

Karl Radek: The "Presidial Government" in Germany.

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CONTENTS

Tang Shin She: A New Generals' War Impending in North China	791	International Fight Against War and Intervention.	
Politics.		P. Lang: The Anti-War Congress and the Crusade Against It	803
I. Najda: The External and Internal Difficulties of Fascist Poland	792	Marcel Cachin: Behind the Scene of the Second International	804
R. Bishop: The Meerut Trial	792	The White Terror.	
Germany.		Gál: Horthy Hungary Preparing New Murders	806
Karl Radek: The Political Crisis in Germany. "Presidial Government"	794	Jacopo: Fresh Mass Arrests in Italy	807
Five Death Sentences in Beuthen	796	The World Economic Crisis.	
The War.		Max Weiss: Inflation and Bank Failures in the U.S.A.	807
V. Dimitriev: The Crisis in South Eastern Europe and the War Front Against the Soviet Union	797	Tom Bell: "Depressed" Areas in Great Britain	808
The Labour Movement.		Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union.	
F. Coenen: The Strike in Belgium	797	Otto Heller: The Far Soviet East	809
How the First World War Was Prepared.		In the International.	
The World in Flames. The Great Betrayal of the 4th August	799	O. Piatnitzky: Notes of a Participant in the VI. Party Congress of the R.C.P.	810
		Book Reviews.	
		Grace Hutchins: International Pamphlets	812

Hard Labour for Life for the Ruegggs.

The International Protest Action Continues!

By Willi Münzenberg

Chairman of the International Ruegg Defence Committee.

I.

Fourteen months ago Paul and Gertrud Ruegg were arrested by the Foreign Police in the International Settlement at Shanghai. What was their crime? Their sole crime was the fact that they worked in the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat. But it was precisely this which aroused the ire of the British imperialists and of the rulers of China. In the eyes of reaction, in the eyes of imperialist dominion, Paul and Gertrud Ruegg embodied the **unitedness** of the working class of **Europe and China**, of the West and of the Far East. They were the symbol of the movement of the toilers which is now sweeping across the world, and which can and will sweep away imperialism on its path. Therefore an example was to be made of the two Ruegggs.

Precisely at this time the imperialist powers undertook a fresh move, and Japan and Great Britain, the U.S.A. and France, redoubled their efforts to seize upon the wide terri-

tories of China, and to exploit them as a safety valve for the ever acuter international economic crisis. Under the pressure of the great powers, the Kuomintang government had commenced a persecution drive all over China, headed by the blood-stained Chang Kai Shek, that renegade of the Chinese freedom movement who can never hang and murder enough to wipe out the "disgrace" of his past, and to prove himself the most brutal confederate of the imperialists. At that time there was no town and no village in China—except the Soviet districts—where revolutionary workers and peasants were not arrested and murdered. This was the tried and tested method of clearing the path for the imperialists and their Chinese accomplices.

Since the mere fact that the Ruegggs belonged to the international trade union movement was not a sufficient reason to bring them before a court martial and to deliver them over to the Chinese executioners, resort was made to

the customary method of producing forged documents. For the British police this a very simple conjuring trick. The necessary "documents", enabling a charge of alleged planned revolutionary action to be brought, were soon found. They were supplied quite fresh from the forgery workshops of the British agents provocateurs. Besides these three steel boxes were "confiscated". It is true that none of the keys in the possession of the Rueggs fitted the locks, but what matter? If the Rueggs were innocent, then steps had to be taken, however vile, to prove them "guilty".

The police of the Shanghai International Settlement extradited the European Rueggs to the Chinese authorities. Quite suddenly that ex-territorial status of the foreigner, otherwise insisted on so emphatically by the British, existed **no longer**. Now a period of actual torture commenced for the Rueggs. They were dragged from prison to prison. In the military prison to which they were first taken, they were thrown into chains, and beaten with bamboo sticks—this came to light at the trial. The trial itself was made a martyrdom. Three times the date was fixed, only to be postponed. The bloody sword of the Chinese executioner hung over the heads of the Rueggs. The Rueggs, who proved themselves during the long torture of the remand to be dauntless and sincere revolutionary fighters, and proved this again during the proceedings of the trial, replied to the treachery and brutality of the allied authorities of imperialism and of reactionary China with the sole weapon left to them, the hunger strike.

II.

When it became known, exactly a year ago, that Paul and Gertrud Ruegg were in acutest danger, a protest campaign commenced which has swelled to one of the most powerful in the history of the workers movement. Both the workers and broad strata of the intellectuals took up the movement. From Shanghai to London, from Paris to Tokio, from New York to Berlin, the wave spread. It was realised what was at stake: One for all, all for one! Paul and Gertrud Ruegg for the alliance of the toiling masses of the East and West, and therefore the toiling masses of the East and West for Paul and Gertrud Ruegg!

In this brief survey of the Ruegg affair, it is not possible to enumerate all the persons and organisations who have come forward in support of the Rueggs. The most prominent authors: Theodore Dreiser, John Dos Passos (U.S.A.), Henri Barbusse and Romain Rolland (France), Prof. Albert Einstein, Heinrich Mann, Käthe Kollwitz, Ricarda Huch, Clara Viebig (Germany); numerous leading personages of science and research, internationally famous barristers and physicians; artists, intellectuals, prominent women of all countries, have joined the campaign for the Rueggs. The revolutionary workers' organisations have marched at the head of this campaign. The proletarian press has aroused the world's conscience. Hence even bourgeois persons and groups, certainly free of any suspicion of contact with revolutionary "machinations", investigated the Ruegg affair, and then took sides with these two prisoners, threatened in spite of their innocence with death at the hands of the executioner. A new Sacco-Vanzetti affair aroused the world. But this time the reply to the appeal came quickly enough to save these two human beings at least from immediate execution.

This storm of protest for the rescue of the Rueggs has swept not only once over the globe. It arose again, even more powerfully than the first time, when half a year later the Chinese authorities, at the instigation of the imperialists, made an attempt to strike at the Rueggs from an ambush.

The wave of protest arose again, for the third time, when the emergency court in Nanking commenced the trial proceedings a few weeks ago. This was no trial, but the mere farce of a trial. Falsified evidence, forged protocols, spies as witnesses. A trial for which the Nanking court of justice is not even competent. The object of the Rueggs' hunger strike was to have the trial transferred to Shanghai. They did not succeed, but the mighty protest action had at least the effect that the Rueggs were not suddenly executed, as is generally the case in the China of the Kuomintang.

The Ruegg affair thus offers two aspects: The imperialists and their Chinese confederates intended to strike a blow, in the persons of the Rueggs, against the Chinese proletariat and the European proletariat allied with it; but the actual effect has been to mobilise this proletariat more effectually than ever. In Shanghai there have been demonstrations, and struggles among the working class, such as have not taken place

for years, and even strikes have developed in the course of this campaign. The workers mutinied in the industrial centres of China. And at the same time the appeal of the working class signalled the alarm to the public of the whole of Europe.

Matters reached a point obliging the supreme authorities, the foreign offices, the ministries, the embassies, to take up the Ruegg affair. We need only recall that three French prime ministers, simultaneously foreign ministers, Briand, Laval, and Herriot, were forced to occupy themselves with the Ruegg affair. That further the leading politician for foreign affairs in the United States, Senator Borah, intervened for the Rueggs; that the **British Foreign Office** was obliged to receive delegations in the same matter; and that above all the **Chinese embassies and consulates** in all countries received unequivocal expressions of horrified condemnation from all sides, not only from proletarians, but from bourgeois, against the action taken by the Chinese government in making it part of their servility to imperialism the threaten the lives of two persons who stood for the national and social liberation of China from the yoke of imperialism.

Thus it has come about that precisely in the Ruegg affair the forces of British and of the Chinese reaction have been measured against the forces of the Chinese and international proletariat and of the progressive middle strata. But the matter has turned out very differently to the expectations of the imperialists. The Ruegg affair has become the pivot of a militant movement all over the world.

III.

Paul and Gertrud Ruegg have been sentenced to hard labour for life by the Nanking emergency court.

The great protest campaign for the Rueggs has been successful in averting the axe of the executioner. Even the "Vorwärts" is obliged to recognise this fact, for it writes that it is certain "that only the protests of the numerous prominent intellectuals of Europe, and the weeks of hunger strike on the part of the Rueggs, have warded off the death penalty". But among these prominent intellectuals we certainly do **not** find the leaders of social democracy defending the Rueggs, nor the "Vorwärts" and the other social democratic organs. If the matter had been left to them, the Rueggs would have bled to death long since. The fact is that it is **in spite** of the sabotage of the II. International that the real International of the **working class**, backed up by great numbers of progressive minds in all countries, has been able to stay the arm of the Chinese juridical murderers.

But if the Rueggs have been saved from sudden execution, still they are delivered over by the Nanking sentence to a **gradual execution** in the Chinese dungeons.

Now it is more urgent than even to rescue Paul and Gertrud Ruegg from prison, and to force their release. Therefore the struggle must now begin for the fresh task confronting us, which must be taken up with increased energy and increased impetus. Among the appeals already issued, that of the **International Defence Committee** lays down the tasks which must now be accomplished. This **appeal** concludes:

"The immediate danger of death, threatened so long by the expected death sentence, has been averted, thanks to the energetic protests of the friends of the Rueggs, and to the mass protest movement of the toilers of all countries.

But this does not suffice!

The undersigned Defence Committee for Paul and Gertrud Ruegg, whilst thanking all the men and women of science and art, the many thousands of intellectuals and the millions of workers, on behalf of the defendants and of the International Defence Committee, for their determined and energetic intervention for the comrades who have been sentenced though innocent, combines these thanks to all Defence Committees for Paul and Gertrud Ruegg, to all friends and to all just men and women, and especially to all workers and peasants, with the appeal that they do not relax in their efforts for Paul and Gertrud Ruegg. We are now faced by the task of saving these wrongfully condemned comrades from certain death in the Chinese prisons.

The course and issue of this trial have brought striking proof that the defendants, wrongfully accused and wrongfully sentenced, are innocent. The trial was a farce.

We must re-inforce our efforts and forces one hundred-fold, and must renew our exertions everywhere with increased energy in the struggle for the release of Paul and Gertrud Ruegg. The cry must arise again and again from

millions of throats: Immediate release of Paul and Gertrud Ruegg!"

Here there must be no relaxation of effort! To-day, as a year ago, the Ruegg affair is an affair concerning all toilers. The sentence passed on the Rueggs is an **accidental** incident in the new offensive of the generals against the Soviet districts of China, and in the intensified attack of Japanese

imperialism, in North Manchuria, an attack which is again the prologue to the intervention raid on the Soviet Union.

Hence the continued struggle for the liberation of the Rueggs from prison is part of the struggle against the united forces of the imperialist powers and of reactionary China, which must be forced into retreat by the advancing storm of the toiling masses.

A New Generals' War Impending in North China.

The Effects of the Intensified Imperialist Antagonisms.

By Tang Shin She.

Stimson, the foreign minister of the U.S.A., gave a speech on 7th August in the Association for Foreign Policy, in which he stated that the conflict brought about in Manchuria through Japan's action in China concerns not only the participants themselves, but—in view of the Kellogg Pact—the neutral states as well, and that the United States must support the League of Nations in the question of Manchuria.

Japan has commenced with the military occupation of Jehol, to the end that this province may be annexed to Manchuria, and North China secured as a hinterland for Manchuria.

Wang Ching Wei, the head of the Nanking government, and the present ally of **Chang Kai Shek**, sent a telegram to **Chang Hsue Liang** reproaching him for not having defended China against Japan with his well equipped troops, and accusing him of high treason. At the same time he resigned his governmental post and declared that he was going to continue to work in the Kuomintang. On receiving the telegram, **Chang Hsue Liang** resigned his position as commander in chief for the defence of the North Eastern provinces, and is at present conferring in Peiping with the authorised representatives of the Canton generals who have expressed their opposition to his resignation. He has besides this sent a confidential agent to **Chang Kai Shek** in Hankow.

What has caused **Wang Ching Wei**, who has always been ready to prostitute himself on every occasion, to declare his resignation so suddenly and to accuse **Chang Hsue Liang** of high treason? Since the end of last year, when **Wang Ching Wei** entered into the alliance with **Chang Kai Shek**, he has not been able to wear his mask so freely as usual. **Chang Kai Shek** has supplied documentary evidence that **Wang Ching Wei** is solely responsible for the Shanghai peace treaty, and exposing him as a suppresser of the worker's movement during the postal employ's strike. (Both in the Legislative and the Control Committee **Chang Kai Shek**'s adherents criticised **Wang Ching Wei** severely on account of these two incidents, and demanded his resignation.) Now they want to force him to undertake the additional responsibility of the introduction of the opium monopoly and of the unlimited issue of paper money. Otherwise **Chang Kai Shek** threatens to form a fascist party of his own.

On the other hand, **Wang Ching Wei** can see that the military power of **Chang Kai Shek** is crumbling away—in consequence of the blows which it has been dealt by the Red Army. In his endeavours to find a way of escape, and to save himself and the rotten Kuomintang of the landowners and the bourgeoisie, he sent off the telegram to **Chang Hsue Liang** as a sidetracking manoeuvre, in order to draw himself out of all responsibility for the high treason. That he accompanies his resignation with the declaration that he is willing to continue to work in the Kuomintang signifies that presently he will be working in the service of **Yen Shi San** and **Feng Yu Hsiang**.

The newspapers report daily on the victories of the Red Army on the Hupe front, where **Chang Kai Shek** himself is in command. The strike wave is rising all over China, as also the anti-Japanese boycott movement. A section of the petty

bourgeoisie, indignant at the treachery of the Kuomintang, has formed an "Association for the Extermination of Traitors" in Shanghai. All these facts show that the imperialist antagonisms pivoting around the division of China have become several degrees acuter. The Kuomintang militarists and politicians, under the commands of the imperialists and under the pressure of the masses of the people, are seeking a way of escape from their present position, in order to be able to continue playing their old traitorous role.

Meanwhile the Japanese are doing their utmost to win over the Chinese generals in North China for their side. General **Yen Shi San**, of whom nothing has been heard for a long time, puts in an appearance again. In July his troops penetrated into North Honan, and now control the railway line Chenchow-Tongkwan. The "sick" **Feng Yu Hsiang**, who has been studying Buddhist literature up in the hills of Shantung, has suddenly regained his health and will descend from his mountain. **Marshall Tuan She Sui** and **Wu Pei Fu** too have suddenly turned up as Buddhist agitators in Tientsin and Peking. **Tuan She Sui** has even accepted the post of president of a "Japanese and Tibetan Lamaist Association" founded by the Japanese in Tientsin.

The agents of the United States do not lag behind the Japanese in ideological and military armament activities. The newspapers report the arrival of a group of American aeronauts in Nanking, where they are to establish a school of war aviaties for the Nanking government. The Nanking government has also commissioned the Americans to build a great international wireless station in Shanghai. Report comes from Manila, the capital of the Philippines, that the Chinese living there have bought 20 American aeroplanes and 60,000 metal helmets, in order to put these at the disposal of the 19th army. Besides this negotiations are going on with the 19th army for the purpose of forming a special division of the 19th army of the Chinese living in the Philippines.

The American navy no longer confines its operations to Tsingfow and Chifu, but is extending them to Amoy and Swatow. An interesting item is the alternate use of the Peking drill grounds by the Japanese and American troops. **Chang Hsue Liang** arranged a great fraternisation demonstration on 7th July on the occasion of the arrival in Peking of the new American commander in chief. We see that the Americans too are equipping their Chinese generals efficiently.

The armaments of the Americans and Japanese in China demonstrate that **Stimson's** words are no empty phrase, and the Japanese action no mere manoeuvre.

Whilst a fresh stage of the generals' war has been concluded in South China, in North China the immediate outbreak of the generals' combats may be anticipated. For **Chang Hsue Liang** may have resigned, but his extensive and excellently equipped troops are still there. The antagonisms between the Americans and Japanese in Manchuria are much acuter than those between the imperialists in Southern China. Experience has shown us that they prefer to settle their conflicts through the medium of the generals' wars.

POLITICS

The External and Internal Difficulties of Fascist Poland.

The Background of the Pact of Non-Aggression with the Soviet Union.—Intensified Warmongering.—Growing Resistance of the Revolutionary Masses.

By I. N a j d a (Warsaw).

The results of the economic crisis in Poland affect not only the internal political life of the country, but also the foreign policy of the Pilsudski government.

The obvious cooling off of France's friendship for the expensive ally and the increased strain visible in the relations between Poland and Germany are without doubt the reasons for the foreign political manoeuvre at present being carried out by the fascist dictatorship. Poland did not receive the promised second loan from France for the building of the railway in Upper Silesia, and after the dissolution of Germany's Reichstag it was suddenly faced with the possibility of Hitler coming to power in Germany. In a great hurry and almost unexpectedly the Pact of Non-Aggression with the Soviet Union was signed on the eve of the German Reichstag elections although the necessary documents had lain in the safe of Poland's Foreign Ministry for six years. Is it possible that after having shown itself uncompromisingly hostile to the Soviet Union for years, the Pilsudski has suddenly changed its opinion and now honestly desires to live in peace with the Soviet Union? Naturally, there can be no question of this sort.

Poland's foreign political situation was difficult and complicated. In the general complex of imperialist contradictions and in view of the French attempts to come to an agreement with Germany, Poland was threatened with being pushed into an unfavourable position in the background. By signing the Pact of Non-Aggression whilst at the same time leaving himself some loopholes (the questions of Roumania, of the ratification etc.) Pilsudski aimed at exercising pressure on France and at the same time strengthening his position towards Germany. His final aim is to restore and consolidate his old position in the general imperialist front against the Soviet Union.

