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The Gallows of Budapest.

The Bestial Murder of Comrades Sallai and Fürst.

On July 29, two Hungarian Communists were brought before a Summary Court, and after a farcical trial lasting a few hours were sentenced to be hanged, which sentence was soon afterwards carried out. Both the indictment and the verdict could only cite two things which the accused had **really committed, namely**, they had drawn up Communist recruiting appeals and organised an anti-war demonstration. That was the whole facts of the case. Even after the overthrow of the Soviet dictatorship, in the civil-war atmosphere of the bloody years of 1919/20, if any death sentence was passed it was always on the alleged ground that the accused had participated in a murder. Suddenly, simple Communist recruiting work sufficed in order to bring two young comrades to the gallows.

On August 1 last it was thirteen years since the heroic dictatorship of the Hungarian proletariat, this outpost of the world revolution, was overthrown. There came the years of relative stabilisation of capitalism, and the Hungarian bourgeoisie, Hungarian fascism again felt strong. They boasted of having banned for ever the spectre of Communism. During this period their judges, instead of death sentences, imposed prison sentences of "only" 2 to 15 years.

But also in Hungary the capitalist stabilisation became shaky. The wave of the world economic crisis began to wash at the rotten structure of capitalism. To-day, 13 years after the overthrow of the Hungarian Soviet dictatorship, the crisis is already shaking the very foundations of Hungarian

fascism. It has become objectively one of the weakest links of the capitalist system. In the three years of the crisis the industrialisation process in Hungary has come to a standstill. The industrial production has retrogressed. The most important branches of industry are almost completely at a standstill; in the heavy industry production has declined by 50 per cent.

The industrial crisis is further aggravated by the agrarian crisis. The number of unemployed in industry and agriculture already amounts to one and a million, who are handed over to starvation without any relief whatever. The wages of the workers have sunk 44 to 49 per cent. compared with the year 1927.

The discontent and the resistance of the working population is growing. The wave of strikes increased considerably in 1931 and especially in the Spring of 1932. The radicalisation of the masses is also seen in the coming together in the trade union opposition of those workers who are dissatisfied with the reformist bureaucracy. Sympathy with socialist construction in the Soviet Union and confidence in the Communist Party of Hungary are growing.

The "Christian" Gömbös-Horthy regime, as its social basis is becoming ever narrower, now relies almost exclusively on bayonets and the gallows. Therefore it clings frantically to the maintenance of martial law, and wanted to give a warning example. In his speech the Public Prosecutor demanded the death sentence, giving as a reason that the "Hungarian State and Hungarian society are in a serious crisis, and the accused

make use of the prevailing poverty and misery in order to establish the rule of that class which calls itself the proletarian class".

The death sentence on these comrades was thus already pronounced beforehand. The fascist organ "Magyar Orszag" reported already on the evening of July 28, that is before the trial, that "the opinion prevails in competent circles that it is impossible to designate such crimes as political crimes". The accused were never once given the opportunity of conferring with their defenders. The defenders were not allowed to see the evidence of the Prosecution. They were continually prevented from speaking in the Court. And when one of the defenders displayed before the Court the blood-stained underclothing of Comrades Sallai and Fürst, who had been frightfully tortured by the police in order to extort confessions from them, the President of the Court shouted furiously: "I forbid you to play such jokes!"

Sallai and Fürst, before the Summary Court, when faced with death, proclaimed their allegiance to Communism. After the farcical trial the death sentence was pronounced within a few minutes.

Two hours after the sentence had been pronounced, Sallai and Fürst were led with the greatest possible haste to the place of execution. Sallai cried with his last breath: "Long live the proletarian dictatorship, long live the world revolution, long live Bela Kun!" Comrade Fürst also cried out: "Long live the proletarian revolution! Our brothers will avenge us!"

In spite of the short time a powerful protest movement set in. In face of the tremendous indignation of the workers, the social democrats could not this time, as they did after the overthrow of the Hungarian Soviet dictatorship, say "the guilty must suffer for their crimes". They therefore adopted the hypocritical pose of opponents of the Summary Court, but in reality incited against the Communist movement, and thereby prepared the way for the death sentence. Jean Lon-

guet, the French deputy, came to Budapest in order to appeal to the "humanity" of Hungarian fascism, but in the same declaration stated that he had always been an opponent of the Bolsheviki. The most shameful attitude was that of the Vienna "Arbeiter-Zeitung". It published an article in which the two revolutionaries were described as agents of Moscow, who had to obey the orders of Moscow in order not to be treated as traitors, and incited particularly against Comrade Sallai, the "Chekist", quite in the style of the police officers who gave evidence before the Summary Court, in order to incriminate Sallai. And the Hungarian social democracy "protested" against the Summary Court and the death sentence, but at the same time demanded that the Hungarian workers should refrain from any action.

When, in the year 1919, the teacher and master of Comrade Sallai, Comrade Otto Korvin, was led to the gallows, he was accompanied by a howl of rage of the whole of the bourgeoisie, a howl of rage of all those who are regarded as belonging to "upper society". The petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry were the firmest supports of the gallows-regime. The workers were intimidated, the Communist Party crushed. How different is the situation now! In a short space of time 10,000 signatures were collected among the intellectuals of Budapest against the holding of the Summary Court—something unprecedented in Hungary. In town and country hundreds of thousands openly championed the accused. The Summary Court had to be guarded by a strong force of military and police. And in spite of everything, Communist demonstrations were continually held, leaflets distributed and, thanks to the attitude of the population, hardly any demonstrators or distributors of leaflets were arrested; in some cases those were already arrested were released.

A new time is approaching. The martyr-death of Sallai and Fürst will not strengthen the rule of Hungarian fascism, but on the contrary, will tremendously accelerate its overthrow.

The Result of the German Reichstag Elections.

By B. Steinmann (Berlin).

The outstanding feature of the Reichstag elections is the victory of the Communist Party.

Compared with the Reichstag elections in September 1930, the Communist Party vote has increased from 4,590,453 to 5,278,646, i. e. by about 15 per cent.; its share in the total number of votes cast has increased from 13.1 to 14.3 per cent. In order to be able rightly to judge the mass movement in its changes, it is necessary to make a comparison with the Diet elections, which took place in the Spring of this year in about 26 of the 35 electoral districts. If we take the votes cast at the Diet elections in 1932 for the Communist Party, the social democratic party and the national socialist party, and compare them with the result of the Reichstag elections of July 31, 1932, we get the following picture:

	C.P.G.	S.D.P.	Nazis
Diet elections 1932	3,163,000	5,347,000	9,274,000
Reichstag election 1932	3,955,000	5,570,000	9,861,000
Increase	25 per cent.	4.2 per cent.	6.3 per cent.

The number of workers who by their votes proclaimed their support of the anti-fascist revolutionary fight of the C.P.G. has increased within a few months by one-fourth. The C.P.G. has increased its vote in all parts of the Reich. The greatest increase is recorded in Berlin, in the industrial district of West-Germany (in South Westphalia by 35 per cent.) and in most of the industrial towns of the Reich. The Communist gains consist for the most part of former proletarian followers of the social democracy who have drawn the correct lesson from the measures of the fascist Schleicher-Papen Government, the terror of the Nazi storm troops and the capitulation of the social democratic party; to a smaller extent honest workers, hitherto misled by the national socialist party, have found their way to the red class front as a result of Hitler's support of Papen and its exposure by the Com-

munist Party of Germany. The victory of the C.P.G. is all the more striking, as an unprecedented election terror prevailed against the Communists; in the last week of the election alone 11 Communist daily newspapers were prohibited, leaflets were confiscated, anti-fascists arrested, meetings dissolved and a furious incitement developed. The votes cast for the C.P.G. carry more weight in view of the intensification of class antagonisms.

Compared with 1930, the social democratic party's vote has declined by about 15 per cent.; the number of votes cast for it has declined from 8,57 to 7,95 millions. The social democratic party has not only lost 43,000 votes in the electoral district of Berlin, 2,000 in the Potsdam I. district, and 26,000 in the Potsdam No. II district; but its vote has also declined in East-Prussia by 17,200, in Francfort-on-Oder by 19,000, in Pomerania by 15,000, in Breslau by 2,000, Liegnitz 3,000 and Magdeburg 9,000. Its gains were chiefly in the South German States and in some West German districts.

What is most characteristic in the election, however, is that the C. P. G. succeeded in making a breach in the ranks of the proletarian followers of the social democratic party. This fact characterises the main tendency of the development: the further decline of the social democracy in spite of all its "opposition" manoeuvres. The social democratic party has received its first answer to its cowardly capitulation to Schleicher and Hitler, to its incitement against the strike slogan of the Communist Party.

The Nazi party, which vauntingly declared they would obtain the majority of all votes, have achieved only a trifling gain compared with the diet elections in Spring. It is precisely in the industrial areas that the national socialist party have to record either a direct loss of votes or a decline relation to the increased participation in the election. They have gained only in the rural districts, among the peasants and

The Results of the Reichstag Election.

	Seats	31. 7. 32	Pres'dential Election	Reichstag Election 14 9. 30
National Socialist Party	229 (110)	13 732 777	13 418 547	6 406 379
Social Dem. Party	133 (136)	7 951 245		8 575 244
Communist Party	89 (78)	5 278 646	4 983 341	4 590 160
Centre Party	76 (69)	4 586 501		4 127 000
German Nationalists	37 (42)	2 172 941	2 557 729	2 457 686
Bav. Cath. People's Party	20 (19)	1 130 453		1 058 637
German People's Party	7 (27)	434 548		1 577 365
State (Dem.) Party	4 (16)	371 378		1 322 034
Christ. People's Party	2 (14)	364 749		869 595
Economic Party	2 (21)	146 061		1 361 762
Peasants' Party	1 (16)	91 284		1 108 043
Socialist Labour Party	—	72 569		—

partly among the petty bourgeoisie at the cost of the other bourgeois parties. Compared with the elections in Hesse, where the national socialist party received 44 per cent. of all the votes, they now have 37.2 per cent. The Hitler party have come to a standstill; an important section of their front has been pushed back. This first success against the Nazis stands specially to the credit of the C. P. G., which tenaciously and actively, by propaganda and by mass actions, exposed and combated the Hitler party.

As regards the other parties, the Centre, by its sham opposition to Schleicher and Hitler has achieved certain gains, mostly at the expense of the State party. The German Nationalists have maintained their vote compared with the Reichstag election of 1930, but on the other hand have lost nearly 30 per cent. compared with the Diet elections.

The Reichstag elections of July 31 show that the radicalisation of the workers in Germany is increasing. As against the national fascist wave, which has come to a standstill, the **Left movement** is becoming more apparent.

The election success of the C.P.G. came as a big surprise to the bourgeoisie. The press which is closely connected with the government, as for instance the "Berliner Börsen-Zeitung" and the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung", is openly demanding a government which shall include the Nazis. The "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" writes:

"Reforming of the von Papen Cabinet and the inclusion in it of the national socialists, that is the need of the hour."

Schleicher is determined at all costs to retain power in his hands and exercise it in alliance with the Nazis. The Nazis are to be drawn into the Reichs government, and the Centre is to take part in an unofficial coalition.

The Schleicher dictatorship has already made a commencement with these new measures. Shortly after the arrival of the first election results, the "Rote Fahne" was prohibited for ten days. On the following day, the Communist "Sächsische Arbeiterzeitung" in Leipzig was prohibited. "Civil peace" (a mild form of martial law) has been imposed in the whole of Germany from the 1st to 10th of August. All meetings, including indoor meetings, are prohibited. Herr Bracht, the Prussian Minister for the Interior appointed by the Papen Government, has issued a declaration containing the most serious threats to the working class, the anti-fascists and the C.P.G. The employers have commenced a fresh offensive against wages. The situation is becoming more tense, the class antagonisms more acute. Hard struggles confront the working class.

The Nazi party have again commenced fresh acts of terror and murder. On the morning after the election, the Nazi storm troops carried out organised outrages in Königsberg, in Schleswig-Holstein and in Brunswick; they murdered Communist Party leaders, threw bombs at local premises of the Communist Party and set fire to premises of bourgeois-democratic newspapers.

The election successes of the Communist Party confirm the correctness of the line of the C.C. of the C.P.G. and of the revolutionary united front tactics of the Party. The further work of the Party must serve to extend and consolidate these successes by eradicating all the existing weaknesses, strengthening the mass fight against wage reduction, the fascist dictatorship and Nazi terror.

Appeal of the C.C. of the C.P. of Germany.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany has issued an appeal, the main contents of which we print below.

The uncheckable advance of the Communist Party of Germany, which has emerged from the Reichstag Elections of July 3 as the only victorious party is an unmistakable proof of the militant determination of the German proletariat, of the firm will of the masses of toilers, numbering millions, not to tolerate the yoke of the fascist dictatorship and the terror of the Nazi murder-bands, but, in the ranks of the Anti-Fascist Action, to weld the invincible red united front. On July 31, the German workers, under the leadership of the Communist Party, held up the advance of Hitler fascism, repelled the attempt of the fascists to make a breach in the ranks of the working class, and won back to the red class front thousands of proletarians who had temporarily fallen victims to the demagogy of national socialism.

The failure of the social democratic party is a proof that their historical decline cannot be stayed even when they are in "opposition"; that many former followers of the social democratic party have seen through the deceitful manoeuvres of their leaders and their role as agents of fascist reaction and have turned their backs on them.

As their first answer to the fact that their expected election victory has failed to materialise, and the national socialist wave has been beaten back, the murder-bands of the Hitler party have committed outrages against proletarian leaders and institutions in Königsberg, Brunswick and Schleswig-Holstein.

At the head of the millions of class-conscious workers and all toilers, who are prepared to fight against the capitalist system under proletarian leadership, we are determined to carry out the fight for the **disarming of the counter-revolution, for the dissolution of the Nazi storm-troops, for closing the barracks of the nazi storm-troops, for purging the workshops and factories of fascist murder-bandits, for the freedom of the working class and for securing the workers' organisation against all attacks of fascism.**

The Communists of Germany speak and act in the name of millions of the German people when they pledge themselves to conduct, at the head of the anti-fascist fight for freedom, inside and outside of the Reichstag, the fight for the **removal of the Papen-Schleicher Government and of the Commission set up in Prussia by the coup d'Etat.**

Today, as before the Reichstag election, the Communist Party offers a brotherly hand to the social democratic workers, working men and women and young workers, to the workers in the free trade unions, to the Reich-Banner comrades, for the common anti-fascist mass struggle in the red united front against the common enemy. Social democratic workers, help us to fulfil the imperative demand of the hour: to develop a great, powerful, ideological political offensive against the Hitler Party and to wrest from them further millions of their worker-followers.

In this sense we summon you to **Anti-War Day on August 4.**

POLITICS

The Situation in Poland.

By Najda.

The outstanding feature of the situation in fascist Poland is the intensification of the class struggles, which finds its expression in mass economic struggles of the proletariat and the working peasants.

Strikes are at present on the order of the day in Poland; and the manifold forms of the strike struggle create an ever broader basis for revolutionary mass actions. **Warsaw, Lodz, Dombrova, Polish Upper Silesia, the Western Ukraine and Western White Russia** have become centres of revolutionary struggle.

One can gain a certain idea of the growth of the strike movement in Poland from the data supplied by the statistical head office regarding the number of strikes in the last quarter of 1931: there were 93 strikes, of which 77 were wage struggles. Of these strikes 21 were in the textile industry, 16 in agriculture and 14 in the metal industry. Of these 93 strikes, 63 ended in a complete or partial victory. This result is all the more remarkable as it occurs at a time when fascism is desperately struggling for a way out of the crisis, when it is seeking this way out in an intensification of the offensive against the starving masses of toilers. This result is at the same time a signal refutation of the reformist and defeatist theories that strikes are impossible at a time of crisis. It is not only that the strike movement has grown considerably; during the revolutionary events ever new and sharper forms of struggle are maturing, as, for instance, the occupation of the factories by the workers.

In the big Hortensia factory in **Petrikau** a strike accompanied by the occupation of the factory was organised twice, and on the second occasion the workers maintained possession of the factory for two weeks. Also in **Upper Silesia** and the **Dombrova coalfield** it came in numerous cases to this form of struggle. In the **Zawiercie smelting works**, the workers occupied the works for three weeks.

The greatest event of recent time was the strike in **Pabianice**. In the textile mill here, which employs 3,500 workers, work was ceased on July 13 as a protest against the dismissal of 1,200 workers. The strike decision was adopted against the leaders of the reformist union. The fight itself was led by the Red Trade Union Opposition. At the same time the workers occupied the factory premises. On the third day of the struggle the reformist leaders called a meeting in order to put an end to the "unofficial" strike. The police, who were informed of this, adopted measures on their part in order on the same day to seize possession of the factory. The strikers, however, were supported by the workers from the other mills who organised a demonstration. The demonstration procession went first to the premises of the reformist union, drove out the reformist leaders, and then, continually reinforced by the arrival of fresh workers, proceeded to the striking factory. Here they erected barricades. It came to a bloody encounter with the police. The workers defended themselves against the attacks of the police until 2 o'clock in the morning. Within the factory itself the fight lasted several hours longer. The workers, after a heroic resistance, only gave way in face of overwhelmingly stronger forces.

Just as in the workers' movement, the fight of the working peasants against the fascist dictatorship is assuming ever sharper forms. The cause of these mass actions is before all the heavy taxes and the tax distrains, as well as the forced labour which the peasants are called upon to perform. The most frequent form of struggle is mass strike with stormy demonstrations and bloody collisions with the police.

In a village near Warsaw the peasants refused to pay taxes and held a protest demonstration. In the ensuing collisions with the police who were called in, four peasants were killed and over 20 wounded. The police also had 15 wounded. In **Western White Russia** a group of peasants who had offered armed resistance to the police were arrested. Four of these peasants were sentenced to death on July 14, in **Novogradok**.

In the **Western Ukraine** in the **Luck, Rovno and Kostopil districts** the mass strikes of the peasants against the taxes (the peasants are boycotting the markets) are still going on. How tense the situation has become in the Western Ukraine is shown by the summary court in **Slanik**, which sentenced three

peasants to death for taking part in the active resistance of the peasant population in the **Lisko** district against the introduction of compulsory labour. The court proceedings to a certain degree revealed to the public the extent of these events in Lisko. There is no doubt that in this district there was a local revolt of the peasants which lasted from June 21, to July 10. The peasants, who disarmed and arrested the police, thereby obtained fire-arms and for three weeks conducted a regular war against the punitive expeditions. The peasant troops consisted of 1000 to 2000 men. According to the statements of one of the defenders before the court, 100 were killed and 700 wounded in the course of the fighting.

