represents their interests; the Völkische (Popular) party, which separated from the Nazis because they consider it too dangerous by reason of its social demagogy; the Economic party, which flirts with the ideas of Hitler and Mussolini and mainly represents the interests of the house owners, and finally, the Bavarian people's party, which, like the Centre, makes out that it fights the Papen government, but owing to the conditions in Bavaria needs to pay much less regard to the working class, and whose fight against Hitler is only a fight between rivals.

But there exists a further number of fascist defence organisations. We have already mentioned the Fatherland organisations, the All-German Union, Kyffhäuser and the other organisations which are more or less connected with the Stahlhelm, even if they often claim to be still more "neutral". Many smaller organisations have amalgamated with the Stahlhelm. Others, like the Technische Nothilfe, a strike-breaking organisation, enjoy the support of the State. Also smaller circles, like the Aristocrats Club, play a considerable role. They work behind the scene and consist only of cadres of leaders who have widely ramified connections.

Otto Strasser's "revolutionary national socialists"—a body which split off from the national socialist party—seeks to catch those elements who are dissatisfied with Hitler's abandonment of Socialism and to prevent them from going over to the Communist Party. Under the hypocritical slogans, "Against Bolshevism and fascism, against Moscow and Rome, against the Jews, for true national socialism, for the German revolution, they sought to catch not only workers but also peasants. In actual fact the group has become just as much a tool of the concealed Brüning fascism as Captain Stennes' group. In addition, we have a number of fascist leaders who at present have no big organisations behind them, but work all the more diligently in the background and pull the wires, as for instance Ehrhardt of the notorious Ehrhardt brigade, who is building up a "following" and is carrying on nuclei work in the national socialist party aiming at a rapid Franco-German understanding.

Finally, mention should be made of the Young German Order led by Mahraun, the strongest centres of which are in Central Germany. Here we have a typical concealed fascism with many romantic elements.

Social Fascism.

We know how the conception "social patriotism" arose as a nationalism in a socialist garb, which endeavoured to draw in its train those elements which undisguised nationalism had failed to attract. Whilst the essence of fascism consists in making out to one section of its followers that it is anti-capitalist, whilst the other section of its followers consists of class-conscious bourgeois, the essence of social fascism consists in making out to all its supporters that it is anti-fascist. In practice, however, it rules by methods similar to those of the fascists, although in a somewhat concealed form. The anti-fascist, the socialist phrases, serve to deceive the masses, whilst the social fascist actual policy wins it the favour of the

bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie realise that the workers are more likely to accept emergency orders at the hands of the "little metal worker" Severing and other people who have come from the ranks of the working class, than they would from Hitler. Here the theory of the "lesser evil" plays a big role—the "lesser" evil which in the course of development always produces the greater evil. How so? After making use of social fascism, the bourgeoisie resort to open fascism (as in Germany) when the social fascist policy has driven the masses in the other camp, i.e. to the Nazis, from whom they expect an improvement of their situation, only to find they have jumped out of the frying pan into the fire.

How social-fascism works in actual practice is shown by the activity of the social democratic Home Ministers, Foreign Ministers, police presidents, burgomasters, over-presidents and provincial councillors and arbitrators. A social democratic member of the Prussian Diet declared on more than one occasion, that we are living in glorious times to-day, when the worker, as factory councillor can negotiate on equal terms with the head manager, and when he has the possibility of becoming a provincial councillor, burgomaster, over-president, or minister. There is only one thing he forgot to mention, namely, that it is not a question of **what class one comes from**, but **what class interests one represents**, and that a worker is allowed to occupy these positions only on condition that he represents not the interests of his class but the interests of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie willingly give important posts to workers, because they believe they can thereby themselves escape responsibility, weaken the resistance of the workers to the measures sponsored by representatives from their own ranks, discredit Marxism and split the working class.

One needs only to call to mind the first of May 1929, when 33 workers were shot down by the police in Berlin, the constant prohibition of demonstrations, the throttling of the workers press, especially in Berlin, Hamburg, the Rhineland and Westphalia, the blood baths in Halle on the occasion of the election campaign in 1928 and the parade of the Communist Youth in Leipzig at Easter 1930, the suppression of the Red Front Fighters' League, etc. These one-time workers who were raised to positions of authority fought only against the Lefts; they relied right from the beginning on the support of the **nationalist officers**, spared the fascist organisations, allowed the Stahlhelm to hold parades, and dealt most gently with the national socialist storm troops. Thus the social fascists prepared the way both ideologically and organisationally for national fascism.

This policy of rendering the proletariat defenceless by social fascist methods was supplemented by the fight of Leipart and Grassmann against the opposition in the trade unions. All the class-conscious workers were expelled from the trade unions and also from the organisations of the sportsmen and freethinkers, and from the co-operatives. The social fascists denounced the Communists in the factories, carried on strike-breaking and called for the police.

One of the most important organisations for establishing their influence among the masses and covering their policy is the Reichsbanner. Its function has now become clear. It was founded ostensibly to fight against fascism, which was threatening in 1923, and to protect the Republic. In reality, however, the social democratic leaders endeavoured to incite the Reichsbanner against the Communists, making use of the lying statement that the Communists were playing into the hands of fascism. Flying columns were formed and an organisation created enabling the social fascist leaders to carry out their reactionary policy. The Reichsbanner leaders were typical social fascists of the same flesh and blood as the social fascist police presidents. They do not wish to fight against fascism but to show the bourgeoisie that they are just as serviceable, just as fascist, as other enemies of the workers. In nationalism, in the fight even against petty-bourgeois pacifism (refusal to perform military service) Hör-sing, like his successor Höltermann, have directly vied with the fascists.

The Communists know that the members of the Reichsbanner who honestly wish to fight against fascism, and also the Iron Front which is now being formed of members of the Reichsbanner, trade unionists and worker sportsmen, must be distinguished from the leaders. The Communists want a united front with these honest anti-capitalist elements who are prepared to fight against fascism—not however for the purpose of helping the bourgeoisie to obtain a reserve force, not to save the jobs of Grzesinski and Severing, but really to crush fascism in all its varieties, including social fascism.

THE WHITE TERROR

The Hungarian Bourgeoisie Intend to Execute Sallai und Karikas.

By Karl Biro.

The revolutionary workers of Hungary are now appealing once again to the international proletariat to launch as soon as possible its rescue action on behalf of Sallai and Karikas. The Hungarian bourgeois press, which obtains its information from the police and government authorities, openly declares that the arrested Communists in Budapest, especially Sallai and Karikas, are to be brought before the Exceptional Court, which will condemn them to death by hanging. This Exceptional Court is to commence its proceedings at the end of **this week** and pronounce the death sentence. The state of emergency, with its Exceptional Court, which was imposed in Hungary after the notorious railway outrage at Bia Torbagy, is now to be employed against Communists.

The death sentences which are to be shortly pronounced are based on the charge that the accused Communists played a leading part in extending and consolidating the Communist Party of Hungary. Even in this time of the offensive of capital and reaction it is unprecedented for Communists to be condemned to death solely on account of membership of the Communist Party. Horthy fascism thereby wishes to record again that it still occupies a special place in the ranks of the international reaction, in the persecution of the revolutionary labour movement and that it serves as an example to other countries.

The hangmen's plan of the Hungarian bourgeoisie synchronises with the daily increasing and deepening crisis of Hungarian fascism. 60 per cent. of the working class are out of work and do not receive any relief from the State; 50 per cent. of the agricultural workers are without bread; 30 per cent. of the small peasants are literally starving. The urban working petty bourgeoisie have been expropriated and pauperised by inflation and deflation. A strict watch at all points of the frontier together with a rigorous censorship within the country ensure that the population remain

A Declaration by Ruegg.

Shanghai, 21st July, 1932.

Ruegg and his wife have broken off the hunger strike. The Committee for the defence of Ruegg and his wife publish a declaration from Ruegg, in which he states:

"Whilst the Nanking government has been expressing anxiety about our hunger strike, which has drawn the attention of the broad masses all over the world to the role played by the Kuomintang and its alliance with the imperialists, it has in reality been wishing that our death would put an end to this artificially instigated affair." Ruegg points out further that the imperialists are attempting to exploit the affair as an argument for the extension of extra-territorial rights. He demands that the masses be enlightened on the collaboration between the Kuomintang and the imperialists, and states the reasons why for this purpose the transference of the trial to Shanghai is of decisive importance:

"We do not mean to imply that the imperialists have no influence on the court in Shanghai, or that we shall find justice there, but we want to be able to expose at the trial those actual forces backing up our persecution and the real reasons for our 13 months incarceration under the most frightful conditions. . . . We want to declare to the Chinese masses that the imperialists would like to utilise our trial to strengthen their rule in China and to increase the exploitation of the Chinese masses, by means of the maintenance and extension of extraterritorial rights. We call upon the Chinese people to recognise the Nanking government as the most servile lackeys of the imperialist robbers, who plunder the Chinese masses. We do not shrink from any open and honest trial, but we have no wish to take part in any juridical comedy, and we demand our immediate release."

isolated from any revolutionary idea of freedom. And in spite of this the revolutionary movement, especially in the last 18 months, has experienced a fresh upsurge both in the towns and in the country districts. The factory basis of the Party is becoming broader; an increasing number of partial struggles have been led by the Red Trade Union Opposition of Hungary. An increasing influence of the Communist Party of Hungary is to be observed even among the intelligentsia. To this must be added a crisis within the Hungarian social democracy resulting from the policy of treachery and denunciation pursued by the party and trade union leaders. On the basis of the descending line of the fascist rule there has now again arisen an objective, real possibility of building up the C.P. of Hungary on a broad mass basis. The Communist Party of Hungary has become an increasingly important factor in Hungarian politics. Hungarian fascism, which is no longer victorious but is already decaying, wishes once again bloodily to crush the revolutionary working class of Hungary and thereby at the same time stem the growing mass sympathy for the C.P. of Hungary and isolate the Party.

The international protest action is such a real powerful force that the ruling class of Hungary has already been repeatedly compelled to bow to it. The arrested comrades are among the bravest and most capable champions of the international proletariat. Their fate, especially in the present international situation, is not a personal, but an international affair. Throughout the whole world, and especially in Germany, France, England and America, there must set in a campaign of mass meetings; a flood of protest telegrams must inundate the rulers of Hungary.

The threatened comrades can be rescued; they must be rescued!

The Scottsboro Mother in Norway.

By J. Louis Engdahl.

The response to the Scottsboro Campaign in Norway, during the tour of the Scottsboro Negro Mother, **Mrs. Ada Wright**, registered in the demonstrations and mass meetings held, the wide publicity in the press, bourgeois, social-democratic and Communist, pledges of support from trade unions and other organisations—reveals the deep interest in the judicial lynching in Alabama which has been recognised by the United States Supreme Court in the hearing that it has granted for the appeal, October Tenth.

Although Norway was involved a little late in the economic crisis, today sees large numbers of part-time workers in Oslo, the jobless numbers grow in Dronheim and throughout the north, while in Bergen the harbor is full of idle shipping. In the north, however, many workers had been imprisoned for helping themselves to food needed for themselves and their families, while in Bergen, the editor of the local workers' paper, "Arbeidet", was serving out the fourth month of five months' sentence for having championed the cause of the unemployed. These factors helped widen the basis for the Scottsboro campaign in Norway, as well as the intense interest for all things American among Norwegians, especially the message of the Negro Mother in "the new Sacco-Vanzetti persecution".

Martin Tranmael and the social-democratic leadership of the Norwegian Labour Party had heard of the manoeuvres of Vandervelde, in Belgium, of Blum, in France, of the social-democracy in Holland, and of the permission finally granted to the Scottsboro Mother by the Premier of Great Britain, MacDonald, to visit England, although only for ten days. The Tranmael social-democratic press, however, that covers Norway with 36 publications was in difficulties. The Tranmael social-democracy had declared that membership in the International Red Aid, and in other organisations of the working class, would mean immediate expulsion from the Labour Party. It was therefore difficult to greet the Scottsboro campaign of the Red Aid. This was avoided, however, by entirely ignoring the International Red Aid and declaring that the Scottsboro defence is being conducted by the Dreiser Committee in the United States. This is, of course, partly the truth since the Dreiser Committee is giving tremendous support to the International Red Aid in its fight for the Negro boys.