Thus it is clear that there has been no fundamental change in the foreign policy of fascist Poland. On the contrary Poland's fascists are continuing their war preparations against the Soviet Union with all energy and they regard an attack on the Soviet Union as the only way out of the crisis. As will be remembered, Poland produced a proposal for "moral disarmament" at the "disarmament" conference. The aim of this proposal was not only to draw attention away from the general increase of armaments and the intensive preparations for war by the usual manoeuvre, but also to justify under the cloak of this hypocritical "moral pacificism" its terrorist measures to crush the struggle against war.

The "moral disarmament" proposed by Poland is nothing but an attempt to remove the question of war from the attention of public opinion. Poland wants a prohibition of the publication of information concerning armaments, concerning the intrigues of the imperialists, and concerning war and its dangers. In this way Pilsudski would like to make any effective resistance against war impossible, and above all to rob the revolutionary struggle of the working masses against war of its weapons.

Hardly a day passes but what Pilsudski Poland gives proof of its desire for "moral disarmament". The Japanese representative at the "disarmament" conference, General Matsui, journeyed to Poland immediately after the "disarmament" conference where he conferred with Poland's General Staff. Is this fact not significant enough? It is true that the time chosen was not particularly advantageous to the generals who conducted their discussions to the tune of great strikes and stormy demonstrations against war throughout Poland.

The action of Poland's proletariat has demonstrated that there can be no 1914 a second time. The existence of the Communist Party renders it impossible to deceive the working masses as to the acute danger of war. Mass arrests were made

all over Poland, but they did not succeed in crushing the anti-war movement which is still more powerful this year in connection with the International Congress against War in Amsterdam. A factor of first rate importance is that every form of the class struggle in Poland is connected with the general struggle against imperialist war and in defence of the Soviet Union. No strike takes place and no wage action, but what in some way or other its slogans are linked up with the ever present danger of imperialist war.

Naturally, Pilsudski Poland has not confined itself to its proposal for "moral disarmament" in Geneva. At home it has taken a series of measures to stifle the mass struggle against war. The new Penal Code which comes into operation on the 1st September declares participation in the struggle against the danger of war to be a punishable crime. Article 104 of the new code declares that "persons circulating reports calculated to damage the spirit of national defence at a time of war danger" are liable to heavy sentences. The same code extends the competence of the exceptional courts and gives them the right to pass sentence of death for offences "contrary to the foreign political interests of the State".

The best weapon to resist these new terrorist measures is the organised fighting capacity of the revolutionary workers and peasants of Poland. The struggle against imperialist war and for the defence of the Soviet Union has taken on such widespread forms in Poland in recent years that it cannot be crushed by any penal measures. The ceaseless development of the terrible economic crisis in Poland with all its consequence for the working masses, want, misery and hunger, have roused the masses as never before to the clear realisation that they are faced with two alternatives only: a victorious revolution or a fearful imperialist war with all its horrors. For this reason the general class front of the working masses and the front of the oppressed peoples in Poland are one with the struggle against war.

Since 1929 when anti-war demonstrations were organised for the first time by the Communist Party, a tremendous amount of work has been done. To-day it is not only the progressive and revolutionary section of the working class which takes part in the struggle against war, but the broadest masses of the population, including the workers, the peasants, the students and the best elements amongst the intellectuals.

The Meerut Trial.

By R. Bishop (London).

The Meerut trial has ended, and the various assessors have declared their verdict. Not that that matters a great deal as the judge can over-ride them as and how he likes.

All assessors have united in finding Comrades Spratt and Bradley guilty, and all found the other Englishman, Hutchinson, not guilty. But that is where their agreement ends.

Three of the assessors find the majority of the prisoners guilty, with 12, 13 or 14 not guilty. A fourth finds only 7 not guilty. The fifth found all guilty more or less, but not the "crime" with which they are charged but with "conspiring to deprive the capitalists of power throughout the world". But although the verdicts of the assessors are announced, sentence is to be postponed until December 1st.

The only possible reason for this is that the Indian Government are waiting to see the effect of the verdict in India and throughout the world.

The trial for "Conspiracy with others to deprive the King-Emperor of his sovereignty", began in June 1929, and during the intervening years the delays and postponements and the ill-treatment of the prisoners in their sultry jail have been the subject of repeated mass working class protests in India and throughout the world. The trial has been the most protracted in Indian history and has been conducted by the Prosecution regardless of expense. Dozens of witnesses, police spies, post office men engaged in opening correspondence from Britain to India, and others of like kidney have been sent over, but permission to land has been refused for comrades like Saklatvala and J. R. Campbell, who would have been called for the defence. The Government of India prevented funds subscribed for the Defence from reaching the prisoners.

The very place chosen for the trial is in itself a sign of the lengths to which the prosecution has gone in its attempts to hamper the defence and to stifle working class demonstrations for the release of the prisoners.

Jury trials in India can only be held in certain towns. **Meerut** is not one of them. It is 800 miles from **Bombay** and 900 miles from **Calcutta**, from which two towns most of the accused hail. The only purpose of selecting Meerut as the venue of the trial is that all the arrangements there are of the most primitive character. The lawyers have no facilities for consulting legal works, there are no shorthand writers, and the court closes on every conceivable occasion, Moslem holidays, Hindu holidays, Christian holidays, in the torrid heat of the Indian summer etc.

Nevertheless the British Government in India, and in London, has impudently asserted that the protracted nature of the trial is due to the defence who "have almost continuously throughout the trial put the greatest obstacles in the way of its being proceeded with".

And with characteristic audacity the **British Trade Union Congress** has quoted this with approbation in their attempt to prevent assistance being mobilised and a mass protest movement being mobilised in Britain.

Even the presiding Judge was impelled to deny the truth of this allegation after strong protests had been made by the defence. The Judge, in a signed judgement, declared:

"The statement that the trial was prolonged by dilatory applications is certainly not correct, a fact as well known to the assessors as it is to me".

The vile statement putting the onus on the defendants was first circulated by **Wedgwood Benn**, Labour Party Secretary of State for India. It has been repeated by his successor, **Sir Samuel Hoare** of the National Government, and by the **T.U.C.** leadership.

It was pleaded by apologists for the late Labour Government that responsibility for the trial and the procedure lay with its predecessor, a Conservative Government. Yet during the whole period of the Labour Government the same procedure was adhered to, and just before the trial began additional arrests were made under the aegis of the Labour Government.

Throughout the period of the Labour Government the persecution and violent oppression which characterised the regime of the late **Lord Birkenhead** at the India Office was intensified. **Benn** carried forward the policy of **Birkenhead**, and **Hoare** has advanced it yet a stage further.

The Meerut trial reflects the spirit of the new anti-trade union laws which in Britain succeeded the General Strike. In China their counterpart is to be found in the ferocious onslaught on the Pan-Pacific Secretariat and the Ruegg trial.

The real political significance of the Meerut trial can be gathered from the opening speech of the **Crown Counsel**, **Langford James**, who died before the trial concluded. His speech was a violent diatribe, directed not so much against the accused comrades as against the Soviet Government.

One of the prisoners, **Abdul Majid**, summed up the situation very accurately in his statement before the Sessions Judge. He said:

"A revolution in India would not be due to the efforts and activities of the Communist International, but it will be due to the oppression and terrorism of British imperialism, as well as to the poverty, helplessness and pauperism of India. All the revolutionary bodies which have come into existence in India are the result of this very imperialism."

The report, issued last year, of the **Whitley Commission** on conditions of labour in India is in itself a strong condemnation of imperialism. It shows the appalling conditions under which millions of human beings exist, diseased, hungry and illiterate until death ends their misery.

Between 1920 and 29 the working class and the peasantry began to organise, driven by the lash of wage cuts, rationalised exploitation, usury and exorbitant landlords. A prime part in

this organisation was taken by the 31 Meerut accused. During these nine years there were 1739 strikes involving 3¼ million workers, with an aggregate number of days of struggle amounting to 84¼ million. 783 of these strikes were directly caused by wage attacks, 141 related to bonus payments, and in almost all of them trade union recognition was one of the demands.

The Government, in concert with the employers, used the most savage methods to smash the strikes. Nevertheless the workers won absolute victories in 285 strikes and partial successes in 291. The outstanding struggle was that of 150,000 **Bombay** cotton workers in 1928, against speeding up and more-ooms, combined with a 7½ per cent wage cut.

During this struggle the workers formed their own union, the **Girni Kamgar (Red Flag) Union**, which although not recognised by the reformist bureaucrats of **Great Britain** and **India**, headed by **Citrine** and **N. M. Joshi**, had 60,000 members, a feat attested by Government statistics.

Ultimately the strikers were forced to return to work on the old terms pending an enquiry. In March 1929, three days before the **Enquiry Committee** published its findings, the whole of the executive of the union were arrested with others on the charge of conspiracy, and sent under armed guard to Meerut.

One of the Judges of the High Court examining the case admitted that the accused had not been charged with any illegal act in pursuance of the alleged conspiracy, but claimed that this made no difference, as it was their aims and intentions that counted.

This is the background of the Meerut trial, one of the most important State trials in the history of the working class movement. It affords a clear picture of the lengths to which imperialism is prepared to go to prevent the development of militant workers and peasants movement which will combine the daily struggle for better conditions with the struggle for national freedom.

The prisoners will remain in jail until December awaiting sentence. Then sentence can be imposed of anything up to and including deportation to the fiendish **Andaman Islands** for life. Meanwhile for over three years they have been incarcerated in a tropical jail, many of them suffering from severe illness.

The necessity for a world-wide protest movement, linked up with the fight for the freedom of the **Rueggs**, on the scale of the **Sacco-Vanzetti** and **Scottsboro** campaigns is evident. The greatest possible mass campaign in India and throughout the world can save them from savage sentences.

Ottawa Agreements.

London, August 22

Whilst it is already announced that as a result of the Ottawa agreements, all foreign wheat imports into Britain will be subject to a duty of 2/— a quarter, that butter will be taxed 15/— per cwt, that cheese will bear an impost of 15 per cent. ad valorem, that raw fruit will be similarly taxed, that eggs will carry a duty of from 1/— to 1/9 per cwt, few details are yet revealed as to the concessions that will be made by the Dominions. One thing seems quite clear, namely that the Dominions do not propose in any single instance to lower the existing duties.

That the so-called anti-dumping clause is primarily directed against the **Soviet Union** is freely admitted by the press.

That there is no tax to be placed upon imported meat is due to the fact that the Dominions refused to accept the ¼d per lb offered. Instead a quota system limiting imports has been accepted. A "Gentlemen's Agreement" is believed to have been arrived at between **Britain** and the **Argentine**, in which the latter agree that Argentine beef imports to Britain will not exceed last year's total.

The **British Government** has made important economic concessions to the Dominions, at the expense of the **British workers**, but it has strengthened its hand politically, and has taken a big new step towards open war on the **Soviet Union**, and against the **U.S.A.**

Germany

The Political Crisis in Germany.

"Presidial Government."

By Karl Radek.

In the National Socialist Party the German bourgeoisie has created for itself a powerful instrument against the proletariat. Contrary to the assumptions of the bourgeoisie, the development of the crisis drove the petty-bourgeois masses into the arms of the National Socialists, and robbed the old parties of the bourgeoisie of great numbers of their voters. This strengthened the national socialist instrument of monopolist capitalism to such an extent that this tool began to lay claim to dominion, to the rule over the whole policy of the German bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie is afraid to surrender the power to the National Socialists, both on account of the social composition of the National Socialist Party and on account of the personages of whom the leading circles of the party are composed.

"Hitler is backed up by a group of people playing the part of second rank leaders. These have no intellectual abilities, and nothing is to be expected of them. It is clear that everything must be done to get them out of the way"—thus writes the journal "Der Ring", an organ emanating from the circles surrounding the Reich Chancellor von Papen.

In this situation the new solution of the **Presidial Government** presented itself, that is to say, of a Government which is appointed by the Reich President, without any reference to the majority ratios of the parties represented in the Reichstag, but solely with reference to the personal qualities of the individual members of the government. This cabinet is to strive as far as possible for the support of the parliament, but must be capable in case of emergency of leading the state without this support.

The Secretary of State **Dr. Meissner** has compiled a survey of the development of the power of the Reich President since the war, and declares that the Weimar constitution by no means demands that a cabinet appointed by the President should represent a parliamentary majority. He points out that the social democrat Ebert issued no fewer than 134 emergency orders between 1919 and 1924. Since the beginning of the crisis, up to the present the Reich President has issued 75 dictatorial-emergency orders. **Dr. Meissner** goes on to state:

"The great majority of these orders refer to . . . financial and economic legal enactments of very considerable range. Even a brief glance at the Reich legislation shows the extent to which the legislative powers normally in the hands of the Reichstag have passed into the hands of the extraordinary legislator—the Reich President—during the last 2½ years, through the agency of article 48."

Dr. Meissner states that the President induced the Brüning Government to retire, although this had the majority of the Reichstag behind it and received no vote of mistrust from it.

These juridical investigations on the part of the Secretary of State cannot however, explain either the social character or the source of the power of the Presidial power pushing the Parliament into the background.

The Role of the Reichswehr.

What forms the main support of the Reich President is obvious. His main support is the armed forces of the Republic subordinate to him: the Reichswehr. This force sprang into being in the struggle for the bourgeois state of society against the proletariat striving towards socialism. In every critical moment of Germany's post-war history the Reichswehr has uttered its decisive word in the language of the machine gun. The consequences of such a state of affairs were described as early as 80 years ago by **Karl Marx** in his "18th Brumaire":

"Barracks and bivouac, laid periodically on the head of French society for the purpose of pressing down its brains and reducing it to silence; sabres and muskets, periodically

strengthened and aligned, tutored and censored, made to act as police and night watchmen; moustache and uniform, periodically proclaimed as the highest wisdom of society and its head—was it not inevitable that barracks and bivouac, sabres and muskets, moustache and uniform, should finally hit upon the idea that it would be better to save society once and for all by means of proclaiming their own regime to be supreme, thus relieving bourgeois society entirely from the care of governing itself?"

Since the days when Marx wrote this trenchant characterisation, the sabres and muskets have learnt to conceal their thoughts. The Minister of the Reichswehr, **von Schleicher**, recently broadcast a great speech in which he entirely condemned the constant rule of sabres and muskets. He declared that such a rule cannot last for ever.

"If we understand under military dictatorship a Government supported solely by the bayonets of the Reichswehr, then I can only say that such a Government would rapidly run itself down in a vacuum, and would be bound to end in failure. In Germany, perhaps more than in many another country, the Government must be borne on a broad current of the people". (**Schleicher's** wireless speech, published in "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" No. 347.)

General **Schleicher** is praised in Germany's bourgeois circles as an excellent diplomatist, and therefore we shall certainly do best not to stress so much in his declaration the idea of a relinquishment of the military dictatorship, as the assumption that this military dictatorship will not lean solely upon bayonets.

As early as 1929 the following passage was written by **General von Seeckt** ("The Future of the Reich", 1929, page 125), the chief organiser of the Reichswehr and its intellectual originator:

"The Government, in whatever way it may have been formed, whether by absolute, constitutional, or parliamentary methods, must form an independent part of State power, responsible to the whole State and to the extent to which the Parliament defends with certainty the interests of the whole state."

"The whole state" is juridically a very vague conception, and when the Reichswehr will only recognise a conditional responsibility towards the Parliament, then all that remains is an unconditional responsibility towards the Reich President. Then the meaning of the Presidial Government becomes clear: It is above all a Government of the Reichswehr, and therefore it is not by accident that the whole world looks chiefly to the Reichswehr Minister **von Schleicher** as the head of this government.

The role played by General **von Schleicher** is described as follows by his semi-official biographer:

"Unquestionably his influence in the Reichswehr Ministry is great and far-reaching in all political matters. This is easily comprehensible when we remember that he has taken part in and helped to determine the development and the work of the Reichswehr from its first day onwards. Ministers have come and gone, Commanders in Chief of the Army have come and gone, but **Schleicher** has been the fixed pole amidst the changing phenomena. This has however nothing to do with any special artifices or conspiracies, as those in search of sensations have been pleased to represent from time to time. **Schleicher** is for the Reichswehr Ministry the indispensable expert for the observation of home politics. He knows everything, as only a minister of police of absolutism has had knowledge of things. He knows all persons in politics, and how to deal with them." (**Dr. Heinz Brauweiler**: "Generals of the German Republic." Berlin, 1932, page 33.)

This hymn of praise of the chief propagandist of the "Steel Helmets" may be supplemented by the fact that the present General, at that time General Staff Major Schleicher, formed the chief intermediary link between Hindenburg, Groener, and Ebert in November 1918.

The role played by Schleicher in the November revolution made him the most hated of all Reichswehr leaders in the eyes of the monarchists and National Socialists. The National Socialists continued to rail at Schleicher until Schleicher himself, after the election victory of the National Socialists in September 1930, was the first of the leaders of the Reichswehr to endeavour to build a bridge to the National Socialists. He assumed that the growth of the National Socialists could not be hindered, unless they were **permitted to take over power** and burdened for the time being with the responsibility of power. But at the same time Schleicher—as all his adherents state—is that one among the advisers of the Reichs President who expresses himself most decisively as **opposed to transferring** the power into the hands of the National Socialists.

General Schleicher has stated that the Government must be borne by a broad current of the people. But to what broad current does he refer? His relations towards the National Socialists are not known. But already the Papen-Schleicher Government is **not suspended in the air**. It is backed up by a fairly strong social factor, though this has not its base in the masses. The press of the opponents of the Schleicher-Papen Government has designated it as a "government of the **Gentlemen's Club**" (**„Herrenklub"**).