The events in Lisko are, however, not an isolated or exceptional case. Armed actions of the peasants are at present taking place in **Volhynia and Polesie**. According to a report of the fascist "**Kurier Godzienny**", the military have been called in to suppress them.

In the rapid development of events in Poland there is revealed with increasing clearness the growing political and organisational influence of the Communist Party. Every fresh day, with the rapidly succeeding new revolutionary events, confirms the fact of the steadily increasing leading role of the Party and the increased fighting spirit of the proletariat and the working peasants of Poland.

Mussolini Resorts to a Fresh "Left" Manoeuvre.

By Alfred Kurella.

From Italy comes the news of fresh ministerial changes. The Duce has been pleased to remove five Ministers and ten Under-State Secretaries from their posts. The five Ministers who have been thrown overboard are: the Minister for Corporations, **Bottai**, the Foreign Minister, **Grandi**, the Minister for Justice, **Rocco**, Minister for Education, **Giuliani** and the Minister for Finance, **Mosconi**.

With **Grandi** and **Rocco** the last of the more important representatives of the **Nationalist Party**, which amalgamated with Mussolini's party in 1923, disappear from leading positions in the State. **Grandi** had come forward as the theoretician of the **national idea**, and **Rocco** as the theoretician of the **fascist conception of the law and the State**.

Bottai had made a name for himself as "theoretician" of the corporative idea, and was promoted by Mussolini as a counter-weight to the representatives of the syndicalist views regarding the union of class interests in the State, when after Mussolini had become the representative of the interests of monopoly capital, the syndicalist tendencies, even in their pro-fascist form, had become a danger to the fascist State. At that time the central federation of the workers' fascist trade unions was dissolved and a commencement made with the building up of a corporative organism. In this situation **Bottai** was appointed Minister of Corporations.

With the commencement of the economic crisis, however, the inner antagonisms which characterise the fascist rule, the antagonisms between big agrarian capital and industrial capital, and between these and the middle classes forming the main contingents of the Party and militia, again became acute. The growing misery of the masses and the increasing impoverishment of the petty-bourgeois strata compelled Mussolini to make concessions aiming at placating the workers and the officials. Among these concessions was the extension of that trade union practice which consisted in allowing the claims of individual workers to be brought before the arbitration courts.

This "trade union work" became increasingly irksome to the employers. Perhaps not so much because the arbitration courts often ordered them to render payment of sums due to the workers (in most cases the sums in question were ridiculously small), as because they were compelled by compulsory contributions (2½ per cent. of the wages of every worker) to help pay for the upkeep of a, for them, quite unnecessary trade union apparatus. The complaints of the employers regarding the contributions have increased so much lately that even the fascist press has often been compelled to deal with them in its columns.

The employers regarded as another disturbing factor of fascist policy the experiments of Mussolini, which have become more and more frequent lately and which were falsely described by many people as State socialistic experiments, as expressed for instance in the formation of compulsory consortiums. These

measures, of course, have nothing to do with State socialism, but represent rather the utilisation of the State apparatus by some groups, which were closely allied with fascism, against their economically stronger rivals. But this was sufficient reason to cause these experiments to be regarded as highly undesirable. In short, the absolute rule of the fascist party, with its consideration for certain sections of the petty bourgeoisie and the workers, became increasingly annoying to industrial and commercial capital and there arose tendencies to check the direct unrestrained influence of the party on the economic life and the State apparatus.

Two tendencies opposed each other: the one which said the State is a fascist State and the corporations are an integral part of the fascist State, the other which said the State is corporative and the fascist party has the function of a corporation. The exponents of the first theory were Mussolini and his immediate followers, while the second thesis was upheld by Bottai.

Bottai's theory, which was expounded in the only discussion newspaper of the party, the "*Critica Fascista*", of which he is the editor, was harmless as long as it remained a theory. The situation changed, however, when this view found a supporter within the party in the person of the General Secretary **Giurati**, who during his period of office adopted a whole number of measures which in the last resort constituted nothing else but a system of institutions in order to render the fascist party serviceable to this thesis.

Mussolini's first actions against these proceedings which threatened his absolute rule in the State, was the action against the representatives of these tendencies within the party. He has now taken action also against Bottai, and has removed the representatives of the idea of a corporative State from the State apparatus.

The new ministerial appointments confirm this character of the ministerial changes. **Mussolini** has taken over the position of **Minister of Corporations** as well as that of **Foreign Minister**. At the same time he has appointed as under State Secretary a man who represents a whole programme, namely **Edmondo Rossoni**. This man, who came from the ranks of the syndicalists, is the creator of the fascist trade unions in their original form. He was removed from his function of general secretary of the trade unions in November 1928, when the Central Council of the trade unions was dissolved. And now, when Bottai disappears, Rossoni comes back.

Finally, as new finance Minister there has been appointed **Signor Jung**, a partner in the largest Sicilian fruit-exporting firm, who for the past four years has been at the head of the State Exporting Institute. Since October last year, Jung has been the **Government representative in "Sofindit"**, the industrial and financial bank which was founded after the collapse of the Banca Commerciale by taking over the industrial shares of the latter. Jung can be regarded as the representative of the "new people" in Italian economic life who have risen at the cost of the older industrial and financial groups, and who are now making greater use against their opponents of the above-characterised "State socialism", but which in reality is protectionism with State aid.

There is another factor which goes to confirm that this new measure represents a "Left" manoeuvre on the part of Mussolini. The fascist press announces that there will shortly be published a list of members received into the party since the ban on the admittance of new members was removed. Among the newly admitted members there are said to be **numerous one-time opponents of fascism**: liberals, democrats and even socialists. One can therefore assume that the acceptance of one-time anti-fascists took place according to plan.

Regarded as a whole, therefore, Mussolini's latest measure is an expression of the intensified class antagonisms resulting from the steadily growing crisis. There is no need to say that these concessions to the petty-bourgeois elements and the emphasis on State interference in economic life does not represent any change in the class policy of fascism. The best indication of this is that a new attack has just been made on wages and that new **big subventions are shortly to be granted to certain groups of big agrarians and industrialists at the cost of the tax-payers**. Under the cloak of sham concessions to the petty bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia and certain sections of the workers, the new measures represent a manoeuvre in favour of those groups of monopoly capital on whom Mussolini mainly relies—concessions which follow the line given by Mussolini in Naples last Autumn with the slogan: "Go to the people".

The Struggle of the Soviet Union to Consolidate Peace.

New Non-Aggression Pact with Poland Signed.

Moscow, July 30, 1932.

The Moscow newspapers publish lengthy leading articles dealing with the signing of the Non-Aggression Pact between the **Soviet Union** and **Poland**. The "*Pravda*" states:

"The Soviet Government was and remains the only government which is actively fighting against the danger of war. The Soviet Union has followed this fundamental line of policy at all times, in the most difficult moments of international complications and in face of innumerable provocations of the bellicose imperialist circles. As a proof of this policy of peace the "*Pravda*" reminds its readers of the events in the Far East, of the provocations of the Japanese imperialists, of the innumerable attempts to let loose a new war, as for instance the Gorgulov affair. The fight of the Soviet Union for disarmament is another proof of its policy of peace.

"The Soviet Union has shown that it is prepared to take any step which could serve to consolidate peace. For this very reason the Soviet Union proposes non-aggression pacts with its neighbours and other capitalist countries. Pacts of non-aggression have already been concluded with **Germany, Turkey, Lithuania, Persia and Afghanistan**. We are now able to record two new successes of the Soviet Union in the fight for peace. On July 25, the non-aggression pact between the Soviet Union and Poland was signed, and on July 28, the non-aggression pact and an arbitration agreement with **Latvia** came into force. It must be remembered that negotiations on this non-aggression pact commenced already in 1926 on the initiative of the Soviet Union. The Polish bourgeoisie were compelled to enter into negotiations in spite of the fact that at that time they had very little desire to consolidate peace with the Soviet Union. Precisely at this time the anti-Soviet campaign in Poland was intensified to the utmost. Terrorist acts against the Soviet representatives in Poland followed one after another, and the ruling class made open and active preparations to play a leading role in an intervention against the Soviet Union. Having once been compelled to enter into negotiations, the Polish bourgeoisie submitted a whole number of demands and conditions which had nothing to do with mutual obligations regarding non-aggression, and whereby they prevented a successful conclusion of these negotiations. The Polish Government attempted to form a Polish-Baltic bloc under its leadership, which should be directed against the Soviet Union."

The "*Pravda*" then proceeds to describe the development of the Soviet Union's policy of peace, the drawing up of the Pact of non-aggression in the year 1927 and states:

"This time the negotiations between the Soviet Union and Poland commenced in a completely different international situation and a completely changed inner-political situation of Poland. In the last twelvemonth the world economic crisis has shaken Polish economy to its very foundations. The acute agrarian crisis led to an unprecedented decline of agriculture and the impoverishment of the masses of small peasants. The severe industrial crisis resulted in a shrinkage of industrial production by more than a half, and created enormous unemployment. To this there is to be added the crisis of the State finances. The direct result is a profound ferment among the workers and the masses of small peasants. Very many peasants joined in the political movement of the working class. Sympathy with the Soviet Union, the fatherland of the toilers of all countries, with the country which is successfully concluding the Five-Year Plan, is increasing among the broadest masses of the workers and peasants."

In these circumstances the Polish bourgeoisie were no longer able to continue to pursue their old line of open preparation for war of intervention against the Soviet Union.

On the other hand, the "*Pravda*" states, the international situation of Poland has become acute of late. This is particularly true in regard to relations with Germany. There is also to be observed a certain "cooling off" of relations with the military allies of Poland, France and Rumania. All this induced Poland to abandon, at the commencement of the negotiations, some of the demands which were unacceptable to the Soviet Union. It now depends upon Poland whether the next step will be taken, whether the treaty will be ratified and thus actually come into force. The fact that the watchdogs of the French General Staff and the Comité de Forges, the "*Journal des Débats*" and the "*Echo de Paris*" have

attacked the Pact, only confirms the correctness of the Soviet Union's peace policy.

The **Latvian** bourgeoisie have also in the last five years been compelled to change their attitude to the Soviet Union. The same reactionary bourgeois parties of Latvia which in 1927 most fiercely opposed the conclusion of a Pact with the Soviet Union, have now empowered the government to sign the non-aggression Pact. This fact also goes to prove the growing international importance of the Soviet Union, the popularity of the Soviet Government's policy of peace among the working people of the whole world, and that in many countries the leading parties of the bourgeoisie are compelled to take these circumstances into account.

The signing of the Pact pursues only one aim: to strengthen general peace and to create peaceful conditions for socialist construction. All other attempts of interested circles abroad to impute another meaning to the Pact must be energetically repelled. The international principles of the Soviet Union exclude the possibility of any treaties which are directed against another State or which touch the interests of other States. A clear example of this is the Rappallo Treaty with Germany.

Whilst recording these successes of the Soviet Union's policy of peace, the importance of such and similar peace-documents must not be overestimated. There is no doubt that every non-aggression pact can, under certain conditions, prove of use in maintaining peace. So far as the Soviet Union is concerned, these conditions are given in the whole policy of peace of the proletarian State, in its direct interest as representative of the toiling masses of the whole world in not permitting any new war. With the capitalist States, however, the case is different. They are constantly preparing for new wars, with the help of which they hope to solve their inner and outer antagonisms. One cannot therefore rely on treaties alone, rather must the fight to prevent fresh wars be continued with all energy. The preparations for these wars and the opposition of the capitalist States to disarmament, as the Geneva Conference has clearly shown, must be ruthlessly exposed.

Only under the pressure of the broadest masses of the toilers and under the precondition of a constant fight of these masses for the strengthening of peace can the treaties which have been concluded actually serve the aims which the Soviet Union is pursuing, i. e., the maintenance of peace and the prevention of new imperialist wars.

THE WORLD "DISARMAMENT" CONFERENCE

The Result of Geneva.

By L. F. VILNOV.

The first phase of the world disarmament Conference is at an end. The preparations for the Conference lasted five years, during which time there took place numerous meetings of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission. And when at last, on February 2, the actual Disarmament Conference met, under the chairmanship of Arthur Henderson and the active participation of Vandervelde, De Brouckère and other big guns of the II. International, the hypocritical cry of the pacifist swindlers: "Peace is secured, no more war!" almost drowned the thunder of the Japanese guns, the death rattles and the cries of despair of thousands and thousands of Chinese soldiers, old folk, women and children, who were murdered, mutilated or wounded by the Japanese soldiers. Bloody war was the prelude and the terrible accompanying music to the Disarmament Conference.

The first proposal submitted to the Conference was the French proposal to create a League of Nations' Army. This proposal aimed at nothing less than the creation of a new army under the command of the League, that is of French imperialism. This army should, in the opinion of Tardieu, form the cadre of an international army for intervention against the Soviet Union, and in addition, an international gendarmerie for holding down the revolutionary workers and the movements of the colonial peoples for freedom.

But the imperialists and the social democrats miscalculated.

On February 11, the head of the Soviet delegation, Comrade **Litvinov**, delivered his first big speech. He ruthlessly exposed all the fraudulent manoeuvres of the imperialist representatives. He repeated in the name of the peoples of the Soviet Union, who are striving for a peaceful building up of Socialism and the creation of a new world, the proposal of **general and complete disarmament**.

The Soviet proposal was rejected by the imperialist representatives, and instead there was adopted as a basis for further negotiations an Anglo-French compromise proposal which excludes any limitation of the most important categories of weapon, and envisages no reduction of armaments in general.

The question of "security" played a big role at the Conference negotiations. Very learned debates developed in the committees and in the Plenum as to what weapons are weapons of attack and what weapons are weapons of defence. The result as was to be expected was, that, in the opinion of the imperialist delegates, **all tanks, all dreadnoughts, all bombing-planes, all submarines are defensive weapons when they are in their possession, and weapons of attack when they are in the hands of the enemy.**

After these first verbal battles, the open Conference came to a deadlock for a time and there commenced an unending series of negotiations and intrigues behind the scenes, all of which had any other aim than disarmament.

The Conference was only revived again when **Hoover** submitted his proposal to reduce the most important types of armaments by one-third. There were important reasons which induced the American imperialists to make this manoeuvre. In the first place, the Republican Party required an effective election-bomb in view of the approaching Presidential election. The huge deficit of the American budget was another important reason in order to save expenditure on armaments as much as possible, while at the same time maintaining the superiority of their own forces over those of their rivals.

This manoeuvre was exposed by the Soviet delegation. Comrade Litvinov declared that Hoover's plan, even in the event of its being actually carried out, was not a means calculated to prevent war, but nevertheless was a means calculated to reduce the burden of armaments. Therefore, the Soviet delegation supported Hoover's proposal and demanded that it be carried out as a **partial step** towards complete disarmament. Then, however, was witnessed the spectacle of the American delegation dropping their own proposal when the "danger" threatened of its forming the basis of serious negotiations.

So it then came to the last sittings of the Conference, at which Comrade Litvinov again reminded the imperialist representatives of the enormous responsibility they took upon themselves before the working people of the whole world by their sabotage of disarmament. He then repeated once again the Soviet proposals for general and complete disarmament and the alternative proposals for a 50 or 33 per cent. reduction of armaments. In order, however, to enable the mass of the people, who are suffering under the heavy burden of armaments, to obtain some relief, the Soviet delegation declared themselves ready to accept any partial proposals regarding the proportional, numerical reduction of armaments and to bring in such proposals themselves.

All their proposals, however, were rejected. The representatives of the imperialist countries accepted against two votes with eight abstentions the resolution submitted by **Benesh**, containing obligations regarding sparing the civil population in war, but not reducing the imperialist armies by a single man or the production of war-material by a single cartridge, but on the contrary, opening the door to any further armaments by the leading imperialist Powers. When Comrade Litvinov was called upon to give his vote on this resolution he declared: **"I vote for disarmament, against armaments, against the proposed resolution."**

The imperialists in Geneva only engaged in talking about disarmament. Numerous intrigues were spun, new imperialist antagonisms called forth and the existing antagonisms intensified. Thanks to the courageous attitude of the Soviet delegation, to its real fight for real disarmament it has succeeded in exposing all these deceitful manoeuvres, the monstrous crime by which the masses are to be rendered pliable for the world war. The fight of the Soviet delegation at Geneva for peace thereby became a historically important part of the class struggle of the international proletariat.

THE WHITE TERROR

The Lives of Imre Sallai and Alexander Fuerst

The following are short details concerning the lives of the two murdered communists Imre Sallai and Alexander Fuerst:

Imre Sallai was born in Hungary (exact village unknown) in 1897. At the age of fourteen he went to Budapest. Two years later he joined the Social Democratic Party of Hungary. During the war he remained true to the cause of the working class and organised anti-militarist work. During 1918 he was the leader of a number of revolutionary strikes under the slogan of "All Power to the Soviets!" He was arrested by the authorities and released by the first Hungarian revolution which took place at the end of the year. Comrade Sallai was one of the founders of the Hungarian Communist Party and carried out responsible party work on a number of fields. During the Hungarian Soviet Republic he was, together with comrade Otto Korvin, who was later tortured to death by the counter-revolution, the leader of the Committee for the Suppression of Counter-Revolution and one of the men most hated by the Hungarian bourgeoisie. After the collapse of the Soviet Republic comrade Sallai did not leave Hungary immediately but continued to work illegally and evaded arrest until 1920 when he left the country and worked in the illegal Central Committee of the Communist Party until 1924. In 1924 he left for the Soviet Union where he worked and studied in the Marx-Engels and Lenin Institutes until he returned to Hungary for further illegal work.

Alexander Fuerst was born in Rum in the Pas Comitatus in Hungary in 1903. After the fall of the Soviet Republic he joined the revolutionary movement, i. e. at a time when only the staunchest and best were to be found in its ranks. He was a member of a social democratic trade union but was very soon in the opposition. His struggle against the treachery and opportunism of the social democratic leaders soon brought him into the ranks of the illegal Communist Party where he worked heroically and rose to a leading position. He was arrested many times. The fifth time he was arrested was in 1929 and on the evidence of an agent-provocateur he was sentenced to eighteen months hard labour for communist activity. He was one of those devoted comrades who reorganised the illegal Communist Party after the arrest of Zoltan Szanto and others.