One of the arguments, of course, of the Tranmael press against the building of the International Red Aid, is that

workers through their unions pay a "juridical fee" that meets all obligations in case of difficulties arising out of persecutions in labour struggles. To be sure, this puts the defence struggles of the workers on a purely legalistic basis, seeking to rob it of its mass protest and class struggle basis, which is exactly the aim of the Vanderveldes, the Blums and the MacDonalds, the organisers on behalf of the capitalist class of the oppression of the workers and the enslaved toiling masses in the colonies.

In the eleven countries so far visited by the Scottsboro Mother, the **Ny Tid**, of Drontheim, Norway, was the first to publish her appeal in full, and when the dock workers of **Drontheim** sang the "Internationale" in farewell to the Scottsboro as she boarded ship for **Bergen**, the Scottsboro campaign had reached its point farthest north, close to the Arctic Circle.

There was significance in the fact that in Bergen her appeal was translated by the secretary of a building trades unions, while in **Oslo** the trade unions pledged themselves to follow the Scottsboro Mother's visit with an energetic development of the whole campaign.

At the same time the government of Norway refused permission to the Scottsboro Mother to broadcast her message over the official government radio with the excuse that "all time was occupied", although the radio service is supposed to be impartial toward all sections of the population. But the Scottsboro campaign helped shatter even this well-nurtured illusion.

STRUGGLE AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT

Unemployment in the United States.

By Vern Smith (New York).

Employment in the United States in May decreased 3.2 per cent. from the already low level in April. In May, the payrolls fell 3.9 per cent. below April payrolls, showing wage cuts and further "staggering" of even those still employed. These are figures given out by the Bureau of Labour Statistics, of the U.S. Department of Labor, and are the results of the bureau's regular monthly survey of 16 major industries. Employment for May this year is given, by these government statisticians, the index figure of 59.7, in contrast to the index figure of 75.2 for the same month last year. Figuring 30,000,000 industrial workers as normal, and applying the government's own figures for the 16 major industries to the whole field, will give approximately **18,000,000 unemployed in May of this year**. The Communist Party, making all possible adjustments for industries not as hard hit as the 16 main groups, has estimated the number of totally jobless in the U.S. at 15,000,000 certainly not an exaggerated figure, in view of what the government itself admits.

When it is considered that many of these workers have been out of jobs for two, three or even more years (because unemployment began, in textile and mining particularly, long before the main crisis developed in 1929), and when it is remembered that further millions of workers get only one, two or three days' work a week and yet are counted by the government as "employed", the sum total of hunger and human misery becomes incalculable, appalling.

Just at this time, when the need for unemployment relief reaches a new high point, is exactly when relief, even such as it was, begins to fail in catastrophic fashion. All relief was cut off on June 25 in **Philadelphia**, the relief agency, the Lloyd committee, announcing its bankruptcy. There are 500,000 jobless in Philadelphia.

All new relief ended in the steel town of **Hammond**, Indiana, June 18. Another steel mill city, Youngstown, cut off all relief June 10 for the 8,000 who were getting some. Atlanta, Georgia, the "Imperial City of the South" cut off all relief on June 15. The Salvation Army and the Home Relief Bureaus in New York ceased taking new cases for relief on June 1, and though the Home Relief registration stations have since reopened, no new relief has been given. Wholesale discharges of Emergency Work Bureau employees in New York (20,000 to 30,000 on "made work") took place all

during the summer. There are practically none left now, and no new cases are taken.

Official statements in **Detroit** and **Buffalo** declare relief will soon end there.

These are only outstanding examples, the same thing is going on quietly, in hundreds of smaller cities and towns. Practically no relief is given in the great New England textile region, with 18,000 totally unemployed out of 23,000 normally employed in Lawrence mills, for example, and a similar situation elsewhere. In New England, the companies have so thoroughly accepted the permanency of the crisis, that in many mills half the machinery has been deliberately destroyed by its owners, half the workers calmly condemned to permanent unemployment.

Where relief is still given, **forced labour** is becoming more and more evident. Unemployed receiving public relief are regularly put to work on public works, streets cleaning, etc., displacing men who would otherwise be hired at full wages. In many cities, the attempt to use unemployed on private jobs, replacing paid workers by those who toil only for a few miserable scraps of food, is causing terrific demonstrations of the jobless, almost riots.

At the present writing, thousands are picketing **Chicago** relief "flophouses" against shipment to jobs of those who get their wages only in food. The wage-cutting effect of this use of the jobless is obvious.

The terror against demonstrations of unemployed workers is increasing and taking new forms. Unemployment demonstrations are just now mainly local actions on a city and country scale, and resistance to evictions of unemployed families from their homes for non-payment of rent. Evictions have increased alarmingly. The Bronx Housing Commission admits 30,450 evictions during the first six months of 1932, in this single borough out of five boroughs of New York City. In Bronx there were about 38,000 evictions in all of last year. It is expected there will be 60,000 this year.

There are dozens of attempts daily about the country to prevent, by mass action and by replacement of the furniture, the eviction of unemployed workers. The police ordinarily attack such demonstrations, try to break them up (often unsuccessfully) and make arrests. There are hundreds of such arrests, with trials now pending, and sentences running from a few days up to over a year have been given in cases already tried.

In Portage, Pa., a mining centre, 500 unemployed and striking miners for weeks prevented evictions, and forced the city to take elected representatives of the unemployed council on its relief committee. Finally, June 21, three carloads of state troopers invaded the town, set up a reign of terror, flourished weapons, tear gas bombs and machine guns, arrested and beat up the unemployed council leaders, and evicted one family.

Such terror does not always succeed. In Bloomington, Ill., 1,000 were demonstrating before the court house, June 10, for relief, and the sheriff personally threw, one after another, a whole suit case full of tear gas bombs among them. Not only did the jobless not disperse but the crowd grew to 4,000, and completely overawed the sheriff and his forces.

Shooting has begun: unemployed demonstrating in Melrose Park, a suburb of Chicago, May 6, were surrounded by armed forces of the police, American Legionnaires and Capone gangsters, the leaders lined up, and fired into with a machine gun; nine were wounded. On June 22, Los Angeles police raided a meeting of the unemployed council in a private house, and shot and wounded one member, Basil Dell. These events, of course, follow the first significant use of guns, the shooting of the Dearborn Ford factory unemployed when they marched on the shop gates.

A new and colourful angle was given the terror in Madison, Wisc. On June 8, the leader of the unemployed demonstration before the city hall, Elmer Luchterhand, was arrested, brought before Judge S. B. Schein, who ordered him to be examined by two psychiatrists. These physicians reported to the judge that Luchterhand believed in "forcing his own ideas of relief measures upon the legal authorities, disregarding city ordinances despite warnings". On the basis of this report the judge declared Luchterhand insane, and ordered him to be confined in an asylum.

Demonstrations of unemployed workers, several thousand strong, are taking place in most of the big cities every few weeks. Led by the unemployed councils, addressed by Communist candidates in the elections, these jobless demand with

ever greater determination immediate relief, no evictions, and unemployment insurance.

These local demonstrations, and the rapidly widening network of unemployed councils, organised now in block committees, and building tenants leagues around them to fight evictions, are laying the base for some big state and national hunger marches soon. There will be a hunger march on the Indiana state capitol at Indianapolis, on July 11.

THE WAR

The Kuomintang Generals and the Imperialist Antagonisms.

By T. H.

Shanghai, June 28, 1932.

The fight among the Kuomintang Generals in South China—between Chen-Chi-tang, commander of the Kwangtung army, Li Tsung Yen, commander of the Kwangsi troops and Admiral Chen Tseh, commander of the Kwangtung fleet—really began already in May. But owing to the tremendous victory of the Red Army near Changchowfu in South Fukien, the imperialist war-mongers called a halt for a time to the war of the Generals, in order to organise with all their forces the fifth campaign against the Red Army. On their orders, Chiang Kai-shek took over the supreme command and went himself to the scene of war. The counter-revolutionary armies of the whole of China were concentrated in the mountain district of Wulin, in the upper and lower Yangtse Valley and in Honan, South of the Hoang Ho. The imperialists believe now that they can in this manner kill two birds with one stone: on the one hand, set up a united front for the purpose of exterminating the Reds, and on the other, commence a war of the generals for the purpose of a redivision of China.

According to reports published by the "Peking-Tientsin Times" and the Dairen "Manchou Pao", the Conference which took place on June 15 in Liusan under the chairmanship of Chiang Kai-shek and Wang-Chin-wei discussed not only problems such as the fifth campaign against the Reds, the financial situation, diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, friendly relations with the U.S.A. and the Manchurian question, but also the attitude to Yen Shi San and Feng Yu Hsiang, the Kwangtung war and the situation in North China. Already two days after the Conference there commenced a war of the generals in the town of Sun Yat Sen in Kwangtung. By the 27th, the fights had extended so far that the guns were thundering not only between Luichow (a coast town of Kwangtung) and Kiungchow (on the Isle of Hainan), but the Kwangsi troops were already concentrated in Wuchow and their outposts had reached Samshui, the terminus of the Samshui-Canton railway line.

In North China, General Han Fu Chu, commander of the Shantung army and a follower of Feng Yu Hsiang, under the pretext of fighting against bandits, sent his troops to the Kiangsu-Honan frontier. Yen Shi san with Southern troops occupied Loyang in Honan, and concentrated his Northern troops in Daytong, a junction on the Peking-Suiyuan railway line. Chang Hsueh-liang sent a part of his troops as "auxiliary forces for the fifth campaign against the Reds in Honan", from the Northern portion of the Peking-Hankow and Tientsin-Pukow railway lines to the Southern portion of these lines; the rest of his troops he concentrated on the Peking-Suiyun railway line on the pretext of defending the country from the Japanese attack in Jehol. The "Peking-Tientsin Times" reports that Chang Hsueh liang even plans a naval attack on Chefoo in Shantung.

The main question here is, who are the men behind the war of the generals? or better said, which imperialist Powers are raising claims to spheres of influence and what imperialists are behind the various generals? There is no doubt that the thunder of the Japanese guns on September 18 in Moukden last year upset the imperialist relations of power among the Kuomintang generals established after 1927. The American imperialists, who were at that time the strongest Power behind the Nanking Government, looked silently on whilst the Japanese imperialists occupied the territory from Moukden to Changchun and from Changchun

to Kinchow. They thereby helped the Canton group of Wang-Chin wei, Sun fo etc. to drive Chiang-Kai-shek out of Nanking for a time.

As a result of these events, American stock, which formerly always stood very high with the Chiang-Kai-shek clique, fell tremendously, whilst on the other hand the prestige of the British, French and Japanese imperialists rose. Such a shifting of forces of the imperialists among the chief military cliques of the Kuomintang has created the basis for a new war-complication.

The American imperialists, of course, do not intend to abandon influencing the Chiang-Kai-shek clique. In addition, they are attempting to create a broad bloc with the Chinese politicians and militarists as a counter-blast to the Franco-British-Japanese united front. As a result of the Shanghai war, the Americans have succeeded in setting up an American Canton bloc, the military basis of which is the 19th Army and the Canton fleet and Air-force. A number of Kuomintang politicians, such as Tang Siau-Ye, Sun Fo, Eugen Chen etc. are its figure-heads. Thus the Americans, on their side, are preparing for a war for the carving up of China.

The Shanghai peace treaty, in the first place brought the Americans a complication of the question of Manchurian and Northern Chinese territory and secondly robbed them of the illusion that the 19th army would dominate Nanking: the 19th army was even compelled to evacuate Shanghai and Soochow. The Japanese, the British and the French wished to liquidate the "American" 19th army altogether. They know that the soldiers of this army are strongly infected with the bacillus of Bolshevism and have no wish to fight against the anti-imperialist Red Army. They also know that the leader of the 19th army, with his cry that he "does not wish to take part in a civil war", only intends to assemble his forces for the decisive moment. Precisely therefore they compel the 19th army to go to South Fukien in order to fight there against the victorious Red Army, to take part in the war of the Kwangtung generals, and thus at one stroke to destroy the whole of the American military basis in South China.

The Japanese imperialists will in no event tolerate a further extension of American influence in North China. They threaten to march from Shanghai to Tientsin and Peking. They instigate Yen Shi-san and Feng Yu Hsiang to take active part in the fights in North China and, in order to frighten the Americans even bring these two Generals into connection with the fights in South China.