The "Gentlemen's Club", of which the Chancellor von Papen is a member, modestly declared that it had not the honour of being the father of the Papen Government, and pointed out through its publicist **Schotte** that it was precisely General von Schleicher who proposed to the Reich President that von Papen should be appointed Reich Chancellor. But Mr. Schotte, the herald of the "Gentlemen's Club", is quite needlessly so modest. The role played by the Gentlemen's Club with regard to the Papen-Schleicher Government is no slight one—quite apart from the question of who seated its member von Papen in the Chancellor's chair. The journal **„Die Tat"** (**"The Deed"**), the organ of a literary group which feels itself capable of becoming the brains of the "purged" fascist movement, a group having at its disposal such brilliant publicists as **Zehrer** and **Fried**, publishes the following characterisation of the composition of the "Gentlemen's Club".

"Here we find every brilliant name in Germany united, the **best and oldest nobility, agriculture, banks, industry, and press**. Beginning with a number of **princes**, and passing from the representative of the imperial interests, **Herr v. Berg**, from almost the whole of the representatives of Germany's **Chambers of Agriculture** and leading agricultural associations, to such industrial names as that of **Roland Brauweiler** of the Association of Germany's Employer's Unions, of **Friedrich Flick** so often named of late, **Privy Councillor Prenzel** of the German Potash Syndicate, **Edmund Stinnes**, the **Munich Haniel**, and to the banking world with the names of **Herbert Guttmann, Stauss, Kehl, and Solmsen**. Again we find names of the sharpest national opposition—**Escherich** (of the Orgesch), **Lübbert** of the Stahlhelm, **Vietinghof-Schehl** of the All-German Association, and again the names of such pious system advocates as the conservative deputies **Le Jeune, Lindener-Wildau, Gehricke** of the Agrarian League, **Werner v. Rheinbaben** of the People's Party, **Count Westarp**, beside such names as those of extreme German National Party members, **Everling, Count Garnier**, shoulder to shoulder with **Herr v. Papen** of the Centre Party, and **Herr Gessler**, the coming man.

The alphabetical order of the letter R brings a certain humour of its own, for **Arnold Rechberg, Gleichen's** great patron, is followed by the banker **Regendanz**, one of the closest friends of the People's Conservative Association, who is followed again by the German National deputy **Reichert** and the bank director **Reinhardt** of whom we have heard so much in the Patzenhofer affair. Active diplomats are represented by **Herr v. Hassell**, the German ambassador in Yugoslavia, **Herr v. Hentig**, the German Consul General in San Francisco, and **Dirksen**, the German ambassador in Moscow. Doubtless these would be pleased if a joint meeting at supper would enable them to discuss unanimous German foreign policy with **Herr v. Rechberg** and **Baron**

Lamezahn. The list of members is headed by the Head Governmental Councillor **Adametz**, the representative of the other great patron of **Herr v. Gleichen**, the President of the Reichsbank, **Luther**, whose interests have been represented by the Ring with exemplary élan, even to the extent of circulating the latest pamphlet with which **Dr. Luther** has found it necessary to defend his occasionally contested financial policy."

The "Gentlemen's Club" thus ridiculed has grown out of a club once formed by romantic Conservative youth under the leadership of **Möller van der Bruck**, an excellent writer who was the first to issue the slogan of the "Third Empire", and formed the forge upon which the fundamental conceptions of German fascism were welded. To-day it is the most elegant club in the **Friedrich Ebert Street** in Berlin (history makes no jokes!), a club uniting the heads of **Germany's landowning class, Germany's bureaucracy, and Germany's trust bourgeoisie**. And this is precisely the source of the power of the Gentlemen's Club, which has its local groups in every province, and seeks to unite the upper stratum of Germany's ruling class—and not merely for the sake of the supper. The composition of this club throws a vivid light on the **Presidial Government** of **Herrn v. Papen**.

The "Presidial Government", backed up by the physical force of the Reichswehr, is hence a **government of the leading circles of Germany's bourgeoisie**, those circles which finance the National Socialist Party, but are not willing to give it the whole of the power, preferring to employ it in the future as in the past merely as their tool.

In this present period of monopolist capitalism shaken to its foundations by the war, the social content of the politics of the ruling classes is of a very definite character. The trust bourgeoisie is endeavouring to thrust the whole of the burdens onto the shoulders of the workers and peasants, and of the petty bourgeoisie of the towns. Everywhere it is striving to cancel social reforms, and everywhere it calls upon the state to cease paying tips to the labour aristocracy, and rather give the money to the banks and trusts on the verge of bankruptcy.

According to the strength of the working class in each case, monopolist capital is carrying out this policy abruptly and rapidly, or step by step,—this is the difference between the policy of the ruling class in France and Italy, in Great Britain and Germany. Where the bourgeoisie is weak, where the ground under its feet is uncertain, it strides forward through a series of stages to open fascist policy. This was the case in Italy, in Poland, and in the Balkans. In Great Britain however, it can still pursue its policy without formally violating the rights of parliament, for here it is still successful in retaining an influence over the masses of the people. We see the same in France.

In Germany there is a combination of the profound capitalist crisis, urging the capitalists to a fascist policy, with the fact that both the working class and the trust bourgeoisie have mighty powers at their disposal. The trust bourgeoisie has lost its immediate influence over the masses of the people. The National Socialists, who have grown into the largest political party in Germany, now present their bill. They are willing to carry on the policy of trust capital. But mighty Germany's bourgeoisie is not yet willing to relinquish the immediate leadership of the state to a tool which it manufactured for itself. Not only is it afraid of the petty-bourgeois composition of the National Socialist Party, and not only has it no faith in the business abilities of the Nazi leaders, but it doubts whether the forces of the National Socialists will suffice to save capitalism from the storm of the working class when the crisis becomes acuter.

The far-seeing elements of German fascism—ideologically we must certainly count the "Tat" group to these (it may be observed that the **„Kölnische Volkszeitung"** asserts that this group is in contact with General von Schleicher)—already see a situation coming to pass in which it will be **necessary to draw over Social Democracy to them for the purpose of breaking up the united front being formed under the leadership of the C.P.G.**

This is the **decisive reason** why the reactionary circles of the "Gentlemen's Club" and of the Reichswehr are afraid to let the ship of the National Socialists sail out to the open sea; this is the reason why they are afraid to put all state

power into the hands of the National Socialists. And the final cause is the **existence of the great mass revolutionary trend in the form of the Communist Party.**

The struggle for the formation of the new government is proving a lengthy one. The National Socialists demanded the post of the Reich Chancellor. The Reich President refused. It is doubtful whether the Nazis relinquish the struggle for the commanding positions in Germany's government on Hindenburg's first command. They are acting not only under the pressure of the petty-bourgeois masses, for whom they must draw pictures of a real change in Germany, but at the same time under the pressure of that intellectual wing of their party which thirsts for posts and offices.

The National Socialists take as starting point the assumption that General von Schleicher will not be able to resolve upon any extensive measures of violence against them. They are convinced that Schleicher will not let matters come to an armed conflict with them, not only because the masses of the soldiers in the Reichswehr have a tendency towards fascism in consequence of their petty-bourgeois origin, but also for the reason that Schleicher himself and the leading circles of the German bourgeoisie see in the National Socialists the main reserves to be fallen back upon in the case of international and inner conflicts.

What will the National Socialists do now that Hindenburg has refused to appoint Hitler as Reich Chancellor? Will they accept posts of secondary rank, in order to be able to exert pressure on the Government, or will they renounce power and withdraw to prepare the storm attack? This has not yet been decided. Nor is it decided whether in the present situation they will be able to draw the Centre Party into the game, and without this the government will have no majority in the Reichstag. Hence for the present everything is uncertain, except the wish of the Papen Government to keep in its own hands the helm of the state ship now steering into the midst of great tempests.

Five Death Sentences in Beuthen.

Berlin, 23rd August 1932.

In accordance with the demand of the prosecutor the exceptional court in **Beuthen** sentenced five of the fascists who murdered the communist worker **Pietczusch** to death under the new Emergency Decree. The accused **Kottich**, **Volnitz**, **Mueller** and **Graupner** were sentenced to death for manslaughter committed for political reasons. They were also sentenced to two years hard labour each for causing grievous bodily injury. The accused **Lachmann** was sentenced to death for inciting the other accused to murder Pietczusch. The accused **Hoppe** was sentenced to two years hard labour for complicity, whilst the other accused were acquitted.

The pardoned fascist feme murderer **Heines** who is now a leader of the fascist storm detachments and a fascist member of the Reichstag, was in the body of the court together with many other prominent fascists. After the announcement of the verdict and sentences he sprang to his feet and shouted: "The German people will pass different verdicts in the future. The Beuthen verdict will be the signal for German freedom! Long live Hitler!" No action was taken against Heines for this open contempt of court and he then proceeded into the open where he harangued a mob of fascists from a balcony. Incited by Heines rioting took place and the windows of a number of social democratic and bourgeois newspaper offices were broken by the mob. Large farces of heavily armed police were concentrated in Beuthen but no serious collisions occurred. A number of anti-fascists were injured.

The death sentences have been passed, but for the moment there is no question of the murderers being executed. The defence will lodge a motion for a new trial. Apart from this, there is the possibility of pardon. The Prussian Cabinet holds the right to pardon. The report of the court will go to the Prussian Minister of Justice who will then present it to a full session of the Cabinet together with his own recommendation. It is thought that the decision of the Cabinet will be made at the earliest in a week.

Hitler has sent the following telegram to the murderers:

"Kameraden, in view of this most terrible and bloody sentence I feel myself at one with you in unlimited fidelity. From this moment on your freedom is a matter of our

honour. The struggle against a government under whose rule such a thing is possible is our duty."

The whole fascist press has burst into a howl of fury at the sentences and open threats are indulged in. For instance, this evening's "**Angriff**" writes: "If a single hair of the condemned men is touched very much in Germany will not only be damaged, but utterly destroyed, and not only the idea of the State authority..."

Hitler has issued a long appeal to "The German People" which is published in the "**Voelkischer Beobachter**". In this appeal he sides completely with the murderers and does not suggest by so much as one word that there is anything to be condemned in their bestial crime. He indulges in the usual frothy and hysterical demagoguery, attacks von Papen whom he accuses of "bloody activity" and declares that the "monstrous" sentences in Beuthen are directed against "Nationalist Germany".

The Reich's leadership of the **National Socialist Party** has sent a telegram to von Papen in which it declares, inter alia:

"The Reich's leadership of the National Socialist German Workers Party expects the immediate pardoning of the condemned men."

The telegram also contains a very pointed threat when it declares:

"The immediate quashing of the verdict is necessary if security and order are to be maintained."

The **right-wing nationalist press** also attacks the sentences and demands the pardoning of the murderers.

The "**Germania**", the central organ of the Centre (Catholic) Party, writes:

"The judges of the exceptional court in Beuthen could not come to any other result if the authority of the State and the majesty of the law were to be maintained at all."

The bourgeois democratic "**Berliner Tageblatt**" writes that it has always been opposed to death sentences, even when they are passed on National Socialists, but that in view of the new Anti-Terror Decree with its new provisions a just verdict could not have been different.

The social democratic "**Vorwärts**" writes:

"The von Papen government called for the hangman. It abolished the rightful government of Prussia and appointed a Reich's Commissar. It issued the Emergency Decree compelling judges to pass death sentences. And now the position is that a pardon for the condemned men would be equivalent to a death sentence on the anti-terror decree of the 9th August."

To-day's "**Rote Fahne**" writes:

"Five fascists have been sentenced to death in Beuthen for the bestial murder of our comrade Pietczusch, but we are hardly betraying any secret when we declare that these inhuman murderers will be pardoned. The court was compelled to pass the death sentences or the real nature of the new exceptional courts would have been revealed too soon."

Heavy Sentences for Reichsbanner Workers.

Berlin, 22nd August 1932.

The exceptional court in **Brieg** passed sentence this morning on the Reichsbanner workers charged in connection with the collisions between workers and fascists in **Ohlau**. The Reichsbanner district leader **Blech** was sentenced to four years hard labour, the local secretary of the Reichsbanner **Durnick** to three years hard labour, **Karl Vanin** to two years hard labour, and other accused to lesser terms. **In all three of the accused were sentenced to a total of nine years hard labour, twenty four accused to a total of 19 years and 11 months imprisonment, and sixteen persons were acquitted.**

Not one single fascist was on trial although even the exceptional court had to admit that they had committed a series of violent crimes, including the shooting down of two women in their own home. The evidence offered during the course of the trial refuted the main contentions of the indictment and showed that the prosecution was violently prejudiced against the Reichsbannermen in favour of the fascists.

Last week the exceptional courts passed sentences totaling eight years and ten months hard labour and ten years and six months imprisonment. Ninety five per cent. of the sentences were imposed on social democratic and communist workers.

THE WAR

The Crisis in South Eastern Europe and the War Front Against the Soviet Union.

By V. Dimitriev.

In the preparations for the war of intervention against the Soviet Union, of which France is the mental and material instigator, a responsible part falls to the states of South Eastern Europe and the Balkans.

The bringing to completion of the war industrial bases in the leading imperialist states, and in those directly bordering on the Soviet Union, is an essential characteristic of the present stage of war armaments. This is shown with especial clearness in South Eastern Europe. There we see not only the unprecedented growth of the war industries in **Czechoslovakia**, in **Rumania**, and **Bulgaria**, but also the existence of a mutual dependence among the individual Balkan states in the preparations for the intervention.

Czechoslovakia, the centre of the war industries in South Eastern Europe, suffers from a shortage of a whole series of the most important raw materials. Two thirds of its consumption of iron has to be covered by imports from abroad. In addition Czechoslovakia lacks copper, oil, pyrites, lead, manganese ores, tungsten, and zinc. Among the exporters of raw materials to Czechoslovakia are Yugoslavia and Rumania.

In this manner an allied war industrial trust has been formed in the Balkans, whose task it is to supply the Czechoslovakian arsenal with raw material reserves and the Balkan countries with war material. These ties are further strengthened by the branches of the **Skoda Works** in the Balkans, by the taking over of Rumanian large scale undertakings by the **Skoda** and **Schneider-Creuzot** firms, by the erection of factories for explosives and munitions in Rumania, and by the technical re-organisation of the old war materials factories in Transsylvania and in Banat, etc. where again the firms of **Skoda** and **Schneider-Creuzot** figure as the decisive factors.

Besides this, measures are being taken for the building of strategic railways and bridges over the Danube, providing the Balkan states with a uniform network of railways under the direction of the French General Staff. At the same time France has succeeded in having a bridge built across the Danube, connecting Rumania with Bulgaria. This, combined with the recently effected junction of the Rumanian and Yugoslavian railways, is of great strategic significance.

The French General Staff can also record certain successes in the standardisation of the war equipment of the Balkan states on the models of the **Skoda Works**, the **Schneider-Creuzot** factories, and their branches, and in the preparations for collaboration among the general staffs, etc.

The growing exports of the Czechoslovakian and French war industries to the Balkan countries, the development of home war industries in spite of the crisis, and the various secret military agreements of the Balkan states among themselves, and with **Poland**, show that French imperialism has made definite progress as far as the purely military equipment of the Balkans is concerned.

The Balkans form a very characteristic section in the changing panorama of crisis, decline, and decay of European capitalism. The peculiar economic structure of these countries, the political effects of the peace treaties of **Versailles**, **St. Germain**, and **Trianon**, have caused the particularly violent crises in industry, agriculture, and finance, in these countries. Fateful events are maturing in these predominantly agrarian countries.

The weekly journal of Germany's „**Institute Business Research**” publishes, in its number of 1st July 1932, a statement of Central European foreign debts. This shows 89.9% of **Austria's** debts to be foreign debts. In **Hungary** this proportion between home and foreign debts rises to 91.6%, in **Rumania** the proportion is 86.4%, in **Yugoslavia** 71.3% and in **Bulgaria** 77.8%. These data show very clearly the extent of the role played by foreign debts in the payment balances of the Balkans.

Even in **Czechoslovakia**, where the position is relatively

better in comparison with the other countries of South Eastern Europe, owing to the part played here by war industry, the financial situation has worsened from month to month. It is known that the cover for the Czech currency has diminished from 2015 million gold crowns in the decade 1921 to 1931 to 760 million in 1932. Czechoslovakia, precisely like **Austria**, **Hungary**, and the other states of South Eastern Europe, sees itself obliged to limit securities.

The position is similar or almost similar in a number of other states, such as **Rumania**, **Bulgaria**, and **Yugoslavia**.

The state bankruptcy evidenced by the cessation of the payment of foreign debts is accompanied by a negligence or avoidance of home obligations. The non-fulfilment of state obligations, the non-payment of salaries, pensions, etc. are methods popular in the Balkans of restoring the equilibrium of state finances.

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The financial crisis raging in the Balkans is a logical result of industrial and agrarian crisis which has been increasing in acuteness here for some years. The agriculture of the countries of South Eastern Europe has become unprofitable. The proceeds of the sales of agricultural products no longer cover the costs of carriage and of the stalls in the market places. The price of milk in particular has fallen enormously in Rumania. The peasants of the Balkans are actually suffocated under their burden of debts. At the end of 1930 the peasantry of Rumania were for instance in debt to the total amount of 100 milliard Lei, of which sum 90% were owed by the poor and middle peasantry. The result is growing discontent, and with this the spread of the revolutionary movement among the toiling masses.

The bourgeoisie is very well aware that where the trend of feeling the rural districts, morally and politically, is thus towards dissatisfaction and revolution, it is a very difficult task to undertake a war of intervention against the **Soviet Union**, however carefully agitation is made for fascist and anti-Soviet demagoguery.

Industry is no better off than agriculture. Although the main production is for war purposes, the crisis is still felt acutely. In **Rumania** the industrial crisis is severest in those districts allocated to Rumania by the peace treaties. In **Bukovina** the number of works and factories still working in the textile industry in 1931 had lessened to 18 as compared with 24 in 1930, in the metal industry from 30 to 8, and in the chemical industry from 16 to 13. In **Bessarabia** numerous gold undertakings have been laid idle, and the undertakings whose gates are still open are working part time, and only a few days in the week.

