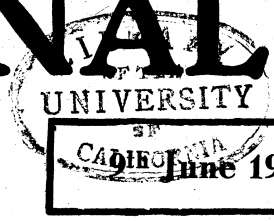


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# The Programme of the von Papen Cabinet.

By Th. Neubauer (Berlin).

The von Papen government has decreed the dissolution of the Reichstag without even giving it an opportunity of meeting, and has ordered new elections. At first no date was given for the elections; three days later it was announced that the elections will be held on July 31. From this one can conclude that the far-reaching plans to convene a "Constitutional National Assembly", which the "Kölnische Volkszeitung" attributed to General von Schleicher, have not been carried through, at least for the present.

Whilst formerly it was usual for a new government to announce its programme openly in the Reichstag, the von Papen Cabinet has adopted a new, original course: it has made its declaration only through the press and over the wireless. This declaration is in every line a declaration of war on the working people.

The Cabinet makes the Versailles Treaty, the effects of the world economic crisis and "the mismanagement of Parliamentary democracy" responsible for the enormous misery which is crushing the masses of the German people.

As the government declaration makes no mention whatever of the chief reason of the present misery, the "balance" which it submits to the people is of course incomplete and false:

"The financial foundations of the Reich, of Prussia and of the majority of all other federated States and

municipalities are shaken. None of the necessary fundamental reforms, the prerequisite to any recovery — administrative reform, financial reform, adaptation of the State life to the poverty of the nation — has gone beyond the first feeble beginnings. Social insurance is faced with bankruptcy; the constantly growing unemployment, in spite of the eager desire for work of the best elements, is eating at the vitals of the German people."

The contrary is the case. The bankruptcy of capitalism has produced 6 million unemployed and plunged the whole of the working people into misery. The collapse of capitalism has ruined the social insurance, in spite of all the ruthless economy measures of the Brüning government. The collapse of capitalism has completely shaken the finances of the Reich, the federated States and the municipalities, in spite of all the unbearable taxes on the masses with which the Brüning government tried to fill up the constant gaps in the budget.

This policy of Brüning and his emergency orders is described in the government declaration of the new Cabinet as "constantly increasing State socialism." Thus we are informed that the bolstering up of the bankrupt banks of the Reich with 1½ milliard marks, the support of the bankrupt trusts with hundreds of millions taken from the pockets of the working tax payers is "State socialism"! The following sentence from the Cabinet declaration is better still:

„They (the post-war governments - author) have attempted to convert the State into a poor law institution, and thereby morally weakened the forces of the Nation.”

The fact is that the whole of the big landowners have for years been living entirely at the cost of the State, i. e. of the toiling tax payers. The big banks, the agrarian agricultural and co-operative banks would long ago had to declare themselves bankrupt if the Reichs government had not “socialised” their bankruptcy. The Mortgage banks would for the greater part have had to close their doors if the Reich had not paid the interest of the landowners. Nine-tenths of German industry exists only because it has been able to draw ever fresh doles from the State, which is now described as a poor law institution.

But the junker Cabinet has not all this in mind! Its declaration is directed against the miserable pittance drawn by the unemployed workers, the invalids, the war victims. The 11 marks which an unmarried unemployed worker receives each week — if his benefit has not been stopped altogether like 100,000 of his class comrades — is, in the eyes of this government, still too much. The miserable pension received by the disabled and incapacitated — amounting on an average to 36 marks a month — appears as a luxury to the barons in the Cabinet. The wretched pittances paid to the cripples caused by the last world war — all the slightly injured have long since ceased to draw any pensions — appear as waste and extravagance in the eyes of this government.

The word “poor law State” has acquired through the von Papen government a programmatic sense. And this programme means: ruthless abolition of the remnants of social policy which still remained after Brüning’s emergency orders. Therefore, a former Krupp director, Herr Schäffer, has now been appointed Reichs-Minister for Labour.

And after this programmatic announcement the Cabinet in the next sentence declares war on the “**accursed anti-social class struggle**”. It will be of no use for von Papen and his Cabinet to wax morally indignant against the class struggle from below if they hammer it into the heads of every worker by their class struggle from above.

Not the economic and cultural decay of capitalism, therefore, but the class struggle is responsible for the “moral degeneration” of the German people and—it should not be forgotten—“cultural Bolshevism, which like a corrosive poison is threatening to destroy the moral foundation of the nation”.

And here the government declaration turns to make a thrust at the Centre by stating that “the Christian forces of the State were too lightly prepared to compromise”. “Now the purity of public life is to be restored by the abolition of the class struggle, of cultural Bolshevism, of atheistic-Marxist ideas.”

After such solemn declarations the announcement that the government will issue further emergency orders in accordance with those planned and elaborated by Brüning has a very sobering effect. This is necessary in order to pay the salaries in the next weeks and months.

Whilst in the sphere of home politics the government declaration is blunt and plain, it is just the opposite in the sphere of foreign politics. Here we read that great problems such as disarmament, reparations and economic crisis are on the agenda of the coming conferences, and that here the vital interests of Germany are at stake. But what the attitude of the new Reichs Government is to these questions is shown by the following passage:

“Our aim is, in peaceful co-operation with other nations, finally to acquire for our country complete equality, political freedom and the possibility of economic recovery.”

In order to recognise the intentions of the Cabinet one must turn to things which are not contained in the Cabinet declaration. The bourgeois press has reported that the present Reichs-Chancellor Herr von Papen took a leading part in the “**unofficial reparations conversations**” in Luxemburg, regarding which “Der Deutsche” published such sensational reports. This paper maintains that between the German negotiators, consisting of representatives of Hitler and Hugenberg, and the French negotiators, behind whom there stands the Comité des Forges, far-reaching understanding has already been achieved, namely a Franco-German military agreement, increase of the Reichswehr to 300,000 men and its equipment with modern weapons, and finally the “co-operation” of the French General Staff in the German army.

The bourgeois “Berliner Volkszeitung” now publishes the

protocol of a meeting of the “**Deutscher Herrenklub**” which took place in Berlin on February 27th, 1931, and at which Herr von Papen delivered a report of his conversations in Paris. The report states:

“From the political side long-term credits were made dependent upon a final agreement regarding all questions between the two countries. In this connection complaint was made against Germany’s Russophile policy. By final agreement is meant a Franco-German-Polish alliance. Germany would have to put aside its wishes, which are recognised as justified, regarding its Eastern frontiers, as a peaceful solution of these questions is considered impossible in view of Polish sentiment. This alliance, described as an ‘accord à trois’, shall serve the purpose of an economic alliance against the Russian Five-Year-Plan. Within this ‘accord à trois’ the French will also be in favour of Germany being allowed to arm.... The ‘accord à trois’ must come about having regard to the **fight against Bolshevism.**”

This report, the authenticity of which is not disputed, confirms that Herr von Papen has been for a long time a supporter of a Franco-German alliance against the Soviet Union.

The government declaration has aroused a lively echo. The widest circles of the working population, even those who proudly describe themselves as nationalists and follow Hitler, are simply scandalised at the hostility towards the working class revealed in the government manifesto. Therefore the national socialist press is not a little embarrassed before its readers among the toiling section of the population when it attempts to justify the support of the Papen government by the national socialist party. The “**Angriff**”, the Berlin organ of the national socialists, tries to wriggle out of the situation and writes: “We do not deny the government’s good will to improve matters.”

The fact is the von Papen Cabinet lives thanks to the support of the Hitler party. We know from the Nazi press that the national socialist party was prepared to give this government its support even in the Reichstag, provided it fulfilled only two conditions: cancellation of the prohibition of the Storm Detachments and speedy dissolution of the Reichstag. The Hitler party, therefore, bears full responsibility for the von Papen Cabinet and everything it does.

The Communist Party has issued a powerful and impressive Manifesto summoning the masses to fight against the von Papen government, which is preparing the way for an open fascist dictatorship, against its buttress, the Hitler party, which can only be defeated in the class struggle, in extra-Parliamentary mass struggle, and against the Centre and the social democratic party, which have lifted the Cabinet of junkers and generals into the saddle. The Communist Party of Germany summons the masses, especially the social democratic workers, to anti-fascist action, to the united fighting front against fascism. The Cabinet’s declaration of war on the working people will help to create the broadest mass basis for the anti-fascist action.

## The Diet Elections in Mecklenburg.

Berlin, 6th May 1932.

The results of yesterday’s diet elections in Mecklenburg-Schwerin were as follows:

Fascist Party . . . . .	177,029	as compared with	72,033
Social Dem. Party . . .	108,358	as compared with	124,922
German Nat. Party . . .	32,875	as compared with	39,814
Communist Party . . . .	27,006	as compared with	27,644
State (Dem.) Party . . .	7,895	as compared with	8,096
People’s Party etc. . . .	7,449	as compared with	49,412
Soc. Workers Party . . .	952		

The seats in the Diet are distributed as follows: Fascist Party 30, Social Democratic Party 18, German Nationalist Party 5, Communist Party 5, State (Democratic) Party 1, People’s Party 1. Thus the fascists have not obtained an absolute majority.

The Communist Party in Mecklenburg-Schwerin was very much hindered in its election propaganda by police persecution. The communist daily newspaper was prohibited until a few days prior to the election, and communist election meetings and demonstrations were repeatedly prohibited.

## POLITICS

### The Radical Party in Power in France.

By J. Berlioz (Paris).

The Radicals, the victors in the May election, now have 160 seats in the Chamber of Deputies. Their leader, M. Herriot, has been entrusted with the task of forming a new Cabinet. And as the congress of the French Socialist party which met on May 29 pronounced against immediate participation in the government, Herriot's Cabinet consists almost entirely of Radicals in the Chamber and the Senate. The composition of the Cabinet is as follows: Foreign Minister, Herriot; Minister of the Interior, Chautemps; Minister of Justice, Renoult; Minister for Aviation, Painlevé; War Minister, Paul Boncour. The Herriot government is therefore a minority government, which however, can reckon on the benevolent tolerance of the centre and the social democrats.

The parties of the "Left" were placed in a real dilemma as a result of their overwhelming election victory, which was the result of the strong pressure of the masses against the policy of impoverishment and war on the part of French imperialism. Their leaders are perfectly aware that it is simply impossible to break this movement of rebellion by carrying out a policy of social reforms and of peace, or even making symbolic gestures. The financial position of the country is such that it will be necessary before long to adopt measures which Herriot has described as "unpopular". In other words, it will be necessary to effect cuts in the pay of the officials and civil servants and reduce the expenditure on the social services. The employers, who are faced with a constant decline in foreign trade, (the export of manufactured articles amounted to only 190,000 tons in April as compared with 323,000 tons in April 1931) intend immediately to reduce cost prices by increased attacks on wages. The hegemony of French imperialism in Europe is seriously threatened, if only as a result of the very bad financial situation which renders it impossible to grant aid to the vassal States of France and to the Danubian countries. Thus French imperialism sees no other means of maintaining its hegemony than to bring about as soon as possible a war against the Soviet Union.

Immediately after the elections, the Radical Press did everything in order to point out that in face of the approaching enormous difficulties it was necessary to show "proofs of reason and moderation". The proof was furnished on May 10, when the great majority of the Radicals declared themselves ready to renounce the candidature of Painlevé as President and to vote for Lebrun, a reactionary and representative of the Comité de Forges. On May 19, Herriot declared that he was absolutely in agreement with the nationalist speech delivered by Paul Boncour who requested him, in international politics, "to stick to the principles of the late government".

Before the masses of workers and peasants, who expressed their discontent by voting for the Radicals, the leaders of Herriot's party insist in vague terms on their desire to initiate a new policy, but at the same time implore the masses to be reasonable and patient, because this so-called desire is thwarted by the fact that the new Ministry, in its programme, "has to reckon immediately and unavoidably with brutal reality".