The united front of the Japanese, British and French imperialists, which has been set up only for the purpose of the fight against the Americans, is of a similar nature to the united front of the international imperialists against the revolution. The more firmly the united front against the Americans is welded together, the more acute become the antagonisms among the other imperialist Powers.

On the order of the French imperialists, the Kwangsi militarists are to invade Kwangtung. That is to say, the Kwangsi militarists offer their aid to Chen Shi Tang to crush the "rebel" Chen tseh and to support the Kwangtung army against the Communists, in order in this way to get their troops established in the North-West and North-East of Kwangtung and South Fukien. Thus the French intend to threaten the British and Japanese spheres of influence in South China. At the same time, the antagonisms between the British and Japanese are becoming more acute. The British disturb the too aggressive procedure of the Japanese in North China. They therefore support the anti-Japanese generals in their relief action for Chang Hsuehliang's fight against Yen Shi san and Feng Yu Hsiang. In order to check the Japanese and French advance in South China, they tolerate the "American" 19th army in Amoy and the "American" Chen Tseh fleet on the island of Hainan. Chiang Kai-shek's advance into Kwangtung did not particularly please the English for which reason Chen Chi Tang protested against Chiang-Kai-shek's having supreme command of the fifth campaign. The international imperialists are thus attempting by every means and by every possible intrigue to destroy the Chinese revolution and to carve up China among themselves. Only a victory of the Red Army can put an end to these intrigues and convert the war of the generals into a national revolutionary war, into revolutionary civil war against the Kuomintang of the big landowners and bourgeoisie.

How the First World War was Prepared

Peace Talk as a Cloak for War Preparations.

Documents from the Period Preceding the First
Imperialist World War.

Germany and Austria Decide to Provoke War against Serbia.

How the Public is deceived.

Vienna, July 8. Regarding the Ministerial conference which took place yesterday, the papers are informed that there was a detailed discussion of the measures in the inner administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina which prove unavoidably necessary in view of the recent terrible happenings. These measures relate to the whole sphere of administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina. There is no intention to take any step against Serbia or any measure which could be characterised in a technical sense as a diplomatic action. (!)
("Vorwärts", July 9.)

No Danger to Peace . . .

Budapest, July 8. In the House of Deputies **Count Tisza**, the Prime Minister, replying to an interpellation submitted by **Count Andrassy** regarding the assassination in Serajevo, stated: As a result of the investigation it has been ascertained that a band of conspirators carried out the assassination. But one must not draw general conclusions from this terrible event. The population, apart from an insignificant handful, is thoroughly loyal. For this reason alone the excesses against loyal Serbian citizens are to be regretted; but an end has already been put to these. I cannot at the moment say anything regarding any eventual measure against Serbia. Speaking generally I can only say, that all those who are responsible for our foreign policy, keep in mind the great interests connected with the maintenance of peace and, on the other hand, are anxious to safeguard the vital interests and the prestige of the monarchy.

(Hungarian Correspondence Bureau, July 10, 1914.)

Kaiser Wilhelm's Visit to the Northern Countries.

Berlin, July 6. (Official.) The Kaiser left his New Palace today and proceeded to Kiel, in order from there to commence his tour to the Northern countries.

"A Proof of the Desire for Peace."

Budapest, July 8. Kaiser Wilhelm's visit to the Northern Countries should silence the spreaders of rumours. Nobody can interpret this journey as being anything else than a proof of the profound will to strengthen peace with the foreign Powers.

. . . Whilst Behind the Scenes, War is Decided on.

Note from the Hungarian Prime Minister to the Austrian Emperor.

Budapest, July 8, 1914. The news from Berlin, which is very welcome, together with the very justified indignation over the events in Serbia, strengthened all the other participants in yesterday's Ministerial Conference in their determination to provoke a war with Serbia in order finally to settle accounts with this hereditary enemy of the monarchy. I was not able to agree entirely to this plan. Such an attack on Serbia would, in all probability, call forth the intervention of Russia and thereby a world war, in which connection—in spite of all the optimism in Berlin—I am bound to consider

the neutrality of Rumania at least very doubtful. In this war of aggression therefore, the Russian and Rumanian armies would have to be reckoned among the forces of the enemy, and this would make the chances of a war very unfavourable for us. After carefully weighing all the decisive factors, I have the honour to advise the via media described herein and which does not exclude a success by peaceful means, and in many respects improves the chances of war, should it be inevitable.
Tisza.

The above communication contains a note from the emperor Franz Joseph: "To be filed away."

"Unacceptable Demands must be Submitted."

The German Ambassador at Vienna to the Foreign Office.

Vienna, July 8, 1914.

... Count Berchthold said he would at any rate advise his Emperor, in the event of the latter concurring in the opinion, that demands should be submitted to Serbia, so to formulate the demands that there would be no chance of their being accepted.

Count Berchthold remarked quite secretly, that according to the opinion of Freiherr von Hötendorf, we must reckon 16 days for mobilisation. . . .
Tchirschky.

("German Documents on the Outbreak of the War.")

"No Reason for Taking a Pessimistic View of the Situation."

The German Ambassador at London to the Reichs Chancellor.

Confidential.

London, July 9, 1914.

Sir Edward Grey asked me to come and see him today, and first informed me of the protocol which he had made of our conversation which took place shortly before my journey to Berlin and Kiel. He stated he had nothing to add to what he had said then, and could only repeat that there existed no secret agreements between Great Britain on the one side and France and Russia on the other side, imposing any obligations on Great Britain in the event of a European war. England wished to preserve an entirely free hand in order, in the event of complications on the Continent, to be able to act according to its own judgment. The Government has given certain pledges to Parliament not to enter into any secret commitments. In no event would complications on the Continent find the British Government on the side of the aggressor. . . .

In general, the Foreign Minister was in a very confident mood. He declared in a cheerful tone that there was no reason for taking a pessimistic view of the situation. Lichnovsky.

("The German Documents on the Outbreak of the War.")

Telegram from Sir Edward Grey to Sir G. Buchanan, British Ambassador at St. Petersburg.

London, middle of July. "It is possible that, as a result of the legal investigation in Serajevo, it will be found that the murder was prepared on Serbian territory owing to neglect on the part of the Serbian Government."

(From the Tsarist Archives.)

Provocative and Unacceptable Demands to Serbia Must Ensure War.

Report from the German Ambassador at Vienna to the Foreign Office, with Marginal Notes by Wilhelm.

Strictly secret.

Vienna, July 10, 1914.

Regarding his interview yesterday with His Majesty Kaiser Franz Joseph in Ischl, Count Berchthold told me the following:

As His Majesty's aide Memoire is 14 days old, he has taken his time over it!

That is drafted for the purpose of justifying the decision itself!

His Majesty the Kaiser discussed the situation very calmly. He first expressed his profound thanks for the attitude of our Emperor and of the imperial government, and stated he was quite of our opinion that we must now come to a decision in order to put an end to the insufferable state of affairs regarding Serbia. Count Berchthold added that His Majesty was fully aware of the serious results of such a decision.

The Minister then pointed out to His Majesty the two modalities which come into question regarding the next steps against Serbia. His Majesty was of the opinion that perhaps it would be possible to bridge over this difference. On the whole, however, His Majesty was more inclined to the opinion that **concrete demands should be submitted to Serbia...** The formulation of appropriate demands to Serbia formed at present the chief concern here, and Count Berchthold said he would like to know what was the opinion of Berlin regarding this... **Should the Serbs accept all the demands submitted, this would be a solution "very unwelcome" to him, and he was still thinking of what demands could be submitted the acceptance of which by Serbia would be completely impossible.**

The Minister finally complained again of the attitude of Count Tisza, which made it difficult for him to proceed energetically against Serbia. Count Tisza maintained that we must proceed "like gentlemen", but when it was a question of such important State interests and especially in face of an enemy like Serbia this was hardly in place.

The suggestion of the imperial government to work up public opinion in England against Serbia by means of the press, the Minister will willingly follow. According to his opinion, this must be done cautiously in order not to alarm Serbia too early.

To-morrow the war Minister will go on holiday, and Freiherr Conrad von Hötendorf will leave Vienna for a time. This, as Count Berchthold told me, is being done intentionally in order to prevent any uneasiness. Tchirschky.

("German Documents on the Outbreak of the War.")

Influencing of the Foreign Press.

The German Secretary of State to the German Ambassador at London.

Secret.

Berlin, July 12, 1914.

The investigation of the Serajevo murder renders it increasingly evident that the spiritual instigators are to be found in the political and military circles of Belgrade. There exists the possibility that Austria will consequently decide on serious measures against Serbia, and this could lead to general complications. We desire under all circumstances to localise the conflict. It is therefore necessary that already now a feeling be created in the English press, according to which the assassination, just as the murder of the king and queen of Serbia, is the outcome of a criminal political morality incompatible with the conscience of civilised Europe, and

which causes it to appear quite understandable that the neighbouring monarchy takes measures to protect itself against these constant threats on the part of Serbia. Please do your utmost to influence the press in this direction, but at the same time carefully avoid doing anything that might create the impression that we are inciting Austria to war.

Jagov.

("German Documents on the Outbreak of the War.")

Austria Strengthens its Army on the Russian Frontier.

The German State Secretary for Foreign Affairs to the Ambassador in Vienna.

Secret.

Berlin, July 12, 1914.

For the strictly confidential information of Count Berchthold.

According to secret reports, Russia and Serbia have confidential information that Austria-Hungary is surreptitiously strengthening its garrisons on the Serbian and Russian frontiers.

Jagov.

"The Pan-Slavian Incitement Must be Opposed with every Possible Means."

Wilhelm to Franz Joseph.

Balholm, July 14, 1914.

My dear friend!

... The horrifying crime of Serajevo has thrown a glaring light on the evil doings of insane fanatics and the Pan-Slavian work of incitement which threatens the structure of the State.

... I do not shut my eyes to the serious danger which threatens your countries and, as a result, the Triple Alliance from the agitation conducted by the Russian and Serbian Pan Slavians, and recognise the necessity of freeing the Southern frontiers of your States from this serious menace. I am therefore ready, as far as lies in my power, to promote the efforts of your Government aiming at thwarting the formation of a new Balkan Federation under Russian patronage, the point of which would be directed against Austria-Hungary, and as a counter-weight to bring Bulgaria into the Triple Alliance.

Further, I have instructed my Charge d'Affaires in Bucharest to approach King Carol in the sense of your suggestions and, pointing to the new situation created by the recent events, to urge the necessity of Rumania dissociating itself from Serbia and forbidding the agitation conducted against your country. I have at the same time caused it to be specially emphasised that I attach the greatest value to the maintenance of the present cordial relations with Rumania, which need not suffer in any way in the event of Bulgaria being drawn into the Triple Alliance.

Your true friend

Wilhelm.

The French Socialists and the Franco-Russian Alliance.

Paris, July 7.

The French Government has demanded of the Chamber a credit of 400,000 for the purpose of M. Poincaré's journey to Russia. Our comrades could not let the occasion pass without raising a protest against the secret obligations, which according to all appearances would have such disastrous significance in the latest phase of the armament race. Comrade Jaurès, amidst the greatest applause of our representatives in the Chamber, numbering a hundred, emphatically declared that the secret treaties are unacceptable for us. Therefore the socialists are opposed to the credits demanded.

Ex-comrade Viviani, of course, eulogised the Russian alliance, in which he was supported by the Centre and the Rights. The credits were then granted by 428 votes against 106.

("Bremer Bürger-Zeitung", July 9.)

The Bogey of Pan-Slavism.

~ It is clear that the ruling powers in Germany, who know how to suck honey out of all blossoms, do not wish to remain behind their dear allies in the incitement against an imaginary danger, which promises big profits to the armament industry and in addition can serve to terrify the German

people. The bourgeois papers are all painting the Pan-Slav danger in glaring colours; journalistic zeal will soon put forward "practical proposals", and there will be nothing more in the way of a new and enormous military budget...

It is therefore the duty of the social democratic press to oppose these tendencies with ruthless energy in the first stages, regardless of the bellowing of the bourgeois press hacks who make it their task to twist and distort the views of the social democrats, as is at present the case when an act of terrorism serves to let loose mass hysteria.