Needless to say, under such circumstances the situation of the workers is a very hard one, especially when it is remembered that there is no state unemployed benefit in the Balkans.

The unprecedented aggravation of the economic crisis, the revolutionary upsurge extending to ever broader strata of the working class and the peasantry, the growing activity of the masses under the leadership of the **Communist Parties**, the sharpening of the antagonisms between the individual Balkan states and between the various strata of the bourgeoisie in these states—these are the factors throwing difficulties in the way of the realisation of the anti-Soviet plans of French imperialism in the Balkans.

It was by no means by accident that **Pilsudski**, after his journey of inspection through **Bessarabia**, decided that the non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union must be signed as speedily as possible, an action which aroused lively protests in the Rumanian press, and expressions of violent reproach at the faithlessness of the ally.

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As a jumping off place for imperialist war on the Soviet Union, the Balkans are very unsafe ground. At the present moment the politics of the Balkan countries are distinguished by frequent changes of government, by the aggravation of the antagonisms in the bourgeoisie itself, by the corruption of the state employees who receive no salary and contrive means of subsistence for themselves, and at the same time by a frightful intensification of the terror exercised against those masses of the peasantry and the petty citizens of the towns now tending to revolution.

The Balkan bourgeoisie is attempting to find a way out

of the crisis along the old and worn out capitalist rut: increased taxation, reduction of wages and salaries, etc. But the hopelessness of the situation arouses in many minds the idea of **war adventure**. But this playing with war may very well prove disastrous to the Balkan bourgeoisie. The **revolutionary movement** growing with such elementary force, and spreading everywhere, may well receive such a mighty impetus at the moment of a war that it will sweep away the utterly decayed capitalism of the Balkans altogether!

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Strike in Belgium.

By F. Coenen.

Brussels, 21st August 1932.

The Police Court at **Mons** has again sentenced 17 miners and four miners' wives to terms of imprisonment from eight days to four weeks, and to fines totalling 5000 francs.

The miners called upon for task work are being employed to an increasing extent for ordinary work. The workers who refuse are thrown into prison at once. In **Ressaix** seven workers were arrested for this reason on 20th August.

The treacherous tactics of the reformist leaders, aiming at strangling every strike activity whatever, have been successful in some places in inducing the workers to resume task work. In this manner the coal-owners have even had workers put at their disposal for loading coal for public undertakings. The counter-measures taken by the workers against this method on the part of the reformist leaders to sabotage the strike are becoming more and more energetic, and the agreement already concluded between the employers and the reformists with regard to this manoeuvre has had to be withdrawn under the pressure exerted by the workers.

The gendarmerie continues to act with the utmost brutality against the strikers. In **Binche**, **Péronnes**, **Ressaix**, and **Frameries**, they have made fresh attacks on the pickets, beating up the strikers inhumanly.

In **Morlanwelz**, the local group of the reformist miners' union adopted a protest resolution against the social democratic mayors of the **Borinage** coal district, and against the trade union chairmen, who had called upon the miners to resume work. In this same resolution the local group adopts the fighting program and the fighting methods laid down by the conference of the strike committees.

At the delegates' meeting of the **Central Belgian coal district**, a motion was proposed for the extension of the strike movement. The motion was rejected against four votes and four abstentions. But another motion, demanding the convocation of a plenary meeting of all trade unionists, had to be adopted.

The reformist **National Miners' Federation**, at its conference yesterday, could find no better advice to give the miners than a recommendation to "preserve discipline". There have been cases in which miners organised in the reformist union have joined the other workers resolutely in the struggle, have admitted other workers to their meetings with equal rights, have issued appeals, printed leaflets, and distributed these, against the will of their leaders and often against decisions issued against them. The reformist bosses demand that an end be put to this, for they are aware that their "authority" is crumbling before this initiative on the part of the strikers, and it will be made impossible for them to choke off the strike movement.

Hence the social democratic and reformist trade union press has launched a savage drive against the unorganised workers and against the adherents of the **Revolutionary Miners Committee**. The obvious aim of this is to split the strike front, and to sow dissension among the workers. The treacherous leaders preach passivity above everything else, and this would quite certainly destroy the strike.

The **Communist Party**, the **Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition**, and the **Revolutionary Miners' Committee**, are fighting with the utmost determination against this passivity advocated by the treachery of the reformist leaders. In **Elonge**, **Wihérie**, **Binche**, and **Péronnes**, communist mass meetings have again been held, attended by several thousand miners, who enthusiastically cheered the militant struggle to be maintained till victory is secure.

Social democracy, after attempting to represent the importance attached by the bourgeoisie to the action and role of the Communist Party as a "manoeuvre of reaction", now proceeds itself to skilful manoeuvring on the same lines. The "Communist Danger" is now thrown vividly on the screen by the social democratic press, and the fear that the growing authority of the Party and the considerable increase in its membership may continue to augment is represented as very serious indeed. In the "**People**" **M. Dewinne** announces a period in which "Left" phraseology must be utilised to the utmost. And on 20th August **Vandervelde** already entered the arena. He states that the young people are in the right who refuse to follow in the footsteps of the past. After admitting that the capitalist crisis, and the shrinkage of profits running parallel with it, have destroyed the possibilities of reformism, he draws the conclusion that

"the present hour is not one for compromises, for negotiations, least of all for co-operation; it is the hour for the inexorable insistence on the socialist principles of the struggle, for the intense daily struggle... for the new world..."

This "Left" phraseology, equally nebulous and hypocritical, will never be converted into deeds. But the proletariat whom **Vandervelde** is once more trying, to lure into his parlour will judge for himself between the social democrats and the communists, on the grounds of the events of the recent past and of the present.

Appeal on Behalf of Belgian Miners.

Berlin, 19th August 1932.

The **International Miners Committee** has issued an appeal on behalf of the striking Belgian miners. The appeal points out that unless the Belgian strikers are victorious there will be a new wave of wage cuts for the miners, not only in Belgium, but in all other European countries. Betrayed by the reformist leaders and by the **Amsterdam International (I.F.T.U.)** the Belgian miners must receive the support of their comrades in other countries in their heroic struggle. Only the solidarity of the miners of all countries would be able to help the Belgian miners to victory.

The appeal calls on the transport workers to prevent scab coal being transported to Belgium, and on the miners to collect funds to support their comrades, to bring up the question of the Belgian strike in their meetings, to demand the release of the arrested miners, and in particular the release of the Secretary of the **International Miners Committee**, **Sobotka**, and to elect deputations to visit the Belgian consulates.

The Lancashire Weavers Strike.

London, August 22.

Despite great mass pressure the **Weavers Council** refused on Saturday to call strike action immediately and decided to wait until next Monday when the existing strike notices will operate. There was however a substantial minority in favour of striking now, the voting being 62 to 87. Nevertheless the number on strike continues to grow. In **Burnley**, **Preston**, **Haslingden**, **Earby**, and **Bolton** there are 50,000 out, and 800 more came out to-day in two mills at **Reddish**.

The capitalist press is making great play with the fact that the union officials at **Ashton** and **Radcliffe**, two small districts remote from the main weaving centres, have come to an agreement for compromise wage cuts with the employers. There is no indication that in so doing the reformists have any support from the rank and file in these towns.

In the towns which are already out the militancy of the workers is so great that the employers dare not keep their mills open for blacklegs as the police no longer feel strong enough to protect them from the angry workers. At **Haslingden** the employers have closed their mills where last week a few scabs were working, on the appeal of the Mayor, who declared that "life is endangered" by attempting to keep them open. The few blackleg mills in **Burnley** were similarly closed down last week by the solidarity of the workers. The only mill with scabs in **Preston** was similarly closed down on Friday.

So great is the indignation in **Burnley** at the brutality displayed by the police imported from **Manchester** and **Liverpool**, that the Labour group on the Town Council last week demanding a Home Office enquiry into their conduct.

How the First World War was Prepared

The World in Flames.

The First Imperialist World War Begins.

The Betrayal of the 4th August.

Acts of War Without a Declaration of War.

Königsberg, 2nd August 1914.

Mounted Russian patrols have entered Eydtkuhnen. According to absolutely reliable information the post office in Bilderweitschen has been destroyed. The enemy has also crossed the frontier at numerous other points. ("Der Tag".)

All Necessary War Measures taken.

The Reich Chancellor to the Kaiser.

Your Majesty!

Berlin, 2nd August 1914.

According to report of General Staff (to-day at four a. m.)

two squadrons Cossacks have attempted interfere with railway line and are advancing on Johannisburg. De facto state of war thus created. Information sent to Vienna and Rome with request for answer concerning fulfilment alliance duties. Addition to Rome message to effect that we foresee French attack. Russian Ambassador receiving passport.

After agreement with War Ministry and General Staff: handing of declaration of war to France not necessary to-day for military reasons. Delay is the result of hope that French will attack us.

v. Bethmann Hollweg.

(German Documents relating to the Outbreak of War, pages 112/113.)

Germany's Declaration of War to Russia.

Telegram of the Chancellor to the Imperial Ambassador in St. Petersburg on August 1st, 12.52 p. m. Urgent.

If the Russian Government gives no satisfactory reply to our demand, Your Excellency will please transmit this afternoon 5 o'clock (mid-European time) the following statement:

"Le Gouvernement Impérial s'est efforcé dès les débuts de la crise de la mener à une solution pacifique. Se rendant à un désir que lui en avait été exprimé par Sa Majesté l'Empereur de Russie, Sa Majesté l'Empereur d'Allemagne d'accord avec l'Angleterre était appliqué à accomplir un rôle médiateur auprès des Cabinets de Vienne et de St. Petersburg, lorsque la Russie, sans en attendre le résultat, procéda à la mobilisation de la totalité de ses forces de terre et de mer.

A la suite de cette mesure menaçante motivée par aucun préparatif militaire de la part de l'Allemagne, l'Empire Allemand se trouva vis-à-vis d'un danger grave et imminent.

Si le Gouvernement Impérial eût manqué de parer à ce péril il aurait compromis la sécurité et l'existence même de l'Allemagne. Par conséquent, le Gouvernement Allemand se vit forcé de s'adresser au Gouvernement de Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies en sistant sur la cessation des dits actes militaires. La Russie ayant refusé de faire droit à cette demande et ayant manifesté par ce refus, que son action était dirigée contre l'Allemagne, j'ai l'honneur d'ordre de mon Gouvernement de faire savoir à Votre Excellence ce qui suit:

Sa Majesté l'Empereur, mon auguste Souverain au nom de l'Empire relève le défi et Se considère en état de guerre avec la Russie."

Please wire urgent receipt and time of carrying out this instruction by Russian time.

Please, ask for Your passports and turn over protection and affairs to the American Embassy.

German Army Marches Into Luxemburg.

According to an official report, Luxemburg has been occupied by troops of the Eighth Army Corps in order to protect the German railways there. ("Der Montag".)

Occupation of Luxemburg "Not a Hostile Act,"

The German Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the Government of Luxemburg.

Berlin, 2nd August 1914.

The military measures adopted by us with great regret were made necessary by reliable reports according to which

French troops are advancing on Luxemburg. Our measures were dictated by the necessity of protecting our army and our railways. We have not the least intention of committing any hostile act against our friendly neighbour Luxemburg. Owing to the threatening danger there was unfortunately no time for previous agreement with the government of Luxemburg. The imperial government guarantees Luxemburg full compensation for the damage done by our troops.

v. Jagow.

(German Documents relating to the Outbreak of War, page 123.)

Isvolski Is Pleased.

Isvolski to Sasonov.

Confidential telegram.

Paris, 2nd August 1914.

News arrived to-day that German troops have entered Luxemburg and thus violated the neutrality of the Duchy guaranteed, inter-alia, by Great Britain and Italy in 1857. This circumstance is regarded as very favourable to France for it will undoubtedly cause (a gap) on the part of Great

They Should All Be in the Dock . . .

The original letters of the confidential correspondence which took place between the Russian Ambassadors in London and Paris with their chief, the official controller of the foreign policy of the Romanov Empire, Minister Sasonov, have been preserved and they are in our hands. Further, at least a section of the confidential telegrams and no less confidential reports of Sasonov to the Tsar have also been preserved. All these documents throw strong light on the preparations for war made by the Entente and advance irrefutable proof that not only Wilhelm II and Bethmann Hollweg should come up for trial before the bar of impartial history, but also the Lloyd Georges, the Greys, the Poincarés and the Sasonovs.

M. Pokrovski.

Britain and impel the latter to take up an energetic attitude. There is also a report according to which German troops are advancing in the direction of Arlon which would indicate that they intend to violate the neutrality of Belgium. This would involve Great Britain still more closely. The French Prime Minister immediately telegraphed to London and instructed Cambon to draw Grey's attention to this news.

(Sig.) Ivolski.

(M. Pokrovski: "From the Secret Archives of the Tsar", pages 31/32.)

How the War Fever was produced.

The German Secretary for Foreign Affairs to the Ambassador in London.

Berlin, 3rd August 1914.

A large number of Frenchmen disguised as Prussian officers have attempted to cross our frontier from Holland.

A French doctor and two other Frenchmen attempted to infect the wells at Metz with Cholera bacilli. The doctor was executed according to martial law.

v. Jagow.

French Air Bombs Near Nuremberg.

Yesterday afternoon a military report arrived here according to which yesterday morning French dropped bombs in the neighbourhood of Nuremberg. As there has been no declaration of war between France and Germany this action represents a breach of international law.

The French Attack.

Although no single German soldier is on French territory the French have, according to official information, crossed the German frontier without a declaration of war and occupied Gottesthal, Netzeral, Markkirch and the Schlucht Pass. A breach of neutrality has also been committed by the fact that French airmen have flown in large numbers over Belgium and Holland to Germany.

("Deutsche Zeitung", 3rd August 1914.)

Enthusiasm at French Mobilisation.

Count Szécsen to Count Berchthold.

Paris, 2nd August 1914.

Mobilisation Order received with enthusiasm. Draconic expulsions ordered against all foreigners, particularly Austrians, Hungarians and Germans. Railway traffic almost completely interrupted. Up to the present all efforts to obtain trains for our nationals have been fruitless.

(Diplomatic Documents relating to the Period immediately prior to the War 1914, pages 109/110.)

The "Insolent Pack".

Wilhelm on France.

Paris, 2nd August 1914.

Wilhelm:
One patrol.

The French government lodged a protest with me yesterday concerning a serious violation of the French frontier by our troops near Delle whereby our troops passed the French ten kilometre zone and adopted belligerent action against French troops as a result of which one French soldier was killed.

As a result of this and other reports the situation here is very strained.

Schoen.

Kaiser Orders War on France.

Berlin, 3rd August (Official).

In accordance with their orders German troops have not yet crossed the French frontier. Since Sunday, however, French patrols have been attacking out frontier posts without a declaration of war. France has thus opened the attack on us and created a de facto state of war. The security of the Reich compels us to adopt counter-measures. His Majesty the Kaiser has issued the necessary orders. The German Ambassador in Paris has been instructed to ask for his passport.

Germany's Declaration of War on France.

Letter Handed by the German Ambassador to M. René Viviani, President of the Council, Minister for Foreign Affairs, during His Farewell Audience, August 3, at 6.45 p. m.

M. le Président,

The German administrative and military authorities have established a certain number of flagrantly hostile acts committed on German territory by French military aviators. Several of these have openly violated the neutrality of Belgium by flying over the territory of that country; one has attempted to destroy buildings near Wesel; others have been seen in the district of the Eifel, one has thrown bombs on the railway near Carlsruhe and Nuremberg.

I am instructed, and I have honour to inform your Excellency, that in the presence of these acts of aggression the German Empire considers itself in a state of war with France in consequence of the acts of this latter Power.

At the same time I have honour to bring to the knowledge of your Excellency that the German authorities will detain French mercantile vessels in German ports, but they will release them if, within forty-eight hours, they are assured of complete reciprocity.

My diplomatic mission having thus come to an end it only remains for me to request your Excellency to be good enough to furnish me with my passports, and to take the steps you consider suitable to assure my return to Germany, with the staff of the Embassy, as well as with the staff of the Bavarian Legation and of the German Consulate General in Paris.

Be good enough, M. le Président, to receive the assurances of my deepest respect.

(Signed)

Schoen.

Belgium.

London Asks Whether French and German Governments Are Prepared to Respect Neutrality of Belgium.

Sir Edward Grey to Sir F. Bertie, British Ambassador at Paris, and Sir E. Goschen, British Ambassador at Berlin.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, July 31, 1914.

I still trust that the situation is not irretrievable, but in view of prospect of mobilisation in Germany it becomes essential to His Majesty's Government, in view of existing treaties, to ask whether French (German) Government are prepared to engage to respect neutrality of Belgium so long as no other Power violates it.

A similar request is being addressed to German (French) Government. It is important to have an early answer.

France Prepared to Respect Belgian Neutrality until . . .

Paris, 31st July (Reuter).

In reply to a question of the British government as to whether France was prepared to respect the neutrality of Belgium, the French Prime Minister Viviani answered that France was prepared to respect this neutrality so long as it was not violated by any other power.

The Reception of the German Ultimatum in Belgium.

The German Ambassador in Brussels to the German Foreign Office.

Brussels, 3rd August 1914.

. . . . If the Belgian Government were to accept the proposals which have been made to it, it would thereby sacrifice the honour of the nation and at the same time violate its duties towards Europe.

Bearing in mind the role which Belgium has played for over eighty years in the civilisation of the world, the Government cannot believe that the independence of Belgium can be obtained only by the violation of its neutrality.

Should the hopes of the Belgian Government not be fulfilled, then it is determined to repulse any attack on its rights with all the means at its disposal.

Below.

(German Documents relating to the Outbreak of War, Volume IV, page 30.)

Great Britain Backs Belgium.

Sir Edward Grey to Sir F. Villiers, British Minister at Brussels.