As regards the Socialist Party, it was at first against participation in the Cabinet, which would undoubtedly involve it in doubtful adventures and very rapidly discredit it. Some elements of the Right wing, the Renaudel group, thought, however, that the situation of capitalism is so serious that Socialism must immediately hasten to its aid. Blum, Paul Faure and other leaders of the centre and of the Left openly declared, however, that they had before their eyes the example of Germany and England, where the social democrats in the governments discredited themselves, and therefore it was preferable to leave to others the responsibility for the approaching "unpopular measures".

It is the first time that the French Section of the II. International declared itself so openly in favour of saving capitalism by exercising power. Collaboration, however, was made upon conditions regarding which it was known beforehand that they would be unacceptable to the Radicals, and which the latter rejected as being absolutely chimerical. Thus the social democrats saved themselves the necessity of undergoing the test, i. e. of immediately opening the eyes of the

masses who still believe in the revolutionary virtue of the Socialist Party.

If the socialists support the Radicals for some time in order to show that they are not to blame if the promises of the Radicals are not kept, the groups of the Left will on the other hand undoubtedly vote for the government. The Stock-Exchange responded very joyfully to the coming into power of the new government. It takes into account that it is only a provisional government which will be followed by the big concentration. This concentration, however, can only be realised in two stages if the disappointment and the fury of the people which such a speedy marriage between Herriot and Tardieu would call forth is to be avoided. The tremendous problems which must be tackled will soon give rise to the necessity of a stable majority, for which the Radicals will call by attributing to the attitude of the socialists the impossibility of conducting a policy consistent with a "Left" government.

In connection with the conditional support and sham opposition, the Socialist Party hopes that it will be possible for it to turn aside and break the fighting will of the proletarian masses. For this purpose it will not neglect to use revolutionary phrases, but in practice throttle every struggle of the workers and defend French imperialism, while at the same time increasing its slanders against the Soviet Union.

The whole work of the Communist Party of France must be directed to the fight against the Left manoeuvres of both parties, of the social democrats and the Radicals, in order to expose them and to win over the masses which still follow them. In view of the economic and international situation there is no doubt that the Herriot government will not be able to make even sham concessions to the workers. It will endeavour, however, to represent itself as a victim of the monied interests. Of course, the election lies of the Radicals will not collapse of themselves but only if we expose them by making use of all the promises of the Lefts, as the basis for concrete proposals in the Chamber (amnesty, seven hour day without wage reductions, unemployment insurance, reduction of military expenditure etc.) and conduct an appropriate agitation campaign in the whole country in order to show the identity of the policy of the Left with that of Tardieu.

Our most important task is to organise class struggles, for they will enable us to show by means of facts that the French section of the II. International, the ally of the Radicals in their election lies, is still today betraying and sabotaging the workers' struggles.

### The New Herriot Government.

Leading article of the "Pravda" of June 6, 1932.

Moscow, June 6th 1932.

In a leading article published in its to-day's number, the Pravda deals with the change of government in France. It records that the Tardieu government suffered a defeat at the French elections and that the "Left" bourgeois parties, especially Herriot's party, the Radical socialists, achieved the biggest gains, and then continues:

"The elections took place in an exceedingly tense situation. The Tardieu government conducted an open policy of the blackest reaction in order to prepare imperialist war and intervention against the Soviet Union. Unconditional support of Japanese imperialism, aggressive alliance with Japan, approachment to English imperialism, fresh equipment of the Polish, Rumanian, Czech, Yugoslavian and Latvian armies with the aid of French war loans and French instructors, the attempt to create the Danube bloc and by this means to draw Austria and Hungary into the French system of war alliances, the endeavour to win Germany for the anti-Soviet bloc, the utilisation of the Geneva Disarmament Conference as a starting point for new armaments—this was the content of the policy of the Tardieu government.

"The meaning of the election result lies in the fact that the French workers, the overwhelming majority of the French peasants and a considerable part of the urban petty bourgeoisie voted against Tardieu's policy, against anti-Soviet intervention, against imperialist war and for the maintenance of peace. The deepening of the economic crisis, the growing unemployment, the severe agrarian crisis which seriously hits the main mass of the peasantry, promoted the growth of opposition to the Tardieu Government. Even the monstrous and insolent provo-

cation in connection with the murder of President Doumer and the attempt to represent the white guardist maniac Gorguloff as a "neo-Bolshevik" was unable to save the Tardieu government from defeat.

"Broad masses of the working population of France spurned this anti-Soviet provocation with loathing and contempt. The Left bourgeois parties and the social fascists succeeded in making use of the discontent of the masses and their concern for peace for their own purposes. The political parties of the French bourgeoisie, including the socialist party, set up already during the election campaign a sort of "holy alliance" to fight against the only party which is conducting a real fight against reaction and against the preparation of intervention and war — against the Communist Party."

After pointing out that the French bourgeoisie, by electing the candidate of the Right bloc **Lebrun** as President of the Republic, although the majority of the people had voted "Left" parties, immediately after the election gave the masses an object lesson showing that the important questions of politics are not solved by Parliamentary vote, the "**Pravda**" proceeds to an estimation of the role of the socialists in the new French Parliament and continues:

"The radicals, headed by **Herriot**, and the socialists, headed by **Leon Blum**, have the majority in the new Parliament. The new French Government, however, was not formed out of the two parties. Since the war the French socialists have not participated either directly or indirectly in the government. Even in 1924, when the Radical socialists came into power, the socialists only supported the Herriot government at that time but did not enter it. To-day also, the socialists are not taking part in the government, and from the Parliamentary standpoint they will not bear the responsibility for the policy of the new Herriot government.

"The tactics of the socialists enable them to play at "opposition" in order to retard and hold back the real revolutionisation of the masses and their going over to the position of the revolutionary class struggle. Such a state of affairs is exceedingly advantageous for the bourgeoisie. Precisely for this reason the French Communists have made it their task to expose the actual policy of the social democrats by a flexible employment of the tactics of the united front from below. The Herriot Government is formally not a government of the Left Bloc. It is formally also not a government of a broad "national concentration" of bourgeois parties. On the other hand, it is the first step towards such a national concentration."

The "**Pravda**" then proceeds to characterise the different members of the new Cabinet, especially **Paul Boncour**, who when he was still a member of the socialist party, proposed the complete militarisation of the whole population, including the women. The "**Pravda**" makes special reference to the role of **Legues**, Minister for the Navy, who belongs to the Tardieu group and constitutes the connecting link between the Herriot Government and the Tardieu bloc.

In conclusion the "**Pravda**" writes:

"For the time being Tardieu is not taking part in the government, but a representative of his group is. The new government is thereby attempting to make the first step towards the broad concentration of the bourgeoisie. The majority of the people voted against intervention, against war and for peace. But this vote has to be converted in Parliament into a vote against peace, for imperialist war and for intervention. The complicated manoeuvre connected with the formation of the new government and the inclusion in it of a representative of the Tardieu group is the first step in this direction.

One can hardly doubt that the further development will lead to the extension of the Parliamentary basis of the government towards the Right. There is also no need to emphasise that the new French government stands fully and entirely on the platform of the Versailles system, and that it will represent this system with no less zeal than the Tardieu Cabinet or a government of the socialist Blum would. It need not be emphasised that the new government will strive for the consolidation and extension of the system of war-political alliances of French imperialism as Tardieu has done or as Blum would.

"It would be banal, however, to believe that whilst the main principles and tasks are identical there is no difference in the methods of Herriot and Tardieu. The methods of the Herriot Cabinet will be subtler and take more into account the pacifist mood of the masses. Can one doubt that Herriot

will be less obdurate in regard to the reparations question than Tardieu? The methods of his fight for the maintenance of the Versailles system will be different from those of Tardieu. Herriot will more cleverly justify his refusal to make real concessions. He will bring forward every possible "democratic" and "pacifist" argument.

The post of colonial Minister in the new Cabinet is taken over by the Radical **Sarraut**, who distinguished himself as Colonial Minister by the bombardment of Damascus. As a Minister of the Interior he formulated his programme with the notorious phrase: Communism is the chief enemy. This point is a constituent part of the programme of the new French government. The new government will manoeuvre in Parliament, at one time relying on the support of the socialists and another time on that of the Tardieu bloc.

The Communist Party of France will enlighten the broad masses of workers and toilers regarding the true nature of the Herriot government. The Communist Party is mobilising the masses for the real mass fight against the preparations for intervention.

## The Mining Crisis in Britain.

By Allen Hutt (London).

The first week in June has seen what the capitalist press in Britain hails, with a good deal of relief, as the "solution" of the mining crisis. That is to say, the Government has passed its new **Coal Mines Bill** through all its stages in the House of Commons, and the reformist miners' leaders have been able to swing the delegate conference of the Miners' Federation, by a narrow majority, into voting for no action against the Bill.

But the crisis remains; and the resentment and discontent that is sweeping through the coalfields presages new and stormy battles in the mining industry, the classical centre of the fiercest class fights of the British working class.

The present crisis owed its immediacy to the fact that the section of the Labour Government's Coal Mines Act of 1930, which legalised the 7½ hour day, was due to expire in July; and this meant that the industry would automatically have reverted to the 7 hour day.

The new Bill continues the 7½ hour day for another five years, and gives no guarantee that wages will not be reduced. Instead, the coalowners have come to a "gentleman's agreement" with the miners' leaders that wages will not be reduced for twelve months. This "agreement" is worth precisely nothing. Government spokesmen in the debates on the Bill made it clear that this "agreement" could not be legally enforced; and it is significant that in one coalfield, **Kent**, the coalowners have already announced that they do not consider themselves bound by the "agreement", and propose to demand wage reductions as and when they see fit.

A brief examination of the economic background of the present crisis will make the situation clearer. The facts are these: in common with the mining industry all over the world, the British mining industry is exceptionally hard hit by the everdeepening economic crisis. The rationalisation measures introduced by the Labour Government's Coal Mines Act of 1930 have not been able to stop the rot. Official figures show that 344,000 miners are now unemployed; while in 1930 unemployment in the coalfields averaged 20%, at the beginning of 1932 it had risen to over 28%, and is still rising. Wages have been cut during this period in three coalfields, Scotland, South Wales and Cumberland, where fiercely-fought strikes have taken place; and the owners' drive against wages and conditions in individual pits has reached an unprecedented intensity. At the same time exports, which the 1930 Act was intended to encourage, by the production quota and price-fixing arrangements it operated, have crashed; in 1931 they were only two-thirds of the 1929 level, and are still dropping steadily.

But the rationalisation schemes that have been operated under the 1930 Act, though the section of the Act dealing with "re-organisation" (i. e. monopolisation) of the coal industry has only been half-heartedly applied, have enabled many coalowners to snatch profit where before they were making losses. Indeed, other capitalists have complained that the coal industry has been during this period artificially favoured at the expense of other industries. For example last year coal companies' profits in South Wales amounted to £954,458; in Scotland nine of the biggest coal companies made



an aggregate profit of £268,817, and in Yorkshire ten coal companies made an aggregate profit of £460,846.

This, then, is the situation in which the reformist leaders of the Miners' Federation have betrayed the miners: and the betrayal is actually a far more calculated and planned one than simply the swinging of the vote at the delegate conference over the issue of the Government's Bill. For that Bill itself was the outcome of prolonged negotiations between the Government, the coalowners and the leaders of the Miners' Federation. One of the most prominent coalowners, Evan Williams, for many years president of the Mining Association (the coalowners' organisation), has publicly said that

"in the discussions the coalowners had had with the Miners' Federation, the miners' representatives had realised that the 7½ hour day must be continued... There was no difference of opinion between them in regard to the length of the working day at the present time or for a long time in the future".