By the slaughter of Serbs in Austria and by continued provocation of Serbia, a situation is now to be created in which the rifles will finally go off of themselves. And hated Russia is to be intimidated by the unswerving fidelity of Germany, which will stand all the more firmly behind its allies the deeper the anti-Slav incitement permeates the people.

One can only give the German government the urgent advice to leave Austria to reap the fruits of its bad policy alone. And as regards the alleged danger of Pan-Slavism and the predominance of Russia, it is not necessary to waste a single groschen or the life of a single man in order to banish this danger, but it completely suffices to carry on a democratic policy in the Eastern district of the Austrian Empire and to boycott Tsarism on the financial market. Had the golden International followed this policy in the Winter of 1905/06, there would be no trace of Tsarism to-day.

But this is not the aim of the demagogues who are now holding up the Pan-Slav bogey. What they want is new measures, fresh soldiers, new cannons and to bolster up decaying Austria, because perhaps they realise that the upheavals connected with the dissolution of Austria could set in motion the proletarian revolution.

("Bremer Bürger-Zeitung", July 9, 1914.)

Terrorism and Imperialism.

The Bolshevik "Trudovaya Pravda" wrote on June 31, 1914, regarding the assassination in Serajevo:

The bomb and the bullets which the worker Gabrinovitch the student Princip used in their assassination of the Austrian heir to the throne, were intended, according to the reports of the newspapers and according to their own declarations, to put an end to the nationalist and predatory policy of Austria in Serbia.

It is absurd to believe that the bomb or the bullets which killed the Austrian heir to the throne, could in any way change the direction of the home or foreign policy of the Austrian monarchy.

The murdered heir to the throne was a passionate defender of militarism and an outspoken clerical. He was the instigator of Austria's forceful occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. To quote the words of Jaurès, his militarism and clericalism were a constant danger to the peace of the European peoples. The Austrian proletarians knew very well that the immediate cause of the tremendous increase in the cost of living was due to Austrian imperialism, the defender of which was the murdered heir to the throne.

Franz Ferdinand was himself a big landowner. He has now been removed. But the imperialist and nationalist policy of the class of the big landowners remains and it cannot be abolished by means of terrorism, but by the awakening class-consciousness and the strengthening of solidarity among the mixed working population of Austria and Hungary belonging to many nationalities.

Belgrade "Denies" Reports of Military Measures.

Belgrade, July 17.

In regard to reports published by foreign papers as to extraordinary military preparations on the part of Serbia, it is to be stated that according to a definite declaration by an authoritative body, Serbia has not adopted any military measures which could even remotely justify the alarmist reports of these papers.

Austria Drawing up the Ultimatum to Serbia.

The German Ambassador in Vienna to the Reichs Chancellor.
Secret.

Vienna, July 14, 1914.

Count Tisza visited me today after his conversation with Count Berchthold. The Count said up to now he had always been one of those who had counselled caution, but every day he had become more and more convinced that the monarchy must decide on energetic measures in order to prove its strength and to put an end to the insufferable state of affairs in the South East. The language of the Serbian press and of the Serbian diplomats is intolerable in its arrogance. "It has been hard for me to decide to advise war", said the Minister, "but I am now firmly convinced of the necessity of it..."

The final wording of the Note to Serbia has not yet been settled. This will not be done until Sunday. Regarding the time at which the Note is to be handed over to Serbia, it was decided to-day that we had better wait until Poincaré had left Petersburg, i. e. until the 23rd inst.

On his taking leave Count Tisza warmly shook hands with me and said: "Together we shall now face the future calmly and firmly."

von Tschirsky.

("German Documents on the Outbreak of the War." Vol. 1, page 74/75.)

Wilhelm: By all means.

Wilhelm: What a pity.

Wilhelm: Here is a man!

"Count Berchthold Hopes that Serbia Will Reject the Demands".

The German Ambassadorial Counsellor in Vienna to the Reichs Chancellor.

Secret!

Vienna, July 17, 1914.

Count Berchthold informs me that the Note containing the demands to be submitted to Serbia will be handed over in Belgrade on Thursday afternoon 23rd inst...

Count Berchthold let it be seen that he hoped Serbia would not accept the Austrian demands, as a mere diplomatic success would call forth a depressed mood, a thing which we wish to avoid now.

W. Prz. Stölberg (Ibid).

Anxiety as to Italy's Attitude in the Event of War.

The German Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the German Ambassador at Vienna.

Secret!

Berlin, July 15, 1914.

Public opinion in general in Italy has up to now always shown itself to be equally anti-Austrian as it is Serbophile. There is no doubt in my mind that in the event of an Austro-Serbian conflict Italian public opinion will be pronouncedly on the side of Serbia. A territorial extension of the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy, even an extension of its influence in the Balkans, is rejected with horror in Italy and is regarded as an injury to the position of Italy itself.

In my opinion, therefore, it is of great importance that Vienna should discuss with the Cabinet in Rome what aims Italy would pursue in Serbia in the event of a conflict, and whether it would remain strictly neutral, as a conflict with Serbia alone would not constitute a *casus foederis*.

Will your Excellency please make the attitude of Italy the subject of a lengthy confidential conversation with Count Berchthold, and at the same time eventually touch on the question of compensation. Whether the question of the Trento can be mentioned at this conversation I must leave to your judgement and knowledge of feeling in Austria. v. Jagow.

("German Documents on the Outbreak of the War." Vol. I, page 71/72.)

"Unlimited Sums" for Bribing the Press.

The German Ambassador at Vienna to the Reichs Chancellor.

Secret!

Vienna, July 22, 1914.

I discussed with Count Fogach today the necessity of influencing the foreign press. As regards Italy, Herr von Mérey is authorised to spend any sum which may appear necessary to him. The Ambassador expressed the opinion that it would be extremely dangerous suddenly now to approach the Italian press with large sums of money. This, he believes, would arouse mistrust there and probably have the opposite effect to that intended. He has, however, **again been instructed to attempt to influence the Italian press and in any event, after steps have been taken in Belgrade, to do everything and employ every means in order that the leading newspapers shall not make it impossible for the Italian Government to adopt the neutral attitude which is desired here.**

Count Czernin in Bucharest has also unlimited sums at his disposal. He shall attempt especially to buy the "Adeverul".

Count Szapary in Petersburg has also full powers. He has little contact with the press, however, and it would be greatly appreciated here if Count von Pourtalès could give him a hand in getting into contact with intermediaries... Tschirsky. (Ibid. page 147/148.)

Severance of Relations with Belgrade Already Decided on.

The German Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the Ambassador at Belgrade.

Secret!

Berlin, July 22, 1914.

When the Austrian Ambassador leaves Belgrade Your Excellency will take over the business of the Embassy and the protection of Austrian and Hungarian subjects. Jagow.

("German Documents on the Outbreak of the War." Vol. 1, page 135.)

It is Desired to Localise the War between Austria and Serbia.

The German State Secretary for Foreign Affairs to the Ambassador in the Kaiser's Suite.

Private, Secret!

Berlin, July 18, 1914.

Please give us exact information of the route being taken by His Majesty on his journey from the 23rd inst. On that day, as is known, Austria will make a demarche in Belgrade; it is intended to send a 48 hours' ultimatum, and it will depend upon the development of events if and when the presence of His Majesty is necessary here.

As we desire to localise any eventual conflict between Austria and Serbia, we must not alarm the world by a sudden return of His Majesty... Jagow. (Ibid.)

Military Preparations Made in the Event of an Ex- tension of the Conflict.

The Head Quartermaster I. at the General Staff, to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Private letter).

Strictly Confidential!

Ivenack, July 17, 1914.

Dear Jagow!

My adjutant has just brought me a note from Kageneck, in which he gives me what information he can in reply to my questions regarding the military intentions in Vienna.

As General Conrad was out of town, Kageneck submitted my questions to his representative, General Höfer, whom I know to be a sensible man. According to the latter, it is intended to send the 6th army corps against Serbia and not to take any action in Galicia for the time being. Should Russia intervene, we should turn our attention from Serbia and concentrate all our forces against the chief enemy.

These are sensible views...

General Moltke thinks of returning to Berlin on the 25th inst. I remain here in readiness; we are ready on the General Staff; we have nothing to do at present. Waldersee. (Ibid page 102.)

Immediately Inform the Big Steamship Lines . . .

The Ambassador in the Kaiser's Suite, to the Foreign Office.

Balholm ("Hohenzollern"), July 19, 1914.

His Majesty requests Your Excellency to consider whether the general directors of the Hamburg-America-Line and of the North German Lloyd should not be informed, in strict confidence and through couriers in Hamburg, that on 23rd inst. an Austrian ultimatum to Serbia is to be expected. In view of the unpredictable and perhaps very rapidly ensuing consequences, it seems desirable to His Majesty that the two big shipping lines should be informed in time in order to be able to make their arrangements and to give orders to their ships abroad. Wedel.

Be Ready "for an Attack by the English Fleet".

Deputy Chief of the General Staff, to the Foreign Office.

Berlin, July 22, 1914.

If we must reckon with the possibility of an immediately impending declaration of war by England, then from the military standpoint we must reckon with certainty on an attack on our fleet by the English fleet.

In view of its great numerical inferiority, our fleet must not in any event be exposed to this possibility.

As soon as the possibility of an outbreak of a war with England within 6 days is to be reckoned with, the fleet must be recalled. Behncke, Rear Admiral. (Ibid page 131.)

The Triple Entente Comes into Action.

Secret Telegram from the Russian Foreign Minister to the Russian Ambassador at Vienna.

Petersburg, July 22, 1914.

According to rumours it appears that Austria is already preparing to intervene in Belgrade and to present various demands in connection with the events in Serajevo. Will you please point out to the Austrian Foreign Minister, in a friendly manner but plainly, the dangerous results which such a demarche might have, if it should be of a character unacceptable to Serbia. From a conversation I had with the French Foreign Minister it is plainly evident that France is also concerned with regard to the turn which Austro-Serbian relations might take, and is in no way inclined to permit a humiliation of Serbia which is not justified by the circumstances. The French Ambassador in Vienna is instructed to advise moderation to the Austro-Hungarian Government. According to our information, London also very sharply condemns the intention of Austria to create international difficulties. The British Government has instructed its representative in Vienna to act also in this sense. I still cherish the hope that sound common sense in Vienna will triumph over the bellicose tendencies and that the timely warnings given by the great Powers will restrain Austria from resorting to measures the consequences of which would be irreparable. Before you approach Count Berchthold on this question, speak first with your French and English colleagues, but, in order to avoid any undesirable tension, do not undertake your demarche either collectively or simultaneously. Sasonov.

Lichnovsky is Again Fooled.

Secret!

Telegramm from Berlin, July 21, 1914.

Prince Lichnovsky telegraphs that Sir Edward Grey declared to him that he does not believe a warlike complication will ensue in the Serbian question; at any rate a general conflagration must be avoided at all costs. The Secretary of State concludes from this that even in the most extreme case England would try to refrain from any warlike intervention. Szögyeny.

("Austria-Hungary's Foreign Policy." Vol. 8, page 553.)

Poincaré's Visit to Russia.

Paris, July 18. Poincaré's visit to Russia takes place at a moment when the extraordinary awakening of Russia is strikingly evident. France replied to the increase in the German army with the three years' law, and Russia replied by increasing the number of its troops, which will soon render its army overwhelmingly superior to all European armies. Russia alone will possess a peace strength which in numbers will exceed the combined armies of the Triple Alliance . . . ("Le Matin").

"The Theory of the Offensive Making Great Progress in Russia."

Paris, July 20. The „Matin“ writes: Russia stands behind us with two million bayonets! In the event of a war, Russia would oppose the German-Austrian forces with 31 army corps. The mobilisation would be carried out in 16 days, whilst the German mobilisation would not take less than 10 days. As Germany would send 19 army corps against France, it could only oppose the Russian forces with 6 corps on the defensive. The Austrian forces are doubtful and unreliable. In Russia, however, the theory of the offensive is making progress.

The Russian Proletariat Comes into Action.