The two murdered men were splendid types of self-sacrificing, hard-working and heroic communists such as have been produced by the dark days of bloody terror and brutal suppression which followed the overthrow of the Hungarian Soviet Republic. The Communist Party of Hungary and the revolutionary working class movement all over the world have lost two of their best.

The White Terror in Japan.

By W. W.

With the deepening of the economic crisis, the oppression of the revolutionary movement by the reactionary government of Japan is being intensified more than ever, particularly since the Manchurian war.

On March 10, the "Intelligence Department of the Home Ministry" demanded a supplementary budget of 1½ million yen in order to complete the special police, telephone service throughout the country. On March 26, the former Home Minister Suzuki said, "we must devote our main forces to combating extreme thought".

A Parliamentary election took place last February. In spite of the prohibitive measures of the authorities, three Communists, Comrades Sano, Sugira and Karaziwi, who are now in prison stood as candidates in Tokio. The election Manifestoes of these comrades, connecting the election with the struggle against war and the defence of the Soviet Union, were circulated in tens of thousands. At the same time Comrade Yoshida, a tramway worker, also openly came forward as a candidate in Tokio, backed by the militant mass organisations. This campaign was conducted so successfully that the Government decided to suppress it, and arrested Comrade Yoshida and other 68 comrades. According to the bourgeois press five members of the C.C. of the Y.C.L. were arrested

in connection with the election campaign. The government is attempting to prosecute Comrade Yoshida and other comrades under the vicious "peace preservation law". The Communist Party of Japan has issued a leaflet calling upon the workers to fight for the release of their candidate Yoshida.

Although the proletarian election campaign was smashed, several thousand votes were cast in Tokio for the Communist candidates and for Yoshida under exceedingly difficult conditions of white terror.

The police then tried to ascertain who provided the money for the election fund. Following this, on March 27, there commenced a fierce attack on the **Proletarian Cultural League**, which consists of numerous affiliated organisations, such as the Proletarian Artists League, the Proletarian Writer's League, the Proletarian Dramatists' League etc.

The police expressed their intention to smash not only the Communist fraction within the League but the League itself. Nearly 60 comrades were arrested in connection with this case, but in spite of these wholesale arrests the League was again reorganised and continues to function and publish its periodical.

Since the invasion of Manchuria there have been several strikes connected with the anti-war movement: the Tamagawa Tramway, the Tokio underground railway and the Sihu railway strikes are outstanding examples.

Two employees of the Tamagawa Tramway Company were called up for military service, whereupon the Company discharged them. The tramway workers then put forward the demand for payment of full wages while serving at the front, and went on strike. The military authorities intervened in the conflict and declared "We are against any labour struggles which have any connection with the Manchurian war".

All of these strikes were led by the Red trade union. Every anti-war demonstration has been ruthlessly broken up by the police. The most remarkable anti-war activity is the movement among the soldiers, a thing which Japanese imperialism has never experienced before. As soon as this activity was discovered, the military authorities summarily executed the soldiers at the front who had participated in it. According to a Chinese telegram in January last, about 200 soldiers near Mun-jon in Manchuria refused to fight or obey orders, with the result that all of them were arrested and executed right away. According to a Chinese report, 200 to 300 Japanese soldiers in Shanghai refused to obey orders. All of them were secretly sent back to Japan, since when nothing more has been heard of them. The Japanese bourgeoisie press published alarming reports at the time that many anti-war "red" leaflets had been found in the trenches.

These facts show that the anti-war movement is gaining ground not only among the workers but among the soldiers, although among the latter it has not yet become a mass movement.

At the present time there are more than 2,000 Communist and revolutionary workers in jail. The arrested leaders of the Communist Party have been in jail for four years without any trial. Quite a number of comrades have been tortured to death.

Scottsboro, Strike Struggles and the Social-Democrats in Sweden.

By J. Louis Engdahl.

Industrial centres of various kinds in Sweden helped spread the Scottsboro protest in response to the tour of the Negro Mother from the United States. Interest in the Scottsboro campaign finds a basis among workers in all industries.

Like Vanderveelde, Blum and other leading social-democrats, their counterparts in Sweden insisted that the Scottsboro campaign must be completely isolated from "politics". "Social-Demokraten", of Stockholm, argued that it was doing a disservice to the Scottsboro mother, Mrs. Ada Wright, and her cause to send her to speak in the Soderhamm strike zone. It would be putting the stamp of "politics" upon her non-political cause. But the Scottsboro mother gave her answer by declaring that it was the workers who were carrying on the basic struggle for the release of the Scottsboro boys, and that she had found specially strong support for the Scottsboro cause among striking workers. And she insisted on going to Soderhamm. And in Soderhamm the striking workers themselves, through their own spokesman, specially greeted the Scottsboro mother and emphatically

denounced the traitor role of the "Social-Demokraten". The strikers pointed out that they, the victims of police clubs and bullets, could well understand the issues involved in the Scottsboro persecution and pledged themselves to help build the struggle until the Scottsboro boys were freed from the clutches of capitalist class justice that reaches out for its victims among workers of all races and nationalities. They understood clearly that it is not purely a humanitarian issue that grows out of a mistake committed by the capitalist courts that are otherwise "fair and impartial".

After that the "Social-Demokraten" closed its columns to the Scottsboro campaign and the social-democrats in charge of Sweden's government-controlled radio refused the Scottsboro mother the right to broadcast her appeal to the nation.

The **Kilbom** right wing renegades who received subsidies for their press from the Ivar Kreuger treasure chests joined the socialdemocrats in seeking to ignore the Scottsboro campaign which received considerable publicity in Sweden, as in Norway, from the press generally, including the syndicalist daily newspaper published in Stockholm.

The response to the Scottsboro appeal can be measured in many ways. In **Norrköping**, for instance, there were more workers in the Scottsboro demonstration than in last May Day's Demonstration. The police of Norrköping evidently felt the undercurrent of Scottsboro protest since they began making arrests early of those distributing propaganda for the meeting and a special police stenographer was brought down from Stockholm in order to get a record of everything that was said by the speakers. In fact the Swedish police build their activities more and more after the German model.

The Scottsboro tour through Sweden brought forward on the one hand, the organisational weakness of the Swedish Section of the International Red Aid, while on the other hand it revealed the tremendous interest in the struggles against the persecution of labour, not only in Sweden itself but internationally. It was not difficult, therefore, to join up the preparations for the World Congress of the International Red Aid, in November in Moscow, with the Scottsboro campaign, struggle against fascism and war as the broad basis for mighty mass mobilisations. It may be said, that the tour of the Scottsboro Negro Mother in Sweden actually discovered for the Swedish workers not only the necessity but the tremendous possibility of building a mass Red Aid organisation.

Comrade Ruegg and his Wife Again on Hunger-Strike!

Shanghai, August 2, 1932.

Comrade Ruegg and his wife have again gone on hunger-strike in order to protest against the decision of the juridical authorities of the Nanking Government, according to which they are to be conveyed back to the prison of the Nanking Court, because their state of health, it is alleged, already permits of their attending the court proceedings. As a matter of fact, however, the state of health of Comrade Ruegg and his wife is still very serious as a result of their first hunger-strike.

The trial is to be resumed in Nanking in the course of the present week.

Appeal of the League Against Imperialism for Comrades Ruegg.

The League against Imperialism and the International Red Aid have issued an appeal for further action to save the Rueggs. The appeal states:

"The lengthy struggles for the life of Comrade Ruegg, and of his wife, have now reached a critical turning point. If they are to be torn from the clutches of the Kuomintang, the accomplice of Japanese and international imperialism, most intense action must be taken up in every country."

The appeal points out that only the storm of international protest has so far saved the Rueggs from summary execution. But they have been subjected to every form of illegal chicanery and cruelty, driving them to hunger-strike. Now the trial is to be recommenced in Nanking. We must not permit the Rueggs to be thus delivered over to death. Their fate is in our hands. The mass international protest must be intensified. The appeal concludes by calling for protests and demonstrations before the embassies and consulates of the imperialist governments.

THE WHITE GUARDISTS

Acquittal for M. Tardieu.

The "Pravda" of July 29 publishes under the above title a leading article, in which it is pointed out that the **Gorgulov** trial itself and also the preparations for it constitute a classical example of veiling of the political motive of the murder of Doumer and also of the objects of the crime and of the circles and persons involved in it. The "Pravda" then states:

"At the Gorgulov trial, the political essence of the whole affair — the attempt to provoke war against the Soviet Union—was passed over as hastily as possible."

During the trial the Court endeavoured to exculpate the official circles and highly placed personages and at the same time the whole of the white-guard emigrés. Precisely therein lies the political meaning of the trial of one of the agents of the interventionist circles of French Imperialism. Gorgulov only executed the will and the plans of the white-guardist bandits and French imperialism. "Gorgulov was condemned to death in order that Tardieu, Reynaud, Chiappe, Guichard, General Miller, Kerenski, Millyukov, the "Vosrosdhenye" circle—the whole camp of the interventionists and white guardists—the inspirers, ideologists and organisers of the provocation of May 6, could continue their work."

The "Pravda", then proceeds to prove by means of facts that Tardieu intended, with the aid of the white-guardists, by falsification to obtain a majority and place himself at the head of the war government.

"But the Gorgulov-Tardieu provocation was exposed. The proletariat, which is safeguarding peace, discovered the interventionist designs of the French bourgeoisie. No subterfuges availed. No falsifications were able to conceal the fact of the participation of official circles in the anti-Soviet provocation of May 6. And therefore they are compelled to execute a provocateur in order to justify the whole system of anti-Soviet provocation.

Gorgulov's head is thus only the token whereby the Court characterises the fiasco of the Tardieu-Serajevo!"

The Gorgulov trial shows that the policy of French imperialism—which protects its agents, the Russian white-guardist emigration and urges them on in their criminal activity—remains unchanged.

The "Pravda" points to the complete failure of all attempts to convert the Gorgulov trial into an anti-Soviet demonstration.

"At the same time the French court and the whole of the venal bourgeois press keeps silent regarding the real instigators of Doumer's murder. The trial showed that there existed perfect understanding between the Public Prosecutor and the accused, between the Court and the interventionists. Therein lies the real reason for the sentence!"

The political result of this juridical farce is, according to the words of the "Pravda", to be seen in the fact that the anti-Soviet activity of the white-guardist provocateurs still remains unpunished as before.

"The working masses of the Soviet Union and of the capitalist countries draw this fundamental conclusion from the Gorgulov trial. It was their blood Gorgulov desired when he fired at Doumer. It is their blood that the imperialistic bourgeoisie, which is preparing for the new war, is lusting after. The most monstrous provocation since Serajevo—the murder of Doumer, and the greatest falsification—Tardieu's notorious communiqué, both fit into the scheme of those who are endeavouring to kindle a fresh war conflagration.

The provocateurs are exposed, their aims are discovered, the threads laid bare, the connections disclosed. They resorted to this juridical comedy in order to conceal their crime of preparing fresh provocations. And therefore the Paris trial, which resulted in an acquittal for the organisers and initiators of the provocation of May 6, must be just as ruthlessly exposed as those whom it endeavoured without success to shield and justify.

The "Pravda", after pointing out that the French bourgeoisie are striving their utmost to conceal the real character of the trial from the workers, concludes as follows:

"But in spite of the endeavours of the French bourgeoisie to conceal from the working people of France what took place

at the trial and the political meaning of the trial, they did not succeed. In the consciousness of the working masses the provocation of May 6 is inseparably connected with the preparations for intervention against the Soviet Union. In their minds the sentence is not a "dispensation of justice" which crowns "justice and morality", but an acquittal of Tardieu and the whole of the white-guardist bandits, and thus one of the stages of preparation for intervention against the working class State."

THE WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS

The Situation in Fascist Finland.

By M. S. (Helsingfors).

I

The Economic Crisis and the Policy of the Bourgeoisie.

The economic crisis in Finland, which commenced already in the year 1929, has increased still further in the fourth year of crisis. It is true, there are no exact figures regarding the falling off of production. But when it is remembered that the export of the most important export articles (animal food-stuffs, timber and paper) has sunk in the period from 1928-1931 by about 3,000 million Finnish marks, or 40 per cent. of the value of exports in 1928, one has some idea of the depth of the prevailing crisis. According to official returns, there are over 100,000 unemployed, but as a matter of fact their actual number is over **200,000**. Together with their families they amount to no less than 600,000, that is to say, every sixth person in Finland is a victim of unemployment. To this there is to be added the large number of workers on short time.

There is a big deficit in the State budget. In spite of the most drastic reduction of expenditure for all social and cultural purposes, the budget in the year 1931 concluded with a deficit of 270,400,000 marks. Even the State railways are working at a loss. In the months of January and February of this year the railways still showed a profit of 2 million Finnish marks. In March, however, they showed a loss of 1,500,000 Marks.

The crisis has had particularly disastrous effects on agriculture. Whilst in the years 1928-31 the wholesale trade index for home industrial products fell 9 per cent., the index for agricultural products fell 28 per cent. This means that the peasant now receives for his products only a little more than two-thirds of their value in 1928, but on the other hand has to pay for home industrial products the same price as formerly, for the decline of wholesale prices does not mean that the goods are correspondingly reduced for the consumer. Imported goods have become even **dearer** (here the wholesale trade index is 2 per cent. higher than in 1928). The "scissors" between the prices of agricultural and industrial products represents a heavy burden on the peasant population.

To this there is to be added the big debts, the high interest and the ever increasing taxes. As a result of the high import duties on grain, and other measures which only benefit the big agrarians, the position of the small and middle peasants has further deteriorated, for they are compelled every year to buy a certain quantity of grain. In the North and North-East of Finland the small peasants have for the past year been eating bread made of ground bark, and still larger masses of peasants had no seed corn in the Spring, as they were obliged to eat it in the Winter. In some districts the municipalities were compelled, on the demands of the small peasants, to carry out a **collective Spring sowing at the cost of the municipality**.

The peasants have no money wherewith to pay their taxes, interests and debts. As a result, the number of compulsory sales is increasing rapidly. In 1931 the number of peasant farms which were sold up amounted on an average to 137 a month, whilst in January to March 1932 the average was 156 a month.

The situation of the working class is still worse. The wage cuts amounts to **60 per cent. of the wages of 1928**. The tremen-

dous unemployment threatens large masses of workers with death from starvation. There are already cases of death from starvation. In Finland there is **no unemployment insurance** or any other public support for the unemployed. The fascist government prohibited the workers' own unemployment insurance societies and confiscated their funds. Unemployment relief work has been organised for a small fraction of the unemployed, but the pay is so low that it is impossible to exist on it. In Helsingfors alone 1000 unemployed have been deprived of their soup cards because they refused to suffer death from starvation in Lovisa, where the unemployed of Helsingfors are sent to perform compulsory work.

In order to be able to carry out the fascist terrorist policy against the working masses with a still harder hand, the big bourgeoisie organised an armed riot of Lappo bandits in Mäntsälä. It was intended by this manoeuvre to divert the discontent of the peasants and to direct their hatred against the "Marxists". It was also intended thereby to exert pressure on the government to intensify its fascist policy and compel it to give new positions to the big bourgeois party in the fascist government apparatus. Thirdly the Mäntsälä people aimed at a more aggressive policy against the Soviet Union.

The fascist terror is being intensified in the political sphere. With the aid of the "Law for the protection of the Republic", which was supposed to be directed against Lappo, the meetings of the peasants have been prohibited. The workers have no political rights whatever. Persecutions of the Communists are increasing. Before and after May Day last 30 to 40 workers were arrested in Helsingfors, Abo, Viborg and other towns, solely on **suspicion** of having helped to organise May Day demonstrations.

As regards war-preparations against the Soviet Union, the present government is proceeding far more cunningly than the adventurers of the type of Wallenius, the former chief of the General Staff. The government has signed a non-aggression Pact with the Soviet Union, with the reservation, however, that it shall come into force only when the other neighbouring countries of the Soviet Union sign a similar Pact. Everything depends, therefore, upon the Rumanian enemies of the Soviet Union. At the same time, Finland is arming at a feverish pace. New cruisers are being built at the Chrichton-Vulcan docks in Abo, immediately following the completion of four submarines. The Karhula metal works have just received an order for 4000 shells. From May to July, test mobilisations of all reservists were carried out.

This fascist policy is being pursued with the combined forces of the bourgeoisie and their social fascist agents. In the fight against Communism, i. e., against the working class and the poor peasants, perfect unanimity prevails right from the most reactionary Lappo followers to the most blood-red left social democrats.

In order to keep the peasants quiet, the fascists are resorting to demagogic measures. Thus they have now passed numerous laws for the "protection of the peasant population" against compulsory sales and exploitation. These laws, however, have no practical importance but only serve to pacify the peasant masses. In the meantime, the peasants have begun forcibly to prevent compulsory sales.

The antagonisms and dissensions in the fascist camp have again led to dissolution-tendencies within the defence corps. The defence corps, a great part of which took part in the "riot of Mäntsälä", is now commencing to split into two groups, or more correctly said, those who stand for "legality" are driven out or of their own accord leave the corps, the leadership of which consists of reliable Lappo people. The withdrawals from the defence corps are the "passive resistance" of the petty bourgeois circles to the policy of the big bourgeoisie. In North Finland in particular withdrawals have become a mass movement among the peasants.

Whatever antagonisms there may be in the camp of the bourgeoisie, they are united against the working class. The fascist dictatorship will not collapse of itself—it must be overthrown, and it can be overthrown only by the masses of the working people under the leadership of the Communist Party in a hard energetic fight. This fight must be directed against the Lappo fascists and also against "legal" and "democratic" fascism, i. e., the present government and the Liberals and social fascists who stand behind it.

THE WAR

Japanese Threat to Tientsin and Peking.

By Min Tin.