When the Government's new Coal Mines Bill was introduced in the House of Commons the line of "opposition" adopted by the miners' M.P.s and the Labour Party leaders was revealing. While they were naturally compelled to speak in favour of the seven-hour day (a cool piece of hypocrisy, since the Labour Government in 1930 had legalised the 7½ hour day) and to recite facts about profits and wages (as, for instance, the contrast between the coal industry's total profit of £3,300,000 last year and the fact that Durham miners' wages are only 20% above pre-war level while the cost of living is 43% above), they showed that on fundamentals they were in agreement with the Government and the coalowners.

For example, the keynote of the **Labour Party's amendment** to the Coal Mines Bill was its criticism that the Bill "ignores the urgent necessity for re-organisation under national control in order to re-instate the coal industry in the economic life of the nation". The speeches of **Lansbury**, the leader of the Labour Party, and **Aneurin Bevan**, the principal speaker among the miners' M.P.s, were devoted mainly to arguing in favour of the compulsory (capitalist) re-organisation of the coal industry, along the lines set out in the Coal Mines Act of 1930.

We have already seen what in fact the Act of 1930 has brought to the miners; the Lansburys and Bevans wish the Act to be carried through even more sweepingly, they wish the coal industry to be "re-organised" into a complete capitalist monopoly, regulated by the capitalist State. And the aim of this monopoly is to be a still more fierce fight for foreign markets against the coal industries of other countries, with all that that implies in the drive to war.

Bevan said:—

"State policies in other coal-producing countries must be met by a State policy in Great Britain. He was not suggesting that this country could get back the whole of the 98,000,000 tons of coal exports which it had lost, but he claimed that it was possible to get back a substantial portion of it.

"But the only way to do that was to face the coal-producing countries of Europe with the same competitive weapons which they possessed."

Bevan's speech was echoed by Conservative speakers, who also demanded "effective re-organisation" of the coal industry and an export levy to assist competition on foreign markets. It is hardly necessary to add that Bevan's speech is really one in favour of wage reductions, since the "competitive weapons" possessed by other European coal-producing countries include notably wage-cuts—as in **Poland**, with the arbitration award of last January, which specifically cut wages in Dombrowa and Upper Silesia in order to compensate for lowered export prices.

Leaders like this, it is once again made clear, have betrayed in their very bones; but it is eloquent of the state of feeling among the miners that only after tremendous efforts was the leadership able to get the **delegate conference of the Miners' Federation** to accept the betrayal. The conference, which met in London on May 31, first passed a resolution condemning the Government's Bill and after keen discussions was compelled to adjourn, so strong was the opposition to the Bill. On the next day, and only after the leaders had used all their arts (as Ebby Edwards, the secretary, frankly admitted in a press interview), in the face of tremendous opposition,

was the resolution for betrayal carried by the narrow majority of 278,000 votes to 239,000.

This resolution merely instructs the Executive Committee "to negotiate with the Government on the question of strengthening the Coal Mines National Industrial Board" (an arbitration body which has already shown its ability to cut wages), and "calls upon the Government to ratify the Geneva convention on the hours of work underground" (a precious substitute for the surrendered 7 hour day!).

But while the delegate conference was sitting in London, it was receiving resolutions and telegrams from miners' lodges and from groups of miners in pits in **Durham** and **Northumberland** demanding a fight for the seven-hour day; in **South Wales** 12 lodges have repudiated the previous negotiations of the officials and the two biggest districts of the South Wales Miners' Federation, containing 100 lodges, have demanded a special South Wales conference to discuss organising the fight for the seven-hour day and against the wage-cuts that were operated in South Wales by the Schiller arbitration award. The South Wales Miners' Executive have refused to convoke this conference, although the Union rules require them to do so.

A tremendous task faces the **Communist Party** and the **Miners' Minority Movement** in harnessing the mass discontent in the coalfields and organising a determined mass fight for the 7 hour day and no wage cuts. The "**Daily Worker**", wrote after the conference's betrayal,

"the miners are not defeated. The fight for 'Seven Hours and No Cuts' must continue to be waged in the pits. The building of pit committees and the organisation of a united front in the pits for action is the job before every militant".

"In every lodge the cry should go up against the Government's Bill and for a national ballot on the question of strike action."

"The miners are facing the fight of their lives, and the result of it will affect the bread and butter of all workers."

A rank and file miners' conference in Scotland is being called on July 2, by the United Mineworkers of Scotland (the Red Union) and in the principal centres of the other coalfields rank-and-file miners' conferences are being called by the Miners' Minority Movement, which is campaigning under these slogans:

Repudiate the M.F.G.B. Decision! Down With the Government's New Bill! Demand Special Meetings! Insist on a Ballot! Build Up All-in Pit Committees to Prepare for strike on July 8! For the Seven-Hour Day Without Wage Cuts!

## Big Events Impending in Yugoslavia.

By B. Boshkovitch.

The hopeless situation of the fascist dictatorship in Yugoslavia compelled it to employ the most brutal terror, which in turn roused against it ever broader sections of the population (the total result of two years of white terror is 104 political murders, over 10,000 political arrests, more than 3000. political prisoners).

Under these conditions, with the sharpening of the general economic crisis, especially of the agrarian crisis, the revolutionary movement began to spread, whilst the social basis of the fascist military dictatorship became ever narrower.

The big bourgeoisie now resorted to a manoeuvre which should rescue the dictatorship. On September 3, 1931, a "Constitution" was proclaimed, which was intended to serve as a new instrument for deceiving and oppressing the working people in town and country.

But even this manoeuvre was unable to check the growing crisis. The fascist dictatorship was compelled to seek more energetically for a way out of the crisis by shifting all burdens on to the working masses and feverishly preparing for war.

In the first half of April there followed a fresh attempt to escape from the crisis by means of a manoeuvre. The government of General Zivkovitch resigned and was followed by the Marinkovitch government.

The change of government was in part brought about by the refusal of the French Bourse to grant new credits to Yugoslavia. France had granted loans to Yugoslavia mainly for war purposes; for the building of strategic railways and for fresh armaments. On the other hand, French imperialism is more and more urgently insisting on the ruling bourgeoisie effecting a conciliation with the Serbian, Croat and Slovenian bourgeois

opposition parties. French imperialism is urging the bourgeois parties along this path in order to create a broader national basis for the anti-Soviet front.

As a result of the intensification and deepening of the agrarian crisis and of national oppression the whole country has of late been swept to an increasing extent by peasant revolts. Peasant revolts have broken out in numerous Croat villages. Hunger riots of the peasants are also taking place in Bosnia. In Priador 2000 peasants plundered food stores.

In Derwent it came to a revolutionary peasant demonstration. Not far from Banianluka, bloody collisions occurred between the gendarmerie and the peasants, resulting in 3 killed and 7 wounded. On the day of the burial of the victims the peasant population of 20 villages followed the coffins, so that the funeral procession assumed the form of a powerful demonstration against the fascist regime.

In the district of Mostar the peasant disturbances assumed such a character that martial law was declared and the garrison of Mostar mobilised. In Tusla the peasants, after a bloody collision with the police, organised a partisan detachment 200 strong which established connection with other partisans in Bosnia.

In Dalmatia, where even today remnants of feudalism are still to be found, the position has become exceedingly acute in connection with the peasants' disturbances. According to Czechoslovakian press reports, 30 villages in Dalmatia rebelled. The revolt lasted several days.

Big peasant disturbances are also reported from Slovenia. Unrest among the peasantry has also broken out in Macedonia. On May 2, the peasants in Skopolje seized the estate of a big agrarian and parcelled it out.

In Serbia, as a result of enforced collection of taxes, it frequently came to collisions between the police and the working peasants. On April 30, 10,000 working peasants from numerous villages in the district of Kragujevac held a mass meeting against enforced collection of taxes and for the cancellation of the peasants' debts. Three peasants were killed and very many wounded in the collisions with the police.

In connection with these outbreaks wholesale arrests of peasants are taking place throughout the country. The persecuted peasants flee into the mountains where they form themselves into bands and conduct an obstinate fight against the gendarmerie.

In spite of the fearful repression of the Croats, Slovenians and Macedonians, the movement for national freedom is growing. In Slovenia, the people organised a mass demonstration on May 8, on the occasion of the 60th birthday of the leader of the Slovenian People's Party, A. Koroshez, against the present fascist regime and for a free, independent Slovenia. In connection with national holidays it has come to big demonstrations in Zagreb, Virovitica, Spalato, Senj, Varasdin and Koprivnica, for a free independent Croatia. In the course of these demonstrations collisions with the police occurred.

The revolutionary upsurge in the country has also met with a response among the students' youth. In Belgrade it even came to barricade fights between the students and the police, whereupon the government closed the Belgrade university until May 15.

The revolutionary ferment has also spread to the army. In Maribor, Zagreb and other garrison towns, numerous arrests have been carried out among the officers and non-commissioned officers in connection with the discovery of a secret organisation of the officers ("Black hand"). The aim of this organisation is the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship and the proclamation of a Yugoslavian federal Republic. In Maribor, 21 officers and non-commissioned officers were arrested. The government has ordered a general purging of the officers' corps. All "unreliable officers are being expelled from the army. Only Serbians are appointed to leading positions.

The foreign press is compelled to record the growth of the revolutionary feeling and activity of the working class. In spite of the terror, Communist leaflets and appeals were distributed in great quantities on May-Day.

The increased revolutionary upsurge has had a palpable effect on the Stock-Exchange. Government securities dropped from 450 to 225 Dinars, and then suffered a further drop to 167 Dinars. Agrarian mortgages have fallen from 32 to 20 Dinars. The financial crisis has become more acute. The "First Saving Bank of Croatia", founded in 1848 and having

50 branches in the whole country, has collapsed. It has drawn with it the Credit Bank in Stara Pasow and the Credit Bank in Vinica, which have also ceased payment. The largest bank of Slovenia, the Ljublan Credit Bank with 16 branches, is also bankrupt.

As a result of the disastrous deepening of the economic crisis and the complete collapse of the economic policy of the dictatorship, which is clearly shown in the abolition of the grain monopoly and the cessation of payment in foreign valuta by the national bank, there are again rumours in political circles of an approaching alteration in the composition of the government. The former deputies of the Radic party, Preka and Zibenic, who had capitulated to the fascist dictatorship and entered the Zivkovitch government, have now resigned, giving as a reason that they do not agree with the policy of Serbian centralism carried out by the Prime Minister Marinkovitch.

The international imperialists are very much disturbed by the present situation in Yugoslavia. French diplomacy demands the union of all bourgeois forces in Yugoslavia under the hegemony of the monarchy. Writing in the English journal "Royal Institute of Foreign Affairs", Seaton Watson, a person well informed on Yugoslavian affairs, states that the Pan-Serbian dynasty of Karageorgevitch is in great danger. According to Watson, the fascist regime has proved incapable of preparing Yugoslavia for the solution of the great tasks in the sphere of international politics.

The bourgeoisie want to find a way out of the impasse by means of fresh manoeuvres. According to the Italian paper "Corriere della Sera", a part of the Serbian bourgeoisie which hitherto stood for the system of Pan-Serbian centralism, has now decided in favour of the system of federalism. The conference of the Serbian oppositional parties is engaged at the present time in drawing up a platform for converting Yugoslavia into a federated State with 3 or 4 main centres. This new orientation on the part of the Serbian bourgeoisie is a manoeuvre for the purpose of saving the monarchy in Yugoslavia.

The events in Yugoslavia show that the growing discontent of broad masses of toilers is beginning to break through all the barriers of the fascist dictatorship, that the foundation of this dictatorship is cracking and splitting.