Petersburg, July 17. As a protest against the events in Baku, the workers of the big and small undertakings in Petersburg struck work today. The number of workers at present on strike amounts to 55,000. Workers attempted to hold street demonstrations, at which it came to collisions with the police. Particular excitement prevailed among the crowd at the Putilov bridge, where the workers injured many policemen by throwing stones and by blows with sticks. The police made use of their firearms. Two workers were seriously injured and another two slightly injured.

(„Vorwärts“, July 18.)

No Street Cars Running in Moscow, Baku without Drinking Water.

Petersburg, July 21. The Tsar made the following note on the report of the subservient speeches of deputy Cheidse in the Duma, on account of which he was to be brought before the Supreme Court: I hope that from now on the President of the Duma will no longer permit any utterances which violate the law and the oath. The proceedings are to be dropped.

In Moscow the street cars have ceased running owing to the protest strike of the workers in the electric power station.

In Baku, the employees of the central stations, which supply the town with electric current and keep going the salt-extracting apparatus for supplying the town with drinking water, have gone on strike. As a result, the town is threatened with a lack of water. Military technicians have been called in.

(„Rjetch“, July 21.)

Barricade Fights in Petersburg.

The German Ambassador in Petersburg, to the Foreign Office.

St. Petersburg, July 23, 1914.

The indifference of the public (towards the Poincaré festivities) is partly attributable to the strikes of the workers, which have extended greatly in the last few days. Over half of the workers here have downed tools. During Poincaré's visit a number of big papers were unable to appear owing to the printers' strike. It also came to considerable excesses, in which the police and cossacks had to intervene. Serious collisions took place this evening in Wyborg, where the workers erected barricades, and in the course of which, as officially stated, there were 5 killed and 8 wounded.

In addition to Petersburg, strikes are at present taking place in other big towns of Russia. They deserve serious attention as a symptom of the bitter feeling prevailing among the Russian workers, even if, for the time being, greater importance cannot be attached to them. In the event of foreign complications they could create a difficult situation for the Government.

Portalès.

(„German documents on the Outbreak of the War“ page 149/50.)

INTERNATIONAL FIGHT AGAINST WAR AND INTERVENTION

The Fight of the Japanese Toilers against War and Intervention.

By Katayama, Okano, and Yamamoto.

The reporter of the „Inprecorr“ in the Far East interviewed the leaders of the Japanese proletariat. We publish below their declarations. This interview took place before the assassination on the Prime Minister Inukai.

I.

The class conscious workers of Japan are marching forward in the struggle against war, in the foremost ranks of the international proletariat. They are fulfilling their duty towards the toiling masses of Japan and of the whole world, threatened by the greatest of dangers from imperialism—the danger of a war which will be much more frightful than the war of 1914-1918.

The bourgeois landlord government, especially the military clique, intends to begin fresh war against the Soviet Union in the immediate future, a war to destroy the Soviet Union, the fatherland of all workers. This is demonstrated by the following plain facts:

The Soviet Union has proposed a non-aggression pact to Japan—the Japanese government refused even to discuss this plan.

Instead of this, the Japanese government concluded a military alliance with the irreconcilable enemy of the Soviet Union, with the country taking the lead in military leadership and aggression in Europe—with imperialist France. France, this gendarme of Europe, has entered this military alliance with Japan solely for the reason that it is directed against the Soviet Union, and because Japanese imperialism has undertaken to place the Japanese soldiers in the foremost line of fire against the Soviet Union, has undertaken that the Japanese people are to be converted into cannon fodder in the interests of the world's bankers and speculators.

Japanese imperialism has already reached its aim in Manchuria, and yet more regiments and divisions are being sent there. **The Japanese troops are approaching closer and closer to the Soviet frontiers.**

In Shanghai Japanese imperialism encountered unexpected resistance on the part of the Chinese people, but with the aid of the bought Kuomintang and of the so-called League of Nations it has reached its goal here too. The mobilisation of the troops in Japan is, however, being continued and all the fresh detachments of troops are being sent from the country “destination unknown”.

In the Japanese army and navy—you can ask any soldier or sailor—the wildest agitation for the war against the Soviet Union is being carried on.

Millions of workers, thrown into the streets and left to starve, sink deeper and deeper into want and misery. Their fate is shared by the majority of the peasantry. No aid is given to them, but hundreds of millions of yen are always available for war purpose, etc.

All this means nothing more nor less than a direct preparation for the invasion by Japanese imperialism of the Soviet Union, and not in the distant future, but immediately. This is the first conclusion forced on us by irrefutable facts.

Incontestable facts show that the war against the Soviet Union will be commenced not only without the knowledge of the Japanese people, but entirely unexpectedly; the Japanese imperialists will take the people by surprise. The same was the case when Japanese imperialism attacked Moukden and Shanghai, and there is no doubt that it is to be done again.

It would be a dangerous self-deception to expect from the Japanese imperialists even a minimum of openness in the question of war on the Soviet Union. On the contrary, they are obviously striving to place the Japanese people before an accomplished fact, and not to mention the war at all till it has commenced. Their intention is to deceive the Japanese people and drive it into war against its will.

The whole bourgeois and social democratic press, whether Left or Right, is shamelessly deceiving the people at the

present time. It employs every measure to conceal from the people the war plans of the Japanese imperialists, and their direct preparations for the war on the Soviet Union. It is using every device of lie and deception to mislead and confuse the people as to the real causes of the war and as to who are culpable in instigating it. A frightful warning for the workers of Japan is contained in the fact that in 1914 the bourgeoisie and the social democrats in Germany succeeded in persuading the German people that the French had attacked Germany, whilst at the same time the bourgeoisie in France convinced its people of precisely the contrary. It may be stated with absolute certainty in advance that in Japan, where the toiling masses do not want a war against the Soviet Union, the whole bourgeois and social democratic press will employ not only this means of deception, but much worse ones, for the purpose of concealing from the people the fact of the attack of Japanese imperialism on the Soviet Union, to the end that they may crush the hope of the workers of the whole world—the Soviet Union—and at the same time retain the support of the masses of the Japanese people.

The immediate danger of the attack by Japanese imperialism on the Soviet Union, and the frightful deception being practised by the bourgeoisie and the social democrats on the people—these form to-day the new and great danger threatening the Japanese workers, peasants, and soldiers, and the whole of the toiling masses. The masses must be warned by every possible means and effort of this threatening danger, and every available means and effort must be employed to expose this frightful deception—to do this day for day is the most imperative task of all class conscious workers, peasants, students, and soldiers, of all to whom the interests of the Japanese people are dear, and above all of the organs of the workers' and peasants' press.

The more advanced workers must continue and strengthen the mobilisation of the workers, peasants, and soldiers, for the struggle against the predatory war of Japanese imperialism against the Chinese people. They must intensify their work for enlightening the people in every possible way as to the fact that this war, like every other imperialist war, will bring speculation profits for the rich, but for the Japanese people—poverty, mountains of corpses, millions of widows and orphans, economic devastation, ruin, want, misery, and loss of rights. Above all they must enlighten the people, by the press and by word of mouth, on the fact that the Japanese bourgeois-landlord monarchy intends to perpetuate with the aid of the imperialist war against China, the present regime of utter deprivation of rights and oppression of the toiling masses, that regime which will enable them to enslave the peasantry more than ever, and to worsen to an even greater degree the already semi-slave working and living conditions of the Japanese workers.

This enlightenment must be greatly intensified. And this in itself **suffices no longer**. The war being waged by Japanese imperialism against China is extending, and with this a new danger becomes imminent, the danger of a war against the Soviet Union. The main task of the class conscious workers, peasants, and soldiers today is not to permit themselves to be deceived, not to let themselves be taken by surprise, and to mobilise steadily all their forces for the struggle against the predatory war against China and against the war which is being prepared by the Japanese imperialists against the Soviet Union.

Today every re-grouping of divisions of troops and warships, every local mobilisation, means at the same time a mobilisation and regrouping of troops against the Soviet Union. It is highly probable that the Japanese government will attempt to carry out this mobilisation against the Soviet Union gradually, not all at once (keeping up the appearance of a "relief" of the wearied divisions of troops, the repeated calling up of reservists, the use of every possible false pretext). Hence it is the most important task of the class conscious masses of the toilers to frustrate this devilish plan of Japanese imperialism. Here we must be on the alert, and organise the masses in good time for the struggle, not only against all general mobilisation, but against any local mobilisation, against any regrouping of troops. Every such mobilisation and every regrouping of divisions of troops must be exposed in the eyes of the masses of the people as a mobilisation for war against the Soviet Union. And it must not only be exposed in the place concerned, but all over Japan.

Every case of mobilisation and regrouping should be

utilised for the organisation of every possible form of mass protest against war; today this is the unconditional duty of every class conscious worker.

The masses of the people are to be enlightened on the fact that the struggle against the war in China, a frustration of this predatory raid, would throw great difficulties in the way of the new war adventure of Japanese imperialism and especially of its war of intervention against the Soviet Union. The struggle for the defence of the Soviet Union is again the most important means of carrying on the struggle against the war in China. Hence the main task at the present juncture is the development of a real mass struggle against the war in China and of a real mass campaign for the defence of the Soviet Union against the bandit plans of Japanese imperialism.

We have arrived at an extremely critical moment: It is still possible, by means of the fight put up by the broad masses, to prevent the counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union, directed against the people, now being prepared by Japanese imperialism. And it is your duty, cost what it may, to initiate a broad wave of militant action on the part of the workers, peasants, soldiers, and of the whole of the toiling masses, against war: mass demonstrations, strikes, workers' and peasants' meetings, sabotage of war supplies, and all other forms of protest against war must be employed.

At this moment, when war against the Soviet Union approaches so closely, but has not yet commenced, it is your duty to ensure that the following slogans are really made slogans of the masses of the people, their actual fighting slogans:

For the mass struggle against the sending of soldiers to the front!

For the formation of workers', peasants', and soldiers' fighting committees against war (against war mobilisation, against the production of war material, against the transport of arms and munitions, etc.).

For the prevention and cessation of war materials transports.

For the immediate expenditure for the unemployed and the impoverished peasantry of the 200 million yen already granted for the war.

For the non-payment of taxes!

For the immediate recall of troops from Manchuria and Shanghai. For their immediate demobilisation.

Workers, peasants, and soldiers! Exert your utmost forces in the struggle against war! Forward for the defence of the Soviet Union!

II.

The tasks of the Communists. The Communist Party, which in all its actions pursues the object of accomplishing the task of converting imperialist war into civil war, the task of the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeois-landlord monarchy, must subordinate its whole struggle against war, both before the war commences and after imperialist war has become an actual fact, to **these tasks**. In the present war of Japanese imperialism for the colonial enslavement of China, our slogan of action must be the following: "Fight for the complete independence of China!" Mass agitation must be developed for this slogan, and the soldiers of the occupation army must be called upon to leave the front in an organised body, but without throwing away or surrendering their arms, and to organise soldiers' committees in the interior of the country.

The most urgent task is: the development of an anti-war movement of hundreds and thousands of workers, so that the whole pressure of the masses may be thrown in the balance of the struggle against the war in China and against the attack by Japanese imperialism of the stronghold of the world proletariat — the Soviet Union. The Communist Party, in pursuance of this aim, must now develop an anti-war movement under such concrete and immediate slogans of action as "immediate demobilisation of the army and navy", "formation of workers' and peasants' fighting committees against war", etc. (Slogans which even the most backward strata of the population can understand.) And it must direct this movement, like every other, against the bourgeois-landlord monarchy. The Communists must enlighten the masses on the fact that **each and every** bourgeois-landlord government, but especially the present one, is a government of war, of poverty, and unemployment. It must be made clear to the masses that the sole path to liberation of the toiling masses from war, want, and misery is civil war, the revolutionary armed insurrection

of the workers and peasants against the parasite capitalists and landowners and against their main force—the police and military monarchy.

The anti-war movement must be developed by all available means, and unwearying effort must be expended on making it clear to the masses that until the bourgeois-landlord dictatorship has been overthrown, it is always capable of plunging the people into the abyss of a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union, directed against the people. The questions of war are decided behind the backs of the people, by the arbitrary and omnipotent ruling clique. This clique enjoys the full support of the whole of the organs of the bourgeois and social democratic press, and this is fully capable at times of deceiving the great majority of the people and convincing them that black is not black, but white. The Communists must expose this in the eyes of the masses in every possible way, and especially at the present juncture they must open the eyes of the people to the real state of affairs, by means of indefatigably pointing out the actual facts, and stressing the whole of the policy pursued by the ruling class, showing that the bourgeois-landlord government of Japan, which is already carrying on an open predatory war in China, is preparing to make an unexpected attack on the Soviet Union, just as it attacked China. In contradistinction to the war policy of Japanese imperialism, the real peace policy of the workers' and peasants' government of the Soviet Union must be widely popularised.