(Telegraphic.)

You should inform Belgian Government that if pressure is applied to them by Germany to induce them to depart from neutrality, His Majesty's Government expect that they will resist by any means in their power, and that His Majesty's Government in this event are prepared to join Russia and France, if desired, in offering to the Belgian Government at once common action for the purpose of resisting use of force by Germany against them, and a guarantee to maintain their independence and integrity in future years.

Great Britain's Ultimatum to Germany.

Sir Edward Grey to Sir E. Goschen, British Ambassador at Berlin.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, August 4, 1914.

We hear that Germany has addressed note to Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs stating that German Government will be compelled to carry out, if necessary, by force of arms, the measures considered indispensable.

We are also informed that Belgian territory has been violated at Gemmenich.

In these circumstances, and in view of the fact that Germany declined to give the same assurance respecting Belgium as France gave last week in reply to our request made simultaneously at Berlin and Paris, we must repeat that request, and ask that a satisfactory reply to it and to my telegram of this morning be received here by 12 o'clock to-night. If not, you are instructed to ask for your passports, and to say that His Majesty's Government feel bound to take all steps in their power to uphold the neutrality of Belgium and the observance of a treaty to which Germany is as much a party as ourselves.

The German Invasion of Belgium.

The Chief of the General Staff to the Foreign Office.

Secret!

Berlin, 3rd August 1914.

On Tuesday, the 4th August at 6 o'clock in the morning, the Belgian Government must be informed that to our regret we shall be compelled as a result of the rejection of our well-meaning proposals by the Belgian Government to carry out the measures considered by us to be unavoidably necessary as a protection against the French threat, by force of arms if necessary.

This information must be handed over because our troops will enter Belgian territory to-morrow morning. I consider this information will be sufficient because Belgium informed us that it will oppose any violation of its territory with force of arms. In my opinion a declaration of war is undesirable because I still count upon coming to an agreement with the Belgian Government when it recognises the seriousness of the situation.

v. Moltke.

Diplomatic Relations Broken Off.

The German Ambassador in Brussels to the German Foreign Office.

Brussels, 4th August 1914.

Diplomatic relations broken off. Have received my passport and leave Brussels with the personnel of the Embassy and Consul Kempf this evening via Holland. Below.

Italy to Remain Neutral.

The German Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Ambassador in Rome.

Berlin, 2nd August 1914.

According to a report of the Generalkommando of the 3rd Bavarian Army Corps French airmen are bombing in the neighbourhood of Nuremberg. This hostile act prior to any declaration of war means a French attack on us. The Casus Foederis is thus given, Russia also opened hostilities against us yesterday prior to a declaration of war.

v. Jagow.

Italy Refuses to Come In and Denies Casus Foederis.

The Italian Ambassador to the German Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Berlin, 3rd August 1914.

At the instructions of my Government I have the honour to inform Your Excellency that the Italian Government has decided to observe neutrality in the present conflict.

Permit me to express, Your Excellency, my deepest respect.

R. Bollati.

(German Documents relating to the Outbreak of War, Vol. IV, page 14.)

Turco-German Secret Treaty concluded.

The Ambassador in Constantinople to the German Foreign Office.

Therapia, 2nd August 1914.

Treaty of Alliance signed this afternoon at four o'clock. Text follows. Wangenheim.

Text of the Treaty:

Constantinople, 2nd August 1914.

1. The two contracting parties undertake the preservation of the strictest neutrality towards the present conflict between Austria-Hungary and Serbia.

2. However, should Russia undertake active military measures and thus bring the casus foederis into action as between Germany and Austria-Hungary, then this casus foederis shall also come into operation for Turkey.

3. In case of war Germany agrees to leave its military mission at the disposal of Turkey. Turkey, on the other hand, guarantees, in accordance with the agreement made direct between His Excellency the Minister for War and His Excellency the Chief of the Military Mission, the said Military Mission an effective influence on the general leadership of the army.

4. Germany undertakes to defend the territory of the Ottoman Empire against if necessary with force of arms...

Partial Mobilisation in Turkey.

Constantinople, 2nd August 1914.

The Order for Mobilisation has been issued to considerable sections of the army. Parliament has been closed.

"The Day of the German Nation."

Man for man the German social democracy voted for the war credits. Together with the whole international social democracy our German party, this jewel in the crown of the class-conscious proletariat, is the most bitter opponent of war and the most passionate supporter of the harmony and solidarity of the peoples and it has left nothing undone in its attempts to prevent this world war which is above all a war against the German character, in its attempts to ward off the terrible disaster which is threatening the whole world. It is no fault of the German social democracy when the German Reich and with it the whole European world is now feeling the scourge of war. But as the German Fatherland is in danger, as the national independence of the people is threatened, the German social democracy places itself protectingly before the homeland, and the "men without a Fatherland, the red horde" as the Kaiser once reviled them, are now lending the State the strength and blood of the working masses... Never has a party acted more nobly or with more real grandeur than the German social democracy which has showed itself more than worthy of the terrible situation.

And thus the German people enters united into the struggle to maintain its State and national existence. On the other side is miserable speculation, haggling coalitions and the lack of every moral idea. Here is a united, powerful and deeply-moved people. World history must run backwards if the German people do not win their rights...

Austerlitz in the Vienna "Arbeiter-Zeitung", the central organ of the Austrian Social Democratic Party, on the 5th August 1914.

The Great Betrayal.

"If war threatens to break out it is the duty of the working-class in the countries concerned and of their Parliamentary representatives, with the help of the International Bureau as a means of co-ordinating their action, to use every effort to prevent war by all the means which seem to them the most appropriate, having regard to the sharpness of the class war and to the general political situation.

Should war none the less break out, their duty is to intervene to bring it promptly to an end and with all their energies to use the political and economic crisis created by the war to rouse the populace from its slumbers, and to hasten the fall of capitalist domination."
(Resolution of the Stuttgart Congress, in 1907.)

The Historic Reichstag Session on the 4th August.

The representatives of the people gathered this afternoon in the White Hall of the old Hohenzollern Palace, and the Kaiser opened the extraordinary session with the following Speech from the Throne:

"Gentlemen, you have read the remarks I made to my people from the balcony of the palace. I repeat here: I no longer recognise any parties in Germany; I recognise only Germans (Storms of applause), and as a sign that you are firmly determined to stand together without respect to party, class or religious differences and to go with me through thick and thin, through trial and death, I appeal to the leaders of the parties to come forward and take my hand in a solemn promise to this effect."

("Vossische Zeitung", 4th August 1914.)

Speech of the Imperial Chancellor Before the German Reichstag, on August 4th, 1914.

"Gentlemen, we are now in a state of necessity (Notwehr), and necessity (Not) knows no law. Our troops have occupied Luxemburg and perhaps have already entered Belgian territory.

Gentlemen, that is a breach of international law. It is true that the French Government declared at Brussels that France would respect Belgian neutrality as long as her adversary respected it. We knew, however, that France stood ready for an invasion . . .

He who is menaced as we are and is fighting for his highest possession can only consider how he is to hack his way through (durchhauen)."

Germany's War Credits Granted Unanimously.

Yesterday the Reichstag unanimously granted the war credits amounting to five milliard three hundred millions Marks. The representatives of the bourgeois parties made no statement. In the name of the social democratic fraction deputy Haase (Königsberg) declared that the social democracy had done everything possible to prevent the outbreak of war, but that now when the welfare of the Fatherland was at stake it would act according to its former assurances and vote for the war credits. The war credits were then unanimously adopted. The President of the Reichstag then closed the short but memorable session by calling for cheers for Kaiser, people and Fatherland. All those present, including the social democrats, joined in the cheering with enthusiasm. ("Der Tag").

Haase's Declaration in the Reichstag Sitting, on August 4th.

"The present calamity is the result of a universal régime of Imperialist policy. The Socialist Party, which has fought that policy at every point, refuses to accept any responsibility for it. But the Socialist opposition has failed. Before us stands the iron fact of war. We are threatened with the horrors of a hostile invasion. We have not to decide to-day for or against war, but over the question of supplies for the defence of the country. For our people and for the future of their liberty much, if not all, is at stake with the victory of Russian despotism, which has stained itself with the blood of the best of its own people. This danger must be warded off for the sake of our civilisation and the independence of our country.

We prove now what we have always said, that in the hour of danger we should not leave our Fatherland in the lurch."

"The Day of the German Nation."

We shall not forget this day, this fourth of August. No matter how the iron dice may fall—and with all our hearts we hope that the outcome will be victorious for the holy cause of the German people—the scene offered to-day by the German Reichstag, the representative of the nation, will be indelibly impressed in the consciousness of the whole German race, will go into history as the day of the proudest and most powerful flight of the German spirit. This day will make Europe, a great part of which is arming for a struggle of annihilation against the German empire, realise that in the struggle for its State independence and in the struggle for its national honour Germany is united and will remain united to the last drop of blood . . . The German people is united in the iron and unbending decision not to let itself be subjugated, and neither death nor destruction will succeed in dragging down this great and capable people, our German people! This session of the Reichstag which sparkled with courage and strength demonstrates to the enemy that in their attempts to undermine the security of the German State they will meet with the resistance of a united people, a people full of iron power and iron endurance!

Ansterlitz in the Vienna "Arbeiter-Zeitung", the central organ of the Austrian Social Democratic Party, on the 5th August 1914.

Editorial Note:

With this number we conclude the publication of the documents relating to the preparation and outbreak of the world war and to the betrayal of the 4th August. We were able to publish only a small part of the tremendous mass of documents at our disposal. These documents not only belong to history, but they reflect the existing situation in which, just as then, there is talk of peace in public whilst in secret, in the Cabinets, amongst the diplomats, in the General Staffs, behind the scenes of the disarmament conferences and in the bureaux of the Second International, the bloodiest of all wars, the second imperialist world war, is being prepared. Nothing surprising is to be expected from the diplomats and the militarists, but what the workers are not yet able to realise is the frightful betrayal which the Second International is this time preparing. If the parties of Bebel, Jaurès and Victor Adler were capable of the betrayal of 1914, what have we to expect from the parties of Noske, Paul Boncour, MacDonald and Vandervelde? Only one thing is certain: The imagination will appear pale in face of the reality.

At the beginning of the first imperialist world war there was only one bolshevist party in existence. To-day we have the Soviet Union which is victoriously building up Socialism on one-sixth of the world's surface, and a Communist International to which millions of workers in all countries look for leadership, a body which regards it as one of its chief tasks to bring the historical Stuttgart Resolution to high honour, i. e. to do everything possible to prevent war and if this does not succeed then to utilise the situation created by the world war to overthrow Capitalism and establish the rule of the proletariat.

With a few exceptions the published documents were selected and supplied by Comrade Alexander Emel, including the important letter of Lenin to Plekhanov in which the centrism of Kautsky was subjected to such a damning verdict.

International Fight against War and Intervention

The Anti-War Congress and the Crusade Against.

By P. Lang.

I. Friedrich Adler—the Holy Augustin.

The International Congress Against Imperialist War has not only conjured up all manner of terrorist measures on the part of the bourgeoisie against it, but violent "ideological" attacks form the lackeys of the bourgeoisie.

The Secretary of the II. International, **Friedrich Adler**, who claims the title of a "champion against the anti-Soviet intervention", and the representative of Germany's "peace movement", **L. Quidde**, run away with one another's arguments, and demonstrate therewith that at bottom they are aiming at the same goal, if with different methods—the goal of sabotaging the struggle against imperialist war.

II. Declaration of War on the Japanese Pattern.

The official document announcing to the world the final "rupture" of the diplomatic relations between the II. International (that is, its bosses) and the organisers of the Amsterdam Congress, is a letter sent by Friedrich Adler to **Henri Barbusse** on 25th July. This letter is an open declaration of war. In spite of the politesse with which the gauntlet is thrown down, we regret to have to state that this action follows about a month later than the actual staging of war against the Congress by the social democratic leaders of all countries. This means that the document is an obvious deception.

Adler deliberately ignores all the attacks already made on the Congress, in order to give the impression that the relations of the II. International to this Congress depend entirely on the results of his own personal "investigations". He further asserts that the investigation aimed at bringing peace, not a sword, to the Congress.

"I have requested the socialist parties" he writes in his affected letter of 6th July to **Romain Rolland** "to wait with their reply to your invitation".

That this is a flat lie is proved by Adler's words in his report to the Bureau of the II. International, in which we read:

"The separate parties affiliated to the Socialist Labour International, the Belgian, Danish, and French for instance, had decided to decline participation in the Congress, before the Bureau of the Socialist International had taken up the question of the Congress."

The social democratic leaders did not cease to combat the Congress whilst Adler was waving his scanty white flag. It is true that the drive against the Anti-War Congress has assumed a sharper character of late, since Adler's declaration of war. The decision of the Bureau of the Socialist International to stage the Adler "investigation" was a typically social democratic manoeuvre, undertaken in view of the probability that the Congress might easily prove, in the present situation, an important factor for the mobilisation and organisation of the revolutionary mass movement against war.

Adler's typically social democratic manoeuvre against the united front was commenced with a hypocritical and sickly sweet letter on 6th July to **Romain Rolland**, and ended with his impudently challenging communication to **Henri Barbusse** on 25th July. Even the purely formal standpoint to which Adler endeavours to confine himself does not suffice to conceal the lie upon which these two letters are based. The

first letter preserves silence on the fact that the question of combatting the Anti-War Congress had already been settled beforehand, independent of the results of Adler's "investigation". The second letter is a classic example of a declaration of war made after the battle is in full swing. It may be very truly observed that the II. International has declared war on the Anti-War Congress on the "Japanese" pattern, but with the rider, however, that it was young Asiatic Japan which learnt in the first place from old and civilised Europe not only the use of poison gases, air bombs, and other means of exterminating the peaceful population, but at the same time the method of commencing the armed attack before the declaration of war.

III. Social Democratic Manoeuvres Against Proletarian United Front.

No word is to be found in Adler's correspondence expressing any straightforward standpoint on the part of the Bureau of the II. International towards the tasks of the Congress—the political, tactical, and organisational questions of the struggle against war. All that is referred to is the existence of differences of opinion between the Bureau of the II. International and the organisers of the Congress.

But what, in Adler's opinion, are the real causes justifying the sabotage of the Congress in the eyes of the social democrats? We enumerate these as stated in Adler's last letter to Barbusse.

1. **Louis Gibarti** is to be the Secretary of the Congress, and Adler accuses him of suspicious contact with Comrade **Münzenberg**.

2. The Initiative Committee lacks representatives of the Bureau of the II. International (in other letters Adler refers to his joining the Committee as this representative).

3. The Organisational Committee is not convened till shortly before the Congress. The place, date, and practical possibilities of carrying out the Congress will be settled before the Organisational Committee meets. The reproach contained in this point is thus a repetition of the reproach under item 2:

"If you were really anxious for our collaboration, you would have called upon us to take part in this Bureau."

4. The Congress is convoked on the basis of the communist "united front tactics".

"The investigation has shown us that the organisation of this Congress differs in nothing from that of the former Congresses held in the service of the communist united front."

IV. Social Democratic Leaders Thrown Into a State of Panic.

But why do the "united front tactics" throw the leaders of the II. International into such a rage?

In order to reply to this question, we include in our analysis another official document, Adler's report to the Bureau of the II. International on his negotiations with **Romain Rolland** and **Barbusse**. We commit no "indiscretion" in publishing this. It bears every evidence of being official printed matter, and has been published exclusively for the purpose of influencing the public.

The report adopts the same tone as all Adler's correspondence*). It contains however, as compared with the letters, more detailed statements as to the reasons why the "united front tactics" make it impossible for the social democratic leaders to be otherwise than hostile to the Congress. The report states:

"The system (united front) is expressed with especial clarity in the instructions published by the German Committee in an open letter. Here we read:

In agreement with the International Committee, we therefore invite the following organisations in Germany to send delegates to the Congress:

a) the local groups of the Social Democratic Party, of the Communist Party, of the Socialist Workers' Party; the local administrations of all trade unions, and of all existing social and cultural political workers' organisations; the associations of the worker sportsmen.

Here we look in vain for any indication of the rights of the central organisations of the working class. It is not difficult for the communists to renounce all formal stress on these rights, for the Congress is exclusively in their

*) The extent to which the Secretary of the II. International endeavours to apply every method of bourgeois diplomatic intrigue is very characteristic. He has attempted to play Romain Rolland off against Barbusse, to incite them against one another, to delay the publication of Barbusse's reply, etc. In some things he has even adopted the role of a Sherlock Holmes: When visiting Barbusse on one occasion, for instance, he gave an employee a number of the "Pravda", requesting him to translate a notice from it. This apparently harmless request had, however, the object of proving this employee to be a Russian.

hands. No rights are granted to the Socialist International or to the International Trade Union Federation, for by this means it is better possible to reckon on a split—or at least with the carrying of confusion into their ranks—in the local groups of the socialist parties and the trade unions."

This is then the root of the matter.

The very idea that their own local organisations might take part in mass actions throws the social democratic leaders into a state of panic. "No" exclaims Adler: "Never!". "We cannot permit our organisations to take part in the Congress, unless under our immediate control".

What prevents the leaders of the II. International from appearing at the Congress as delegates from the local organisations? Who would interfere with their doing this? Why have the leaders of the II. International required by ultimatum the inclusion of their representative in the Initiative Committee, although they took no initiative in the organisation of the Congress, instead of taking part in the election of delegates, ensuring that such specialists in the struggle against war be elected as **Henderson, Hillquit, Vandervelde, Breitscheid**, etc?

What the leaders of the II. International have demanded from Rolland and Barbusse has not been a place in the Organisational Committee. In actuality they have demanded from the initiators of the Congress something absolutely different: They have demanded preventive guarantees that **their anti-war practices will not be criticised**. But of course they have not received these guarantees. And equally of course they cannot strangle the Congress.