Under these conditions the Communist Party of Yugoslavia has made it its most important task, by active participation in all mass actions of the workers in the factories, in the villages and barracks, to secure the common united struggle of the workers, peasants and toilers and of the suppressed peoples and the leading role of the working class in this struggle. In spite of the brutal terror of the fascist dictatorship the Communist Party will continue to expose all leaders of the petty-bourgeois opposition parties who attempt to seize the leadership of the growing movement of the masses in order to render the masses leaderless.

## GERMANY

### The Government Crisis in Germany.

Leading Article of "Pravda" of June 3, 1932.

The Brüning government has resigned. In the 26 months during which the Brüning was in office, unemployment in Germany according to official statistics, increased from 3,100,000 to 6,100,000; the number of unemployed in receipt of unemployment benefit has been reduced from 68 to 26 per cent; rates of benefit have been reduced; the wages of employed workers have been reduced by 33 per cent; the average weekly wage of an industrial worker, taking into account the losses through unemployment and tax deductions, has declined from 42.20 Marks to 22.45 Marks.

In the 26 months of the Brüning government, milliards of mark squeezed out of the starving masses were played into the hands of the big bankers, the heavy industrialists and the Prussian junkers in order to salvage their bankrupt undertakings and big estates. This is the social countenance of the policy of the Brüning government, this government of emergency decrees and expropriation of the toilers in the interest of the capitalists.

Crisis and unemployment are driving German capitalism to a catastrophe; the burden of reparations bars any way out from the crisis by means of successful competition on the world market. The conference in Lausanne, which allegedly is

to solve the reparations question, will not and can not bring the solution which is necessary to the German bourgeoisie.

The German bourgeoisie still sees in the "high" wages of the workers and the "unbearable burden" of social expenditure as the cause of the extreme accentuation of the economic crisis. The Brüning government, supported by the social democracy, had not the necessary forces at its disposal in order to carry out a fresh open robber-campaign against the working class by means of the State apparatus. The Brüning government also did not possess the necessary authority among the leaders of the German bourgeoisie in order to represent its interest at the Lausanne Conference. Hence it was compelled to resign and to give place to another government, which will attempt to solve the "accursed problems" of the German bourgeoisie with more brutal means.

Brüning is replaced by his colleague of the Catholic Centre Party, the big landowner Franz von Papen, the biggest shareholder of "Germania", who during the war was military attaché in Washington.

The new government will be a government of heavy industry and of the junkers, with the closest co-operation of the Reichswehr generals, who have in their hands all the means of terror for suppressing the resistance of the toilers.

The government reminds us of the time of Wilhelm II, not only because it is composed of representatives of the same classes which were in power before the November revolution, but also by reason of its composition. It bases itself upon the million army of the followers of the national socialist fascist party; in addition to the Reichswehr and the police, in its fight against the masses it makes use of the fascist fighting organisations, this monster born of the general crisis of capitalism.

The Brüning government, with the assistance of the social democracy, has prepared this national socialist basis for the Papen-Schleicher Government. The national socialists are already in power in Brunswick, Hesse, Oldenburg, Anhalt and Mecklenburg; they play a decisive role in the senates of the "free" towns of Bremen and Danzig; they are about to take over power in Prussia and Württemberg. They are conducting negotiations for entering the Bavarian government.

Thus we perceive a peculiar relation of forces, resulting in the "non-party" Reichs government of the generals, junkers and industrialists being supported by the national socialist provincial governments, which have at their disposal a tremendous fascist party and fighting apparatus.

There is not the least doubt that the social democracy will also "tolerate" the Papen-Schleicher government as the "lesser evil" against an eventual Hitler government, as a "lawful" and constitutional government. The social democrats are already now endeavouring to prove that its policy of support of Hindenburg's candidature was correct, for Hindenburg has ensured the "lawful" and "constitutional" character of the new government. The character of the new government can be seen from the fact that General von Schleicher is one of its prominent members, through whom, as the "Bayerische Volkspartei Korrespondenz" of May 18 writes, public opinion in Germany and abroad is brought into connection with those tendencies which intend by means of the Reichswehr to exert an unconstitutional, impermissible pressure upon the political development in Germany.

All these facts, as well as the participation of Hindenburg's "confidants" (Meißner, Schacht etc.) in the setting up of the new government, show that this government will lead Germany immediately to a fascist dictatorship.

The toiling masses of Germany are faced with a government of open reaction, whose programme contains an unexampled enslavement of the toiling masses.

The basis of the programme of the new government in regard to home politics will be the ruthless further offensive against the working masses. It is clear already now that one of the first and most important measures of this government will be the abolition of unemployment insurance and the transference of the unemployed who still receive unemployment benefit, to poor law relief, which will, however, not be guaranteed owing to the catastrophic financial situation of the municipalities. It is clear already now that one of the most important measures of this new government will be further wage reductions and the abolition of the collective agreements. It is precisely these inner-political measures which induced the German bourgeoisie to discard at the present moment the direct support of the social democracy and the reformist trade unions, which could only give this support at the same time by risking

the loss of their whole influence over the masses. The German bourgeoisie has decided to replace deceit as the chief means of suppressing the resistance of the masses and maintaining its class rule, by terror as the chief means for achieving the same aims.

Whether the German bourgeoisie will succeed in carrying out this plan and thus to find a way out of the crisis—this will depend on the German proletariat.

The events of the last days and the taking over of office by the Papen-Schleicher government show to the working masses the shameful deceit of the social democratic party and of the reformist trade union bureaucracy. Under these conditions it is more than ever necessary to set up the united front of the Communist, social democratic, christian and unorganised workers for the fight against fascism and reaction, against wage cuts and the abolition of unemployment benefit.

In foreign politics also the Papen-Schleicher government is confronted with complicated and difficult tasks. The new German government has to go to Lausanne in order to fight there for Germany's place in the capitalist sun. Rumours are current according to which the nationalist circles of Germany are bargaining behind the scenes with big industrialist circles of France. The position of the French bourgeoisie, however, is not so good that it can renounce the reparations payments and allow Germany the right to increase its armaments. No pro-Frenchism of one or the other German politician can induce the French bourgeoisie to abandon its policy in regard to Poland. The Versailles system cannot be abolished by any negotiations in Lausanne, Geneva or Paris.

The new German government will also have to take into account that nationalist sentiment which has driven many millions of petty bourgeois in the towns, peasants and even individual workers into Hitler's camp. These millions voted at the Presidential and Prussian elections not so much for Hitler as against France and Poland. German nationalist sentiment is being daily outraged by attacks upon the right of self-determination of the German people on various sectors of the German frontiers. The Foreign Committee of the Reichstag has been already compelled to adopt sharp resolutions against Poland and Lithuania on account of Memel and Danzig. All this shows that the attempts to arrive at an understanding with France will be futile, that the nationalist government will only bring about a further accentuation of all the foreign political antagonisms of Germany, before all its antagonism to Poland and France.

The formation of the government of "national concentration" is not a symptom of strength but of weakness of capitalist Germany. It means a shrinking of the social basis of the Reichs government which today is compelled to employ sharper weapons for the suppression of the toiling masses.

Germany was, and remains a centre of revolutionary ferment in Europe. The Communist Party of Germany, the only organiser of the toiling masses against the fascist terror, clearly recognises its tremendous responsibility at the present moment and is undertaking a regrouping of its forces on the basis of the united front with the social democratic workers for a successful fight to win the majority of the working class, for the fight against the fascist dictatorship, for the fight for the proletarian revolution.

## Appeal of the C. C. of the Communist Party of Germany.

*The Berlin "Rote Fahne" of June 6, published an appeal issued by the C.C. of the Communist Party of Germany, the main contents of which we publish below:*

### To the German working class!

The united front of exploiters, captains of industry, bankers and big agrarians has set up through Reichs President Hindenburg a government of the blackest fascist reaction. The seed which has been sown by Brüning and the social democracy for more than two years has sprung up. That which the Communists foretold to the German proletariat has come about. thanks to the social democratic lackeys of reaction there has been born, out of the emergency order dictatorship of Brüning, Braun and Severing, the rule of the Reichswehr camarilla, the government of junkers, generals and captains of industry. . . .

Capitalist mismanagement and the Versailles slavery have brought Germany to ruin. If the German working people want to live, the capitalist chaos, the accursed capitalist "order" must fall.

In the last three years 30,000 million marks have been taken from the wages and salaries of the working people by the ruling class.

But this robber campaign against the workers is not enough for the exploiters. They want to increase the misery of the masses still more. The lash of hunger is to fall still more brutally on the backs of the suffering masses!

For the Papen Government, the capitalist taxation policy hitherto conducted is "State socialism", and the State "a poor law institution". They want to exceed a hundredfold the social reaction hitherto prevailing. The Papen Government commences its existence with an incitement against the "class struggle", against so-called "cultural Bolshevism", against "Marxist ideas".

This challenge means nothing else but that all the rights of the proletariat are to be torn up and trodden underfoot.

The Papen Government threatens the working class and all toilers with the military dictatorship. . . .

The conspiracy with Adolf Hitler is already concluded, even the paper prohibition of the fascist murder bands, of the storm detachments, is to be withdrawn shortly. . . .

Millions of subventions for heavy industry, fresh monstrous cuts in wages, fresh reductions of the salaries of the lower officials and employees, destruction of social insurance and collective agreements, extortionate taxes against the suffering middle class, starvation-existence for the millions of unemployed—that is the policy of trust-capital towards the toilers in the towns!

We charge the Papen Government before the German class, before all toilers in town and country, with planning to prohibit the Communist Party of Germany. The whole of the German working class, the millions of toilers in town and country, as answer to this intended crime, to this blow which is being prepared against their Party, must fight this government of black fascist reaction. . . .

We accuse the Papen Government and its national socialist henchmen of using their "national" phrases solely for the purpose of diverting the masses from the class struggle, solely to facilitate the capitalist starvation offensive, that in reality they no more think of shaking the Versailles Treaty than do the social democratic politicians.

Only one force is fighting against the tribute slavery: the revolutionary proletariat under the leadership of the Communists, which with its seizure of power in Germany, following the example of the Soviet Union, will declare all imperialist slave treaties null and void.

The Hitler party is inciting to war against the Soviet Union. Together with the generals, with the reactionary crowd of jesuits, with the social democratic war inciters of the II. International, the leaders of the Hitler party are beating the war drums against the only country which has not recognised the Versailles Treaty and has always stood by the German toilers in their fight against the imperialist slavery, against the Soviet Union.

The Hitler party is fighting for armoured cruisers and insane armaments.

Whilst millions in Germany are suffering hunger, the Hitler party goes begging along with the generals, junkers and armament kings, for the right to arm, the right to bombing-planes and tanks, poison-gas shells and other achievements of imperialist murder technique, for the right to build more armoured cruisers with the taxes wrung out of the working people.

Hitler fascism must never take over government power in Germany. The terrorist bands of the Nazis must never set up their bloody regime over the German proletariat.

The Communist Party of Germany summons the millions of class conscious workers, of the toilers in town and country, to the fighting red united front of the "anti-fascist action". . . .

The policy of the social democratic party has prepared the way for the reactionary course of the bourgeoisie, has lifted the most reactionary politicians, the junkers and generals into the saddle. The policy of the social democratic party seeks even today to paralyse and disintegrate the mass fight of the workers. . . .

Class comrades! Close your ranks for the extra-Parliamentary mass fight against fascism, against hunger, against imperialist war! Organise the powerful red mass self-defence! Prepare for the political mass strike! Form the invincible battalions of the million-front of the "anti-fascist action"!

Conduct the election struggle for the approaching Reichstag elections as part of the mass fight under the slogan of the red united front and the "anti-fascist action"!

Rally round the Party, which is the only anti-fascist leader and the only anti-capitalist party, the only party of the millions of unemployed, the only party of real fight against Versailles and the Young Plan, the only party of the revolutionary way out of the crisis, the only party of Socialism! Rally round the Communist Party of Germany! . . .