The Communists must head the anti-war movement of the Japanese toiling masses, and must lead the masses in the revolutionary struggle for a workers' and peasants' government, and against the regime of police absolutism. For this purpose the Party must be indefatigable in its efforts to expose the real aims of the war against China and the Soviet Union, must proclaim to the masses the truth that Japanese imperialism is endeavouring, by means of the war in China and especially by the war against the Soviet Union, to perpetuate the slavery of the Japanese workers and peasants. The counter-revolutionary, imperialist nature of the war slogans put forward by the ruling classes and by social democracy—slogans actually running counter to the interests of the Japanese nation, but choosing such wording as "national interests", "the defence of the prestige of Japanese imperialism", "the defence of the life and property of the Japanese citizens", such provocatory imaginative ravings as those referring to an alleged "Red imperialism" in the Soviet Union—all this must be ruthlessly exposed. An energetic struggle must further be carried on against the class conciliation policy pursued by the bourgeois-landlord monarchy and the social democrats in the country itself. The chauvinist illusions of the masses of the people must be overcome by unwearied enlightenment work exposing the sufferings and misery brought by war to the toiling masses. The successes of socialist construction, the achievements of the workers and peasants in the Soviet Union, must be popularised on a wide scale, and the successes and aims of the Soviet government in China must be stressed to their full extent.

Before the war against the Soviet Union commences, the fact must be exposed that the Japanese government is preparing the attack on the Soviet Union, that this government is the originator and organiser of this war, and it must be made clear to the masses that the defence of their own interests demands that they defend the Soviet Union against the Japanese bourgeoisie and against the landowners. In doing this, the Communists prepare the masses for the difficult tasks with which they will be confronted when the attack of Japanese imperialism on the Soviet Union will have become a fact. Then the task of the advanced workers of Japan will be the following:

To join the army, to go out to the front (the boycotting of war is an empty phrase, a self-isolation from the masses of the soldiers, equivalent to abandoning the masses of the soldiery to the influence of the imperialists), to take up arms, to gain the confidence and the respect of the masses of the soldiers, **for the purpose** of inducing these soldiers to turn their weapons against their own oppressors and exploiters—against the Japanese military and police monarchy—against their own bourgeoisie and landowners; **for the purpose** of convincing the masses of the soldiers that they must help the Red Army in its proletarian war against Japanese imperialism; for the purpose of proving to the masses of the soldiers of the Japanese army that a victory for the Red Army means a victory for the proletariat and the peasantry of Japan, and

that vice versa a victory of Japanese imperialism means their defeat. Not only to be adherents of the defeat of the imperialist army, that is to say, to desire the defeat of the government of their own country, but to give active support to the Red Army (going over of Japanese troops to the Red Army, refusal to carry out military operations against the Red Army, etc.)—this is the task of the Japanese Communists in the case of a war by Japanese imperialism against the Soviet Union, that is to say, of a war of the stronghold of bourgeois-landlord, reactionary, and imperialist Japan, against the stronghold of the international proletariat and therefore of the Japanese proletariat, the stronghold of the world revolution—the Soviet Union.

FIRST OF AUGUST

Fight against War Means Fight against Capitalism.

By Marcel Cachin (Paris).

Only a few weeks separate us now from the opening of the international fighting Congress against War. During this time we must increase our propaganda to such an extent that this Congress shall assume the form of an impressive mass demonstration. For those people who to-day underestimate the danger of war are badly advised.

The recent events in Lausanne and Geneva are in no way calculated to arouse false hopes among the proletariat. It is true the social democratic leaders are once again endeavouring to awaken the belief that a great step has been made towards peace. Experience teaches us however, that after every loudly advertised diplomatic gathering international tension increases and the insane competition in armaments of the imperialist receive a fresh impetus.

It must be repeated again and again that wars are inevitable under the imperialist regime, and that the social democratic leaders deliberately mislead the workers when they deny this fact. The social democrat Blum, for example, has repeatedly declared that war can be prevented even under capitalism. All the Utopias of vulgar pacifism are based on this fundamental error. War and capitalism are inseparable. War is an inevitable result of capitalism. This truth is concealed by bourgeois and social democratic pacifism. All bourgeois and chauvinists are outwardly pacifists in order, behind this mask, to carry on feverish preparations for war.

Capitalism determines the division of mankind into classes, causes them to confront each other as exploiter and exploited, causes the unbridgeable antagonism between these two groups which are continually at war with each other. Workers' blood was recently shed in the streets of the Belgian towns. Workers' blood is also flowing in Germany and Austria, where street battles are taking place every day.

Capitalism is permanent civil war. But it is also an international war for the possession of sources of raw material and sales markets. It is a war for the periodically renewed division of the world, as is to be seen in the cynical invasion of Manchuria by the Japanese, in the no less cynical invasion of Morocco and the Rif by the French a few years ago, or the domination by the United States, with the aid of machine guns, of Central and South America.

These events have taken place under the protection of Geneva and the League of Nations. These wars caused blood to flow at the very moment when Briand, loudly applauded by the social democratic leaders, declared: "So long as I am in power there will be no war!"

These wars took place whilst pacifist phrases were being mouthed. Is it possible to conceive a greater fraud than when Kellogg, one of the leaders of American imperialism, along with Briand, declared war to be "outlawed". How can a single proletarian be taken in by such talk?

To assert that it is possible to abolish war under capitalism is just as stupid as to declare that it is possible under capitalism to prevent the class war. Wars will become impossible only after capitalism has been overthrown.

At the International Fighting Congress against War the representatives of the working class will not confine themselves simply to calling to mind these truths. There exist real concrete direct threats against the Soviet Union. There exist in Europe and in the whole world numerous serious causes for

approaching conflicts. How shall we meet these dangers? To decide this will be the actual task of the world congress.

How shall we conduct practical and effective propaganda among the young generation, among the women, among the peasants and before all among the workers in the factories, the soldiers and sailors. In all capitalist countries enormous influence is brought to bear on public opinion by means of the press, the school, the cinema, the Church. Attention is called before all to the necessity of defending one's native country. Fierce attacks are directed against the real guardians of peace, especially against the Soviet Union and the Communist Party. Everywhere the democratic institutions and the Parliaments are seen to be retreating before bloody open fascism. The crisis which is increasing in all countries, with the exception of the Soviet Union, is everywhere giving rise to inner struggles which are the prelude to international conflicts.

Under these conditions it would be exceedingly dangerous

to leave the workers in the belief that resolutions or revolutionary gestures could suffice in order to prevent war. A real fight against war is bound up with great difficulties, because it must be conducted with all means both legal and illegal. We must not cherish the hope that the capitalist governments will permit propaganda against war without resorting to the most brutal counter-measures.

In order to fight successfully against the war actions of capitalism, against its organisations and its measures, we require well-based propaganda and organisations with clear definite aims.

To rouse the proletarians against war, to bring the workers together in a common united fighting front, to elect permanent organs for the purpose of carrying out the adopted decisions, that is the programme of the approaching International Fighting Congress against War.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

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

By J. A. JAKOVLEV (Moscow).

I.

The Central Committee of the Party and the Council of People's Commissars have recently issued a number of decisions dealing with the organisational-economic consolidation of the collective farms and the development of collective agricultural trade.

II.

A careful reading of the decisions of the C.C. on the organisational-economic consolidation of the collective farms shows these to be built up on the same foundation as the preceding extremely important decisions of the C.C. on collective agriculture, and to supplement these.

It is indeed their chief task to emphasise once more that "at the present time the organisational-economic consolidation of collective farming is above all a task involving the development and consolidation of the Artel form of the collective farm" (Decision of C.C., 4th February 1932).

The main task is to warn the Party organisations again and again against the "danger" that the "form of the agricultural artel, not being sufficiently developed and consolidated, will be sprung over" (decision of C.C., 4th February 1932).

If we compare the decisions which cover nearly two years of the development of collective farms, a period in which the collective farms have become the main producers of agricultural products in our country, with the later decisions of the C.C. issued on 4th February and 26th March 1932, it becomes evident that they all aim at one point: the agricultural artel is the basic form and must be consolidated; in the present stage of the development of collective agriculture it is impermissible to make attempts artificially to accelerate the transition from the artel to the communal form; the Party will not permit this form of agricultural artel to be sprung over.

Why do we every time revert with such persistence, at every stage of the development of collective agriculture, literally in every decision to the same question of the agricultural artel as the main and fundamental form of the collective agricultural movement, and why does the Party emphasise this point again and again?

There can be only one answer to this question. The C.C. maintains this attitude because the agricultural artel is proposed by the broad masses of the working peasantry as the form corresponding best to their interests, and at the same time because support given to this form of the collective

agricultural movement at the present stage of development is in accordance with the decisive Marxist-Leninist principles of the structure of collective agriculture.

III.

Wherein consists the power of the agricultural artel? In what does it differ from the other forms of the collective farm movement? Why have the peasants decided in favour of precisely this form as main form? Why has this form become the one employed everywhere, and now almost general on the territory of the Soviet Union?

Comrade Stalin gave a direct reply to this question in his articles of March 1930, and the answer is given, too, in the decisions of the 16th Party Congress. In March 1930 Stalin described the nature of the agricultural artel as follows:

"In the **agricultural artel** the leading means of production, especially for the growing of grain, are socialised: that is to say—labour, the soil, the machinery and other equipment, the draught animals, the farm buildings. **What is not socialised is: the land adjoining the farms** (vegetable and other gardens), dwelling houses, a certain number of milch cows, small livestock, poultry, etc." (Stalin: "Leninism").

The decisions of the 16th Party Congress on the development of collective agriculture state the reasons why precisely the agricultural artel, and not the commune has become the main form of the collective farm movement at the present stage of collective farm development. The decisions of the 16th Party Congress state:

"To demand that the peasants, after they have joined the artel, should immediately relinquish habits and interests, and renounce the possibility of carrying on alongside of the socialised undertaking one of their own (cows, sheep, poultry, vegetables), and of using for themselves the extra earnings thus gained, etc.—to demand this is to forget the A.B.C. of Marxism-Leninism."

The power of the agricultural artel, its special advantage in the present stage of collective agricultural development, hence lies in the fact that "it is more accessible to the consciousness of the broad masses of the peasantry" (Stalin "Leninism"), and in the fact that the artel furnishes, as has been confirmed by the experience of millions, **that linking up of the social interests of the collective peasants and of the collective undertaking in its totality, with the private interests of the collective peasant, a linking up which is**

necessary if the peasant is to be induced to enter the collective at all.

The peasants have preferred the artel, not only to the individual farm, but also to the loose collaboration of peasants for the joint cultivation of the land of the rural community, for the reason that the agricultural artel has given them the possibility of enjoying the advantages of a combined large scale farm with regard to the cultivation of the land, the possibility of making use of tractors on his land with the aid of the agricultural machinery and tractor stations. This confutes the kulak "theory" of the Right, which denied that the collective farm is the main path for the transition of the peasant masses to Socialism, and which opposed the liquidation of the kulak as a class, though without this the victory of the socialist development of the village would have been impossible.

The peasant has preferred the agricultural artel to the agricultural commune because whilst socialising the main means of production in agriculture, it at the same time gives him certain possibilities of having at his economic disposal a number of the smaller and less important branches of farming work. This combination has given the artel its strong position.

Hence our Party is leaving no stone unturned, on the one hand, to ensure the consolidation of the socialised part of the economy of the artel (here the tractor plays a leading role, for it creates the necessary technical basis for the socialised work), and on the other it watches carefully that no-one makes premature attempts to destroy the supplementary individual small lines of farming carried on by the collective peasants, and preserved in the artel form of collective farming.

In this sphere of work, as in all others, the "Left" have once more shown themselves to be in reality the allies of the obvious Right.