Since the beginning of July large Japanese reinforcements have been arriving in Peiping, Tientsin, Shanghaiwan and Chinwangtao. At the same time, manoeuvres of English and American troops are taking place in Peiping and Tientsin. A considerable number of Japanese, English and American warships are lying at anchor in the naval harbour of Chinwangtao. According to newspaper reports, 50,000 Japanese and Manchurian soldiers are again stationed in Chinchow. A report from Tokyo states that further reinforcements, including a special cavalry brigade, are being sent to Manchuria. Since July 4, Japanese bombing planes and guns have been bombarding the town of Chaoyang, which has been defended by volunteers since the commencement of the present year and from which town the Japanese hope to advance to Peiping. A war atmosphere prevails in Peiping and Tientsin.

There is no doubt that the Japanese military camarilla, with their new operations, aim at reviving the war enthusiasm which had ebbed considerably as a result of their defeat in Manchuria in June. The anti-Japanese national revolutionary war of the Manchurian peasants, which has developed especially in East Fengtien and Kirin, has rendered the Japanese soldiers in Manchuria helpless. The Japanese were unable to maintain "law and order" in any town in Manchuria, not even in Changchun, the capital of the Manchukuo, or in Moukden or Harbin, the headquarters of the Japanese army. The whole of the railway traffic in Manchuria is held up as a result of the partisan fights. The construction of the Tunhua-Yanki strategic railway line which the Japanese wanted to finish as soon as possible, is completely at a standstill. Every troop train is in danger of being blown up or attacked by partisans. The Japanese soldiers do not venture to go about the streets alone, but only in bodies. Such a defeat has called forth great discontent in the Japanese army. In this situation the thousands of starving Japanese peasants and unemployed who recently emigrated to Manchuria and not only hoped to obtain there their bread, but according to the promises of the Japanese military camarilla believed they would be able to acquire wealth, are deeply disappointed. They are unable to settle on the land and, as the Tientsin "Ta Kun Pao" reports, a great number of the immigrants are being conveyed back by the Japanese police. Many of them became so radicalised that they joined the Manchurian partisan peasants and took up the fight against their own bourgeoisie and militarists.

In regard to the long-expected invasion of North China by the Japanese imperialists, a representative of the Nanking general staff demagogically declared on June 28, that the plan for repelling the Japanese was already completely worked out. As is to be seen from the leading article of the Shun Pao of July 5, entitled "Great alarm in North China", Wang Chin wei himself has exposed this lie:

"After his return from Peking on June 20, Wang Chin wei stated, that they intended to defer the defensive action against the Japanese until after the proposed conference between Chang Hsue liang and Chiang Kai shek in Hangkow. Manchuria", the paper continues, "has already been nine months in the hands of the Japanese. If the defensive fight is to wait until after the negotiations, then this means agreeing to the complete crushing of China."

In face of this stormy situation in North China the Kuomintang regime is not only not preparing for any defensive fight against the Japanese, but is even organising a generals' war which will facilitate the Japanese advance. At the Kulin conference, which was held in the middle of June, it was decided to support the pro-American General **Chang Hsue Liang** in the fight against Generals **Yen Shi Sen** and **Feng Yu Hsiang** who are now co-operating with Japan. At the beginning of July, when the Japanese had completed their preparations for the penetration of North China and had already commenced to bombard Chaoyang, the Nanking government attempted to throw Chang Hsue Liang overboard and put their pro-Japanese war Minister Ho Yin Chen in his place. Thus it is to be clearly seen that the Kuomintang

has prepared the way for the penetration of the Japanese into North China.

It is not by chance that the Kuomintang government wishes to secure for the Japanese the hinterland in North China; it decided already at the Kulin conference to hand over Manchuria to the Japanese. On July 29 the Shanghai "Evening Post and Mercury" revealed that Wang-Chin-wei had conveyed to the League of Nations Commission, during its visit to Peking, the following decision of the Kulin Conference:

"1. Manchuria is declared to be an autonomous territory."

"2. Both China and Japan will send a commissioner to this autonomous district."

"3. China recognises all the treaty rights of Japan in Manchuria as well as the 21 demands."

"4. The autonomous district is guarded only by the local police; no Chinese soldiers will be stationed there."

In addition to this work behind the scenes, the Kuomintang is carrying out a manoeuvre in order to create the impression that it is organising or supporting the national revolutionary war which is now developing in Manchuria. At the end of June a certain Chü Dji Chin, member of the Central Committee of the Kuomintang, suddenly appeared in Shanghai and declared that he had organised the army for saving the fatherland in Manchuria, that this army consists of 150,000 men and that he had connections with Wang-Teh-Lin, leader of a strong body of peasant partisans in the East of Kirin. This report was published with big headlines in the Kuomintang press. On July 2, the Nanking government appointed General **Djin Tjan** president of the Kirin government, **Li Tu** commander of the Kirin army, and **Wang-Teh-Lin** commissar of the garrison troops in Ninguta.

But what does the population of Manchuria think of the treacherous Kuomintang? Let us read a report from Harbin published by a Kuomintang organ, the "Sin Kuo Min Pat", which appears in Singapore, on July 21:

"Thirty million people in Manchuria are hoping every day to be freed from the Japanese yoke. But they hear only of the outbreak of a war of the generals and preparations for the campaign against the Reds. They want to conduct the fight against the Japanese, but have no hope of receiving any help from China. As a result, there is to be observed among them, in addition to their profound hatred of the Japanese, a more thorough hatred of the Kuomintang."

Thus the population of Manchuria has recognised the true character of the Kuomintang. Therefore it is determined to fight not only against Japanese imperialism but also against its agents, the Kuomintang, which delivers Manchuria over to Japan.

FIRST OF AUGUST

Anti-War Day Demonstrations Everywhere.

Berlin, 2nd August 1932.

The anti-war day demonstrations in **Vienna** and in almost all other towns in Austria were prohibited by the police. Despite the prohibition demonstrations took place in Vienna and probably in other towns also. A number of demonstrations in Vienna were broken up by the police with great brutality.

Big international meetings took place in **Leningrad** in various parts of the town yesterday. The foreign-born emigrants living in Leningrad addressed the meetings. The murder of Sallai and Fuerst and the danger to Karikas were dealt with at great length.

Over fifty thousand workers demonstrated on anti-war day in **New York** on Union Square. Comrade Amter spoke for the Communist Party, the ex-soldier Trumbull for the war veterans, Scherer for the Friends of the Soviet Union, and Shepherd for the Negro workers. Demonstrations are also reported from other towns.

An anti-war demonstration of 5,000 workers is reported from **Seraing** in Belgium.

The anti-war demonstrations in **Prague** were prohibited by the police, but they took place nevertheless. For the most part they were broken up by armed police. Protest resolutions were adopted against the murder of Sallai and Fuerst in Budapest in Hungary, against the fascist terror in Germany, and against the dissolution of the central body of the revolutionary trade unions in Prague.

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.

The Die Is Cast: Ultimatum to Servia.

On July 22.

Count Tisza: "No Serious Turn of Events to be Expected."

Budapest, July 22. The Prime Minister, Count Tisza, declared in the Hungarian Parliament that the foreign situation at present was not such that one could regard the occurrence of a serious turn of events as certain, or even as probable.

("Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung", July 24, 1914.)

Poincaré's Departure from Russia.

His Last Word: "Indissoluble Alliance between Russia and France."

Petersburg, July 23.

After breakfast the Tsar and President Poincaré went to Peterhof, and at 6.30 in the evening proceeded from there, on board the yacht "Alexandria", to Kronstadt. At 7.30 a dinner was held on board the French armoured cruiser "France", and at which President Poincaré made the following toast:

"Sire! — — — My country will see in the attention with which I have been overwhelmed, an express confirmation of the indissoluble alliance which unites Russia and my France . . ."

To which Tsar Nicholas replied as follows:

"Monsieur President! Will you please convey to your beautiful country the expression of the true friendship and the hearty sympathy of the whole of Russia. The common action agreed upon by our two diplomacies and the brotherhood existing between our forces on land and sea will facilitate the tasks of our two governments, who are called upon to safeguard the interests of the two allied peoples by enthusiastically standing for the ideal of peace which our two peoples, in the consciousness of their strength, have set themselves.

Lloyd George: "Feeling Among the Big Powers is Much Better Than It Was Five Years Ago."

London, July 22. The encouraging symptom which I observed is that the concern regarding armaments is cosmopolitan and international. Whether it will bear fruit this year or next I do not know, but I am certain that I see clear signs of the reaction in the whole world. Look at one of our neighbours, with whom we had much to do five years ago. Relations are now very much better. (Reuter.)

"No" Ultimatum."

London, July 22. The Austrian-Hungarian Note to Servia has not yet been handed over, but we are informed that it will by no means have the character of an ultimatum . . . ("Westminster Gazette.")

On the Following Day:

The Ultimatum.

Vienna, July 23. At 6 o'clock this evening the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador in Belgrade conveyed to the Servian Government a verbal note containing the demands of the Austro-Hungarian government. The Note requires an answer by 6 o'clock Saturday evening, 25th July.

Text of the Ultimatum:

On 31st March, 1909, the Servian Minister at Vienna, on the instructions of the Servian Government, made the following declaration to the Imperial and Royal Government:—

"Servia recognises that the *fait accompli* regarding Bosnia has not affected her rights, and consequently she will conform to the decisions that the Powers may take in conformity with article 25 of the Treaty of Berlin. In deference to the advice of the Great Powers, Servia undertakes to renounce from now onwards the attitude of protest and opposition which she has adopted with regard to the annexation since last Autumn. She undertakes, moreover, to modify the direction of her policy with regard to Austria-Hungary and to live in future on good neighbourly terms with the latter."

The history of recent years, and in particular the painful events of the 28th June last, have shown the existence of a subversive movement with the object of detaching a part of the territory of Austria-Hungary from the Monarchy. The movement, which had its birth under the eye of the Servian Government, has gone so far as to make itself manifest on both sides of the Servian frontier in the shape of acts of terrorism and a series of outrages and murders.

Far from carrying out the formal undertakings contained in the declaration of 31st March, 1909, the Royal Servian Government has done nothing to repress these movements. It has permitted the criminal machinations of various societies and associations directed against the Monarchy, and has tolerated unrestrained language on the part of the press, the glorification of the perpetrators of outrages, and the participation of officers and functionaries in subversive agitation. It has permitted an unwholesome propaganda in public instruction, in short, it has permitted all manifestations of a nature to incite the Servian population to hatred of the Monarchy and contempt of its institutions.

This culpable tolerance of the Royal Servian Government had not ceased at the moment when the events of the 28th of June last proved its fatal consequences to the whole world.

It results from the depositions and confessions of the criminal perpetrators of the outrage of the 28th of June that the Serajevo assassinations were planned in Belgrade; that the arms and explosives with which the murderers were provided, had been given to them by Servian officers and functionaries belonging to the Narodna Odbrana; and finally, that the passage into Bosnia of the criminals and their arms was organised and effected by the chiefs of the Servian frontier service.

The above-mentioned results of the magisterial investigation do not permit the Austro-Hungarian government to pursue any longer the attitude of expectant forbearance which they have maintained for years in face of the machinations hatched in Belgrade, and thence propagated in the territories of the Monarchy. The results, on the contrary, imposed on them the duty of putting an end to the intrigues which form a perpetual menace to the tranquillity of the Monarchy.

To achieve this end the Imperial and Royal Government see themselves compelled to demand from the Royal Servian Government a formal assurance that they condemn this dangerous propaganda against the Monarchy; in other words, the whole series of tendencies, the ultimate aim of which is to detach from the Monarchy territories belonging to it, and that they undertake to suppress by every means this criminal and terrorist propaganda.

In order to give a formal character to this undertaking the Royal Servian Government shall publish on the front page of their "Official Journal" of the 13/26 July the following declaration:—

"The Royal Government of Servia condemn the propaganda directed against Austria-Hungary—i. e., the general tendency of which the final aim is to detach from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy territories belonging to it, and they sincerely deplore the fatal consequences of these criminal proceedings.

"The Royal Government regret that Servian officers and functionaries participated in the above-mentioned propaganda and thus compromised the good and neighbourly relations to which the Royal Government were solemnly pledged by their declaration of the 31st of March, 1909.

"The Royal Government, who disapproves and repudiates all idea of interfering or attempting to interfere with the destinies of the inhabitants of any part whatsoever of Austria-Hungary, consider it their duty formally to warn officers and functionaries and the whole population of the kingdom that henceforward they will proceed with the utmost rigour against persons who may be guilty of such machinations, which they will use all their efforts to anticipate and suppress."

This declaration shall simultaneously be communicated to the Royal Army as an order of the day by His Majesty the King and shall be published in the "Official Bulletin" of the army.

The Royal Servian Government further undertake:

1. To suppress any publication which incites to hatred and contempt of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the general tendency of which is directed against its territorial integrity;

2. To dissolve immediately the societies styled "Narodna Odbrana", to confiscate all its means of propaganda, and to proceed in the same manner against other societies and their branches in Servia which engage in propaganda against the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The Royal Government shall take the necessary measures to prevent the societies dissolved from continuing their activity under another name and form;

3. To eliminate without delay from public instruction in Servia, both as regards the teaching body and also as regards the methods of instruction, everything that serves, or might serve, to foment the propaganda against Austria-Hungary;

4. To remove from the military service and from the administration in general, all officers and functionaries guilty of propaganda against the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy whose names and deeds the Austro-Hungarian government reserve to themselves the right of communicating to the Royal Government;

5. To accept the collaboration in Servia of representatives of the Austro-Hungarian Government for the suppression of the subversive movement directed against the territorial integrity of the Monarchy;

6. To take judicial proceedings against accessories to the plot of the 28th of June who are on Servian territory; delegates of the Austro-Hungarian government will take part in the investigation relating thereto;

7. To proceed without delay to the arrest of Major Voija Tankositch and of the individual named Milan Ciganovich, a Servian State employé, who have been compromised by the results of the magisterial enquiry at Serajevo;

8. To prevent by effective measures the co-operation of the Servian authorities in the illicit traffic in arms and explosives across the frontier, to dismiss and punish severely the officials of the frontier service at Schabatz and Loznica guilty of having assisted the perpetrators of the Serajevo crime by facilitating their passage across the frontier;

9. To furnish the Imperial and Royal Government with explanations regarding the unjustifiable utterances of high Servian officials, both in Servia and abroad, who, notwithstanding their official position, have not hesitated since the crime of the 28th of June to express themselves in interviews in terms of hostility to the Austro-Hungarian Government; and, finally,

10. To notify the Imperial and Royal Government without delay of the execution of the measures comprised under the preceding heads.

The Austro-Hungarian Government expect the reply of the Royal Government at the latest by 6 o'clock on Saturday evening, 25th July.

A memorandum dealing with the results of the magisterial inquiry at Serajevo with regard to the officials mentioned under heads (7) and (8) is attached to this Note.

Annex.

The criminal enquiry opened by the Court of Serajevo against Gabrilo Princip and his accessories in and before the act of assassination committed by them on the 28th of June last, has up to the present led to the following conclusions:

1. The plot, having as its object the assassination of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand at the time of his visit to Serajevo, was formed at Belgrade by Gavrilo Princip, Nedeljko Čabrinović, one Milan Ciganović and Trifko Grabež, with the assistance of commander Voija Tankosić.

2. The six bombs and the four Browning pistols and ammunition with which the guilty parties committed the act were delivered to Princip, Čabrinović and Grabež by the man Milan Ciganović and Commander Voija Tankosić at Belgrade.

3. The bombs are hand-grenades coming from the arms depôt of the Servian army at Kragujevac.

4. In order to ensure the success of the act, Ciganović taught Princip, Čabrinović and Grabež how to use the bombs, and gave lessons in firing Browning pistols to Princip and Grabež in a forest near the shooting ground at Topschider.

5. To enable Princip, Čabrinović and Grabež to cross the frontier of Bosnia-Herzegovina and smuggle in their contraband of arms secretly, a secret system of transport was organised by Ciganović.

By this arrangement the introduction into Bosnia-Herzegovina of criminals and their arms was effected by the officials controlling the frontier at Schabatz (Rade Popovic) and Loznica, as well as by the customs officer Rudivoj Grbic of Loznica with the assistance of various individuals.

Patriotic Demonstrations in Vienna . . .

Vienna, July 24. The patriotic demonstrations of the population are beginning to increase in the chief towns. The Prince Eugen Song is sung by thousands with bare heads, whilst vociferous cheers for the Emperor are raised. The National Anthem is greeted with frantic applause.

. . . and in Budapest.

Budapest, July 24. After the ultimatum to Servia became known, thousands and thousands thronged the Ringstrasse in Budapest, where the offices of the most important Hungarian newspapers posted up the latest reports. Some hundreds of students and street loafers, under the leadership of well-known plain-clothes police, demonstrated with small posters with the inscription: "Long live war!" They met, however, with a feeble response. As they came in front of the Hotel Royal, a cry was suddenly raised from the crowd: "Down with war!" The public gazed round with surprise. Some police officials at once flung themselves on the demonstrator and arrested him. It was ascertained at the police station that the demonstrator was a social democratic upholsterer Stephan G.

The Press.

Austria:

"We Hope that Servia Will Yield."

Vienna, July 24. In giving expression to our will we wish to bring the same to the knowledge of the Servian people. They will see that they have been deceived, that the Pan-Servian movement will break on an iron wall, that the Monarchy is determined to repulse it at all cost . . . No State can allow its prestige, the lives of its highest personages, its peace and economic prosperity to be placed at the mercy of the fanaticism of a movement which finally aims at detaching provinces from us and strives with all means to this end. ("Fremdenblatt.")

Servia:

"The Situation is Very Serious and Critical."

Belgrade, July 24. The government organ "Samouprava" publishes the following communiqué: At 6 o'clock yesterday evening, the Austrian-Hungarian Ambassador at Belgrade,

Freiherr von Gisel, handed over to the representative of the Foreign Minister, the Finance Minister Dr. Patschu, the Note from his Government concerning the events at Vidovdan. The Note, which contains very severe conditions, allows a very short time for an answer. The situation must be regarded as very serious, and critical.

Germany:

"The Other Side Must be Reasonable."

Berlin, July 24. The demands submitted by Austria-Hungary to Serbia on the basis of the enquiry into the murder of the heir to the throne in Serajevo, must appear to be justified if one judges the substantiation of these demands with the seriousness which the matter deserves . . . Should Serbia, contrary to expectations, reject these demands, we hope that the governments of the Big Powers, realising the seriousness of the situation, will do everything to avoid complications arising from the inevitable Austro-Servian conflict . . .