Fight with us for your demands! Fight against the war inciters, against the militarist armament politicians, against those who aim at a new imperialist mass murder, for the defence of the Soviet Union. Fight for the overthrow of the government of captains of industry, of junkers and generals. Fight for the workers' and peasants' government! Not a vote to the parties of fascist reaction and its agents! Not a vote to the Nazis, the German nationalists, the social democracy and the Centre!

All votes to the Communist Party of Germany, the party of fight for the social and national emancipation of the German toilers!

For the poor against the rich—all votes for List 3.  
Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany.

## FASCISM IN GERMANY

### The National Socialist German Workers Party.

By Hans Jaeger (Berlin).

#### II.

#### The Organisation.

As yet we have dealt only with the whippers-in of the fascist movement. It is now necessary to take a look at their apparatus, at the party machinery, for this is one of the factors of political success or failure. The fascist organisation is different from the other bourgeois parties and the Social Democratic Party in that it has nothing of the comfortable social character of these organisations and instead is strictly disciplined, firmly organised and that apparently no differences of opinion with the leadership is tolerated. Organisationally considered, much has been copied direct from the Communist Party, but of course, there is a fundamental difference. The main principle of the fascist organisational structure is that Adolf Hitler is "the leader", that he is in possession of dictatorial powers and that he is regarded as infallible. Hitler nominates the secondary leaders below him.

However, it must be pointed out that much of this is apparent only. The strictest discipline did not prevent the two mutinies which took place in the fascist storm detachments, the one in September 1930 when **Otto Strasser** broke away from the party, and the other in April 1931 when **Captain Stennes** broke away with sections of the storm detachments. In a party whose only organisational principle is that of the strictest military discipline, such happenings as the "strike" in connection with the appointment of the hall marshals in the Sport Palace prior to the Reichstag elections in 1930, and the storming of the Berlin Bureau of the fascist organisation, ought never to have occurred. Another astonishing fact is that Hitler felt himself compelled to negotiate with the mutineers, to promise them a percentage of the party takings, consideration in the appointment of parliamentary candidates, and to make other concessions. This fact speaks volumes. The discipline of the fascist organisation is not the voluntary discipline of those who subordinate themselves to it in the interests of a joint aim, but the Cadaver discipline of mercenaries who look to their leader and hope for an improvement in their situation from him, and who grumble and revolt when their pay is less than they had hoped. A second interesting factor is the appearance of class antagonisms in the fascist organisation, those antagonisms which Hitler is out to abolish, but which he is compelled to observe springing up in his own organisation. What were the chief complaints of the mutineers? They objected to the obvious corruption in leading places, to the elegant and luxurious motor-cars of Hitler and Goebbels, to the pompous and ostentatious luxury which the fascist headquarters, the so-called Brown House in Munich, was equipped at the expense of many millions of Marks, whilst the members of the storm detachments did duty in all winds and weathers and had the pleasure (before the revolt) of meeting their expenses out of their own pockets.

Quite apart from these revolts, the discipline in the fas-



cist party is to a considerable extent on paper only. Wide differences of opinion are tolerated in the fascist organisation whose crazy quilt nature has already been shown. There is Count Reventlow with his Eastern Orientation idea, which is considered as his personal fad, there is Goebbels whose demagogic acrobatics with a view to winning the workers often repulse bourgeois elements, there is Rosenberg with his vicious attacks on the Catholic Church. In the ranks there is discipline, liable to be thrown overboard at need, and in the ranks of the leaders there is intrigue on a wide scale and a game being played with divided roles which is tolerated as long as possible with a view to offering all classes and sections of the population something which appeals to them and thus drawing masses of all sorts to the fascist flag. The leaders of the fascists are apparently blind enough to believe that their organisation will be able to digest all these contradictions. Hitler himself is a prisoner with double chains. On the one hand he is tied to the industrialists on whose money he is dependent and at whose displeasure he trembles at every new action of his storm detachments or of his demagogic leaders in Berlin, and on the other hand he is tied to his secondary leaders who forced him against his will to stand for the post of Reich's President against Hindenburg and who are now busily at work to force him into a coalition government against his will. Hitler lives on phrases in politics and understands just as much of economic matters as any normal petty-bourgeois philistine, but he does understand propaganda, organisation and intrigue, the playing off of one leader against the other. However, there is one thing which is too much for him, and that is the balancing of the class contradictions in his own organisation. The fascist organisation is thus a giant with feet of clay. This does not mean that it may be underestimated with impunity. The fascist apparatus is still intact despite all signs of degeneration, the avalanche is still sliding and it takes time before each lie is recognised.

Let us now take a short look at the organisation itself. Hitler claims that his party has 800,000 members. This apparently includes all who have ever been in the party at any time, those who have since left, those who have since been expelled and those who have since died, etc., in reality the figure would probably be nearer the truth at 600,000. The organisation is divided into twenty-eight districts. The original district is **Bavaria** which is divided into nine independent sub-districts. Since the last mutiny Hitler is not only political leader of the party, but supreme leader of the storm detachments. His Chief-of-Staff is Lieutenant-Colonel Roehm. It is interesting to note that despite all the damaging revelations which have been made concerning Roehm's homo-sexuality, Hitler does not dare to drop the man although this would be in the urgent interests of the organisation. Roehm obviously knows too much. Further, Hitler is glad to have personally compromised people around him because this makes it easier for him to control them. The leader of organisation I, as it is called, is Gregor Strasser who is responsible for the organisation of the party. Strasser's chief assistant is Lieutenant Paul Schulz (this man is said to be the fascist candidate for Police President in Berlin) notorious in connection with the Feme murder cases. Schulz is in control of the fascist press department which is led by Hanfstaengl. This press department maintains connections with German and foreign newspaper (particularly close relations are maintained with the Beaverbrook press in Great Britain, above all with "The Daily Express") and controls the party's own press (the central organ "Voelkischer Beobachter" edited by Rosenberg, the illustrated journal "Illustrierte Beobachter" edited by Esser, the comic weekly "Brennessel" and issues the fascist slogans for the press. Schulz is also in charge of the fascist factory groups which are led by Muchov who runs the organ "The Toilers". Muchov's job is to organise fascist "white" factory groups to counteract the "red" groups of the Communist Party and to support the bosses in the class struggle. A secret circular of this organisation has become known recently, it contains, inter alia, the following recommendations 1. not to indulge in avoidable criticism of the employers, except when they are Jews, and when criticism is unavoidable then to conduct it moderately in order not to incite the workers against the employers; 2. to prevent strikes; 3 to collect the names and addresses of "Marxist", i. e. working class fighters in the factories, and if possible to secure photos of them; 4. to make it clear to the employers that when wage-cuts are necessary a fascist staff is more likely to show understanding

for the economic necessities of the situation than a staff "infected with Marxism"; and 5. in this way to make openings for the employment of unemployed members of the fascist organisation. Referring to this circular the bourgeois democratic "Berliner Tageblatt" declares that it represents a mixture of servility and hypocrisy in excess of anything ever offered by the former "yellow" organisations.

Then there is organisation II whose task it is, according to the fascist leader Schmidt-Pauli, to prepare for the taking over of State power. This organisation is thus a State within the State. The leader of this organisation is Colonel Hierl whose capacities for the job have been demonstrated in the publication of a book entitled, "Fundamentals of a German Military Policy". In this book he opposes General von Seeckt and demands compulsory general military service. Colonel Hierl controls 1. the agrarian department which is led by Darré whose writings give the unbiassed reader the impression that he confuses human beings with prize bulls for breeding purposes, a supporter of complete economic independence who demands colonisation land in the east; 2. the economic department led by Dr. Wagner, a man from the Baltic provinces, a member of a number of employers associations and a Doctor honoris causa as a reward for his services in the struggle against bolshevism; 3. the department for racial preservation and culture (although the name would be better given as unculture and means a struggle against the freethinkers in the spirit of the Centre (Catholic) Party, a theatre censorship, the attempt to force the woman back to mediaeval standards, etc.); 4. the inner-political department; 5. the legal department, under the leadership of lawyer Frank who co-operated in the crushing of the Munich Soviet Republic in the army of General von Epp; 6. the engineering and technical department under the leadership of Gottfried Feder, the publisher of the "National Socialist Library" and the author of the pamphlet "How to break Interest Slavery", the publisher of the fascist party programme. In the heat of the struggle in the Reichstag this Feder attacked Dingeldey, the leader of the German People's Party, and declared that no one had any right to reproach the Fascist Party with "socialist tendencies" which he declared did not exist; 7. the department for compulsory labour service (under the leadership of Lieutenant Schulz); and then there is a Reich's propaganda department created specially as a plum for Dr. Goebbels in order to draw him away from the "renegade" Strasser group which at the time he showed signs of joining. Goebbels is also the editor of the Berlin fascist organ "Der Angriff" ("The Attack"). Then there is a personal office under the leadership of Captain Loeper, a publishing department under the leadership of Max Amann, who took part in the 1923 putsch in Munich and who is particularly hated by the rank and file, a youth department under the leadership of Baldur von Schirach who controls the Hitler Youth Organisation and the students association, and finally an investigation department under Major Buch where the threads of all the intrigues are gathered. The feme organisations, of which there are obviously several which to a certain extent work against each other, are of course not official. There are also some feme groups which work on their own, independent of the party leadership. The fact that during the last weeks of April a feme group was after the life of Hitler's Chief-of-Staff Roehm and that this gentleman was compelled to fly from Munich to Berlin for safety, throws a revealing light on the internal struggle between the leaders and on the morass of corruption, personal ambition and mutual hatred which exists amongst the "saviours and rejuvenators of Germany". It is also an open secret that there is an espionage bureau at work in Berlin by means of which Hitler keeps his eye on Goebbels and the other unreliable elements in Berlin. This bureau in its turn is spied upon by others. Such bureaux also exist in Munich and there is so much overlapping that in many cases it is practically impossible to distinguish friend from foe. Everywhere there are secret groups and organisations working very often for their own hand. Many of these centres maintain close relations with heavy industry, foreign circles and even other parties. This is the organisation which holds the members together with iron bands, feeds them with promises, and represents the last and foolish hope not only of millions of petty-bourgeois and peasants, but also the last hope of the German bourgeoisie.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### Mass Protest Enforces Review of the Scottsboro Case.

By J. Miller (Berlin).

The Supreme Court of the United States has agreed to review the case of the seven Negro boys condemned to the electric chair. This is undoubtedly due to the **mass protest campaign** which has been energetically organised by the **International Red Aid** in all countries.

It would, however, be a dangerous illusion to assume that a new trial removes the danger of the death sentence being carried out. The methods of American class justice are too well known from the Sacco-Vanzetti case in order to deceive anybody. In the Sacco-Vanzetti case the date of the electrocution was again and again postponed. The real purpose of these postponements was to deceive the masses who were roused to indignation against the planned murder of the two revolutionaries and to make them believe that the electrocution would not take place, in order thus to weaken the protest movement.

If in the case of Sacco and Vanzetti the social democrats issued at least platonic declarations of solidarity while at the same time calling upon the masses to believe in the "sense of justice" of the American dollar kings, in the case of the Negro boys they directly take the side of American lynch justice.

On the occasion of **Ada Wright's** (the Negro Mother) tour of Germany to address meetings on behalf of the Negro boys, all the social democratic police presidents forbade her to speak at the meetings. Nay more, she was not even allowed to appear on the platform. When, at the Berlin meeting, **Erich Mühsam**, a well-known writer, stated that this prohibition means solidarity with the brutal American judges, the mass meeting was dissolved by the police. A great number of meetings which had already been called, were forbidden altogether. The social democratic press was silent on this matter. As far as it refers to all to the whole Scottsboro case, it is only to express its direct support of American imperialism. The "People", the organ of the Belgian social democrats, wrote on April 11, as follows:

"... Nay more! This case has a political side which must not be overlooked. The American Communists are making a great fuss of this case of the Scottsboro Negroes in order to increase their propaganda, which is already fairly strong among the Negro population. They have succeeded by their efforts in rousing the interest of local public opinion in this case."