Many a "Left" element has imagined that when he has collectivised the last cow of the collective peasant in this or that district, he has thereby accelerated the transition to the communal form of agriculture, whilst in reality his action in destroying the supplementary personal farming carried on by the collective peasant, and still held by him in high estimation, frightens the peasant from joining the collective farm, and thereby damages that socialised part of the artel which forms its main part. That is to say, he turns out to be an entirely ordinary Right opportunist, an enemy of the collective farm, and an abettor of the kulak.

We repeat: the power of the agricultural artel, the reason for its being preferred by the peasants at the present stage of collective agriculture, lies in the fact, that in the actual daily practice of collective farm life, the advantages of the socialised large scale farm are made most accessible to every peasant by means of the artel, and are best combined with the interests of the private life of the peasants.

IV.

The fundamental peculiarity of the agricultural artel, rendering it the main and decisive form of the collective farm movement for the greater part of our country, is not something temporary, something to exist for only a short time, something forming the characteristic feature of one or two years. On the contrary, the artel is a particular form of the collective agricultural movement which has characteristics ensuring it a long duration. **The collective farms will certainly retain the form of the agricultural artel for a number of years.**

I call to mind that the decision of the 16th Party Congress stated in regard to this question:

"The peasants on the collective farms will only be able to overcome finally the mentality of the small owner, the greed for private economic accumulation, inherited through generations of private owners, after years of persevering work for the creation of a largescale mechanised basis for the collective farms, for the training of cadres from the midst of the collective farmers, and for raising the cultural level of the whole of the masses of the collective peasants."

Only a hopeless bureaucrat can be of the opinion that the agricultural artel is already sufficiently firmly established, and that the stage of the agricultural artel has already been passed through everywhere. The whole of the experience gained in building up collective agriculture (especially the experiences of last year's harvest and of the

sowing campaign this spring) show with increasing clearness that the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. was perfectly right in stating that **even now the agricultural artel is "not sufficiently developed and consolidated"** (Decision of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U., 4th February 1932).

It is clear, that the peasant joining the collective farm does not cease to be a peasant. It is clear, that the socialised ownership of the decisively important means of production in the agricultural artel in place of individual ownership furnishes the most favourable preconditions for transforming the former peasant, but that the time required for this transformation depends on the rapidity with which we succeed in completing the mechanisation of agricultural production, and on the rapidity with which we succeed in training real collective farm cadres. Though we liquidate the kulak system in the process of complete collectivisation, though we sweep away the ground upon which capitalism has risen again and again, yet in certain moments and in certain districts we cannot avoid the penetration of kulak influences into the collective farms, and consequently vacillations among certain sections of the middle peasants, until we have completed the mechanisation of agricultural processes and have trained the necessary collective farm cadres.

Only the blind can fail to see that years of work are still required to consolidate the agricultural artel, to liquidate finally the mentality of the small owners among the collective peasants, and to enable the new social forms of labour discipline to gain the victory. Consequently during the coming years the Party will continue to demand: fight against opportunism, and especially against the Right deviation, as the chief danger at the present stage.

All this is too easily forgotten by those many practitioners who are always ready, at every fresh stage of the collective farm movement, and at every fresh success of the movement, to attempt to jump over the stage of the agricultural artel, and to hasten in advance of the Party, but who in reality always find themselves stuck in the same spot in the opportunist bog.

On this question **Lenin** observed:

"The remodeling of the small farmer, the remodeling of his psychology and his habits, is a matter requiring generations. To solve this question with regard to the small land-owner, to put his whole psychology on a sound basis, can only be done by the material basis, technics, the use of tractors and machines in agriculture on a mass scale, electrification on a mass scale." (Lenin. Complete Works. Vol. XXVI.)

Stalin, dealing with the same question, states:

"... There is still a long period of work before the collective peasant is remodeled, his individualist psychology changed, and he is made into a real worker of the socialist state of society. This will be done the more quickly to the extent we mechanise agriculture, tractorise it." Stalin: "Leninism.")

These are not merely tasks of the moment, but tasks demanding years of work from the whole Party.

To be sure this path is longer and more difficult than that which the individual local functionaries are ready to pursue in opposition to the instructions of Lenin and Stalin (the chairman of a collective farm for instance stated that it was not worth while to bother for a long time with the collective peasants with regard to the cows, it is "only necessary to work for two days and two nights with the functionaries of the collective peasants, and ... the collective peasants will agree to anything we want"). And yet the longer and more difficult path is the sole one ensuring the consolidation of the agricultural artel, and its transition by means of machine and tractor stations, and on the basis of these stations, to higher levels of the collective farm movement.

V.

Since the agricultural artel, and not the commune, is the fundamental form of the collective farm movement, and since in this agricultural artel the maintenance of the private economy of the collective peasant side by side with the collective economy is obligatory, there are some "theoreticians" prepared to question the socialist nature of the agricultural artel, or to represent the collective farm not as a type of socialist economics, but merely as a form of economics containing certain socialist elements.

As early as 27th December 1929 a direct answer was given

to this question by Comrade Stalin in his speech "On questions of agrarian policy in the Soviet Union", in which he polemised against some economists. He showed here that "the collective farm, as a type of economics, is one of the forms of the socialist state of society." ("Leninism.")

Meanwhile two and a half years have passed. During this time collectivisation has been almost completed in the most important grain growing districts and in the cultivation of technical plants. We now possess actual, living experience of the building up of collective agriculture, in which dozens of millions of people, take part. The experience gained shows that although a certain inequality exists on the collective farms, as a result of the collective farmers running supplementary lines of agricultural work of their own and thereby earning extra income, none the less the collective farm is becoming consolidated as a socialist form of production, whose nature is determined by the socialised ownership of the main means of production.

Only notorious Trotzkyists can question the socialist nature of the agricultural artel, merely for the reason that besides the main social basis of the economy of this artel, there exist in it some supplementary individual economic elements. The class nature of the artel is of course not determined by the fact that a collective peasant owns a cow or not, or cultivates the plot of ground in front of his house for growing vegetables; it is determined by the fact that the chief factor, the basis of the farm, the cultivation of the soil and the main means of production required for this, the horses and machinery, are socialised. The collective peasants work with these socialised means of production, in the first place on state undertakings, and in the second with the aid of the ever increasing facilities provided by the state in the form of tractor stations lending out tractors and complicated agricultural machinery.

The attempts made to "theorise" on the subject—to the effect that the agricultural artel is not a socialist form of economics because the Party not only does not prevent a certain additional private economy on the part of the peasant, but even promotes it, are therefore only a repetition of the malicious counter-revolutionary slanders uttered against the collective farms by Trotzky, who declared in his News Service in February 1930: "Should the collective farm offer essential advantages as compared with scattered individual farming, the differentiation by means of the collective farms will take place more rapidly than hitherto". (To be continued.)

The Tasks of the Bolsheviki in Agriculture.

By Kaganovitch.

Moscow, July 15, 1932.

The Secretary of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U., Comrade Kaganovitch, spoke at the **Third All-Ukrainian Party Conference** on the tasks of the Bolsheviki in the work in the rural districts. In his speech Comrade Kaganovitch pointed out that, as a result of the correct policy of the C.P.S.U., which was carried out in the fight against Trotzkyist and Right deviations, the Soviet Union has achieved tremendous historical victories.

At the time of the XVI. Party Congress only 21 per cent. of the peasant farms were collectivised, and the socialist sector embraced only 32.4 per cent. of the area under cultivation. To-day, 61 per cent. of the peasant farms are collectivised and the socialist sector now embraces 84 per cent. of the cultivated area. One can say to-day that the Soviet Union is now finally established on a new socialist basis and that the decisive victory of Socialism in the Soviet Union can be regarded as accomplished.

Comrade Kaganovitch quoted figures regarding the mechanisation of agriculture, which show in a most striking manner the successes of socialist construction in the Soviet Union. On January 1, 1929, there were 29,000 tractors, 1800 automobiles and not a single mowing and threshing machine at work in agriculture in the Soviet Union. On July 1, 1932, there were already 146,000 tractors, 10,000 automobiles and 10,500 mowing and threshing machines. At the same time the area under cultivation in the Soviet Union increased from 113 million hectares in 1928 to 136 million hectares in 1932. The cultivation of plants furnishing raw materials for industry has increased considerably. These successes were possible only as a result of the industrialisation of the country. Industry in the Soviet Union has achieved enormous successes. The total output of industry has increased from 14,700 mil-

lion roubles in 1928 to 37,500 million roubles in the current year.

After pointing out that all these successes must not by any means cause us to maintain silence regarding various mistakes, and after giving a quotation from the speech delivered by Comrade Stalin at the XVI. Party Congress, in which he said the Bolsheviki must in the course of the work constantly improve and perfect the plans of economic construction and make good and guard against mistakes, Comrade Kaganovitch proceeded to characterise the mistakes and defects of the Party organisations in the Ukraine and the faults of the Party leadership in the grain procuring campaign and in agriculture in general. The mistakes of the Party organisation consist in a faulty drawing up of the grain-procuring plan. In many districts the plan was too easy, whilst in other districts it was excessively big. The difficulties in guiding the districts from Khankov where increased owing to the underestimation of the question of keeping in contact with the districts and thoroughly investigating the conditions in the districts. Comrade Kaganovitch further pointed out that many Communists mistakenly assume that the fact of the collectivisation of the peasantry and the liquidation of the kulaks as a class provides all the possibilities for a further advance of agriculture. This, however, means an underestimation of the century-old engrained habits of the small proprietors in the peasantry.

Although the kulaks have been practically liquidated, their influence still remains in different villages. Therefore, we must not rely on things taking their course automatically, but must intervene in order that the whole of the old social-economic order shall be transformed. Comrade Kaganovitch then proceeded to deal with the confusion of the former Rights and of the "Lefts" who support the class enemies of the proletariat, who rejoice over every difficulty of the Soviet Power in the sphere of the socialist transformation of agriculture, and every day predict the decline of the Soviet Power, and then stated:

The collective-economic system in the Soviet Union is growing and increasing in strength, and the collective farms are safer and more firmly established than the most highly developed industries of Europe and America. The collective farms in the Soviet Union, in the course of the current year, increased the area cultivated by them by 13 per cent. compared with last year. The industry of the capitalist countries of Europe and America has declined by 15 per cent. compared with last year and 34 per cent. compared with the year 1928. If we Bolsheviki, in spite of all this, speak quite openly and plainly of all our difficulties, mistakes and shortcomings, it is because we are never satisfied with what we have achieved, but issue the call still better to overcome our mistakes and consolidate our achievements.

Referring to the tasks of the Party organisation in the Ukraine, Comrade Kaganovitch declared it to be necessary, in addition to continuing the mechanisation of agriculture (it is not out of the question that the tractorisation of the Ukraine can be concluded in the year 1933), to work to carry out systematic agro-technical measures and to organise the work on the collective farms, in particular to restore the former stocks of horses and horned cattle. After concretely setting forth the tasks in the various parts of Ukraine, which differ as regards climatic conditions, Comrade Kaganovitch proceeded to deal with the questions connected with organising the collective farms.

The Party has declared the agricultural artel and not the commune to be the chief form of collectivisation. This is not a chance decision. The Party took into account the desires of the peasants; for the collective peasant desires a collectivisation in which he can combine the interests of economy as a whole with his own interests. In connection with the decisions of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. on March 10, 1930, and of May 20, 1932, on the trade of the collective farms, Comrade Kaganovitch declared:

The collective peasants must be given a number of fighting tasks. Before all the sources of income of the collective farms and of the collective peasants must be increased. The collective peasant has not joined the collective farm for the sake of any abstract idea. He has joined the collective farm in order to enjoy all the advantages of a big socialised economic undertaking. If, however, he does not obtain these advantages, if he sees that the individual peasant earns more, then he will seek a way in order to leave the collective farm. We must understand and make good note of this. The most important task in the work of improving the collective farm

is to increase the income, to increase the harvest yield of the collection farms, to carry out the harvest work with less losses, to develop cattle and poultry breeding, cultivate garden produce and vegetables, develop domestic industry, the making of bricks etc. on the collective farms. It is necessary to secure all the conditions which will enable the collective peasant to build up a side undertaking without hindrance. It is certainly very important that the work on the collective farms is so organised that the individual side undertaking of the collective peasants is not too much impeded by the work on the collective farms. This, however, depends upon our work and not upon allowing a side undertaking. We must not hide the fact that, among the Communists there are many who think that it is impossible to permit an individual undertaking on the part of the collective peasants.