("Norddeutsche Allgemeine Ztg.")

Russia:

"The Fitting Reply of Russia: Mobilisation."

St. Petersburg, July 24. It is logically and physically impossible for Serbia to accept the Austrian ultimatum. The ultimatum shows that Austria either does not reckon with Russia as a big Power, or wants war. The fitting reply of Russia is mobilisation and a declaration, that Serbia does not stand alone.

("Petersburgski Kurjier.")

France:

"A Regular Diplomatic Challenge."

Paris, July 24. The ultimatum submitted by Austria to Serbia is exceedingly severe. The conditions it contains are such that one can openly speak of a regular diplomatic challenge.

("Rappel.")

England:

"We are Working for Peace—But . . ."

London, July 27. We are working and should work for peace. But should there arise in any quarter a desire to test our adhesion to the principles that inform our friendships and that thereby guarantee the balance of Powers in Europe, we shall be found no less ready to vindicate them with the whole strength of the Empire than we have been found ready whenever they have been tried in the past. That, we conceive, interest, duty and honour demand from us. England will not hesitate to answer to their call.

("Times.")

"The Triple Entente will Confront the Triple Alliance."

London, July 29. If Austria rejects Russia's demand for a prolongation of the time-limit, the conflict will not remain localised, but the Triple Entente will confront the Triple Alliance.

("Daily Mail.")

Italy:

"Austria is Entirely in the Right and Serbia Entirely in the Wrong."

Rome, July 24. Austria is entirely in the right and Serbia entirely in the wrong. Since the Balkan war the Serbian military party has adopted an attitude, which finds an echo among the youth, which was bound to excite the various patriotic associations and schools and render acute the Servian irredenta in Bosnia and other frontier districts. All these things rendered possible the terrible crime of Serajevo. The attitude of the Monarchy towards Bosnia could not be more correct.

("Popolo Romano.")

Behind the Scenes: Heading Direct for War.

Count Berchthold to Freiherr von Giesl in Belgrade and Count Tisza in Budapest.

Vienna, July 24, 1914.

I presume that your Excellency, in accordance with the instructions already given you, has adopted all measures in order, in the event of no satisfactory reply being received from Belgrade after the expiration of the 48-hour time-limit,

to be able to leave Belgrade at once with the staff of the Embassy. The result of the 48 hours time-limit, which can only be the unconditional acceptance of our demands or the rejection of the same, your Excellency will please telegraph immediately from Semlin in a few words to the Cabinet and the Military Staff of His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty at Ischl, and also in cypher from Belgrade to the Foreign Ministry and to Count Tisza in Budapest.

("Diplomatic Documents on Events Leading up to the War 1914." Vol. 2.)

Immediate Mobilisation Absolutely Necessary.

Count Tisza to Count Berchthold.

Budapest, July 24, 1914.

Cypher. Strictly Secret.

Mobilisation.

I request your Excellency, should it be necessary, to state also in my name that in the event of no satisfactory answer being received from Serbia, the immediate order for mobilisation will be absolutely necessary. Any hesitation in this respect would involve fatal consequences.

(Ibid, vol. 2, page 22.)

"German Government Quite in Agreement with the Contents of the Note."

Count Szögyeny to Count Berchthold.

Berlin, July 24, 1914.

In accordance with decree No. 3426 of the 20th inst., I yesterday handed over to the State secretary the Note which we delivered to Serbia . . .

Herr von Jagow thanked me for this communication and assured me that the German Government is of course in full agreement with the contents of this Note.

(Ibid, Vol. 2, page 5.)

The Entente Ready for Action.

Report of Sir George Buchanan, British Ambassador at St. Petersburg, to Sir Edward Grey.

(British Diplomatic Correspondence No. 6, Juli 24.)

(Telegraphic.)

"I had a telephone message this morning from M. Sazonov to the effect that the text of the Austrian ultimatum had just reached him.

His Excellency added that a reply within forty-eight hours was demanded, and he begged me to meet him at the French Embassy, as the Austrian step clearly meant that war was imminent.

. . . He hoped that His Majesty's Government would not fail to proclaim their solidarity with Russia and France.

The French Ambassador gave me to understand that France would fulfil all the obligations entailed by her alliance with Russia, if necessity arose, besides supporting Russia strongly in any diplomatic negotiations.

. . . Supposing Austria nevertheless proceeded to embark on military measures against Serbia, in spite of our representations, was it the intention of the Russian government forthwith to declare war on Austria?

M. Sazonov said that he himself thought that Russian mobilisation would at any rate have to be carried out; but a Council of Ministers was being held this afternoon to consider the whole question. A further Council would be held, probably to-morrow, at which the Emperor would preside, when a decision would be come to.

It seems to me from the language held by French Ambassador, that, even if we decline to join them, France and Russia are determined to make a strong stand.

And the Social Democracy.

"The step has been taken; and it is no longer possible to have any illusions regarding the fearful consequences which may arise from it . . .

"It is true: The Servian government circles have seriously violated human morality. After the annexation they swore to keep calm and peaceable, and they have not ceased to intrigue openly and secretly against the Monarchy. If everything which is contained in the Note regarding the results of the magisterial investigation against the assassins is true,

then the Serajevo murder has its origin in Belgrade, and there exist at least strong reasons for suspicion that the Servian Government organs share the responsibility. Austria-Hungary is therefore justified in demanding the punishment of those who share in the guilt, and it is also justified in demanding of the Servian Government a certain guarantee that it will put an end to tolerating those efforts the final aim of which is to disintegrate the Austrian State . . ."

(Austerlitz in the Vienna "Arbeiter-Zeitung", July 24.)

The German Social Democracy Uses another Language

Berlin, July 24. "A venal bourgeois press is already assuring Austria-Hungary of the unconditional support of Germany. This support goes beyond the Triple Alliance Treaty, according to which the obligation of one party to the alliance to come to the aid of the other, only comes into force if Russia attacks one of the contracting parties or supports an attacking State. Austria-Hungary is not attacked but is attacking. In spite of this the German Government supports Austria-Hungary beyond its treaty obligations, and the German people are to be led to the slaughter because the dynasty of the allied State incited the nations against each other, denied them the primitive rights of democracy and equality and is now helpless to exorcise the spirits which it has called forth . . ."

If German diplomacy bangs its fist on the table and threatens with war, the German proletariat must not stand aside. A serious hour has come, more serious than any in the last decades! Danger is at hand! World war threatens! The people, which is gagged and exploited by the rulers, is now to serve as cannon-fodder. The voice of the masses, of the millions must be raised against this. The entire nation, . . . all those who live from the labour of their hands and brain, must now get ready in order to stay the arm of the war-mongers."

("Vorwärts.")

The Russian Proletariat in Action.

Petersburg, July 22. At several places in the Viborg district in Petersburg insurgents attacked the police, injured the district inspector and his assistant and half killed a policeman. In the Fjugov Street they erected barricades, which were stormed by the police . . . In the course of an attempt of the insurgents to release their arrested comrades, a station inspector and two policemen were wounded. . . . Traffic has been again resumed on the railway, every train is followed by a locomotive with a guard.

Riga, July 22. The number of workmen on strike has increased to 40,000; among them being 1000 dock-workers.

Tiflis, July 22. Street cars are at a standstill owing to the strike of the street car workers.

Petersburg, July 22. According to official reports, the number of workers on strike, including the printers and street car workers, amounted yesterday to 120,000.

Russia Demands Prolongation of the Time-Limit for Servia.

Petersburg, July 24. (Reuter.) To-day's Ministerial Council lasted four hours. It is asserted that Russia will immediately intervene and demand from Austria-Hungary that the time-limit of the ultimatum be extended in order to allow European diplomatic time to assert its influence.

Austria Refuses.

Vienna, July 25. The evening papers report: The Russian Government has requested the Austrian-Hungarian Government, through the Austrian-Hungarian Ambassador at Petersburg Count Szapary and through its representative in Vienna, that the time-limit contained in the Note to Servia be extended for some days. The Austrian-Hungarian government has politely but definitely refused to comply with this request . . .

("Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" 26th July 1914.)

Mobilisation Decided on in Russia.

The French Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, to the Prime Minister and the French Ambassadors:

"We learn from Petersburg, July 25, that M. Sazonov has advised Servia to request the mediation of England. At the Ministerial Council held on the 25th under the chairmanship of

the Tsar, it was decided, should it be necessary, to mobilise the 13 army corps which would operate against Austria. This mobilisation will however only come into effect if Austria-Hungary coerces Servia by force of arms and only on the orders of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, with whom it will rest to fix the date, even if Belgrade is occupied . . ."

(Suchomlinov. The Russian mobilisation in the Light of official documents and the revelations of the trial of 1917, page 9.)

German Fleet Ready for War.

M. Chevalley, French Minister at Christiania, to M. Bienvenu-Martin, Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Christiania, Juli 26, 1914.

The whole German fleet in Norway has received orders to put to sea. The German authorities at Bergen declare that it is to make straight for Germany.

German ships scattered in the Fjords to the North of Bergen were to join those which are in the neighbourhood of Stavanger.

Chevalley.

(French Yellow Book, No 58.)

War More Advantageous Now than Later.

The great European war, if Russia and France want to force it on us, would be more advantageous for us now than later. For diplomatically the Triple Entente has, unfortunately, hitherto shown itself to be far superior to the Triple Alliance.

The demarche on the part of Vienna was this time, according to all accounts, very carefully calculated. Poincaré and Viviani were away on visits. The Emperor of Germany returns within a few days from his journey to the North. In the meantime Servia was given a time-limit of only 48 hours. No evasion is possible. No appeals to Petersburg and Paris. The die must be cast in Belgrade itself.

("Deutsche Zeitung", 25th July 1914.)

Servia's Reply to the Austro-Hungarian Ultimatum.

Belgrade, July 25 (Official). This evening, a few minutes before 6 o'clock, the Prime Minister Pasitch handed over to the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador in Belgrade the Reply of the Royal Servian Government. The main contents of the Note are as follows:

. . . Falling in, therefore, with the desire of the Imperial and Royal Government, they (the Royal Government of Servia) are prepared to hand over for trial any Servian subject without regard to his situation or rank, of whose complicity in the crime of Serajevo proofs are forthcoming . . .

The Royal Government further undertake:—

1. To introduce at the first regular convocation of the Skuptchina a provision into the press law providing for the most severe punishment of incitement to hatred or contempt of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and for taking action against any publication the general tendency of which is directed against the territorial integrity of Austria-Hungary. . .

2. The Government possess no proof, nor does the Note of the Imperial and Royal Government furnish them with any, that the "Narodna Odbrana" and other similar societies have committed up to the present any criminal act of this nature through the proceedings of any of their members. Nevertheless, the Royal Government will accept the demand of the Imperial and Royal Government, and will dissolve the "Narodna Odbrana" Society and every other society which may be directing its efforts against Austria-Hungary.

3. The Royal Servian Government undertake to remove without delay from their public educational establishments in Servia all that serves or could serve to foment propaganda against Austria-Hungary, whenever the Imperial and Royal Government furnish them with facts and proofs of this propaganda.

4. The Royal Government also agree to remove from military service all such persons as the judicial enquiry may have proved to be guilty of acts directed against the integrity of the territory of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and they expect the Imperial and Royal Government to communicate to them at a later date the names and the acts of these officers and officials for the purposes of the proceedings which are to be taken against them.

5. The Royal Government must confess that they do not clearly grasp the meaning of the scope of the demand made by the Imperial and Royal Government that Serbia shall undertake to accept the collaboration of the organs of the Imperial and Royal Government upon their territory, but they declare that they will admit such collaboration as agrees with the principle of international law, with criminal procedure, and with good neighbourly relations.

6. It goes without saying that the Royal Government consider it their duty to open an enquiry against all such persons as are, or eventually may be, implicated in the plot of the 15/28th June and who happen to be within the territory of the kingdom. As regards the participation in this enquiry of Austro-Hungarian agents or authorities appointed for this purpose by the Imperial and Royal Government, the Royal Government cannot accept such an arrangement, as it would be a violation of the Constitution and of the law of criminal procedure; nevertheless, in concrete cases communications as to the results of the investigation in question might be given to the Austro-Hungarian agents.

7. The Royal Government proceeded, on the very evening of the delivery of the Note, to arrest Commandant Voislav Tankositch. As regards Milan Ciganovitch, who is a subject of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and who up to the 28th June was employed (on probation) by the directorate of the railways, it has not yet been possible to arrest him.

8. The Servian Government will reinforce and extend the measures which have been taken for preventing the illicit traffic of arms and explosives across the frontier. It goes without saying that they will immediately order an enquiry and will severely punish the frontier officials on the Schabatz-Loznitz line who have failed in their duty and allowed the authors of the crime of Serajevo to pass . . .

If the Imperial and Royal Government are not satisfied with this reply, the Servian Government, considering that it is not to the common interest to precipitate the solution of this question, are ready, as always, to accept a pacific understanding, either by referring this question to the decision of the International Tribunal of the Hague, or to the Great Powers which took part in the drawing up of the declaration made by the Servian Government on 18th (31st) March, 1909.

Relations Broken Off between Austria-Hungary and Servia.

Vienna, July 25. (Official.) The Servian Prime Minister Pasitsch called at the Austrian Embassy in Belgrade a few minutes before 6 o'clock and gave an inadequate reply to the Austro-Hungarian Note. Baron Giesl thereupon notified him of the breaking off of diplomatic relations and left Belgrade at 6.30 p. m. with the whole of the Embassy staff.

The Echo: In Austria.

Vienna, July 25. . . . When the first news of the breaking off of diplomatic relations became known just before eight o'clock, there was a great excitement in the streets. The first special editions confirming the news appeared soon afterwards. The masses gathered together and formed an imposing demonstration, which was continually joined by fresh crowds, and proceeded over the Ringstrasse to the Deutschmeister Monument. The crowd suddenly struck up the Prince Eugen song . . .

(“Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung”, 26. 7. 1914.)

In Germany.

Berlin, July 26. When, shortly after 8 o'clock this evening, the first special editions of the papers announcing the rejection of the Austro-Hungarian Note by Serbia appeared in the Unter den Linden, the crowds raised loud cheers for Austria-Hungary. About 2000 people proceeded to the Austro-Hungarian Embassy, and amidst repeated cheers sang various patriotic songs.

(“Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung”, 26. 7. 1914.)

The Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Berlin to the Russian Minister For Foreign Affairs.

Berlin, July 28, 1914. The Wolff Bureau has not published the text of the Servian reply, although it was communicated to them. Up to the present this Note has not appeared in

extenso in any of the local papers, which, to all appearances, do not wish to publish it in their columns being well aware of the calming effect which it would have on German readers.

Bronévsky.

(The Russian Orange Book, page 21.)

(Editorial Note: The text of the Note was published on July 29, in the “Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung”.)

Fear of Threatening Dangers for the Monarchies.

The German Ambassador at Petersburg to the Foreign Office.

St. Petersburg, July 26, 1914.

General Lieutenant von Chelius informed me that circles of monarchist higher officers, who are in close contact with the Tsar and inclined to peace, regard as the best means of maintaining peace between the big Powers is a telegram from His Majesty the Kaiser to Tsar Nicholas. This telegram must appeal to the monarchist feelings and point to the serious blow which has been dealt to the monarchist idea by the murder of Serajevo and the dangers threatening the monarchies in the event of a general European conflagration.

Pourtales.

“Russia's Military Measures Compel us to Resort to Counter-Measures.”

The Reichs Chancellor to the German Ambassador at Petersburg. Urgent!

Berlin, July 26.

As already mentioned in telegram No. 126, preparatory military measures in any way directed against us would compel us to adopt counter-measures, which must consist in mobilising the army. Mobilisation, however, would mean war, and, moreover would be against Russia and France at the same time, as France's obligations towards Russia are already known to us . . .

I request your excellency to speak with M. Sasonov in the above sense.

Bethmann Hollweg.

Telegram from His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Russia to His Royal Highness Prince Alexander of Servia, Juli 27, 1914.

. . . So long as the slightest hope exists of avoiding bloodshed, all our efforts must be directed to this end; but if in spite of our earnest wish we are not successful, Your Highness may rest assured that Russia will in no case disinterest herself in the fate of Servia.

(The Russian Orange Book, page 18/19.)

Railway Bridge Connecting Belgrade with Semlin Blown up.

Vienna, July 27. The Serbs have blow up the railway bridge over the Danube between Belgrade and Semlin.

And the Social Democracy.

Workers, Party Comrades!

At a terrible serious time we address ourselves to you, Party comrades. The danger of warlike complications with Servia is approaching ever nearer, and before the end of the day on which these words reach you, war can already have broken out. We social democrats, the representatives of the German people, do not shut our eyes to the great injury which the Servian rulers have done to Austria. As we, true to our principles, which repudiate vain deeds of force, condemn the assassination of Serajevo, so also do we condemn those who bear the partial responsibility for it. We recognise that Austria-Hungary is within its rights in asking from the Servian Government the prosecution of the participators in that crime; we can understand that Austria-Hungary demands that the underground agitation against the security and peace of the Austrian Federation of States should be stopped, that the Servian rulers should put an end to the encouraging toleration with which they have hitherto regarded this disruptive movement. But we are convinced that the Servian

Government would not have been able to offer any opposition to these demands of Austria-Hungary, which are sanctioned by the rights of the peoples and would, in fact, have offered none. We are convinced that all that Austria-Hungary asks could have been obtained and can still be obtained by peaceful methods, and that no necessities of State, no consideration for its prestige, compel the great Power to depart from the path of peaceful agreement....

We repudiate all responsibility for the war; solemnly and emphatically we lay it to the charge of those on both sides who have instigated it and wish to let it loose. In this we know we are united with the class-conscious proletariat of the whole world, and not the least with the social democrats of Servia. We hereby solemnly dedicate ourselves to the work of civilisation, to international social democracy, to which we shall remain faithful during life and devoted until death.

(From an appeal of the German social democratic members of Parliament in Austria, published in "Vorwärts" July 25, 1914.)

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

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

By J. A. JAKOVLEV (Moscow).

(Continuation.)

VI.

Two examples may be cited to show why our Party must return once more to these long decided questions. The first relates to the development of livestock breeding, the second to the methods of managing the collective farms.