The storm of protest is driving the American bourgeoisie to adopt the most incredible counter-measures. Thus the Public Prosecutor of the State of Alabama, the son of one of the judges who passed the death sentence on the Scottsboro boys, recently informed the Western Union Telegraph agency that from now on the sending of any further protest telegrams would be regarded as a crime. Thereupon the Western Union ceased to forward any more telegrams of protest.

The ordering of a new trial must serve as an occasion to the workers and to all right-thinking people of the whole world to increase the protest campaign. It must be recorded that thousands of prominent intellectuals, including 2000 in Germany alone, have joined in the protest.

The German Red Aid has fixed June 17 as a special fighting day for rescuing the Scottsboro boys.

The German working class, by increasing their fight against their enemies in their own country and mobilising the masses to anti-fascist action, is fighting most effectively against the white terror, against race incitement and lynch justice. It is fully aware of its duty to exercise international solidarity.

\*

New York, 1st June 1932.

The Supreme Court of the United States has agreed to examine the verdict of the court in Scottsboro against the young Negroes sentenced to electrocution on a framed-up charge of rape. The examination will take place in October so that until then at least the Negro boys will not be electrocuted.

## Switzerland Aroused by Scottsboro Negro Mother.

By J. Louis Engdahl.

Geneva, home of the League of Nations, has its workers conscious of their class interests and discontented middle class elements grown cynical and restless before the endless parade of "conferences", that creates nothing but a famine in paper, except that it is an instrument for the mobilisation of international profit against would labour.

This was clearly seen when the Geneva Scottsboro Demonstration voted unanimously for resolutions denouncing the judicial lynching of the nine Negro boys in Alabama.

But greater proof still, when volunteers were called for to take the Scottsboro demands to the American Delegation to the Disarmament Conference more than half the great throng raised their hands.

Geneva workers have been beaten and jailed for their protest actions against the League of Nations, especially at the opening of the present session of the Disarmament Conference, but here the Scottsboro Campaign brought out a new, spontaneous spirit of struggle that will thunder its demands into the ears of the head of Wall Street's delegation, the Southern Senator, Claude O. Swanson, from Virginia, home of savage Jim Crow and other segregation laws, and Hugh Gibson, the American Ambassador to Switzerland.

The Scottsboro Mother, **Ada Wright**, was greeted with the "International" in French in Geneva, just as it had been raised with blazing enthusiasm in the German language in **Zürich**, **Basel**, **Schaffhausen** and **Berne**, but also intermingled everywhere was the Italian language, testimony not only to the Italian section of the Swiss population, but to the large political migration exiled from Italy by the Mussolini fascist terror. Italian speakers everywhere raised the Scottsboro issue in the van of their appeals for greater efforts against the regime of murder against workers over the frontier of Italy nearby.

The Scottsboro Campaign in Switzerland is more than a year old. It started almost immediately with the beginning of the struggle in the United States. Repeated waves of protest, as the date of execution has been postponed from July 10, last year, to April Sixth, to May 13th, and now to June 24th, have mounted higher and higher, but it received new impetus from the tour of the Scottsboro Mother. Scottsboro became to Switzerland a living reality.

The judicial lynchers can expect no abatement of the Scottsboro campaign through their efforts to tire out the protest struggle. Switzerland is typical of Europe, and without doubt of all countries.

The Swiss Section of the International Red Aid (International Labour Defence) leads the struggle. The Committee for the Liberation of the Scottsboro Negro Boys is taking substance. It has the support of the aged author, **Romain Rolland**, although in ill health at his home near Geneva. The campaign is being strengthened in the trade unions, against the opposition of the social-democratic leadership, in cultural organisations, in the workers' sports' organisation that have considerable strength. The Scottsboro Mother, raising the demand for the liberation of her own and the other Scottsboro boys, roused the **children** to action on a ever broader scale and they have pledged themselves to collect the names of 10,000 children immediately and rush them off to President Herbert Hoover, in proletarian competition with the children of Germany, Austria and other countries. In Zürich the Pioneers gathered hundreds of signatures in a few hours before the Scottsboro meeting there. At the meeting itself their spokesman in a rousing greeting to Mrs. Wright announced what they had already accomplished but stated that their aim was not hundreds but thousands of children's signatures and the distribution of literature for a better understanding of the issues involved.

The Swiss Red Aid will raise the Scottsboro issue as it participates in the carrying through of the International Solidarity Day of the Workers' International Relief, June 12th.

The Socialist press meets this growing mass movement with complete silence, the social-democratic officialdom with resistance wherever it appears in workers' organisations, and elected Socialist officials and police agents of the bosses with the mobilisation of the police, as in Zürich, for the defence of the dollar's embassies and consulates against the rising wrath of the working class, as Switzerland responds to the Scottsboro appeal.

## THE WAR

### French Imperialism's War Preparations in Syria.

By Khalaf Ibrahim.

French imperialism has succeeded in suppressing every attempt at opposition in the Mandatory State of Syria by means of an alternative policy of savage suppression and common corruption. It is making intensive preparations for war in this country.

Financed from French sources, conducted by rabid enemies of the Soviet Union, a cleverly staged **press campaign** is already working up public opinion in favour of the intended attack on the Soviet Union. Never have the bourgeois newspapers (for the rest there are only bourgeois newspaper in Syria as the workers' newspapers are strictly prohibited) paid so much attention to a country of which they know very little and which maintains scarcely any relations with Syria. Always corrupt, badly informed, the Syrian press publishes long articles which are graciously delivered to it and which deal with various branches of activity of the Soviet Union. It would be ridiculous to seek to investigate the origin of the material employed in this fierce campaign. The pitiable ignorance of the Syrian newspapers, which are always full of stupid errors and blunders, suffices in order to prove that everything which they publish regarding the Soviet Union originates not from themselves.

Supported by its anti-Soviet press campaign, French imperialism is continuing its military preparations. For many weeks past large-scale manoeuvres have been going on in Syria in which all army units participate. At the same time the Mediterranean squadron is visiting the Syrian waters and carrying out big manoeuvres in conjunction with the army air forces. The district of **Ante-Lebanon**, of the Turkish frontier and **Deir El Zor** are the scene of feverish military operations; everywhere Lebanon gunners, Syrian and foreign

legionaries, Senegal, Algerian and Annamite gunners, tanks, aeroplanes and machine guns are employed.

Naive people might believe that this is merely a case of simple manoeuvres. But the recent visits of heads of the **British** air forces of **Iraq** and **India** to the **French** General Staffs in **Syria** and the recent arrival of General **Naulin**, member of the Supreme War Council, suffice in order to show the plans of French and British imperialism. General Naulin is personally visiting the smallest and most remote military posts, and is subjecting them to the most strict inspection. In Kamichli near Deir El Zor, a position of small importance, General Naulin stayed three days. The choice of Deir El Zor as the centre-point for manoeuvres is, for the rest, significant. It is from this territory, bordering on Turkey, that the French and British imperialists wish to attack the **Trans-Caucasian Soviet Republic**. The present operations of the **French** army in **Syria** are only the continuation of corresponding operations of the **British** forces in **Iraq** and in **India**.

The starving workers and peasants of Syria, victims of shameful exploitation and, thanks to French imperialism, enslaved by the feudal landowners and the bourgeoisie of their own country, find a possibility of existence only by joining the French army of the Levante. Even the petty bourgeois, the small landowners, employees, who have been ruined or deprived of their work, are streaming in masses into the military schools, in which a certain measure of luxury is offered them at the cost of the working masses of Syria. Syria, which for five centuries suffered under the yoke of the Turks and which during the twelve years of the French mandate has been morally and materially ruined, is now threatened with complete annihilation by being converted into a huge military base in which the population of Syria is to take part in war and pay the cost of war.

Air ports (**Tripoli**), air bases (**Beirut, Lattaquié**), huge bridges (**Deir El Zor**), exclusively for military purposes, have been built at the cost of the working masses of Syria in order to serve the war against the Soviet Union.

The working people of Syria, together with the working people of France and the rest of the world, will increase the fight against the war preparations of the imperialists and for the defence of the Soviet Union.

## International Solidarity Day against War and Intervention

### Class Solidarity against War.

By Maxim Gorki.

*Maxim Gorki has sent the following article to the Workers International Relief on the occasion of the approaching Solidarity and Anti-war Day of the W.I.R. on June 12th.*

There is taking place in the world two processes: a part of the proletariat, which possesses a strong political consciousness, is striving, in accordance with the teachings of Marx and Lenin, to unite the proletariat of the whole world.

The capitalists sow international enmity and hatred. The proletariat united by the III. International wishes to abolish in the whole world the senseless exploitation of its labour power; it wants to abolish the "idiotic" order which inevitably results in overproduction of food and various commodities and starvation of millions of workers. The capitalists want to carry on trade. They want to carry on trade after having eliminated millions of workers with their wives and children from the ranks of the buyers—millions who have no money in order to procure bread and clothing. In the last resort, they all carry on trade with the blood of the workers and the brains of the intellectuals. This trade inevitably drives the capitalists of all countries into war against each other. As is known, they conduct war with the forces and the hands of the same workers and peasants. At the present time France is the country which is chiefly sowing hatred in the capitalist world. It is possible that in the coming war the bourgeoisie of France will be beaten, vanquished by the power of the armed proletariat of other European States. Then some other conqueror will take

the place of France, who will then in turn become the centre point of the hatred of the vanquished bourgeoisie, will again sow international enmity. The enmity will again however lead to a blood-bath, as this always was and inevitably will be, if...

If the whole mass of the European workers do not clearly perceive in what a criminal circle the capitalists have enclosed them—the will of a tiny handful of people inspired by a morbid greed to enrich themselves out of the blood of the working people.

The capitalists sow enmity in the world and thereby poison the proletariat. I have heard that many German workers, and allegedly even "Communists", voted for their class enemy Hitler out of hatred towards France. As a matter of fact, however, they voted against the workers of France, just as in the year 1914, when the social traitors induced them to vote for the credits for the fratricidal bloodbath. But not only the workers of Germany act so naively, to put it mildly, not only the proletarians of Germany help the capitalists to draw the noose tighter round their necks.

The object of the particularly savage hatred of the bourgeoisie of Europe and America is the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, in which capitalism has been abolished and where the workers and peasants, under the leadership of the Party of Lenin, are the complete masters of the country. For 15 years the Party of Lenin has shown the capitalists what power and talent lie hidden in the proletarian masses; and the capitalists themselves are beginning to see that the working class are governing the country incomparably better and more

intelligently than they. With this recognition, however, the hatred of the bourgeoisie increases against the socialist State. The anarchic "laws" of competition do not permit the robbers and exploiters of labour power to unite in order to deal a common blow against the advance-guard of the world proletariat. Nevertheless, the industrial bandits are uninterruptedly endeavouring to organise for an attack on the Soviet Union, just as they are uninterruptedly striving to call forth a hostile attitude to the Soviet Union among the workers and intellectuals. The campaigns of lies and calumnies in the press do not achieve their aim; the truth is too obvious; it is becoming more and more evident, and even the gutter press of the bourgeoisie cannot obscure it. During the last year or so the bourgeoisie has resorted to political scandals, to terror. The working class and also the intellectuals display an unintelligible indifference towards these provocations. The proletariat of France must not tolerate in its country the bands of Russian adventurers, the bands from whose ranks the bourgeois government recruits its spies, criminals and murderers. It is scarcely in the interest of the French proletariat that there exist in France military organisations of Russian emigrants, defenders of capitalism and enemies of the Soviet Union.