They have not succeeded in concealing the innermost reasons of their struggle against the Congress. Lay your cards on the table, gentlemen! Show your fighting program with the imperialists and interventionists, your words and deeds. And if your refuse any longer to do this, then we shall endeavour to help you.

Behind the Scenes of the Second International.

How the „Left-wing“ Resolution against War Came to be Adopted in Zürich.

By Marcel Cachin (Paris).

The delegates to the session of the Executive Committee of the Second (Labour and Socialist) International which took place on the 19th and 20th May 1932 in Zurich adopted a "left-wing" resolution in favour of "solidarity with the Soviet Union in case of an attack".

It is interesting to note that the "left-wingers" did not vote for the resolution whilst the supporters of the extreme right who have always fought against the Soviet Union with the utmost bitterness supported the resolution. Under the circumstances a report of the discussion which preceded the adoption of the resolution would have been of great importance, however, neither "le Populaire" nor the "Vorwärts" published a word of what was said in the discussion.

The "left wing" played a subordinate part in the discussion only. Three of its speakers took the floor headed by Otto Bauer. Friedrich Adler, the Secretary of the Executive Committee, did not take part in the discussion at all. On the other hand a baker's dozen of the representatives of the extreme right spoke in the discussion.

The situation before the session was that imperialist Japan had invaded Manchuria and was threatening the Soviet Union. The question to be decided was, what must the Second International do under these circumstances. The following characteristic extracts from the speeches of the right-wing representatives throws an important light on the spirit in which the resolution was adopted:

Vandervelde: It is not yet certain that Japan intends to attack Soviet Russia. It is of great importance that the Second International should not forget its traditional attitude towards Soviet Russia. We must also not forget that at our

congresses in Marseilles and Brussels we declared that the Soviets themselves represent a danger of war, that they are inciting to war, that they want war.

The Russian Menshevik Dan: We are faced with two imperialist countries—Japanese and Bolshevik imperialism. We want to have nothing to do either with the one or the other.

Renaudel (France): Russia is conducting a policy of expansion which is threatening Asia. It is conducting an imperialist policy. We cannot make any distinction between the dictatorship of the Soviets and the dictatorship of Mussolini. Let the Soviet Union appeal to the League of Nations for the appointment of a court of arbitration. There is no higher court of appeal than the League of Nations. And for the rest, Soviet Russia is almost as much to blame as Japanese militarism.

Gillies (Great Britain): For thirteen years there has been talk of the threat to Russia. That slogan won't work any more. We must have confidence in the League of Nations which will settle the conflict.

The Russian Menshevik Abramovich: We must under no circumstances make common cause with the bolsheviks. After the completion of the Five Year Plan Stalin might very well get the idea of waging war in the Far East.

Liebermann (Poland): I must admit that up to the present I have believed in the neutrality of Poland in case of war, but now I don't dare to support this view any longer. However, this does not mean at all that if Soviet Russia is attacked we must support it unconditionally.

Hilferding (Germany): I am no supporter of a Japanese victory and a defeat of Soviet Russia. On the other hand I

C.P. of Spain Mobilises the Masses.

Madrid, 18th August 1932.

Since the defeat of the monarchist putsch by the working masses of Seville under communist leadership, the **Communist Party of Spain** has been holding a whirlwind campaign of meetings and demonstrations throughout the country against the monarchist reaction. At a great demonstration in **Madrid** the Party put forward the following demands which were enthusiastically taken up by the workers:

1. The execution of General **Sanjurjo**;
2. the dissolution of the Civil Guard;
3. the arming of the proletariat;
4. a general and unconditional amnesty for all proletarian political prisoners.

This great demonstration was prohibited by the government, but took place in defiance of the police. The demonstration was attended by great masses of workers who fiercely repulsed the efforts of the police to disperse it with batons. A number of workers were arrested.

am not in favour of the opposite contingency. A victory of the Soviets over Japan would be just as destructive for European democracy and would probably result in the setting up of the proletarian dictatorship to the banks of the Rhine.

Soukup (Czechoslovakia): A Russian defeat would by no means be so terrible; it would not mean the collapse of socialism.

Bracke (France): Japan is not waging war against the revolution, but against Russia which might just as well be Tzarist.

The speeches of the other representatives of the right-wing contained nothing of importance.

The **Austrian** Delegate **Otto Bauer** spoke on behalf of the "left-wing" and declared that the Soviet Union must be defended unconditionally. The delegate of the **I.L.P., Brockway**, spoke in the same spirit. The **Swiss** delegate **Grimm** made the following important statement: The moral defeat of the League of Nations is so decisive that we should make ourselves ridiculous if we applied to it for assistance now. If the proletariat ever finds itself in this dilemma then its overwhelming majority will support Soviet Russia with its whole heart. In any case, the working class would prefer to be a hundred times more unfortunate together with Soviet Russia than to tolerate the capitalist system any longer.

After this the three "left-wingers" decided not to vote for the resolution at all, and **this resolution in which the Second International expresses itself in favour of "Solidarity with the Soviet Union" was thus adopted exclusively by Renaudel, Hilferding, Dan and the others who had immediately previously once again expressed their hatred and loathing for the Soviet Union.** All the delegates voted in favour of the resolution with the exception of four who withheld their votes.

"I cannot vote in favour of the resolution," declared **Fenner Brockway**, "on account of the speech made by Renaudel in moving it". **Otto Bauer** explained his attitude in much the same way, whilst the **Swiss** delegate **Grimm** declared: "I cannot vote in favour of the resolution, for if I sided with Renaudel and Hilferding I would endanger the unity of my party." **Fritz Adler** took the floor on a formal point of order only.

In view of the fact that the organs of the various socialist parties have published no reports of this interesting discussion we have been compelled to use the "notes" of **Renaudel** himself who publishes them in his organ "**La Vie Socialiste**". But why does Renaudel break the dead silence maintained by his colleagues on the point? He answers this question himself when he declares that "the resolution becomes more valuable when the details of its adoption are known".

Renaudel is aiming at two things with his publication of the main trend of the discussion. On the one hand he wishes to reassure the right-wing and the bourgeoisie concerning the resolution. The publication of the utterances of the supporters of the resolution prior to its adoption puts the matter in its proper light. The discussion shows clearly that the

social democratic leaders have not altered their attitude towards the Soviet Union in the least and that they intend to continue their bitter struggle against the social revolution which is being carried out in the Soviet Union. **Renaudel** wished to prove that the international social democracy fully maintains its old attitude towards "Soviet Imperialism" and that the bourgeoisie has no cause to worry.

The second reason is indicated in the remarks of the **Swiss** delegate **Grimm** concerning the attitude of the working masses towards the Soviet Union. It was a warning to the session not to forget that "the overwhelming majority" not only of the communist, but also the social democratic workers "will wholeheartedly support Soviet Russia". This situation had to be taken into consideration in formulating the resolution. It was not possible to affront the working class openly. The open crimes of Japanese imperialism made this still more impossible, for the unprovoked attack on Shanghai and Manchuria and the threat to the Soviet Union were so obvious that a terrific scandal would have resulted from an attempt to conceal these crimes completely. For these reasons the famous resolution was adopted as an alibi by the leaders of the extreme right wing of the Second International.

On the eve of the **International Congress Against War** these revelations made by **Renaudel** show the real attitude of the leaders of the Second International. However, the social democratic workers present at the Congress will not hesitate to declare without beating about the bush, that it is necessary to fight for peace and defend the Soviet Union without the reservations, the excuses and the hypocrisy of the leaders of the Second International.

Soviet Delegation to Anti-War Congress.

Moscow, 22nd August 1932.

Amongst the members of the Soviet delegation to the **International Congress Against War** which opens in Amsterdam on the 27th August, are **Maxim Gorki, Karl Radek, Shvernik** (of the Central Council of Soviet Labour Unions), **Stassova** (of the International Red Aid), **Joffe** (of the Academy of Science), and **Fedorov** (of the Institute for Experimental Medicine). Amongst the delegates are also a number of rank and file representatives of the workers in the big factories, etc.

It is reported that the Dutch Government has already refused permission for **Maxim Gorki** and **Karl Radek** to enter Holland for the Congress.

Working Class Demonstrations in Tokio.

Tokio, 20th August 1932.

According to a statement issued by the Tokio police many working class demonstrations have taken place in the town and its suburbs to demand the free distribution of rice to the unemployed. The demonstrations, which, according to the report, were organised by the **Communist Party** and the **Young Communist League**, were dispersed by the police. The statement declares that these demonstrations are part of a mass campaign which began on the 1st August. The police declare that the influence of the communists is increasing.

Japan Preparing for Large-scale War.

New York, 20th August 1932.

It is no secret that Japan is preparing feverishly for military action on a grand scale. Reports concerning the Japanese military preparations are repeatedly coming in. The following from "**The New York Times**" is of particular interest:

"The intense activity of the Japanese war industries and the import of tremendous quantities of war material are attracting the close attention of foreign political observers in Tokio. Although the munition expended in the Shanghai action must long ago have been replaced, the Japanese war factories are working at top pitch, many of them are at work day and night. A new chemical works has been opened in the neighbourhood of Tokio. The Japanese army staff has purchased five hundred automobiles and the production of military has been extended."

The White Terror

Horthy Hungary Preparing New Murders.

By Gál.

On the 29th July of this year Horthy's hangmen strangled two of the best fighters of the Hungarian proletariat, Emmerich Sallai and Alexander Fürst. The two dead communists were then buried secretly at an unknown place for the murderers still feared them even in death.

But all these measures were unable to stifle the voice of the two martyrs of the working class. Despite the threat of the gallows, despite police terror, bayonets and torture, the workers of Hungary demonstrated again and again against the murders and against the fascist dictatorship. And above all, the illegal Communist Party of Hungary is still at work.

The illegal Communist Party has issued one leaflet after the other, organised one demonstration after the other. The Horthy gang thought to intimidate the revolutionary working class movement and its party by slaughtering Sallai and Fürst. Its error was demonstrated immediately, and the Hungarian police then looked around for new victims.

A few days ago the Hungarian press again reported "sensational arrests". The Budapest police had arrested Alexander Poll, Dr. Madzsar and a number of other revolutionary authors, artists and workers. Dr. Madzsar and many others are not communists at all; they are left-wing intellectuals. Dr. Madzsar is known outside the frontiers of Hungary as a scientist, a University lecturer, as a former Secretary of State and as a member of the Social Democratic Party for many years. His crime is that he was not prepared to tolerate indefinitely the continual treachery of the social democratic leaders and that he stood for the class struggle, both inside and outside the Social Democratic Party.

For many years Dr. Madzsar was the editor of an organ of scientific socialism which had a considerable circulation. Although by no means a communist organ, it fought uncompromisingly against Hungarian fascism, against the imperialist war preparations and in defence of the Soviet Union. With the arrest of Dr. Madzsar and the others the Horthy clique aimed at intimidating the revolutionary intellectuals and robbing them of their leaders. At the same time the police wish to crush the revolutionary trade union opposition in Hungary. They declare that the Communist Party organised and directed the revolutionary trade union movement through Dr. Madzsar.

The aim of the police in arresting Alexander Poll is still more atrocious. The police report declares that Poll is the successor of the murdered communists Sallai and Fürst and the leader of the Secretariat of the illegal Communist Party. It is clear that the murderers intend to murder Alexander Poll as they murdered Sallai and Fürst.

An international storm of protest must prevent this brutal crime. The international working class must protest not only against the murderous plans of the Horthy clique, but also against the perfidious denunciations of the social fascist leaders.

The latest arrests were openly demanded by the Social Democratic Party. The central organ of the Social Democratic Party, "Népszava", and the leader of the party, Karl Peyer, have repeatedly denounced Dr. Madzsar as a bolshevist. The "Népszava" has repeatedly called upon the police to arrest Dr. Madzsar. The police have not only complied with this request, but they have also confiscated the pamphlet published by Dr. Madzsar in which he exposes the treachery of the Social Democratic Party and explains the reasons which caused his breach with it. The campaign against the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition is at the same time an act of friendliness on the part of the Hungarian police towards the social democracy. One good turn deserves another. This movement has also been repeatedly denounced by the social democratic leaders as bolshevist and the police have now taken the hint.

With this denunciation, however, the activity of the Social Democratic Party is by no means at an end. The "Népszava" is now doing its best to persuade the Hungarian workers that Karikás, Poll and the others are not threatened with death and that the protest campaign is nothing but com-

munist scaremongering. The "Népszava" wrote exactly the same with regard to Sallai and Fürst. Prior to the murder of Sallai and Fürst and after the crime had been committed the "Népszava" called on the workers to take no action.

Under the circumstances it is clear that the Hungarian bourgeois press is full of praise for the social democracy. The social fascist traitors have actually done everything in their power to maintain the rule of the bourgeoisie in Hungary. At the time of the Soviet Republic the social democracy allied itself with Entente imperialism and organised the counter-revolution. After the overthrow of the Soviet Republic it supported the murder of the revolutionary leaders of the working class who were dragged to the gallows with the approval of the social democratic ministers. "The guilty must atone" was its slogan. And to-day the social democracy is still doing its utmost in the interests of the bourgeoisie by provocations and denunciations.

The international proletariat must condemn the agents of Horthy and save Karikás and Poll from the gallows by a powerful protest campaign throughout the world.

Arrests of Communists in Turkey.

Stambul, 17th August 1932.

Numerous arrests have been made in Stambul during the last few months of "persons suspected of communist sympathies". Most of the arrests have been made in connection with Anti-War Day on the 1st August. This campaign showed a noticeable increase in the activity of the communist movement in Turkey. Most of the arrested persons are workers, but a number of intellectuals are amongst them. A number of arrests have also been made amongst the cadets of the Stambul Military Academy on a similar charge. It is reported that the accused have been maltreated in prison and that in consequence protests and disturbances occurred which the prison warders were unable to cope with so that outside police were called in.

Stambul, 20th August 1932.

The press in Stambul reports that forty one political prisoners began a hunger strike there on the 3rd August against maltreatment. The accused are held in the Stambul Central Prison and are accused of being members of the illegal Communist Party. The leaders of the hunger strike are reported to be a communist named Rishad Bey and his German-born wife Hilde, a former bank clerk, and an aeroplane mechanic. After attempts to persuade the prisoners to abandon the strike failed the governor ordered forcible feeding.

Mass Murderer Johann Schober Dead.

Vienna, 20th August 1932.

The former Prime Minister of Austria and Police President of Vienna, Johann Schober, died last night as the result of heart failure. Schober began his career in the Vienna Police Presidium under the old imperial monarchy. The social democratic leaders recognised a man of their own kidney and left him in office. He was repeatedly their coalition partner until the bloody slaughter of the 15th July 1927 in Vienna when Schober's police slaughtered scores of unarmed workers who were protesting against the acquittal of fascist murderers who had fired into a workers demonstration killing a woman and a child. The fierce and bitter feelings of the working masses for Schober after this compelled the social democratic leaders to break off their relations with him, but in the social democratic press his obituary praises him as a man who always did his duty in the interests of law and order.

The two men responsible for the brutal slaughter of unarmed men, women and boys, Johann Schober and the prelate Ignaz Seipel, died within a few days of each other, equally hated and despised by the Austrian working class.

Fresh Mass Arrests in Italy.

By Jacopo (Milan).

Fascism is endeavouring to deal a fresh blow at the revolutionary movement in Italy. During the last few days several hundred people have been arrested, and not by any means blindly, but just at the right moment, and according to a definite plan.

The increasing acuteness of the crisis is driving the masses to despair. Spontaneous movements have broken out among various categories of workers—the metal workers, the textile workers—and in various provinces of the North these have developed into co-ordinated action of the metal and textile workers. The reports on the Belgian strike, printed with a good deal of detail in the Italian press, have aroused wide echoes among the masses. It may safely be asserted that since the introduction of the emergency laws the objective situation has never been more favourable for the organisation of action on a broad scale, of action calculated to make a breach in fascist legality, and to raise the struggle of the whole Italian working class to a higher level.

In such a situation as this fascism is not only unable to grant any concessions to the masses, but is on the contrary forced to redouble its attacks on wages, and to reduce the already unbearably low standards of living of the masses to a level lower yet. The recent changes in the ministries have been due to the difficulties arising out of this situation. The wages which **Bottai** found himself unable to reduce further without encountering unsurmountable difficulties, are now to be reduced by **Mussolini** himself with the aid of his demagogy and by means of the exploitation of his prestige. He will exploit the situation of the working class for his foreign political aims, he will demand that the "rich nations" hear the cries of the starving and impoverished Italian proletariat, and in this manner he will stress the imperialist demands of Italy.

But the manoeuvres of fascism and the demagogy of **Mussolini** no longer suffice to hold the masses in leash. Hence on the eve of 1st August—at a time when the work of the Communist Party was being intensified—a blow was dealt which is intended to stem for a time the revolutionary work in the ranks of the working class.

To this end fascism has had several hundred persons arrested, hoping to cut the main nerve of the Party by this action. For some months police activities against the communists have been increasingly energetic.

The work accomplished in the army and navy is also beginning to bear fruit. In **Bergamo** two regiments have been disbanded and their soldiers divided among other military units assumed to be better disciplined and more loyal. In **Spezia**, Italy's chief naval base, revolutionary activities have been carried out on many ships. The communists have succeeded in penetrating into the fleet fairly effectually. As the result of an incident on the ship "**Andrea Doria**", where there was a demonstration on the part of the dissatisfied sailors, a sailor was shot. On the admiral's ship "**Trieste**", communist propaganda reached such a point that the commander thought fit to call together his thousand sailors and to polemicise against the illegal communist newspaper which circulates widely among the sailors.

In **Spezia** again, before 1st May, a number of sailors belonging to the fleet organised a demonstration with comrades from the town, at which about 80 persons were arrested.