Let us begin with the first. There are a good many functionaries who realise that the workers may take up rabbit-keeping, and that it is necessary and useful for them to do so, but for some reason or other they regard it as not in place for the collective peasant to have a cow of his own, or to keep pigs or rabbits. There are not a few people in the provinces who are ready to insist on the ridiculous "theory" that the cow or pig of the collective peasant signifies the decline of the collective farm, or at least its decline as a socialist type of undertaking. There are some sorry collective farm "managers" who are troubled in the administration of the farm by the presence of this cow, and are of the opinion that "the management of the collective farm is easier when the collective peasant has no cow".

This spring has brought many examples of distorted ideas of this kind, and considerable inclination has been shown to substitute anxiety for the consolidation of the agricultural artel by anxiety to socialise the cow.

The Central Committee of the Party at once opposed these attempts, and has again announced "that only enemies of the collective farms can permit the compulsory socialisation of the cows and small livestock belonging to the individual collective peasants". The C.C. proposed that persons guilty of attempting to enforce the socialisation of the cows and other livestock of the collective peasants should be expelled from the Party (decision of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U., 26th March 1932).

With this the Central Committee has not only given a rap over the knuckles to those who are again anxious to "spring over" the stage of the agricultural artel, but has at the same time shown the path which is to be taken in the future for solving the livestock problem. For it is clear that the difficulties facing us in the livestock breeding question are to be solved in two ways. On the one hand the Soviet farms breeding livestock, and the collective dairies, will continue to grow. At the present time we have 68,000 such dairies possessing 6 million cows and 2 million pigs, forming an excellent basis for the further development of collective livestock breeding for the markets. There are millions of heads of cattle on the Soviet cattle farms, and in spite of the grave defects and mismanagement in the work of these undertakings, this year they will

"No Drop of Blood Must be Sacrificed to the Imperialist Profit Interests . . ."

In the name of humanity and civilisation, the class-conscious proletariat of Germany raises a burning protest against the criminal behaviour of the war-mongers. It dictatorially demands of the German Government that it uses its influence with the Austrian Government for the preservation of peace, and if the shameful war cannot be prevented, to abstain from any armed interference. No drop of blood from any German soldier must be sacrificed to the lust for power of the Austrian rulers and to the imperialist profit interests . . .

The ruling classes, who in time of peace gag you, despise you and exploit you, would misuse you as food for cannons. Everywhere it must sound in the ears of those in power: we will have no war! Down with war! Long live the international brotherhood of the peoples!

(Appeal of the Party Executive of the German Social Democracy, July 25.)

increase their output by 50 per cent. as compared with last (exclusive of sales in their own shops). This is the main solution of the difficulties of the livestock breeding problem. On the other hand, besides these Soviet farms and collective dairies, the livestock breeding enterprises of the individual collective peasant will not only be maintained, but extended. The decision of the C.C. of 26th March 1932 states directly: "It is the task of the Party to ensure that every collective peasant has his own cow, his small livestock, his poultry". This decision of the C.C., and the subsequent decisions on collective trade in meat, tell the collective peasant: Breed livestock and sell it on the markets, at the same time honestly fulfilling your obligations towards the State. The workers' and peasants' State is not opposed to this; it is in favour of it. The State is in favour of every collective peasant having his own cow, his small livestock, his poultry, for this promotes the development of livestock breeding and is part of the fundamental principle of the agricultural artel, which combines socialised cultivation of the soil and socialised livestock breeding with the maintenance and breeding of animals by the individual collective peasants for themselves.

VII.

Let us take another example, showing why the Party has to return again and again to the old questions. This example relates to the running of the collective farms. We are all aware of the clearness with which the decisions of the 16th Party Congress and of the 6th Soviet Congress emphasised the difference between the collective and the Soviet farm, how emphatically these decisions reject any attempt to "identify the collective and the Soviet farm", the decision with which the fact is stressed that the "collective farms are undertakings founded by peasants who have voluntarily socialised their means of production and who cultivate land belonging to the State. Hereby the masters of the collective farm are the collective peasants . . .", whilst the Soviet farms are state enterprises ruled by the state. Unfortunately, there are not a few cases in which impermissible methods of administration are used on the collective farms, impermissible methods in the treatment of collective farms, although plain directives have been laid down by the Party with regard to the impermissibility of arbitrary methods towards the working peasantry.

Is it not a disregard of these instructions from the Party, when what is in reality a mass compulsory extension of col-

lective farms took place this spring in a number of districts in the Soviet Ukraine?

What else is it but a disregard of the instructions of the Party that in some districts cases are recorded in which, within one year, simply on the orders of district organs and various authorised functionaries, about a dozen heads of collective farms have been changed. It is, however, surely common knowledge that agricultural production is a complicated affair, in many respects more complicated than the management of industrial production. For in the factory the workers are more highly qualified than in the collective farms, and there are more mechanical devices enabling work to be conducted according to fixed regulations. But in agriculture we are having our first experiences of socialised large-scale farming. And the soil has to be taken into account, with its peculiarities, the various devices for destroying weeds in different districts, the climatic conditions (which may be overcome if we erect such fortresses as the Kamyschinska dam), the animals which only require to be fed every three days—and if all this is not taken into account the results of several years of work may be destroyed. It is obvious that the changing of managers of collective farms as if they were on a "conveyor belt" is a serious violation of the methods of leadership laid down by the Party. Those who believe that the heads of collective farms can be changed as if they were the managers of any unimportant institution, certainly forget that the Leninist rule, "the middle peasant is not to be ordered about" still retains its full validity with relation to the agricultural artel.

Hence the necessity of such a decision as that made by the C.C. of the Party on 10th May 1932, forbidding the district organs arbitrarily to remove members of the administration of the collective farms. And hence the issue by the Central Executive Committee and the Council of the People's Commissars of the Soviet Union of a special decree on revolutionary legality, providing severe punishment for all persons attempting to violate the fundamental principles of collective agricultural construction as laid down by the Leninist Party.

This decree takes as starting point the fact that methods of force applied to the collective farms are of advantage only to the kulak and the Right opportunists, and only shake the faith of the broad masses of the toiling peasantry in the policy of the Soviet power and undermine the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, and therefore must not be tolerated in any part of the Soviet Union.

VIII.

The decisions adopted by the government on the plan for providing grain and livestock, on the development of the trade of the collective farms, of the collective peasants, and of the individual working peasants, and on the regulation of trade as laid down by the government, are indivisibly bound up, on the one hand, with that which the collective farm (the agricultural artel) represents at the present stage of development, and on the other hand, with the tasks which the Party sets itself with regard to the development of the goods turnover. The nature of these decisions is known to all of you.

By these decisions the amount of grain to be raised by the collective farms and individual peasant farms is reduced by 264 million poods as compared with the plan for 1931. These decisions diminish by one half the plan now in force for the amount of meat to be provided by the collective farms, collective peasants, and individual peasant undertakings. They consider it advisable to grant to those collective farms, collective peasants, and individual peasants who fulfil punctually their schedule of livestock to be supplied to the state, the full possibility of selling livestock unhindered on the markets. They consider our purposes will be best fulfilled if the collective farms and collective peasants, after having fulfilled their grain supply schedule and provided a reserve of seed, are permitted to sell their surplus grain without hindrance. And finally, they record the fact that the collective farms, collective peasants, and individual working peasants, trade at prices determined by the markets.

The amount of products to be raised by the state is fixed exactly beforehand. No local organ has the right either to increase or lessen the plan of state supplies laid down by the government, for any reason whatever. With regard to grain, this means that all edible or fodder grain left to the collective farms and peasants, after they have supplied their

quota to the state, is entirely at their own disposal, and may be utilised as they think best: to improve their own farming undertaking, to extend their livestock, to supply their own needs, or to be sold unrestrictedly on the markets, in the market places, or in their own collective farm shops. With regard to livestock breeding, this means that the whole of the animals reared by the collective farms, collective farmers, and individual peasants, are disposed of according to their own judgment, either for their own use or for sale on the market, provided that the reduced schedule now issued by the government for the state supplies has first been punctually fulfilled.

These decisions are sure to increase even the present interest on the part of the collective farms as a whole, and of every individual collective peasant, in the extension of their own collective grain growing and of the breeding of animals for their own use and for sale. The possibility of selling at market prices, a part of the grain grown, after the state quota and the reserve seed have been delivered up, will certainly multiply the auxiliaries of the collective farms, increase their working assets, and facilitate the punctual payment to all collective peasants of their share in cash (calculated on the basis of the number of days worked). The possibility of selling on the market the livestock raised by the collective peasants will, on the one hand, increase the interest of every collective peasant in ensuring that not only the decisively important socialised section of the collective farm makes progress, but at the same time his own supplementary sideline. At the same time the reduced schedule of grain to be delivered up by the collective farms to the State enables this obligation to be more easily fulfilled than before, the more so that in this year the amount of grain supplied to the State will have been grown for the most part on collective farms which have taken advantage of the enormous and immediate help in production afforded by the tractor and agricultural machinery stations.

These decisions are based on the fact that the agricultural artel represents an undertaking belonging to the peasants' collective, but working on land belonging to the State and carrying on its work to a great extent with the aid of state means of production (tractor and agricultural machinery stations). As an undertaking belonging to the collective peasants, the agricultural artel is an enterprise producing commodities for sale. As a collective undertaking working on state land, and to a great extent with the aid of state means of production, the agricultural artel supplies (sells) a part of its commodities to the State to an amount and at a price fixed by the State. The result is two currents of goods production from the collective farms and collective peasants: one portion goes to the State, to the extent determined by the State; the other goes, according to the wishes of the producers, either to the open market or is used for their own purposes.

It is perfectly clear that the whole of the decisions adopted this spring with regard to collective agricultural trade are based on this nature of the agricultural artel, in which the socialised interests of the collective farm and the collective peasant are linked up, in a manner most accessible and comprehensible to the peasantry, with the private and personal interests of the collective peasant; in which the means of production belonging to the collective farm as result of the voluntary pooling by its members are supplemented by the state means of production (tractor and agricultural machinery stations); in which the collective peasants themselves are the heads of the undertaking whilst the land belongs to the state, and in which the main socialised section of the enterprise is supplemented by the agricultural sidelines carried on by the collective peasants for themselves.

IX.

On the other hand, this whole group of decisions on the part of the government on the development of collective farming trade is **indissolubly bound up with the earlier decisions of the Central Committee of the Party on the extension of the exchange of goods between town and country.**

The efforts made by the Central Committee of the Party to develop the exchange of goods between town and country, and for the furtherance of Soviet trade, are well known.

The decisions of the Council of People's Commissars and of the C.C. of the Party, aiming at the promotion of the provision of the supplies by the state and at the same time at the development of the methods of trading in agricultural products, are now directed with fresh energy against the

clumsy and bungling disregard of the task of developing the exchange of goods between town and country. These decisions reduce the amounts of products to be sold to the State, and enable collective agricultural trade to strengthen and improve the provision of additional sources of supply of agricultural products to the towns, so that the conditions for increasing the exchange of goods between town and country may be facilitated and may afford, in combination with the development of Soviet trade, the possibility of dispensing with the card system.

That the trade of the collective farms and collective peasants is at market prices does not contradict the above in any way.

The experience already gained in the development of collective farming trade, though too short and otherwise inadequate at the present time, shows that considerable quantities of goods are offered on a number of markets, and that in consequence a certain fall in the exaggeratedly high market prices is observable. In the future it will have to be taken into account that even when the amounts of products to be delivered to the State are lessened, great reserves of grain and meat products will still remain in the hands of the State, which reserves have been supplied by the Soviet and collective farms at the standard prices set by the State; that, there is an ever increasing reserve of articles of mass consumption in the hands of the State, and this reserve is the most efficient means of regulating collective agricultural trade, and the best method of making it one of the main arteries of Soviet trade. (To be concluded.)

OUR PROBLEMS

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

By Johns.
(Conclusion.)

This is due to the lack of constant and persistent work among the masses and the failure to take up various forms of defence of their interests. Besides the strike, which is the highest form of the economic struggle, there are dozens of various functions of the trade unions. For example there is legal aid to the members of the trade unions, which can also be carried on in a lawyer like manner or in a revolutionary manner. Bunting won "authority" because as a lawyer he defended workers. The opportunism of Bunting consisted not only of the fact that he went to the courts and various offices to "defend" the workers as a lawyer, but chiefly that he limited the trade union activity of the Party to this. In the practical life of the Red trade unions it sometimes happens that workers who come to the trade unions for legal help are practically called opportunists because they do not want to declare a strike at once. This is merely a distortion of the Party line. The Party will fight against distortions in trade union activity.

Communists draw the conclusion: 1. the united front of white and native workers, 2. the extension and strengthening of oppositional work in the trade unions, 3. a change in the practice of the Red trade unions in the direction of defending and serving all the needs of the workers, combining all forms of struggle and activity in the interest of improving the life of the working class and its struggle with capitalism.

The Struggle Against White Chauvinism and National Reformism and Particularly the Struggle against Bunting.

White chauvinism helps national-reformism. Without betraying the interests of the white and the black workers and the toiling masses, we cannot carry on any activity in South Africa if we do not expose white chauvinism. We cannot rouse the masses to the struggle without overcoming national-reformism. But this must be done in a capable manner. And here our Party has made many gross mistakes. In the Party there was the opportunist group of Bunting. But in practice in the Party there was a distortion of the struggle against opportunism and the renegacy of Bunting. Frequently in practice this struggle was carried on by administrative and organisational measures: The Party must show in practice its ability to lead the masses in a revolutionary way and not an opportunist way. However, the Party transferred the discussion with

Bunting into the trade unions, in which it was carried on the same as in the Party. And not only in the trade unions but also in the I.R.A., the Friends of the Soviet Union.

Was it necessary to expose the opportunism of the Bunting group both in the trade unions and in the I.R.A. and in the Friends of the Soviet Union? Of course, but it should have been exposed while adapting ourselves to the peculiarities of each organisation. For example, how can Bunting in the Friends of the Soviet Union be accused of not wanting to carry out the directives of the Comintern? For the Friends of the Soviet Union, this is no reason why Bunting should not be in the organisation. People can be friends of the U.S.S.R. if they not only do not agree with the tactics of the Comintern but in general do not share the views and programme of the Comintern. But this is almost literally how Bunting was exposed. In the Society of Friends of the U.S.S.R., Bunting should have been exposed for his defence of the white guards, for the assistance given by Bunting as a lawyer to various emigrants.

The Communists did not understand the manoeuvres of Bunting who was trying to distract the attention of the Party from the class struggle, for work, in the direction of discussions in these organisations. Also in these discussions, the Communists frequently did not take into account where they were taking place and how to expose them.

Many of the supporters of the Bunting group, including a large number of genuinely mistaken workers, remained under the influence of this group, partly because we were unable to develop our mass work, while some comrades thought that all those comrades who were wavering to the side of Bunting must immediately be put out of the Party. Some of us in South Africa did not understand that the proletarian vanguard is built up in the struggle against petty bourgeois vacillations and the necessity of explaining to the class-conscious and semi-class-conscious representatives of the working masses the harm of these vacillations from the point of view of the interests of the toiling masses. This can be explained from every example of the struggle—strikes, demonstrations, etc. Patiently, stubbornly, not sparing our strength, not fearing failure at first, we must carry on this work of explanation, fighting for every vacillating worker. It is one thing to explain the harm of vacillations to the vanguard, the Communists, and another thing to explain it to the members of trade unions which do not fully share the programme and tactics of the Party but which are a school of the class struggle, a school of solidarity, a school of Communism. In addition we must take into account the fact that the active supporters of Bunting occupied a masked deviating position, with the aim of strengthening their influence over a certain part of the workers who sympathised with us but who did not sufficiently understand the aims and tasks of our Party.

It is one thing to have a supporter of some anti-Party views which have grown up, and another thing to have a worker who is only beginning to take part in Party life, a worker whose views are only being formed and who at first cannot be clear on all questions. We must distinguish between opportunists and workers who make mistakes because of their lack of political experience. In South Africa we did not draw this line and thus deservingly increased the number of supporters of Bunting. The Party will rectify this mistake by fighting against manifestations of white chauvinism and national reformism in its ranks, opening the doors for those worker comrades who made mistakes in the past owing to lack of experience and unconsciously, but who now wish once more to fight in the ranks of the militant Communist Party for the interests of the toiling masses of South Africa, both white and native.

Mr. Bunting and his patrons may say: "We told you so. We said that the path was not right." The renegades in this case also carry out their role of lackeys of imperialism. What did they warn us against? Against the danger of "a revolutionary struggle against imperialism". What did they tell us? About the necessity of "agreements with the white bourgeoisie on the subject of joint oppression of the toiling masses, subordination to the slave laws".

The Communists made mistakes as revolutionaries heroically struggling ahead of the masses.

Anyone who fears mistakes on such a difficult path as the organisation of the revolutionary mass activity of the toiling masses of South Africa and calls for the rejection of mass revolutionary activity, is not a revolutionary. Communists learn by their mistakes.

In the International

Problems of Growth-Regulation in the C.P.S.U. and Methods of Recruiting Members for the Party.

By G. A.

The Growth of the C.P.S.U.

In the course of the whole period that followed the October Revolution the C.P.S.U. has steadily grown through the inclusion of the most advanced workers. The Party also received into its ranks agricultural labourers and poor peasants devoted to the Soviet power, as well as advanced employees who are closely connected with the workers and other groups of workers. In the course of this constant growth in entirely new conditions it became necessary to guarantee a systematic regulation of the growth and the social composition of the Party. Prior to the revolution, when the growth-possibilities of the revolutionary illegal Party of the Russian proletariat were rather limited, the task of regulating the growth of the Party was relatively simpler, it became much more complicated from the moment when the C.P.S.U., from being a Party persecuted by tsarism and the bourgeoisie, became the party in the country of proletarian dictatorship. The Bolshevik regulation of the social composition of the Party and the deliberate guidance of its growth aimed above all at drawing the more advanced and active sections of workers into the Party, at preventing by special measures the penetration of alien elements, careerists, etc. into the Party organisations, and at reducing by special measures the percentage of the non-proletarian elements within the Party.