The international mutual aid of the workers must bear not only an economic but also a political character. In any case, it must not find expression in such a tolerant attitude towards international adventurers as the Russian emigrants are, who are prepared to do anything in return for a Judas fee. The political charlatan Kerenski, who lives in Paris, publishes with the aid of French workers a miserable rag and writes in it about the "cheek and impudence" of the "Humanité", the organ of the proletariat. And the proletariat tolerates such attacks. A strange tolerance!

It is known that England is the "friend of the enslaved and oppressed" as Gladstone said—and the Indians know that very well. I have heard that the English, out of considerations of humanity, willingly supply the bandits of Central Asia with rifles and cartridges. These bandits, however, make raids into the frontier districts of the Soviet Union, devastate the collective farms of Turkmenistan and Usbekistan, kill the people who have freed themselves from slavery and who are therefore hated by the slaveholders. The proletarians of England must consider how far this kind of humanitarian activity lies in their interest.

It is quite clear how great the role of the working class can be in regard to the question of disarmament. It is of greater importance however, that the proletariat realises that it must prepare with its reason and its hands for the last decisive fight, the fight for rule over the whole world.

## Austrian C. P. Issues Appeal against War.

Vienna, 26th May 1932.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Austria has issued an appeal against the threatening imperialist war on the Soviet Union in which it calls on the social democratic workers to join hands with their communist fellow workers in the factories and to hold factory meetings to deal with the war danger and express their readiness to defend the Soviet Union. "We propose joint demonstrations to the social democratic workers against the sabotage of the trading negotiations with the Soviet Union. We propose to them that they elect with us in all important factories and on the railways united front committees to control whether the Austrian bourgeoisie attempts to supply the anti-Soviet armies with war materials, and to oppose any such attempts with mass protests, demonstrations, organised mass actions and any other measures which may appear feasible, including the strike weapon."

## Further Support for Anti-War Congress.

Paris, 1st June 1932.

The International Anti-War Committee for the preparation of the International Anti-War Congress in Geneva is receiving letters of support from all circles. **Victor Margueritte** has expressed his intention of working for the

success of the congress in a letter he has sent to the committee. A letter has also been received from **Upton Sinclair** in which he declared that everything possible must be done to prevent the international capitalists attacking the Soviet Union. Further letters of support have been received from **Georges Pioch**, **Roger Francque**, the **League for Peace and Freedom** and many other individuals and organisations.

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### Plenary Session of C. P. of Austria.

Vienna, 30th May 1932.

A two days plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Austria has just taken place. It discussed the results of the party work and the significance of the elections on the 24th April. The session pointed out that the result of the elections showed communist progress, but that the Party had not yet succeeded in winning masses of the social democratic workers. The Party had made no progress with regard to the leadership of independent economic struggles. The decision of the November plenary session condemning the idea that action would be the result of spontaneous activity on the part of the masses, had been practically ignored by the Party, the Young Communist League and the revolutionary trade union movement. A particular example was offered by the recent struggle of the building workers when the Party was unable to organise even part strikes against the agreement accepting wage-cuts signed by the reformist leaders behind the backs of the men. The failure to concentrate on the united front from below and connect it with daily struggles and demands was responsible for the lack of success in the winning of the social democratic workers.

The central point of the immediate activity of the Party must remain the mass mobilisation against the "Rothschild plan" which meant intensified exploitation for the masses and placed all burdens on the workers in favour of the finance capitalists. It was necessary to form a revolutionary united front against wage-cuts, unemployment benefit cuts, mass dismissals, increased prices, and the cutting down of the social insurance benefits and of other social and political rights.

The Party must not only win the social democratic workers by showing them that the policy of their leaders prepares the way for fascism, but it must lead the struggle against fascism and utilise all anti-fascist tendencies in order to secure the formation of a revolutionary united front. Ideological enlightenment must be carried out amongst those sections of the toilers affected by the demagogic propaganda of the fascists.

The plenary session decided to intensify the struggle for the winning of the working class youth and increase the support granted to the Young Communist League. Much attention was paid to the struggle of the miners and the anti-fascist campaign in the Alpine-Montan district. The session recorded with satisfaction that considerable success had attended the anti-fascist struggle led by the Party in Upper Styria. The work of the Party in the villages was also dealt with. Despite errors in the agricultural work, the Party had succeeded in securing a foothold in the agrarian districts of late and a revolutionary peasant movement had been organised side by side with the communist groups in the villages. The main aim of the Party in this work was to win the masses of the landworkers and poor peasants and to create a united front of the toilers in town and country.

The intense danger of war affected every item on the agenda of the plenary session. The session appealed to all Party organisations and particularly the groups in the war industries to strain every nerve to mobilise the masses of the workers against imperialist war and in defence of the Soviet Union, by organising protests in the factories, demonstrations, meetings, protest strikes and mass actions to prevent the production and transport of war materials. The session decided to issue an appeal to the workers of Austria and in particular to the social democratic workers to join in a great mass action to fight imperialist war and defend the Soviet Union.



## **How the First World War was Prepared**

# **Peace Talk as a Cloak for War Preparations.**

## **Documents from the Period Preceding the First Imperialist World War.**

# **Full Sail Towards the World War.**

### **The Fight for Adrianople.**

At the London "Peace" Conference of the Balkan States, Reshid Pasha, the Turkish representative, read out the following reply to the ultimatum of the allies:

"In the Note which was submitted to us at the last session the allies reproached us with having taken no notice of the result of the war. We, on the other hand, adopt the standpoint that we have made considerable territorial concessions. With two exceptions we accepted all conditions submitted by the allies . . . In return for all these concessions, the delegates have not made a single one to us. If we refuse to hand over Adrianople, we do so because otherwise the Dardanelles would no longer be secured . . . We are further prepared to hand over Crete to the allies, but only on condition that no further Aegean islands shall be demanded from us."

After the interval, the chairman, Mr. Novakovitch, read the reply of the allies:

"The proposal of the representative of the Sublime Porte does not deal with that which the Allies demanded at the last session. The new proposals are not such as to provide a basis for further negotiations, consequently the delegates of the allies find themselves compelled to suspend the session." (*Vossische Zeitung*, 7th January, 1912.)

### **The Big Powers Bide Their Time.**

London, 6th January.

The Powers will not undertake any steps before the capture of Adrianople, which is expected in 10 days, because such an interference before the taking of Adrianople would be a violation of neutrality towards Turkey. (Reuter.)

### **Entry of the Victors into Salonica.\***

Although the Greeks promised on entering Salonica to preserve the property and the lives of the inhabitants, the most horrible atrocities were committed with the knowledge of the Greek military authorities. The Bulgarians who followed them did the same. The barracks in which the disarmed Turkish soldiers were housed were set on fire, as a result of which 1000 Turks perished, after which Turkish peasants were tortured as the "culprits" in this act of incendiarism. The Bulgarians committed more atrocities in six days than the Turks did in six centuries. (*Soir*, 17th January.)

## **On the Threshold of the European War.**

### **The "Peaceful" Ambassadors' Conference.**

*"On the occasion of the opening of the Conference the 'Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung' of December 16th, published the following official article:*

"In the course of this week there commences in London the conference of Ambassadors, which is looked forward to with general confidence and which has an outspokenly peaceful tendency. Its success will depend to a great extent upon the confidence which the Powers display towards each other. We can therefore only express our regret that prominent French papers, in particular the "Temps", continue at the present moment their incitement against Germany, whom they accuse of having instigated Turkey to continue the war. Thus the Friday number of the "Temps" asserts that Germany exerted an influence on the election of the Turkish delegates

disadvantageous to peace. This attitude of the "Temps" and other reputable French organs is highly objectionable at the present time, when the Powers are meeting in order peacefully to discuss the situation. Who is the disturber of peace in this case can be seen by anybody who reads any issue of these papers."

### **France Also Supports the Idea of Peace.**

Poincaré's Speech.

"I consider it superfluous to say that we consider it our elementary duty to show active and real effective friendship to our allies. Our collaboration, which extends to all details, has been particularly facilitated by the wise moderation of which Kokovzov has just given undoubted proof. Our connections with England were never so close and confidential. Since the beginning of November, France was officially given to understand that Austria-Hungary were not striving for any increase of territory . . . As regards the work of the Ambassadors Conference, it has proved of great benefit to Europe. The Ambassadors believe that they have succeeded in removing one of the main causes of the disunity of Europe. I can at least state that Serbia will share this point of view. Needless to say, the autonomy of Albania will be controlled by all the Powers, including France. It is also a matter of course that the ports situated on Albanian territory will be free and neutral for Serbia . . . There still remains to be decided the delicate question of the frontiers of Albania. In addition, many other solutions depend upon the results of negotiations of the belligerents, the upshot of which one cannot, unfortunately, predict. The representatives of the allied Balkan States realise in a wonderful manner the force which lies in the unity of the Balkan League. Should it unhappily come to a breakup, the role of Europe would not thereby be ended. Europe could not remain passive in the event of a resumption of hostilities which could this time perhaps increase the conflagration still more." (*Berliner Tageblatt*, 22nd December.)

### **Russia also is "not Pursuing any Selfish Aims".**

Speech of the Prime Minister Kokovzov in the Duma.

The successes of the Balkan States have aroused the warmest sympathy in the hearts of all inhabitants of Russia. Russia, therefore, could not remain a passive spectator but has done everything in order to secure for the Balkan States their well-merited successes. . . . Russia is not pursuing any selfish aims in the Balkans but only historical task. The Powers of the Triple Entente are firmly convinced that the peaceful solution of the Balkan problem will be achieved. (*Rjetch*.)

### **And What Takes Place Behind the Scenes.**

#### **The Russian Ambassador at Paris to the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.**

Paris, 5/18th December 1912.

Dear Sergej Dimitrievitch,

It is not long since that the French government as well as the French press were inclined to suspect us of inciting Serbia, and the general opinion was expressed that France had no desire to engage in war for the sake of a Serbian port. Now, however, they observe with astonishment and unconcealed concern our inactivity in face of the mobilisation of Austria.

This concern is expressed not only at conversations between the French Minister and myself and our military attache, but also finds its way among the great public and the newspapers of diverse tendencies...

Isvolski.

(Isvolski: "European Secret Diplomacy" I. page 270.)

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

St. Petersburg, 5/18th December 1912.

Telegram No. 445 received.

The idea that Russia would not take any measures in order to be ready for war is not correct. About 350,000 reservists have been kept under arms; about 80 million roubles have been allotted for the extraordinary requirements of the army and the Baltic fleet; some bodies of troops of the Kiev military command have been sent nearer to the Austrian frontier and a whole number of other measures have been carried out.

Sasonov.

("European Secret Diplomacy" Vol. I, page 274/75).

### France Behind Russia.

### The Russian Ambassador at Paris to the Russian Ambassador in London.

Paris, 15th (28th) December 1912.

After a discussion between Poincaré and Cambon the former told me that he would accord us full support in London in regard to the questions raised by you. He promised to insist on the union of Scutari with Montenegro, and at the same time asked for your support on the question of acquiring Yanina for Greece, for he is convinced that the Powers of the Triple Entente must work for the advantage of the Balkan States. He further expressed the opinion that it is necessary to be informed regarding the attitude of Montenegro before proposing that Scutari be exchanged for San Giovanni di Medua and Alessio... For the rest, Cambon is instructed to work hand in hand with Benckendorff in regard to this and all other questions.

Isvolski.

("European Secret Diplomacy" vol. II. page 409.)