This is a big error. Various "theoreticians, ideologists, champions of socialist purity" maintain that if the collective peasant engages in a side undertaking he will quickly develop into a kulak. This stupid idea does not need refutation. Even a Communist pioneer could explain to such "theoreticians" that the collective peasant receives the help of the collective when the means of production are socialised. The collective peasant carries on his side undertaking in order to increase his income and his own consumption. That is what we are fighting for; it is for this that we develop the collective farms; it is for this that we carried out the October revolution, in order that the workers and peasants can live better. We have already achieved a good deal, and if we have not succeeded in achieving everything to-day we shall succeed tomorrow. There is every indication that we shall succeed. Our whole economic policy is a guarantee that the collective peasants will live better and freer than they did when they were individual peasants.

In pointing to a number of mistakes of the Party and Soviet functionaries, such as proceeding by means of administrative measures, ignoring the difference between collective and Soviet farms, Comrade Kaganovitch emphasised the difference between Soviet and collective farms, on which latter farms the collective peasants, in their expenditure, have to reckon every kopek and every rouble. After having emphasised the necessity of raising the ideological and principle basis of mass work of the Party in the rural districts, Comrade Kaganovitch stated in conclusion:

Criticism is necessary for us, but not for its own sake, not a game. Criticism is necessary in order to educate, unite and consolidate the organisations. If we come forward here as representatives of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. and criticise the Party organisations of the Ukraine and point to their mistakes in the practical work in the rural districts, this is only in order to be able to advance more rapidly. We have no reason to doubt that the mistakes and shortcomings which recently came to light in the Ukrainian Bolshevik organisation can be overcome. The Five-Year Plan is approaching its completion. Contrary to all hostile predictions, the Five-Year Plan has been successfully carried out. It must be completed in such a manner that a firm basis is provided for an easier carrying out of the second Five-Year Plan.

The Ukraine has changed its appearance as a result of the first Five-Year Plan. It must be altered to a still greater extent by the second Five-Year Plan—by a broad development of the coal basin in the Donetz, of the chemical and metal industries; by the construction of new electricity works and by a great increase in the development of agriculture. These are big tasks confronting the Ukrainian Bolsheviks. Every Communist, every worker, every collective peasant of the Ukraine, must keep in mind that all tasks in the sphere of agriculture, the carrying out of the harvest campaign etc., are closely connected with the task of completing and successfully fulfilling the first Five-Year Plan and introducing the second Five-Year Plan. Hundreds of thousands of the Bolsheviks of the Ukraine, millions of workers and collective peasants are therefore proceeding to work with all the greater energy, with all the greater zeal, with all the greater degree of organisation. Allow me, comrades, to express on behalf of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. the firm belief that the Ukrainian Party organisation, which thoroughly carried out the fight for the general line of the Party, will do away with all the mistakes and shortcomings and, together with the whole Party, with the aid of the leadership the Leninist Central Committee and its leader Comrade Stalin, advance to new big historical successes.

PROLETARIAN MASS ORGANISATIONS

American War Veterans March Against Starvation.

By Harry Raymond (New York).

The veterans of an imperialist war are marching again. This time, however, not to slaughter for their Wall Street masters. They are marching to demand from the government what belongs to them. They are marching to save themselves and families from starvation.

A tremendous movement of unemployed men is this **bonus march to Washington**. Twenty thousand jobless war veterans are in it. The ranks are still growing. And they are determined to force the Wall Street government, which only recently gave the bankers a dole of over 2 billion dollars, to pay them at once and in cash an adjusted service compensation amounting to 2,400,000,000 dollars.

Taking inspiration from the great hunger march of the unemployed to the Capitol in December and answering a call of the **Workers Ex-servicemen's League**, ex-soldiers, Negro and white, unemployed and starving in the big industrial and farming centres, banded themselves together during the later part of May into delegations to march to **Washington** to present their demands to the government.

Meetings were held throughout the country under the auspices of the Workers Ex-servicemen's League where thousands of veterans endorsed the march. Rank and file veterans repudiated the fascist American Legion and Veterans of Foreign War leaders, who were carrying on a frenzied campaign against the march, formed delegations and headed in columns toward Washington.

Over 800 veterans under the leadership of the Workers' Ex-servicemen's League marched from **Detroit**; 450 marched under revolutionary leadership from **Chicago**; 600, led by the Workers Ex-servicemen's League, marched from **New York**, commandeered a ferry boat and forced the Vice-President of the Jersey Central Railroad to supply them transportation through part of New Jersey.

Veterans in East St. Louis tied up the railroad yards and seized freight trains in face of the National Guard and police. The Detroit group, upon being refused transportation, occupied the Pennsylvania Railroad yards in Cleveland and tied up traffic for over 12 hours. Repeated police attacks in various sections of the country failed to halt the growing march. Thousands moved to the Capitol on trains, auto trucks and on foot.

Pelham D. Glassford, Washington's police chief, issued orders that the veterans would not be allowed to enter the District of Columbia, but the veterans marched in despite his orders. The police chief ordered the men to get out within 48 hours, but the tattered columns continued to converge on the Capitol. Thousands were in the District of Columbia by June 1.

The police herded the marchers into a low marshy field beside the Potomac River. Here the bonus army pitched its camp which they called Camp Anacostia. For days thousands of worker veterans lived in the mud and rain with practically no shelter. Their diet, which they forced the charities and food merchants to supply, was miserable beyond compare, costing less than 6 cents per day per man.

The Washington administration had but one aim in mind: to get the veterans to leave the Capital city. Threats to starve them out, police provocations, the mobilisation of the Army and Marine Corps, threats of violence against the marchers failed to budge the hungry army.

Representative **Hamilton Fish**, notorious "red baiter", said, "We don't owe able bodied veterans anything." Senator Lewis of Illinois told a group of ex-servicemen to "go to hell". **Hoover** said he would never sign the bonus bill.

To combat the influence of the revolutionary Workers Ex-servicemen's League a military dictatorship was at once led by one **W. W. Waters**, a cannery superintendant. With the help of the Washington police a fascist military police corps and secret service was established in the ranks of the veterans. It was announced in the Washington press that it

was the aim of Waters and his military police to crush the influence of the reds.

Groups led by the Workers Ex-servicemen's League, although they carried army discharges, were at first denied admittance into the camps on the basis that they were Communists. An utmost campaign of police terror reigned throughout the bonus army. Vigorous pressure of the rank and file, however, overrode the police and the fascist officer clique and forced the admittance of Workers Ex-servicemen's League members into the army.

The number of veterans had increased by June 17 to nearly 20,000. The presence of this vast number of men forced Congress in a hurried session to vote in favour of paying the veterans their bonus. But the bill had to go the Senate and then to the White House. The demand for a mass demonstration before the Senate Building, which was raised by the Workers Ex-servicemen's League, had gained the support of the majority of the rank and file, but the Waters clique ordered the men not to demonstrate.

This order was ignored on June 17. The masses of veterans rose up spontaneously in the Anacostia mud flats and started a march to the Capitol Building. Eight thousand of the marchers succeeded in crossing the draw bridge which spans the Potomac before the bridge was raised by the police, thus cutting off thousands of veterans from the central part of the city.

Three thousand veterans sat on the Senate steps that night; 5,000 gathered in the Capitol Plaza. The announcement that the Senate had voted against the bill was answered by a tremendous boo which rose from the throats of the thousands assembled in front of Capitol.

The Workers Ex-servicemen's League worked under semi-legal conditions up until the latter part of June. W.E.S.L. members, however, are now working openly in all sections of Bonus Expeditionary Forces.

The Chicago group launched a fight against the segregation of Negroes and in face of fascist terror elected its own rank and file committee of which **Joseph Gardner**, Negro veteran and Communist candidate for Assembly in Chicago, was made chairman. Two thirds of the Chicago contingent, which now numbers over 800, are white workers. This group has become the centre of revolutionary activity in Camp Anacostia.

The Detroit contingent, led by **George Pace**, a Communist, started a movement of veterans to march from the muddy camps into the city of Washington where they overwhelmed the police and seized empty government buildings. Five thousand veterans, inspired by the victory of the Detroit group, marched from the muddy camps and commandeered government buildings in all sections of the city.

The present leadership of the Bonus Expeditionary Forces, a self-appointed committee of seven led by Walter W. Waters, has been deposed twice by the rank and file who are raising the cry for rank and file control, democratic elections and militant demonstrations before the Senate and the White House. Each time this leadership has reascended to power through a coup d'état of strong arm squads and the police.

Waters has openly stated that he proposes to whip the vets into an army "to be used in case of a National Emergency". This proposal, however, was dealt a hard blow by the Workers Ex-servicemen's League and the rank and file of the veterans. Masses of veterans refused to obey the drill orders issued by Waters. The programme of the Workers Ex-servicemen's League, distributed in pamphlet form, has received the support of vast sections of the rank and file.

The W.E.S.L. programme lays down clearly a line of class differentiation. It calls for the defeat of the manoeuvre to get the ex-servicemen out of Washington; to replace the bankrupt policy of lobbying by a policy of real fight; to enlist the support of all the veterans and other workers; for democratic elections and rank and file control and to defeat the police and gangster methods of leadership.

It is becoming clearer now to the veterans that the fight for the bonus must be linked up with the struggle for unemployment insurance and against imperialist war. These demands are now being brought home to the men by the members of the Workers Ex-servicemen's League.

Although all the forces of the capitalist State are mobilised against the besieging ex-servicemen, there is no sign of a retreat movement developing among the rank and file. The popular slogan among the vets in Washington now is one raised by the Workers Ex-servicemen's League:

"We have been whispering for the bonus; now we will make Congress hear us!"

The fight for the soldiers' bonus, indeed, has just begun.

OUR PROBLEMS

Urgent Questions of the Work of the C.P. of South Africa.

By Johns.

(Continued.)

The United Front of White and Black Workers, Work in the Trade Unions, and the Work of the Trade Unions.

While properly fighting against chauvinist prejudices on the part of a certain section of the white workers, in practice we have frequently replaced the struggle against white chauvinism by a refusal of the united front of white and black workers in places where there existed the conditions for a joint attack on the common enemy—the capitalists. Among the native and white workers, there is a striving towards unity. The workers spontaneously understand that the conditions of victory over capitalism by the workers exist only in the united front of white and native workers. In practice we have frequently given up this slogan to the traitors Zacks and such like, who owing to our mistakes and sectarianism, can still deceive the white and native workers, stating that they are for the united front. In those instances where we have attempted to apply the united front tactic, such as in the Garment Workers strike and the Chemical workers strike in Johannesburg we have completely distorted the line of the R.I.L.U. by establishing a united front from above with the reformist leaders. Our chief mistakes here arose from the narrow understanding of the line for the independence of our trade unions, the line for independently leading the economic struggle and organising trade unions. The difference between us and the opportunists who betray and hand over the leadership of the struggle to clear and open supporters of the capitalists—the yellow trade unions—consists of the fact that we independently try to carry on the struggle. In practice, the line for independent trade unions and independently leading the struggle had led to complete rejection of oppositional work in the trade unions. And the majority of organised workers are still under the leadership of the reformists. But it is not only a matter of organised workers. We cannot organise and lead the struggle of the unorganised workers without carrying on an oppositional struggle in the trade unions, without linking up with and helping those workers who are striving to struggle against capitalist exploitation.

"Millions of workers in Britain, France and Germany for the first time are passing from complete lack of organisation to the elementary, lowest, simplest and easiest available form of organisation (for those who are still penetrated through and through with bourgeois-democratic prejudices), namely the trade unions" wrote **Lenin**. By refusing to fight in the trade unions, we in South Africa have objectively given over to the Zacks, etc., the possibility of leading the masses of unorganised workers who are rising for the first time from political unconsciousness and lack of organisation to the elementary and most available struggle and form of organisation.

A narrow line on independence isolated our trade unions from the organised workers and our Party from the masses.

Our trade unions considered that their chief and only action was to carry on strikes. And the Communists say "we must only carry on strikes and we do not know any other trade union activity". But this has often been found to be only an appeal. But in fact they were not able to prepare any big strikes or assume the leadership of the many spontaneous strikes that have taken place. (To be concluded.)