Among these measures for regulating the growth of the Party is development of intensive recruiting work among the workers. For this purpose it was made easier to accept manual workers into the Party (a smaller number of recommendations than before, a shorter Party status for those who recommended would be members, a shorter candidature), the applications for membership were considered at a more rapid rate by the Party authorities. Similar admission-conditions were adopted for Red Army men from manual workers or peasants ranks. As to employees, intellectuals and wives of workers and employees, as well as other groups of workers, the admission conditions adopted for them were such as to facilitate the selection of the best elements out of their midst, and to prevent a watering down of the Party ranks through the admission of non-working elements. Definite conditions were also adopted for the admission of peasants to the Party. The growth of Party organisations in the countryside was to take place by means of drawing in the best elements among agricultural labourers, poor and small peasants.

By careful selection and examination of persons to be admitted to the Party, and also by systematic removal from Party ranks of undesirable elements who, by some means got into the Party, the latter was kept clean of alien elements. Of considerable significance in this respect are the Party cleanings (the general cleaning of 1921, the cleaning of non-proletarian nuclei in 1925—1926, the Party cleaning of 1929—30). But the main thing has always been and still is that the recruiting activity of the C.P.S.U. is always closely connected with the entire activity of the Party, with revolutionary construction, with the growing activity and the raising of the cultural standard of the working class of the Soviet Union.

By pursuing this correct line in the regulation of its growth and social composition, as well as through its entire policy and activity the C.P.S.U. has worked steadily and successfully for the improvement of its social composition. The worsening of the social composition of the Party which set in in the first years that followed the revolution owing to the difficult economic conditions, the closing down of factories and the influx of non-proletarian elements who prior

to the revolution could not be admitted to the Party, was once more overcome. The table we give below illustrates this process.

Year	Workers	Peasants	Employees and Others
1922 absolute . . .	171,625	102,997	111,691
in percentage . . .	44.4	26.7	28.9
1923 absolute . . .	154,920	88,673	101,441
in percentage . . .	44.9	25.7	29.4
1924 absolute . . .	196,339	128,358	121,392
in percentage . . .	44.0	28.8	27.2
1925 absolute . . .	453,141	211,700	133,961
in percentage . . .	56.7	26.5	17.8
1926 absolute . . .	612,202	278,706	185,906
in percentage . . .	56.8	25.9	17.3
1927 absolute . . .	637,768	217,411	288,847
in percentage . . .	55.7	19.0	25.3
1928 absolute . . .	740,731	299,091	264,649
in percentage . . .	56.8	22.9	20.3
1929 absolute . . .	940,136	333,287	258,924
in percentage . . .	61.4	21.7	16.9
1930 absolute . . .	1,094,506	338,808	241,595
in percentage . . .	65.3	20.2	14.5

In 1931 the number of working class members reaches already 1,888,315 (65.5%), in the first quarter of 1932 2,003,850 or 65.7% of the total C.P.S.U. membership.

This table shows: 1. that the Party is constantly growing; 2. that the working class kernel of the Party grows from year to year absolutely and relatively, much more rapidly than the section of peasants, employees, etc.; 3. that consequently the percentage relation develops steadily in favour of the working class section, and that **manual workers constitute now 2/3 of the Party membership.**

The remarkably rapid growth of the Party in the last years is one of the most gratifying results of successful Socialist construction throughout the country, a brilliant confirmation of the correctness of the general line of the Bolshevik Party. Let us look a little closer into this growth.

* * *

The struggle around the Five-Year-Plan in four years, around the Socialist general offensive in town and country, the collectivisation of millions of peasant farms, and around the abolishment of the big peasantry as a class on the basis of compact collectivisation made it necessary to increase the influence of the Party along the whole front of Socialist construction. The Party was faced with the task of strengthening its concrete leadership and its influence along the entire enlarged front of the Socialist offensive.

At the November Plenum of the C.C., 1928, Comrade **Molotov** laid stress in his report on the growth of the Party, on the work connected with the strengthening of the Party organisations in a number of decisive branches of industry. Simultaneously, measures had to be taken for strengthening and improving the composition of village nuclei, all the more so as on the Soviet estates the absence of nuclei was a frequent occurrence, while some of them had weak nuclei consisting of a few comrades.

Not all the sectors of the Socialist construction front were to a sufficient extent under the direct influence of the Party through the intermediary of active Communists and Party nuclei. In connection with the fulfilment of the first Five-Year-Plan the Party has taken further measures, in order to strengthen and expand its influence, and entrench it organisationally

in the new branches of Socialist construction. Such a measure was the dispatch of 25,000 workers (among them 20,000 Communists) to the countryside in the initial stage of the development of the collectivisation movement, the cleansing of the Party, the application of new methods in Party work and mass work, etc.

The new conditions demanded categorically of the Party expansion and intensification of its influence, and extension of its organisations to all the sectors of the Socialist offensive. But these very conditions served as a lever for an unprecedented upsurge of enthusiasm among the masses of workers and peasants, and also for a hitherto unknown influx of the best among them into the Party. In the course of the three last years 1,313,000 manual workers joined the Party, and 500,000 collectivised peasants joined its ranks in the same period. At the beginning of this year our Party has over 3,100,000 members and candidates (without the Army). This colossal growth has of course considerably facilitated the task of strengthening and expanding the influence and leadership of the Party on the whole front of Socialist construction. Thus the Party membership includes 2,003,850 manual workers.

All these workers are Communists who work at the bench or have been promoted to economic, administrative or other public work. If we take into consideration the number of workers employed in industry, we get the following curve for the last years:

1929	725,906 (46.7 per cent. of the membership)
1930	841,814 (48.6 " " " " " ")
1931 (End)	1,262,754 (43.8 " " " " " ")
1932 (1st Quarter)	1,375,050 (44.1 " " " " " ")

As we can see, the number of industrial workers in the Party has considerably grown (it has doubled in 3¼ years), which is due to the ever growing influx of manual workers into the Party: in 1929 there were 232,000 manual workers among the newly made Party members, 452,000 in 1930, and already 629,500 in 1931. Thus we see that the policy of regulating the growth of the C.P.S.U. on the line of strengthening continually the working class kernel of the Party is being carried through consistently and steadily by the latter. As to the **percentual relation** of industrial workers to the whole membership of the Party, we must admit a certain regression compared with 1929-30, although an improvement in this respect can be recorded already in the first quarter of 1932. This percentual regression of Communist industrial workers is due to the wholesale promotion of such workers to political, economic and other public work.

In this respect it must be pointed out that also when admitting manual workers to the Party, a careful selection must be made, especially because many of these workers are new not only to socialist industry but to industry in general. It is self-evident that such workers cannot be admitted to the Party immediately, but must first go through a certain training and education.

Owing to the influx and increased admission of collectivised peasants to the Party (there were in 1929 8,000 such peasants among the new members, 150,000 in 1930, and 295,000 in 1931), the percentage of industrial workers among the new admissions has decreased to a certain extent, whereas the absolute number of manual workers among the new members has considerably grown.

Therefore, this reduction in the percentage of Communist industrial workers among Party members is certainly not the result of a less adequate regulation of the growth of the Party. The fact that this percentage has begun lately to increase shows the temporary character of the decrease which will be overcome through the growing influx of industrial workers into the Party.

It is but natural that the successful economic development on socialist lines in the countryside should bring a change in the tasks of the Party with regard to its growth in the countryside. The collectivised peasant is the central figure in the countryside. He is the support of the Soviet power in the villages, among the millions of collectivised peasants there are hundreds of thousands of advanced people devoted to the Party and the Soviet government, who are the backbone, the practical organisers of the collectivisation movement. It is naturally in the interests of the C.P.—and it can afford it—to open its doors to these advanced collectivised peasants, and to further hereby the growth of the village organisation. The large grain and cattle concerns in the countryside, the Soviet farms and M.T.S. are a contributing factor in the growth of the Party

organisations. As already pointed out, the C.P.S.U. will continue to do its utmost for the further strengthening not only of the absolute but also the percentual growth of the kernel of industrial workers in the Party.

The third, decisive year of the Five-Year-Plan which is marked by the growing enthusiasm, political and productive activity of the working class and collectivised peasantry, has brought with it a strong influx into the Party. In the course of this one year nearly one million (997,000) new members were made, including 629,000 industrial workers and 295,000 collectivised peasants. Since its establishment this is the first time that the Party can record such a growth.

What Sections of Workers Contribute to the Growth of the Party.

Especially in 1931 the Party grew mainly in the large industrial enterprises (metal, oil, new building operations, coal mines). According to the figures of the statistical department of the C.C.C.P.S.U., the Party strata in 368 large enterprises employing 1,300,000 workers grew from 14% on January 1st, 1931 to 15.7% on December 1st, 1931. This percentage of Communists in large enterprises exceeds already the percentage of Communists in the whole industry (13.9%). In the large foundries the percentage of Communists has risen from 13.6% to 17.9%, in the oil industry from 19.7% to 27.6%. In the coal industry the percentage has increased by 1.3%.

In the large building operations and new large enterprises the percentage of Communists is also growing: Cheliabinsk Tractor Works, 10.4%; Beresniki 11.2%; Kuznetzk 12%; Stalingrad Tractor Works 20.3%; Kharkov Tractor Works 21%. The example of the Stalingrad and Kharkov Works is an illustration of the characteristic fact that the new enterprises which are working at their full capacity and carry out their production programmes, have a higher percentage of Communists than the other enterprises. This shows us convincingly the inter-dependence of the growth of the organisation and the success of socialist construction, and vice versa: the dependence of successful production on the degree of the permeation of the factory personnel by Communists. The qualitative composition of these workers who join the Party is extremely characteristic.

Among the workers admitted to the Party in 1931 are 76 per cent. shock brigaders. The percentage of shock brigaders among the new members grows from quarter to quarter: first quarter 70.6%, second quarter 73%, third quarter 78.4% and fourth quarter 81.1%. 57.7% of the new members are active social workers; 39% have attended before their admission to the Party elementary political schools; 33% can look back on ten years work in industry; 26.9% are already five to ten years in industry, and only 18.2% less than five years.

Enormous successes can be recorded with regard to the recruitment of workers from leading occupations for the Party. While in 1929 and also in 1930 it had to be admitted that Party work among the workers in leading occupations was not up to the mark, this shortcoming has on the whole been remedied.

According to data from 152 enterprises in various branches of industry with a total number of 300,000 workers, the percentage of Communists on April 1st, 1932 among workers in leading occupations was 20.1%, whereas in 1930 the percentage in the same enterprises was only 16.8%.

In some large enterprises most of the workers in leading occupations belong already to the Party. A few examples will illustrate this: in the Stalin Works, Leningrad, where the percentage of Communists is in general 16.8%, it is 26.8% among stampers, 32.6% among locksmiths, 52.4% among blacksmiths, and 65.2% among turners. In the Kertch Iron Works the percentage of Communists is 20.1%, whereas it is 64.6% among blast-furnace workers, 70.8% among gas workers, and 79.2% among rolling mill workers. In the "Hammer and Sickle" Factory in Moscow where the percentage of Communists is 20.9%, it is 52.2 per cent among rolling mill workers, 70.3% among wire-drawers, 70.4 per cent among the moulders, 72.7% among the welders, 88.2% among steel refiners, etc.

Thus, by regulating the growth of the C.P.S.U. the Party does not only aim at the predominance of the kernel of industrial workers, but at the same time also at increasing above all the percentage of workers from the most important enterprises and of socially, as well as industrially advanced workers.

The Methods and Forms of Work of the C.P.S.U. in the Recruitment of Workers for the Party.

With regard to recruiting workers for the Party and regulating their social composition the C.P.S.U.'s experience is varied and instructive.

1. Strengthening the whole Party work in the factory and recruiting industrial workers. Recruiting workers for the Party is one of the most important parts of the general Party work. The way in which this work is carried on depends entirely on the standard of the Party work in general. When the Party nucleus in a factory is badly organised, when work in this nucleus and work among the masses of workers is not up to the mark, when the nucleus is not sufficiently active and has therefore no authority among the masses, it will not grow, and if it does its growth will be very slow.

The attitude of the mass of the workers towards the Party depends on the correct policy and tactic of the Party. Consequently, the factory nucleus, as organisation and representative of the Party, must demonstrate concretely to the workers what the Party is fighting for, and what policy it pursues. The nucleus cannot do justice to this work, unless it be active in general and intent on energetic Party work in the factory. For instance, cases such as the following have occurred in some organisations: A representative of the Party executive goes to the factory and in the course of conversations with non-Party workers finds out what keeps them still away from the Party. In such conversations it has transpired that advanced workers in sympathy with the Party do not want to join it because, despite their full confidence in the Party, they see that the factory nucleus works badly, carries out inadequately or distorts the policy of the Party, or has not established a close contact with the mass of the workers.

It is already perfectly clear to the C.P.S.U. factory nucleus, as well as to wide Party circles, that the more rapid growth of the nucleus through the attraction of workers depends entirely on the manner of its work, on the degree of its authority among the masses, on the latter's confidence in it, on the correct distribution of its forces, on the activation of every one of its members and on its capacity to demonstrate its leading role in the factory.

2. For an active recruiting policy and against spontaneity. The C.P.S.U. and its lower organisations do not wait for the influx on the assumption that the workers will on their own initiative join the Party. Although the desire to join the Party is growing steadily, the organisation and above all the factory nuclei carry on daily energetic organisational and agitational work for the recruitment of workers for the Party.

The Party aims at winning broad masses of advanced workers for its ranks. Through their active recruiting policy the Party organisations are able to open the door of the Party only to those who have gone through the test of past activity. The lower organisations must show as much initiative as possible, in order to help the workers to grow culturally and politically, and raise more and more reserves to the level of the vanguard of the class.

There have been cases in some organisations when nuclei failed to understand the necessity of energetic recruiting work for the Party. In such cases it was noticeable that fewer workers joined the Party, whereas its ranks were filled by more or less casual and not thoroughly tested elements. There was also in such cases increased fluctuation among the new members of these nuclei. Such negative phenomena in the growth of the Party organisation are inevitable if the nucleus or any other Party organisation, instead of developing an energetic recruiting activity, lets matters take their own course and relies on spontaneity.

3. The struggle against mechanical recruiting work. Apart from passivity, there were cases in the lower organisations of distortions of the Party line of an opposite character—inclination to solve the problem of growth-regulation mechanically. One of the most widely spread forms of this mechanical procedure in the regulation of growth was the mechanical allocation of recruiting tasks to the lower Party organs: The district Party Executive gives to the executive of the local a minimum or maximum figure with regard to workers who are to be won for the Party by a fixed date. The executive of the local distributes this figure among the nuclei, the nuclei among the department-nuclei, etc. Periodical reports on the progress of the campaign

are drawn up, etc. But with such methods quantity alone is considered with regard to the results, whereas quality is left out of account. The whole recruiting work assumes the character of a casual campaign.

The C.C. C.P.S.U. has called attention to the abnormality of such procedure in some organisations, and has condemned it as harmful and erroneous. The resolution of the November Plenum of the C.C. 1928, contains the following statement:

"Admission of new members and regulation of the growth of the Party organisations must on no account be mechanical (as, for instance, by setting recruiting tasks from above to be carried out by a certain date), (the italics are mine. G. A.) and treated as if this were a campaign. On the contrary, both tasks are to be linked up with the consolidation of the whole work of the Party and the mass organisations."

The C.C. decision on practical measures for the realisation of the November Plenum (January 1929) contains the following point:

"Simultaneously it is proposed to the Party executives to put a stop immediately to the still existing custom of setting recruiting tasks to the lower organisations. Instead of using this method of mechanical regulation, concrete directives are to be sent to every organisation."

4. The strengthening of all kinds of mass work as the most important method for winning workers for the Party. The greatest attainment of the Party consists in having been able to organise and lead the rapid growth of the activity of the U.S.S.R. proletariat, to make it follow the Communist line and to use it for the consolidation of proletarian dictatorship and socialist construction. The mass work of the Party, the work of all the mass organisations (trade unions, Y.C.L., co-operatives, voluntary societies, clubs), the leadership of all mass organisations through the Party,—such are the chief methods and forms adopted for the coordination and organisation of the growing activity of the millions' strong masses.

This activity of the Party plays also a decisive part in winning the most advanced workers for the Party.

For does not the strengthening of trade union work, of all the kinds of mass work carried on by the unions mean that broad masses of workers are brought nearer and nearer to the Party? From the ranks of the millions of workers organised in the trade unions there emerge all the time hundreds of thousands of active, culturally and politically mature workers.

These hundreds of thousands of active workers constitute the direct reservoir for the constant replenishment of the ranks of the Party with truly, progressive elements. Another very important mass organisation is the **Young Communist League**. Our Y.C.L. has now several million young manual and other workers in its ranks. The consolidation of the Y.C.L. organisations and also of the Party kernel in the Y.C.L., the political, economic and cultural work of the Y.C.L.—all these are measures which help to prepare with the least possible delay hundreds of thousands of new members for admission to the Party. In 1930, 115,971 young Communists joined the Party, and 123,598 in 1931 in the course of nine months. Just as important is the role of other mass organisations—cooperatives, voluntary societies, etc., with regard to bringing masses of workers nearer to the Party and training reserves for its growth.

However, it must be pointed out that, despite considerable improvement in the mass work, taking it on the whole, there are still many defects in this respect in some Party organisations and nuclei. There are many various forms of mass organisations which are all of them under the leadership of the Party organisations. The further strengthening of mass organisations and mass work, carried on successfully by the C.P.S.U., the elimination of all defects and weaknesses in this domain is its most important work also from the standpoint of drawing advanced workers into the Party.

5. The staff of active non-Party workers around the nucleus. In order to win advanced workers for their ranks, the nuclei endeavour to surround themselves with a broad stratum of active non-Party workers. There is in every factory a number of various forms of public activity, mass work and politico-cultural activity. Non-Party workers are to be drawn into active participation in such work. Good work is done not by the nucleus which tries to carry on the whole public activity with its own forces, but by the nucleus which draws

a large number of non-Party workers into this work and gives a lead to all the forms of their activity.

Provided there be correct organisation of work among the active non-Party workers, the nucleus will always have at its disposal a reservoir for the replenishment of its cadres with comrades experienced in social and political work. However, the nucleus must not interpret mechanically the Party directive on winning active workers who have gone through the school of social and political work, as this has happened in some places where nuclei invented various public functions for the workers, as for instance, the function of assistants or deputies of delegates of voluntary societies in the departments or sub-departments. Apart from waste of time these artificial public functions which were of no social use whatever, gave nothing. Such "functions" can even disgust the worker with active work, as work of this kind cannot satisfy him. There have also been frequently cases when workers were overburdened with various duties. It has even happened that a worker did not join the Party for fear of being thus overburdened.