The discontent and indignation of the masses of the workers, and the trends of feeling in the army and navy, appear to have caused fascism especial anxiety. For never before have measures of repression and watchfulness been undertaken on such an extensive scale as before this 1st August.

Comrade **Giorgio Amendola** is among those arrested. Comrade **Amendola** was on his way to **Milan**, after a meeting with **Romain Rolland** for the purpose of convening a number of meetings in preparation of the **International Anti-War Congress**. A number of anti-fascist intellectuals were arrested with **Amendola**.

The police action has been concentrated chiefly to those industrial centres where the **O.V.R.A.**, the **special police organ of fascism**, unfolds its extensive activities, and maintains a ramified network of provocateurs in the workshops and factories.

The **Communist Party** continues its revolutionary work at the head of the working masses, and these latest attacks

on the part of the police cannot interrupt this work. The Party sets itself the immediate task of carrying out its organisational consolidation, and of increasing and improving the struggle against the agents provocateurs (in the present acute situation this is especially necessary). This struggle was taken up some time ago, but now it must be carried further, and developed into a mass struggle.

THE WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS

Inflation and Bank Failures in the U.S.A.

By Max Weiss (New York).

In the latter part of July a tremendous furore was raised in the capitalist press of the U.S.A. concerning the activity of a mythical "**Communist whispering campaign**" to discredit and ruin the banking system of the United States. A number of clumsily-forged letters, were adduced as proof of the existence of this campaign and given wide publicity. Mysterious individuals were named as ringleaders of the plot, and even the name of **Harry Gannes**, member of the editorial staff of the "**Daily Worker**" and contributor to the Party press on banking conditions, was brought forward in connection with the latest "red scare". Of course, the clumsy plot with its crude forgeries was at once and effectively exposed by the "**Daily Worker**". However, **Melvin Traylor**, President of the **First National Bank of Chicago**, continued to hurl accusations at the Communists and to threaten Federal action to prosecute "those responsible for runs on banks in different parts of the country".

When it is understood that **Melvin Traylor** is President of the leading bank of a city—Chicago—whose entire banking system is experiencing an unprecedented series of bank runs and failures, the connection can easily be seen. It is clear that the whole hue and cry is designed to cover up the sharp convulsions into which the deepening crisis has thrown the banking structure not only in Chicago but all over the United States. A brief examination of the state of banking affairs will be sufficient evidence.

The number of bank failures for the first seven months of 1932 totalled 920, an increase of 17% above the number of banks suspended during the same period of time in 1931. The total deposits of the failed banks for the first six months of 1932, for which comparable figures are available, topped those of the first six months of 1931 by \$103,492,000, an increase of almost 25%. This increase was made over a year which had itself set new high records for bank failures and total deposits involved. Every sign points to the fact that with the usual increase in bank failures toward the close of the year, a new figure will have been established for bank suspensions and aggregate deposits involved.

So alarming to the financial magnates have bank conditions become that legalised fraud and trickery is now being widely resorted to in an effort to conceal the position of bankruptcy into which the crisis has forced the financial structure of the United States. According to a new ruling of the **Comptroller of Currency**, reporting member banks of the **Federal Reserve** are now permitted to list in their assets the "intrinsic value" of their security holdings. This means that bank statements offered to the public will contain consciously misleading figures as to the strength and stability of the reporting banks. Formerly these statements were based on the prevailing market prices of securities held. Now they will be based on "intrinsic value", i. e. values which the banks think the securities should have, based on their par values.

Since according to **Moody's** listing of 120 typical domestic bonds, the value of such securities has depreciated by an average of 33% and since security holdings of reporting member banks of the Federal Reserve amount to approximately \$3,237,000,000, it will be seen that by means of this stratagem alone the banks will be able to "pad" their assets by over a 1000 million dollars. In such a manner does panic-raged finance-capitalism try to "restore confidence" in the banking structure while it continues to deprive tens of thousands of proletarian and petty-bourgeois depositors of their last pennies.

Despite all these "confidence campaigns"—it would be more appropriate to call them "confidence games"—the mass exodus of depositors and their cash continues unchecked from the banks. One sign of this is the four thousand million dollar drop in deposits of reparting banks of the Federal Reserve. A more accurate criterion of this monetary emigration is the **transfer of deposits from private banks to the U.S. Postal (Government) Savings Banks**. Whereas in 1929 postal savings deposits aggregated slightly more than \$53,500,000, in 1930 the figure jumped to \$175,271,686; on June 30, 1931 to \$374,000,000, while at the close of June 1932, the amount of money, deposited in the Postal Savings Banks totalled \$776,000,000—an increase of 350% over two years ago.

In addition to the rapid rotting away of the foundations of the U.S.A. banking system, a vast **inflationary wave** is now under way which is still further undermining the few remaining props of the "mightiest financial structure in the world".

The **Glass-Borah rider (amendment) to the Home Loan Bill** is the clearest move toward an open policy of inflation yet undertaken in the United States. It goes even further than the **Glass-Steagall Act**, the **Reconstruction Finance Corporation Bill**, or the **National Credit Corporation**. Under the provisions of this rider, a National bank may issue paper currency purely on the strength of paper government bonds with a yield of 3% or less deposited in the national treasury by the issuing bank. This adds more than 3000 million dollars worth of paper securities eligible for currency collateral. Since the National banks are permitted to issue notes to the extent of their capital standing and since \$700,000,000 in National bank notes are already outstanding on other security collateral, their remaining capital will enable them to issue approximately \$995,000,000 in new paper money.

Already, up until August 1, \$1,656,420 of new National bank currency was issued under provisions of the Borah-Glass rider. The **National City Bank of New York** has already announced that it will issue new currency at the rate of a million dollars a week for an indefinite period. It can issue this currency up to \$124,000,000 on the basis of its present capital. The **Chase National Bank** also announced its intention of issuing the new paper currency. In addition eight national banks spread throughout the country have been officially authorised to issue new currency while twelve others have made applications.

From this it is clear that before long, the entire issue of \$995,000,000 in paper money with no other backing but paper government securities will be placed in circulation. The clearest evidence of this consists in the fact that the **Federal Reserve member banks** are already making big purchase of government securities in the open market. The week ending Wednesday, August 3, showed an increase of \$248,000,000 in the holdings of government securities by New York member banks over the amount held two weeks previous.

This inflationary move, with all its implications for the further weakening of the financial structure and increased inroads on the standard of living of the masses, comes significantly enough on top of a steady increase in note circulation. The increase, with corrections for seasonal variations, is placed by the "**Annalist**" (August 5) at no less than 1.400 million dollars over the amount in circulation in November, 1930

"in spite of the fact that business activity and commodity prices have fallen very substantially in the interval. It is entirely reasonable to suppose that our circulation is now at least two billion (2000 million. Ed.) dollars greater than it should normally be with the present level of trade and commodity prices".

Even the four weeks between June 2 and June 30 saw an increase of 15 millions of dollars in money in circulation. As for the illusory hopes of certain sections of the bancocracy that it will be possible to control the huge inflation let loose under the Glase-Borah rider by control of the issue of Federal Reserve notes, actual facts prove the opposite. The total of Federal Reserve notes outstanding on August 3rd was \$2,857,805,000 or over 1000 million dollars more than the amount 12 months ago (on August 5, 1931). Not only was there an increase over the figure of last week but even the amounts in successive weeks show the unmistakable tendency for an increase in the amount of outstanding Federal Reserve notes and consequently of the impossibility of controlling inflation

in this manner. For on July 27 there was only \$2,834,157,000 as against an increase a week later of \$23,648,000.

This increase, it must be noted, took place against a background of declining production, trade and commodity prices when all the resources of the Federal Reserve were thrown into the breach in an effort to narrow the gap between the "abnormal" monetary circulation and the actual state of affairs.

Thus the "wishy-washy" assurance given by the "**Commercial and Financial Chronicle**" of August 6, 1932 that the inflation can be controlled proves to be the sheerest poppy cock. This is how this leading organ of finance capital expresses the tremours of fear that run throughout the financial plutocracy in regard to the night mare of an inflationary tidal wave:

"As for the Borah-Glass rider attached to the Home Loan Bill, this is a purely inflationary device . . . there is really little that the Reserve institutions can do to hold the inflationary tendencies in proper restraint beyond exercising rigid control over the issuance of Federal Reserve notes, curtailing the amount of such notes wherever possible as an offset to the putting out of new bank notes in the prodigal way authorized by the rider referred to."

Even the little that the Federal Reserve Banks can theoretically do in this respect they cannot do in practice as is shown by the whole course of the crisis. The Borah-Glass rider merely gives additional impetus to the tobaggan ride of U.S.A. finance capital down the shutes along which it has now been travelling at so tremendous a pace for the last three years.

"Depressed" Areas in Great Britain.

By Tom Bell.

When we speak of the economic crisis in Great Britain it is usual to quote the rise and fall of unemployment statistics as an index. At the moment these figures speak volumes: Despite "Economy" measures by the "National" government, its tariffs and manipulation of sterling there are nearly 300,000 more out of work than a year ago. Official figures at the end of May are given by the Ministry of Labour as 2,741,306. These are the returns on the Labour exchange register. We may be sure there are hundreds of thousands to be added who are not registered in any way.

But there is one aspect of the crisis in England that is not usually referred to and that is the "surplus" of labour that cannot be absorbed no matter what "improvement" takes place in industry. This phenomenon is a direct product of the centralisation of capitalist enterprise and the whole process of rationalisation that has taken place over the last few years—a process still going on. For information on this question we quote from some interesting documents just published.

In the spring of last year the Board of Trade under the Labour Government decided upon an industrial survey of the country, and four areas were chosen, viz, the **South West of Scotland, Lancashire, the North East Coast of England and South Wales**. These four areas embrace the centres of the basic industries of the country. The enquiries were entrusted to the Political-Economic Department of the Universities in **Glasgow, Liverpool, Newcastle, South Wales and Monmouthshire**, and their Reports are now issued.

The **Glasgow Report** states there are 1,452,000 persons of working age and more than 700,000 insured workers in 20 main groups of industries. The commissioners say frankly that the effects of rationalisation have been adverse, but they hope for ultimate benefits. With regard to the two principal industries, shipbuilding and metal manufactures, their enquiries from employers brought out the estimate that within the next five years employment capacity will be 60% of the capacity of 1929.

In 1929 the number of insured male workers was 506,000 of whom 76,000 were unemployed. Calculating 1934 will see the turn of the crisis (the post-crisis year they call it) they anticipate an increase of 9,000 in employment. After allowing for a net balance of 50,000 entrants into insured occupations the surplus of labour will be 114,000. And this takes no account of women workers. What to do with this surplus? Only two suggestions are hazarded, either migration from the district, or more new industries must be started.

On the **Merseyside (Liverpool etc.)** the number of insured workers in 1930 were 381,000 of which 28.1% were unemployed. Of those employed only 31% were engaged in actual production. The remainder are engaged in transport, distribution and public service.

The unemployment is given in the following table:

Shipping and Shipbuilding	24,920
Transport and Distribution	17,100
Building and Furnishing	9,070
Metal and Engineering	5,410
Food, Drink, Tobacco	5,270
Clothing, Textiles	3,570
Miscellaneous Manufactures	3,460
General Service	6,130
Total	74,930

If the number of persons of pensionable age leaving industry be subtracted from the number of young persons due to enter over the five year period 1932-36, it will be necessary to find employment for 76,000 new workers. The commissioners declare even assuming an extensive recovery in the next five years there would be a surplus unabsorbed of 90,000 in 1936.

Influenced by the fact that Liverpool is a great international trading Port the Commissioners speak about the necessity of a "monetary union" to stabilise currencies throughout an international "Sterling area", and of migration of the workers to other areas.

The **South Wales** Report covered the coalfields and the surrounding agricultural country, embracing **Glamorgan, Monmouth, and Carmarthen**. It says that between 1921 and 1931, 12% of the population had migrated (242,000). In the

coalmining areas the surplus of men whose labour is no longer necessary in the industry is 30,000. Amongst iron and steel, dock labour, shiprepairing and clerical workers the surplus is estimated at 70,000.

Philanthropic bodies have deliberately attempted to revive such handicrafts as weaving, embroidery, and quilting, wood working and poultry keeping with a view to creating new industries. This Report like the others also speaks of transferring the workers. But to where? There is no answer.

To these facts concerning the situation in Great Britain's "depressed" areas, we have to add the position amongst **railwaymen**. Since 1921, no less than 130,000 workers have been dismissed through rationalisation, speeding up and mechanisation.

At the recent annual conference of the **building workers** the Chairman in his presidential address gave some staggering figures. From September 1931 to April this year the unemployed had increased by 68,371 to 231,997, and at the present time, the total unemployed in the industry was 386,144. With no prospects of expansion of the industry the chairman declared they might have to carry a permanently redundant personnel of 200,000.

It was revealed at a meeting recently in the Savoy Hotel by the Chairman of the New Industries Committee, representing municipal authorities, manufacturers, etc., that hundreds of factories were derelict. **In some places the roofs were removed in order to avoid payment of local rates.** This group of New Industries Committee are engaged in the lucrative work of buying up factories for a song and reletting them for new industries at an "attractive" rental or hire at so much a square foot.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

The Far Soviet East.

The Tenth Anniversary of the Liberation of the Far East Region from Japanese Intervention and the White Bandits.

By Otto Heller.

Khabarovsk, End of July 1932.

October this year will be the tenth anniversary of the days when the Japanese troops and warships were forced to leave Vladivostok, and with them the last of the White bandits, Messrs. **Merkulov** and **Kapelyev**, who left the country. Those who have studied the bloody history of the civil war and the intervention in the Far East, this up and down between Red and White, turned to the advantage of the Whites again and again by the Japanese imperialists, but ending finally with the triumph of the workers and peasants, those who have followed this history of base treachery, cruelty, and murder, can understand the enthusiasm with which a stronghold of socialist construction is now being created here.

The Far East Region which did not join the R.S.F.S.R. till 10th November 1922—up to this date it formed, as "Republic of the Far East", a buffer state between the R.S.F.S.R. and Japan—has hitherto lagged behind the rest of the Soviet Union in the development of its socialist economies. This mighty region, from the Behring Strait opposite Alaska to the Korean frontier, from Transbaikalia to Sakhalin, has only 1.8 million inhabitants (0.8 inhabitants to the square kilometre!). There are 22,000 kilometres of coast by the Pacific and the Arctic Oceans, 2000 kilometres of navigable rivers, but only 2500 kilometres of railway on 2.9 million square kilometres of land. These scanty figures give an idea of the distances to be reckoned with here. The distance from the industrial centres (6000 kilometres from Kusbas), and the almost complete destruction of the slight industrial basis possessed by the region itself through the civil war and the intervention, have multiplied the objective difficulties of the fresh developments.

The last two years have, however, completely altered the aspect of things. At the present time the Far East is one of

the foci of socialist constructive work. The **immeasurable natural wealth** of the region is about to be opened up and exploited. Distances shrink, loneliness vanishes, human beings appear, machinery and tractors appear, roads and railways are being built, ships cross the Ocean to Vladivostok. Aeroplanes fly over Taiga and Tundra, the Far East is no longer far, but approaches nearer to us day by day, as fresh miracles spring from the soil, and fresh deeds of heroism are carried out on the front of socialist work.

The plan of construction for the Far East, already completely dominated by the spirit of the **Second Five Year Plan**, is based on the following program: The Far East, hitherto a region to which food supplies have had to be sent, must not only completely cover its own supplies by 1937, but must export food. The Far East must have its own metallurgic basis, and build up its own light and heavy industries upon it. Since the Far East possesses all, absolutely all, raw materials, from paper pulp to hematite, from gold to graphite, from linen to oil, from granite to whale oil, the Far East must develop industries sufficing not only for its own needs, but for exports. These industries must manufacture every requisite for agriculture and livestock breeding, for hunting and fishing, and at the same time for the transport service. The Far East must be independent in its economic life from the centre of the Soviet Union, and its own resources are so rich and multifarious that distances will become no more than mere figures, robbed of their significance by the aeroplane and the airship.

The following is a brief survey of the most important natural resources of the Far East region and of the first great undertakings. At the conclusion of this summary but dizzying array of facts a few data are given on cultural progress.

Anyone who examines these figures carefully will grasp what the Japanese imperialists are so anxious to get into their hands, and will grasp too what the proletariat of the Soviet Union, and with it the world proletariat, has to defend.

The **iron ore basis** of the region lies in the Little Khingan Mountains. Up to the present the presence of 70 million tons of highly valuable ore has been established, but the calculations of the scientists estimate a total of about 500 million tons. By the Olga Bay there is a deposit of about 100 million tons of ore. The Khingan ore contains up to 40% of iron. (It is a well known fact that Japan only possesses 80 million tons of ore reserves.) The Khingan Combine will have an output of 450 million tons of cast iron in 1937. The Khingan District will form the metallurgic basis for the Far East region. At a distance of about 300 kilometres from the ore deposits, there is **coal**. The total coal deposits of the Far East are about 100 milliard tons. The **naphtha** fields (Sakhalin, Kamchatka) are estimated at 300 million tons; the yearly growth of **wood** is approximately 250 million cubic metres; the **peat** deposits are calculated at 600 million cubic metres; **zinc** and **lead** are estimated at 400,000 tons; the possibilities of **fishery** are reckoned to be not under 25 million kgs; the **water power** available is estimated at 36 million HP. And of all this wealth only a part is being utilised at the present time, to the extent of 1 to 5%!

The year 1932 is the first year of rapid constructive work. 930 million roubles are being invested in **fundamental undertakings** (as compared with 440 million in the original plan). This year 7.32% of the total industrial investments of the Soviet Union go to the Far East Region. As compared with 1929, **exports** will increase by 220.8%, the **gold** output by 420%, the **coal** output from 1.3 million tons to 4.9 million, **fishery** output from 1.78 million tons to 4.5 million, the **timber** output will increase to 8.3 million cubic metres, and **furs** to the value of 4.8 million roubles will be supplied. 90 sawmill plants will be working, 360 combines, 84,680 HP in tractor power. Since 1929 collectivisation has progressed from 6.1% to 58.7%, and the area under cultivation for technical plants from 8.9% of the total area cultivated to 14.4%.

Undertakings in course of construction are: 3 electric works, 1 fishing net manufactory, 1 road building machine factory, 2 shipyards, 1 motor car repairing and fitting works, 2 sugar factories, 1 vegetable canning factory, 2 standard house factories, 1 paper factory, 1 great cement factory, 1 factory working up fats.

At the present time Sakhalin is already producing 300,000 tons of oil. The first Soviet oil boats (3000 tons) are floating on the Amur. 376,000 tons of canned meat will be manufactured this year. Further factories being built are: 2 match factories, 1 leather combine, 1 hemp spinning mill, 1 vegetable tinning factory. **Perspectives:** Wood: 1932 8 million cubic metres, 1937 37 million cubic metres; gold: 1932 25,000 workers, 1937 45,000 workers; area cultivated: 1932 1.3 million hectares, 1937 3.2 million hectares; **rice:** 1932 20,900 hectares, 1937 125,000 hectares; **soya beans:** 102,000 and 420,000 hectares; **sugar beets** 4300 and 65,000 hectares; **technical plants:** 147,000 and 774,000 hectares.

In 1932 the sums invested in the gold industry amount to 40 million roubles, in the wood industry 80 millions, in the Sakhalin oil fields 32 millions, coal mining 53 millions, power production 12 millions, **transport service** 190 millions, etc.

Below a small extract from the **municipal public utilities budget:** In 1932 the sums expended for public utilities amount to 36.5 million roubles, without counting an additional 51 millions for **dwelling house building**. The town of **Khabarovsk** has a budget of 15 millions, **Vladivostok** 22 millions, solely for dwelling house building and new public utilities. The Second Five Year Plan provides 703 millions for dwelling house building in the Far East Region and 502 millions for public utilities services, a total of 1½ milliards! Of this sum Khabarovsk and Vladivostok receive half a milliard each.

And now the head to the National Educational Department of the Dalkrayispolkom (Far East Regional Executive Committee) supplies a few data:

The number of elementary scholars has increased from 96,000 to 110,000 between the school years 1931/32 and the school year 1932/33. The number of school classes has increased from 2477 to 2732. The state budget provides **42 millions** for

the mass schools this year, as compared with **6 millions** five years ago.

The various economic and other organisations expend 80 millions for the schools. The number of schools for peasant children has almost doubled. Two new technical schools will be opened this year, one of these to be Ukrainian (30% of the population are Ukrainians!). The Second Five Year Plan will bring the republic 6 new colleges, and expend 2½ milliard roubles for purpose of national education. Of the new colleges, one will be Jewish and one Ukrainian. A special technical school will be provided in Nikolayevsk for the **northern peoples**. In Birobidjan a medical college for workers is being built, the instructional language to be Jewish. 75% of all districts are being provided with new school buildings, 25% of the population between the ages of 18 to 50 will receive higher schooling in the second Five Years. Illiteracy, formerly the lot of 75% of the population, will be wiped out by May 1933. At the present time the majority of the illiterates are almost exclusively Chinese and northern peoples, for whom alphabets of their own are now being made and books printed for the first time. **The Chinese lettering is being Latinised.** The two Chinese newspapers are already appearing in part in Latin lettering. There will be a library to every 3000 inhabitants. 24 theatres are to be built.

In Khabarovsk a new theatre is to be erected at the cost of 1 million roubles. The number of technical and workers colleges will increase from 68 this year to approximately 700 in 1937. 560 children's rest homes are planned, 3302 juvenile libraries, 52 children's sports grounds. The figures call out to us, and they call out the shame of the capitalist world! The number of Korean elementary schools increased from 249 last year to 351 this, the Chinese schools have increased from 6 to 10. In Sakhalin there are now 60 elementary and 6 secondary schools. Schools, clubs, libraries, newspapers, theatres, cinemas. And meanwhile in the Japanese newspaper "Nikhon" Mr. Kameitsi writes of the "red devils" who must be exterminated by fire and sword.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Notes of a Participant in the VI. Party Congress of the R.C.P.

By O. Piatnitzky.

The preparations for the Party Congress, and the Party Congress itself, were held in the midst of a savage slander drive against the Bolsheviki, who were charged with being spies of Kaiser Wilhelm, and at a time when the dual power was being replaced by bourgeois-imperialist reaction. I had been delegated to the Party Congress by the Moscow Party organisation. A tremendous difference existed between the proletariat and the garrison of Petersburg and the proletariat and garrison of Moscow. In Petersburg it was difficult for our Party to restrain the masses of the workers, soldiers, and sailors from street demonstrations in April, June, and July. The Petersburg organisations of our Party took the lead of the demonstrations when these took place against the will of the Party authorities (the July days).

In Moscow, on the other hand, there were no demonstrations whatever. On 18th June there were demonstrations for the first time in response to the offensive on the front, and on 4th July the demonstration called by the Moscow Party Committee was not attended by even all the members of the Party, to say nothing of the broad masses of the workers and soldiers. And the demonstrations commenced after a delay of two hours.

This difference between Moscow and Petersburg in this respect is explained by the fact that the Moscow proletariat was more backward than that of Petersburg (being more closely bound up with the rural districts). Besides this, Moscow is a large railway junction; a large number of railwaymen lived there, and among these there were many petty-bourgeois elements who had contrived to escape military service. The garrison consisted mainly of divisions of troops which had just been formed.

The July days took the effect in Moscow of not only turning broad masses of the workers and soldiers from our Bolshevik organisations, but of losing members for our Moscow organisation itself in every quarter of the town, though not, however, for very long. This trend of feeling among the masses of the workers and soldiers, and in the organisation itself, exercised pressure on the wavering elements in the Committees of the Moscow organisations—and on some of the members of the Moscow Committee. At the meeting of the Moscow Party Committee on 6th and 7th August they whispered: "No smoke without fire", "Evidently somebody has something on his conscience", "The Moscow Party Committee must demand the immediate convention of a Party Congress", "The Moscow Party Committee must take the initiative", "The Moscow Party Committee must appoint a commission to examine into the charges brought against individual Bolsheviks", etc.

Happily such panic-stricken and cowardly proposals and speeches were merely isolated phenomena. They were swept annihilatingly aside by the overwhelming majority of the members of the Moscow Party Committee. Besides this, the writer of these lines, who was the chairman at the session of the Moscow Party Committee dealing with this question, refused to allow a division to be taken on these motions of the capitulators, in which decision he was supported by the approval of the overwhelming majority of the Moscow Party Committee.

In Petersburg, on the other hand, the events of the July days did not cause any such negative reaction among the masses of the workers and soldiers. The authority of our Party increased even further among the broad masses, for these saw that our Party, though opposed to the action, none the less placed itself at the head of the masses when these insisted on coming out into the streets. And in Petersburg there was not even the brief flight from the Party as in Moscow.

Besides this, there was no such reaction, nor were our Party organisations exposed to such persecution, as in Petersburg. During the demonstrations on 4th July, the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie, the officers' bands, the Mensheviks, and the Socialist Revolutionaries (S.R.), encouraged by the fact that the Soviets were opposed to the demonstrations, cut the demonstrators off from the districts in the centre of the town. They confiscated the flags, the banners with inscriptions, and even beat up some of the demonstrators. After the July events a number of Bolshevik speakers were attacked in the streets. A police search was carried out in the Party committee premises in the city.

Reaction in Moscow contented itself with this. There were no arrests made, and the newspaper "Social Democracy" appeared regularly. The Moscow Party Committee and the Sub-District Committees held their meetings unhindered, with the exception of the meetings for the troops, in which difficulties were thrown in the way of us Bolsheviks at that time too. There was no depression among the Party members who had remained faithful. They worked with the intensest energy. This was the atmosphere in Moscow during the preparations for the VI. Party Congress.

At the Moscow Party Conference the most important items of the agenda of the Party Congress were discussed, and 15 delegates elected to the Party Congress. The Moscow delegation travelled to the Party Congress in the same carriage as the delegation of the Moscow Central Industrial District. On the road it was agreed that the delegations of the Moscow district and of Moscow itself should co-ordinate their action at the Conference, and this was carried out. During the Party Congress these two delegations held several joint consultations. At first the Party Congress met on the Wyborg side, in a very light and roomy hall. But after the Party Congress had shown its unanimous solidarity with Lenin, and had confuted all the vile accusations of the bourgeoisie, the Mensheviks, and the Socialist Revolutionaries, it became known that the Provisional Government was planning a raid on the Party Congress. Therefore the election of the Central Committee was undertaken in the middle of the Party Congress, instead of at the end as customary at all Congresses, and the Party Congress was reduced to a fifth, or even to a tenth, of the original number of delegates.

The district delegations elected comrades out of their midst to carry on the Party Congress on its reduced scale.

The Party Congress then continued its work in the extremely limited club rooms of a mixed organisation belonging to two districts, in the quarter of the town outside of the Narva city gate, not far from the Putilov Works. The reduced Party Congress only held a few meetings. None of the delegates of the Party Congress who had not been elected to the reduced Congress left Petersburg. They took further part in the Section and Commission meetings. Hence the whole of the delegates to the Congress continued the work of the Congress in the cramped premises at their disposal.

A special feature of the VI. Party Congress was Lenin's absence. The Bolshevik Party, the old Bolshevik Guard of whom many were present at this Party Congress, were accustomed to see the tactics laid down by Lenin in all difficult moments. The moment at which the VI. Party Congress met was a decisive and highly responsible turning point. The country was passing from the dual power, from the actual power of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets, to the dictatorship of the imperialist bourgeoisie backed up by the military camarilla. The moment was extremely responsible, and Lenin, the Party leader recognised by all, was sadly missed. We knew of course that the C.C. was in contact with him, that the C.C. had his collaboration in drawing up the main outlines of the most important resolutions, but none the less every one of us felt a double responsibility at this Party Congress in view of Lenin's absence.

The Party Congress passed off with great unanimity, although differences of opinion on important questions were apparent in the discussions.

It should be emphasised that all the delegates took an active part in the work of the Party Congress, especially in that of the commissions. The agenda of the Party Congress contained such important items as the estimate of the situation, of the war and the international situation, the political and economic situation, the changes in the Party program, the International, the trade unions.

The central figure of the Party Congress was Comrade Stalin. Of the nine C.C. members elected at the All Russian Conference of the Party in April, six were present. Of these six, Comrades Stalin and Sverdlov were engaged in the preparations for and the conducting of the Party Congress. Sverdlov dealt chiefly with important organisational questions, whilst Comrade Stalin determined the political line of the Party. At the VI. Party Congress Comrade Stalin gave two reports: the report of the C.C. on its political activities, and the report on the political situation. The leading feature of the whole Party Congress was Stalin's report on the political situation, which aroused most discussion.

The report was brief, but extremely graphic. Differences of opinion arose on the role of the Soviets and with regard to the slogan: "All power to the Soviets". Comrade Stalin proposed that this slogan be cancelled, for:

"Now nobody, not a single bourgeois, speaks of a dual power. Whilst at one time the Soviets represented an actual power, to-day they are merely the organs of the coalition of the masses, but have no real power. Hence it is nonsense to give them the power . . . Even if you now win over the whole of the Soviets, that will not give you the power."

" . . . The comrades rush at the question of the organisation of power. But you have no power." (Stalin, Concluding words on the political situation. Minutes of the VI. Party Congress. Publ. "Communist", 1919, page 126.)

" . . . Hence the question on the agenda is not the organisation of power, but the overthrow of the ruling power. When we have once the power in our hands, we shall know how to organise it." (Ibid., page 127.)

During the discussion there was a hail of questions, such as: What about the new elections to the Soviets, and what about the Soviets in which we have the majority? Comrade Stalin replied to all these questions:

"To return once more to the Soviets: In annulling the former slogan, we are not turning against the Soviets. Quite the contrary; we can and must work in the Soviets, even

in the Central Executive Committee, this organ giving cover to counter-revolution. Although to-day the Soviets are only organs for the coalition of the masses, we must continue to go with the masses, and shall not leave the Soviets till we are thrown out of them. In the same manner we remain in the factory councils and municipal administrations for instance, although these do not possess the power." (Stalin. Ibid.)

Events have confirmed the correctness of the decision of the Party Congress and the forecast of Lenin and Stalin. By September the Bolsheviks had the majority in the Petersburg and Moscow Soviets, and yet the power remained in the hands of the bourgeoisie. It was only by means of the armed insurrection of the workers and soldiers of Petersburg, Moscow, and other cities that we succeeded, under the leadership of the Party and with the aid of the Soviets, in seizing power from the bourgeoisie and realising the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Another prophecy made by Comrade Stalin at the VI. Party Congress was fulfilled. The 9th point of the draft of the resolution on the political situation was as follows:

"The task of the revolutionary class will then be the exertion of all forces for the conquest of state power, and the application of this power, in alliance with the revolutionary proletariat of the advanced countries, for peace and for the socialist re-organisation of Society."

Comrade Preobrashensky proposed another formulation: "For peace and, after the outbreak of proletarian revolution in the West, for socialism". Comrade Stalin rejected this amendment on the following grounds, which were completely confirmed by subsequent events:

"I am opposed to closing the resolution with such a formulation. It is not impossible that precisely Russia will be the country which will clear path to socialism." (Minutes of the VI. Party Congress, page 214.)

The decisions of the Party Congress were perfectly correct, although Lenin was not able to attend it. They furthered the efforts of our Party to win over the masses of the workers, soldiers, and peasants in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, against the Mensheviks, and against the Socialist Revolutionaries, and to conquer power. Whilst before the Party Congress there were still broad masses of the workers who were not in favour of our Party, the energetic and determined work of every section of the Moscow organisation of our Party enabled such successes to be gained that as early as August the Moscow organisation was able, during the Moscow State Conference, to organise a general strike against the decision of the Plenary Session of this council, and besides this, during the Kornilov days, the Moscow workers and soldiers already followed the Bolsheviks, thus aiding our Party to the victory during the October rising.

BOOK REVIEWS

International Pamphlets.

By Grace Hutchins (New York).

With the publication of No. 20 in the series issued by International Pamphlets (New York), two bound volumes each containing 10 pamphlets have been issued. They form an important reference library for students in workers' schools, and for speakers and organisers, not only in the United States but also in the workers' movement in other countries.

These pamphlets, many of them prepared under the direction of the Labor Research Association, are factual rather than agitational. They present the data on each subject in

convenient form, and a detailed table of contents in each bound volume makes it possible to find the material sought. Revolutionary workers already familiar with the series will find the bound volumes a more handy way of keeping the brochures together.

Subjects covered in these first two volumes include: Soviet Farming, War in China, Soviet China, American Negro, Chemical Warfare, Profits and Wages, Spy System against Workers, Colonies of Wall Street, Youth in Industry, May Day, Eugene V. Debs, Unemployment and Social Insurance, and others on the current problems and tasks of the workers. Five more pamphlets in addition to those included in these volumes have already been issued, and in future bound volumes will appear as soon as a sufficient number have been published to make uniform books, thus forming a continually growing library of permanent value.

In response to pressure from the workers to make more of the International Pamphlets available for the widest mass distribution, the series will now include pamphlets of half size, 16 instead of 32 pages, selling at 5 cents instead of 10 cents. In this new division of the series four have already appeared, which are of immediate interest to workers actively engaged in the struggle. They are discussed below:

In **The Injunction Menace**, Charlotte Todes exposes the new so-called Anti-Injunction Law of 1932, hailed by officials of the American Federation of Labor as "Labor's new Magna Charta". It is of great importance for all workers to know these facts about the new law and about the employer's use of injunctions against the miners and against the shoe, food, needle trades and other workers in recent struggles. Comrade Todes is well qualified to write the story, as she has experienced the injunction at first hand in the struggles of the Food Workers Industrial Union, and she is also author of the book **Labor and Lumber**, prepared by the Labor Research Association and published by International Publishers.

The Yellow-Dog Contract by Elliot E. Cohen, Secretary of the National Committee for the Defence of Political Prisoners, is a companion pamphlet on that special weapon of the employers used against the working class, known as "yellow dog". A worker who has been forced to sign one of these individual anti-union contracts may think it is used only in that one mine or in that one plant, and will be surprised to learn from this pamphlet how widespread such contracts are, for they now involve at least 1,250,000 workers in the United States. Only mass resistance can knock this ugly weapon out of the employers' hands.

Lynching by Harry Haywood and Milton Howard, is the second of the brochures on the Negro question. The first, **The American Negro**, by J. S. Allen, is included in one of the volumes already bound. Another pamphlet by J. S. Allen, on **Negro Liberation**, will follow shortly and will explain the meaning of the demand for equal rights for Negroes and self-determination for the Black Belt in the Communist election program. **Lynching** gives a vivid picture of the situation in the United States, analysing the real causes and purposes of lynchings and giving important historic as well as current facts on the subject. This pamphlet is of special importance for wide distribution among the Negro masses in the United States.

In **the End of the Ford Myth**, Robert L. Cruden, a former Ford worker, punctures the lie, spread by the Social Democrats of Europe especially, that Henry Ford pays high wages and has good conditions in his plants. It is an unforgettable account of the Ford massacre by one who has himself experienced the Ford system of speed-up and cruel exploitation. It ends with a section on the way out for automobile workers.

The first of several pamphlets on farmers in the United States, **The American Farmer**, by George Anstrom, is now ready. Other brochures to be published shortly include one by Maxim Gorky, **To American Intellectuals**, one by Anna Rochester (author of **Labor and Coal**) on **Wall Street**, and a story by Whittaker Chambers, called **Can You Hear Their Voices?**