6. The differentiated manner of approaching the various strata of workers. This is one of the most important methods of correct organisation of political activity and Party work in the factories. The lower C.P.S.U. organisations have, in the main, adopted this principle. Relatively, one comes now seldom across nuclei which do not adapt their work to the requirements and other peculiarities of their labour environment: young workers, men and women, new strata of workers, old skilled workers, etc.

7. Personal work with individual workers. This method has been and is widely applied. The nuclei set themselves the task of drawing all Party members into this work. Furthermore, the nucleus selects the most experienced and politically well informed comrades from its ranks and sets them the task of bringing individual workers under their influence and preparing them gradually for admission to the Party by personal and group conversations, by reading newspapers with them, etc. Apart from the nucleus members of the factory, Communists attached to the factory nucleus, are drawn into this work.

The method of individual canvassing has certainly stood the test. Nevertheless, attention must be called to certain distortions which the Party puts down to lack of experience. It has, for instance, happened, simply on the principle, he who is least burdened must do this work, that a definite number of non-Party workers was allotted to a number of Communists. The Party members frequently did not know the non-Party workers "allotted" to them, but were compelled to canvass them individually instead of paying attention to those they knew well and among whom their canvassing would have been more successful.

8. Special conferences and conversations with non-Party workers. At the initiative of some Party organisations the method of consultations and conversations of the nucleus or Party executives with non-Party workers has been applied. This work is carried on as follows: The factory nucleus or the local or district Party executive call a group of non-Party workers in the factory to a consultation at which various questions of interest to the workers are discussed, among others, why these workers have not yet joined the Party. Such conferences and conversations have generally produced highly interesting and useful material. In comradely conversation one learns on such occasions much that helps to gauge the mood of the workers and to throw light on the strong and weak points of the mass and Party work.

With the help of such conversations with individual groups and strata of workers, the nucleus finds it easy to find ways and means for the improvement of the work, the elimination of weaknesses and for the strengthening of the recruiting activity.

9. Active help and guidance to the Factory nuclei by the higher organisations. The main field of the recruiting work of the C.P.S.U. is in the factory, and here again, in the department, sub-department and workers group. However, the recruiting work of the nuclei for the Party cannot be up to the mark, unless the higher Party organs give the necessary support and guidance.

The Party executives have to regulate in a concrete manner: the social composition and growth of the Party. They must be therefore always well informed about the trend of this work in the nuclei. They have to examine the

recruiting work of the individual nuclei, so as to be able to give concrete advice in the course of the work. They have to make the experience and the manifold initiative in recruiting work common property. They must correct mistakes and distortions, introduce generally well tried methods and forms of work that have been tested at the initiative of some of the nuclei, and come to the assistance of the nuclei through instructions and personal connection. They have to concentrate attention—as this is certainly the case in the C.P.S.U.—again and again on this work, and must not allow any Party organisation to relax this attention.

Correct organisation and energetic conduct of the recruitment of broad strata of advanced workers for the Party demands active help, support and guidance through the higher Party organs. In the C.P.S.U. we have the realisation of such a daily examination and guidance of the whole work of the lower nuclei, including recruiting for the Party, a realisation that can serve as a pattern. All the lower, local and district organs of the Party, as well as the highest organs of the C.P.S.U., including the plenums of the C.C. and the Party congresses, work constantly at these questions.

The Experience of the C.P.S.U. in Directing the Work of the Party Organisations in the Enterprises.

The Mass Work of the Party in the Enterprises.

(Extracts from the resolution of the Plenum of the Moscow [City] Committee of the C.P.S.U.)

The Plenum of the Moscow City Committee of the C.P.S.U. declares that the Party organisations in the enterprises "Dynamo", "Paris Commune", the "Sverdlov" Fabric-Printing enterprise, and the workshop of the Moscow-Kursk Railway have shown, during the past few years, a decided growth, both numerically and as to quality, they have been strengthened ideologically and politically and have steered their forces in the struggle to mobilise the activities of the Communists and masses of workers for carrying out the directions and slogans of the Party.

At the same time the Plenum emphasises the fact that the mass work of these Party organisations lags behind the demands and claims of the Party and masses of workers, which are growing numerically, and developing from the point of view of quality.

In spite of the increased ideological and political influence of the Party organisations on the masses, the most serious defect of the work of the nuclei continues to be that they do not reach through their activity all the workers, not even all the Communists in the Party organisations (part of the workers, especially those who have recently joined the enterprise, do not participate in the meetings or read any newspapers, many of the comrades do not take part in political education work, etc.)

The Dynamo Works.

In connection with the reconstruction of the Dynamo works the force employed has risen during the last two years from 3,245 workers to 5,330, 50% of whom have worked in the enterprise less than a year. The value of production increased from 19 million roubles in 1930 to 26 million in 1931. By the end of 1932 the number of workers will be 6,000 and the value of production (electric motors) will reach 55 million roubles.

The membership of the Party organisation in the enterprise has risen during the last two years from 492 to 1,661.

During the past year the enterprise has overcome certain unhealthy symptoms and difficulties in connection with the taking over of new branches of production (electric trains and heavy cranes). While in November 1931 the month's plan was carried out only 56.6%, the plan for the first three months of 1932 was carried out 101.8%.

This success has been attained as a result of Bolshevik self-criticism and resolute exposure of the shortcomings in the enterprise by the Moscow Party Committee, the press and the organisations in the enterprise, which have developed the struggle for the industrial and financial plan in a real Bolshevik manner.

Nevertheless, the Plenum of the Moscow Party Committee declares that the present situation of the work in the enterprise does not offer a guarantee for the permanency of this achievement and still less for any further progress, especially

taking into consideration the serious weaknesses in the mass work of the Party. The chief and most serious defect is the system of many meetings in the works of the Party committee in the enterprise, with the adoption of voluminous resolutions of a declarative nature, instead of daily remaining in the departments of the enterprise and instead of giving concrete support to the departmental nuclei and systematically overcoming the defects observed in the various departments (thus, for example, the fact that in the casting department there was no drinking water for six days, and neither the factory council nor the Party committee or administration of the enterprise knew anything about it).

Insufficient daily and live contacts between the leading functionaries of the Party organisation in the enterprise and the workers at the bench and consequently, insufficient knowledge of their current demands and concrete needs (for example the fact that the Party committee was quite unaware that the students in the apprentice school of the casting department did not read either the central newspapers or the factory newspaper).

While in the Party committee of the enterprise there is a bulky apparatus made up of comrades who have been released from other work (organiser for the enterprise, leader of the culture and propaganda sections, leader of the mass agitation section, instructors, etc.), there is not a single functionary released from production work specially for Party mass work.

The structure of the Party organisation in the Dynamo works is unsatisfactory: The Party organisation with its 1,500 members is divided into 60 departmental nuclei and there are nuclei of only 15 to 20 members.

Under such conditions the secretary of the Party committee has no possibility whatsoever of directing or instructing the departmental nuclei, and he does not even know personally or by name all the secretaries of the departmental nuclei.

In pointing out these defects the Plenum of the Moscow Party Committee of the C.P.S.U. instructs the Party committee of the enterprise to overcome all the above mentioned defects under the direct guidance and daily control of the Sub-district committee of the Proletarski Sub-district, and within 3 months to submit a report to the bureau of the Moscow Party Committee.

In particular, the Plenum issues the instruction to cut down the number of meetings and the time that they last (no all day meetings).

The Party committee of the enterprise must send all Party committee functionaries except the secretary, who have been released from other work, into the departments for permanent work and must also cut down the number of department nuclei.

Immediate Tasks for Nucleus Work.

The Plenum of the Moscow Committee considers the most important task of the entire organisation to be the increased and allround improvement of organisational, Party educational and political mass work among the workers, in accordance with the demands of the present stage of socialist construction, namely the stage of preparation for the Second Five-Year-Plan which is to fulfil the task of building a classless socialist society, with the help of consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship and the decisive victory over the vestiges of capitalism in economic life and in the minds of the people. At the same time the Party organisation must be steeled still more in the struggle for the general line that is being carried on by the C.C. of our Party in its struggle against all deviations and in the struggle against the right danger as the main danger in the present stage, as well as in the struggle against "left" deviations and conciliation with deviations from the Leninist general line of the Party.

Consequently, and on the basis of the appraisal of Party mass work in the nuclei which have reported, as well as other nuclei of the Moscow organisation, the Plenum declares:

1. In organising the work in enterprises for carrying out the 6 instructions of Comrade Stalin which constitute a concrete programme of action for all Party organisations in the enterprises, these organisations from top to bottom must concentrate their efforts and attention on the development of Party mass work, and thus reach effectively all workers, from the most advanced to the most backward.

2. In carrying out the Party check-up and supervision of the application of the directives of the Party in all spheres of life in the enterprises, including the economic field, the Party organisations in these enterprises, factories and railway

warehouses must not take over the functions of economic management, they must not overburden their work with purely practical details of economic and trade union activity.

3. The Plenum of the Moscow Party Committee is of the opinion that in order to bring about a far-reaching improvement in Party mass work, the work of the Party nuclei and committees in the enterprises must be reorganised. Through the marked reduction of the Party apparatus in the enterprises, the departmental link (intermediate link) of the enterprise must be strengthened.

4. With regard to organisational work in the Party it is necessary first of all to reorganise the work of the Party Committees with a view to obtaining a maximum concentration of the work directly in the departments of the enterprise and with a view to improving the work of every departmental nucleus and its bureau as well as improving the department meetings. In this connection a more important role must be assigned to the departmental nuclei in the conducting of the political life of the Party in the department, and every departmental nucleus must be made capable of organising and leading the work of the Party group and bringing all the workers under the influence of the Party.

5. As a result of the numerical growth of the nuclei and the extension of the circle of active collaborators by the bringing in of new members the utmost importance must be attached to the task of the further education of these forces, raising their political level, getting them steeled ideologically and rally them around the Party committee on the basis of the application of the main slogans and tasks of the Party.

6. There must be an organisation and differentiation of the work of the departmental nucleus secretaries, the leaders of the mass agitation and cultural propaganda sections, the nucleus secretariat of the Komsomol, the Party organisers and agitators, the propagandists, the chairmen of the departmental trade union committees, the trade union organisers, editors of wall newspapers and leaders of delegate meetings, as well as the work of the economic experts of the departments, foremen, etc. In this connection it is their duty to show the greatest possible understanding of the tasks set forth by the Party and study of the workers views and to work for persistent and daily explanation of the Party policies and measures to the workers, and thus ensure resolute defence against and exposure of all moves hostile to the working class.

7. The consolidation of the intermediate link, the departmental nucleus, is bound to bring about also an improvement in the work of the lower link, the Party group, etc. In the work of the Party groups the practice of interchanging their functions with those of the production conferences must be abolished, and they, as lower links in the Party organisation, must be assigned the tasks of: Party educational work, group agitation, ascertaining and reacting to the feelings and demands of the workers and support of the foremen and brigades in their work.

8. A task of particular importance is the organising of the work with each individual Party member, and particularly the Party candidates.

The Party committees, bureaus of the departmental nuclei and Party organisers must above all know every Party member and candidate for the Party and must attempt to have every Communist appropriate the policy and measures of the Party. They must make him set an example in work in the enterprise and see that he carries out political social work, discusses the resolutions of the Party with individual workers and puts up a tenacious struggle for the carrying out of these resolutions. The rank and file Party members and candidates must deliver reports in the Party groups, to the nucleus bureau and at nucleus meetings on their political social work and production work.

Elements of a bureaucratic attitude towards Party members must be most resolutely abolished, and above all the political level of the Party members must be raised to the necessary degree.

9. The fixed and general "Party Day"*) must be the chief lever for developing the internal organisational and educational work of the Party as well as for the further ideological and political growth of the Communists, and must insure the active participation of all Party members

*) On this day general membership meetings are held in all lower Party organisations (nuclei), to discuss the immediate questions confronting the nuclei and the Party as a whole.

and candidates in the discussion of questions of Party policy and decisions on local questions. Party Day is an extremely important factor to bring about inner Party democracy and develop Bolshevik self-criticism.

For this reason it is necessary to demand categorically a careful organisation and preparation of Party meetings and ensure the quality and preparation of the reports. Closed Party meetings must not be replaced by open meetings, anymore than general meetings of the workers must be replaced by open meetings of the Party nucleus.

10. The Plenum calls the attention of the Party organisation to the inadequate organisation of Party members and particularly the Party candidates in Party educational work.

The decided improvement in Party training calls for a careful selection of propagandists, as well as systematic checking up of their work and resolute struggle against disruption of educational work and against cases of misrepresentations or neglect in preparation for this educational work.

In all enterprises the organisation of candidates' schools must be made an unconditional duty, and in this connection, moreover, the work of the propaganda collective of propagandists must be organised. The Plenum instructs the bureau of the City committee to take up specially the question of publishing corresponding literature.

11. The Plenum considers the most important task of the sub district and Party committees to be the raising of mass agitational work to a higher ideological and political level.

At every given moment opinions must be expressed within the shortest possible time and in lively and intelligible manner on questions of interest to the workers in general.

The entire work of agitation, in conjunction with the basic political questions, current tasks and measures of the Party, must be built up on the basis of consideration of the cultural, political-material and social requirements of the workers, with answers for the questions which interest them. The most important thing in organising agitational work is direct and intelligible discussion and convincing of the individual through a knowledge of his characteristics, the organisation of agitation at large meetings, and in discussion groups, collective reading of papers etc., with workers' groups as well as with individual working men and women. The most varied burning questions must be raised and answered in these discussions, and hostile attacks must be unmasked. Particular attention must be devoted to the work with the group organisers, for whom agitational collectives and courses must be organised in all large enterprises. Especially delegate meetings must be mobilised for this purpose, and well prepared leaders must be provided.

In consideration of the tremendous importance of factory, department and brigade newspapers, local questions must be raised to the level of political questions.

12. The strengthening of Party mass work calls for simultaneous improvement of the work of the Komsomol and trade union organisations.

In the Komsomol (Y.C.L.) we can point to marked successes, but also to a definite lagging behind in the development of political and mass work.

The Party committees in the enterprises must organise the daily leadership of the Y.C.L. more carefully and must devote their attention to strengthening the political work and improving the qualitative composition of the youth organisations, at the same time lending a helping hand to the Y.C.L. in all its educational work, carefully selecting Party members attached to the Y.C.L. and strengthening the Party kernel in the Y.C.L. in the enterprises by drawing the active Y.C.L. members into the Party. As a rule Party comrades of Y.C.L. age must carry on their social-political work in the Y.C.L. and among the working youth. The Y.C.L. organisations must carry through a radical reorganisation to develop political and factory mass work among the non-Party young workers who have recently entered into the process of production. In this connection special attention must be devoted to political-educational work and the study of production in the apprentice schools in the enterprises.

In the field of directing the trade union organisation it is necessary to have the factory councils, departmental councils, and trade union organisers set about energetically to carry out the resolution of the IX. Trade Union Congress and to fulfil the six conditions of Stalin.

The Party committees and Party nuclei must endeavour to have the work of the factory council develop in such a manner as to strengthen the departmental councils in the enterprises, and to have the chief cadres of functionaries from the factory councils in the departmental councils receive instructions that the factory council functionaries must spend more time in the department and in the brigade in order to overcome the defects discovered in the process of work.

13. The carrying out of the well-developed inner Party democracy and Bolshevik self-criticism is the most important requirement for correct organisation of Party and mass work. The education of the comrades must be carried on in the spirit of this requirement.

One of the most important factors in successful work is considered by the Plenum to be the improvement of organisational and instruction work and in the better organisation of daily information on the work carried out and on the political feelings of the workers. This information must be extended to the entire organisation from top to bottom, from the Party group to the departmental nucleus, to the Party committee of the enterprise, to be sub-district committee and to the Moscow Party Committee. The correct organisation of Party work leads to a normal and healthy growth of the Party organisation by drawing in the best shock brigaders who have come forward as real vanguard fighters in socialist competition.

Special attention must be devoted to the entire work of the Party nuclei as organs for carrying out Party slogans among the masses and for fulfilling the militant tasks of the Party: above all, for the explanation of our international situation and strengthening of the defensive power of our country, the mobilisation of the masses to fulfil the six conditions of Comrade Stalin in the struggle to put through the financial plan of the enterprise for the last and conclusive year of the Five-Year-Plan, and the organisation of Communist shock brigaders and active workers for carrying out the great task of liquidating waste and lost time, the struggle for better organisation of supplies for the workers and for the development of Soviet trade. In this connection the masses must be mobilised for the carrying out of these tasks (rabbit raising must be organised, hog raising, fish breeding, supply of vegetables, cultivation of vegetables). They must be made to understand the significance of the last decisions of the C. C. and the Council of People's Commissars on the supply of grain and cattle and on the development of the trade of collective industries.

By raising the organisational, educational and political mass work to a higher level, making sure of inner Party democracy and Bolshevik self-criticism in all Party work, in welding the Party masses together around the C. C. and the general line of the Party and by relentlessly combating all signs of opportunism and attacks of the class enemy, the Moscow Party organisation, at the head of the masses and under the leadership of the C. C. and the leader of the Party, Comrade Stalin, will ensure the overcoming of all difficulties and will attain decisive success in the socialist offensive all along the line.

German Protest against Budapest Murders.

Berlin, 2nd August 1932.

Thomas Mann, the famous German author and Nobel prize holder, has expressed his deep horror and indignation at the execution of the two communists Sallai and Fuerst in Budapest. He has sent a telegram of protest to the Prime Minister of Hungary and at the same time he appeals on behalf of the communist Karikas who is threatened with the same fate.

The Berlin branch of the German Authors Association has sent a telegram containing the text of a resolution adopted at a meeting of the branch to Horthy, Karolyi and all the most prominent Hungarian dailies declaring that the maltreatment of defenceless prisoners, the deprivation of the right to defend themselves freely and the deprivation of the right to appeal are barbarities unworthy of a cultured people and crowned by the legal murder of Sallai and Fuerst. The resolution calls for the release of the remaining accused.