### The Triple Alliance.

### How William II. Guarantees "Peace".

Reichs-Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg had the following confidential Note sent on December 17 to the Secretary of State of the Foreign Office von Kiderlen:

Berlin, December 17, 1912. According to a reliable report which arrived yesterday evening, His Majesty, immediately after receiving Lichnovsky's report of his interview with Haldane, telegraphed to General von Moltke as well as to the heads of the Navy (Tirpitz and Heeringen) summoning them to his presence. It is not yet known what special orders His Majesty has given on this occasion regarding the preparation of army and navy bills, but it is known that he said to the heads of the Navy: "Now proceed to work up a good press campaign."

... Admiral Perseus is touring the country and propagating a big naval budget.

I consider it necessary that I state my attitude to His Majesty's Navy Bill in an immediate report.

Bethmann-Hollweg.

### German Armaments Should be Kept Secret

Bethmann Hollweg sent the following cypher telegram to the Kaiser:

That a war with Russia would mean for us a war with France is certain. On the other hand, according to many indications it is at least doubtful whether England would actively intervene if Russia and France appear as the direct provokers. For in that case the English Government would have to reckon with public opinion. Statements like that of Haldane and others only indicate that England would subsequently come forward—at first by diplomatic action—in support of a defeated France. In any circumstances we have

this chance, if we avoid all provocation. We have learned from confidential but trustworthy sources that Count Benckendorff, the Russian Ambassador in London, has strongly emphasised this point in St. Petersburg and therefore repeatedly warned against even the appearance of a provocation, which he would like to ascribe to us.

In these circumstances it is exceedingly desirable that nothing should be made known to the public during the present London negotiations regarding any German plans for increasing the army and navy, as this could easily be used against us as case of provocation...

I therefore most humbly request your Imperial and Royal Majesty to instruct the military and naval authorities to keep absolutely secret any preparatory work on bills to be submitted later... (The Great Politics of the European Cabinets. Vol. 39.)

### After Basle.

### The Governments

#### In Austria . . .

The Manifesto of the International is confiscated in Austria. . . Now nobody, in the social democratic International at least, will be deceived any longer regarding the moral state of the black-yellow monarchy... Whatever the case may be this political scandal recoils on the heads of its originators. The whole of Austria is now discussing this Manifesto.

("Vorwärts", November 29, 1912.)

#### In Russia . . .

Podvoloczyska, 12th December. At the railway station here a case attracted attention because it was not properly packed and declared. The customs officials opened the case, when it was found to contain copies of the Manifesto of the Basle Congress of the II. International. The consignment was immediately confiscated.

### The Social Democratic Parliamentary Fractions.

#### In Germany.

"We are of the opinion that we have to defend only economic interests in the Balkans and that—if we may use this expression—it is the open door which we must demand for our goods; and that the question of the Baghdad railway, which is a German interest—we have already said this on a former occasion—must be considered as a justified interest that must not be disturbed.

(David on behalf of the German Reichstag Fraction, Dec. 3, 1912)

#### In France.

Jaurès is Satisfied with Poincaré's Work for "Peace".

We welcome Poincaré's peaceful declarations. Should, however, hostilities commence again, France must preserve complete neutrality.

("Vorwärts", December 24, 1912.)

### The Revolutionary Proletariat. Demonstration Strike in France against War.

Paris, December 16. The General strike assumed considerable dimensions in the provinces, although it was not general. ("Vorwärts", December 17, 1912.)

### The Bolsheviki in Russia.

### Declaration of the Bolshevik Fraction on Kokovzev's Bellicose Speech.

"The social democracy of Russia, as a part of the international army of the socialist proletariat, protests against the attempts of the ruling reactionary and liberal parties of

Russia to involve the country in a war. The social democratic fraction sympathises with the endeavours of the Balkan peoples to free themselves from the tutelage of the big Powers; but in union with the socialists in the Balkans, they repudiate with indignation the dynastic robber-policy of the Balkan reactionaries who connect the historically necessary rebirth of the Balkan countries with a bloodbath. For the peoples of Russia all foreign adventures mean only further ruin and further loss of rights."

## **The Balkan War Begins Again.**

### **"The New Conditions of the Allies will be Still Harder".**

#### **The Ambassadors' Note to Turkey.**

Constantinople, January 17, 1913. W.T.B. The Ambassadors in corpore today handed over to the Foreign Minister a collective Note.

#### **Contents of the Note:**

London, January 17, 1913. The Note calls attention to the dangers which Turkey would run in the event of a resumption of hostilities. Adrianople, which Turkey has refused to yield up, would fall and the new conditions of the Allies would be still harder. Turkey would have only itself to blame if the continuation of the war had results involving the fate of the capital town and extending hostilities to the Asiatic provinces of Turkey. In this case, Turkey could not rely on the success of the efforts of the Powers.

("Vossische Zeitung", January 18.)

### **"Peace" in Sight.**

Constantinople, January 22, (W.T.B.). The Council of the Porte has declared for acceptance of the Note of the Powers and for conclusion of peace . . . The answer will be handed over to the Ambassadors to-morrow afternoon.

## **Overthrow of the Kiamil Cabinet.**

### **Enver Bey Seizes Power.**

Constantinople, January 23. (W.T.B.) An official communiqué announces the resignation of the Cabinet as a result of the demonstration against the intention to conclude peace. Enver Bey has compelled Kiamil to resign and handed over this resignation to the Sultan, who then appointed Mahmud Shukel as Grand Vizier. ("Vossische Zeitung" January 24.)

### **"Now the Situation is Clear."**

Paris, January 24. The Turkish Peace plenipotentiaries in London are apparently exceedingly satisfied with the new state of affairs in Turkey, which has not surprised them. The Bulgarians said to the press representatives: "Now we have at least a clear situation in front of us." ("Vossische Zeitung", January 24.)

## **"No Action Will be Taken against Turkey."**

### **German Ambassador in London, Prince von Lichnovsky, to the German Foreign Office.**

London, January 27, 1913.

Sir Edward Grey repeated to me that he had no news whatever regarding Russia's intentions towards Armenia. Nor had there been any talk of agreements regarding spheres of interest . . . He expressed the conviction that Russia would not undertake anything against Turkey. Lichnovsky.

("The Great Policy of the European Cabinets", Vol. 34, I. page 272).

## **Two Days Later: Carving up of Turkey Commences.**

### **Lichnovsky to the German Foreign Office.**

London, January 29, 1913. I had a short conversation with Sir Edward Grey to-day on the question of the Albanian-

Montenegrin frontier, without, however, our being able to make any definite proposals.

So far Russia demands the Scutari plain as far as the Drin. I explained to him that we could at the most advocate the right banks of the Boyan and somewhere in the centre between Scutari and the present Montenegrin frontier . . .

Lichnovsky.

("The Great Policy of the European Cabinets", Vol. 34, I. page 278.)

## **"Resumption of War is Inevitable."**

Constantinople, January 31. In accordance with article 4 of the armistice, hostilities commenced on February 3rd at 7 o'clock in the evening.

## **War Breaks out Again.**

Constantinople, February 4, 4.p.m. At half past seven last evening the Bulgarians opened artillery and infantry fire on the East and South side of Adrianople and commenced to bombard the town.

Hostilities have also commenced on the Gallipoli peninsula. This afternoon hostilities commenced on the Tchataldshaline. (Reuter).

## **"The Fate of Adrianople will be Decided in a Few Days."**

Von Below-Saleske to Bethmann-Hollweg.

Sofia, February 4, 1913.

An hour after the expiration of the armistice, hostilities commenced again yesterday with the bombardment of Adrianople. In military circles the opinion prevails that the fate of Adrianople will be decided in a few days.

Von Below-Saleske.

## **Towards the World War.**

### **Armament Competition among the Great Powers.**

Germany's expenditure for military purposes amounts, according to the provisional budget for 1913, to 1,678,8 million marks. Privy Councillor Schwarz estimates the expenditure for military purposes in the year which has just expired as follows: Germany—1570 million marks, England—1468 million marks, France—1237 million marks, Austria-Hungary—617 million marks, Italy 529 million marks and Russia 1574 million marks. The aggregate military expenditure of the six-European big Powers amounts to 7000 million marks, of course without reckoning interest and redemption of debts incurred for armament purposes ("Friedenswarte" No. 4, 1913).

### **The Tsarist Army Increased.**

"The degree to which the war strength of the Russian army will be affected by the changes now coming into force is not known, but competent observers, who put the peace footing at 1,400,000, are inclined to name 3,500,000 men as the greatest possible war strength. That Russia has unlimited reserves of untrained men capable of creating a still vaster army is of course beyond all doubt . . .

By general consent the Russian army has never been in better condition . . . While the evidence as to the state of its artillery is inconclusive, its musketry training has been greatly improved. ("Times", Sept. 10, 1913.)

### **French Warships in the Levante Waters.**

Russian Chargé d'Affaires in Paris to the Russian Foreign Minister.

Paris, January 2 (15) 1913.

France has at the moment the following warships in the waters of the Levante: "Leon Gambetta" at Constantinople, "Bruix" at Salonica, "Jurjen de la graviere" at Smyrna, "Henri IV." and Latouche Preville" off the coast of Syria.

Sevastopulo.

## The Russian Black Sea Fleet Ready to Put to Sea.

Sasanov to Isvolski.

St. Petersburg, 23d December (5th January) 1913.

You will inform the Foreign Minister in confidence that our Black Sea Fleet has been ready for two months and can put to sea immediately the order arrives . . .

At the same time you can inform the government to which you are accredited that the imperial government has decided after January, 1st to keep the reserves in the whole of European Russia and the Caucasus under arms.

## The Relations between Germany and England Particularly Cordial.

"Our relations with the great German Empire are, I am glad to say at this moment, and, I feel sure, are likely to remain, relations of amity and good will. Lord Haldane paid a visit to Berlin early in the year; he entered upon conversations and an interchange of views which have been continued since in the spirit of perfect frankness and friendship both on one side and the other." (Mr. Asquith, Prime Minister, in the House of Commons, July 25, 1912).

The Budget Committee of the German Reichstag has now published the official protocol of the sitting of 7th of February, in which the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs von Jagow as well as the Secretary of State von Tirpitz made declarations regarding England. The declaration of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs is as follows:

"One of the last declarations which my late predecessor made in the Plenum of the Reichstag referred to our relations with England. At that time Herr von Kiderlen pointed out that during the whole of the recent crisis our relations with England had been particularly cordial. He pointed to the good services rendered to an understanding of all the Powers by the frank discussions between London and ourselves during all phases of this crisis and expressed the expectation that they would continue to do so." ("Die Post", 19th February 1913.)

## And Behind the Scenes.

Freiherr von Schön, German Ambassador in Paris,  
to Reichs-Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg.

Paris, February 9, 1913.

The declarations which Secretary of State von Tirpitz made in the Budget Commission of the Reichstag regarding the ratio of strength of the German to the English fleet, have aroused considerable comment in the press here. One derives the impression that the possibility of an Anglo-German understanding regarding naval armaments has aroused undeniable uneasiness and mistrust here.

## Sasanov Doubts the Fidelity of England.

Sasanov on February 12, to Count Benckendorf: "We believe that Admiral Tirpitz' speech and the endeavours of German diplomacy to bring about an approachment to England must be regarded as a disturbing symptom. We would very much like to know to what extent such manoeuvres find favourable ground in London and how far they can affect the attitude of England in the present crisis. ("The Great Policy of the European Cabinets" Vol. 39, page 19.)

## Lenin: The Briand Cabinet.

The well-known renegade Briand, who was at one time an arch-revolutionary and advocated the general strike, is again at the head of the Ministry in France. Like John Burns in England he has betrayed the working class and sold himself to the bourgeoisie.

It is interesting to note the composition of the new Cabinet. The following three men dominate it: Jonnart, Etienne, and Bodig. What sort of men are these?

All three men form the most shameless and cunning company of financial jobbers.

The words of Marx that bourgeois governments are employees of the capitalist class has nowhere been so plainly confirmed as in France. The great progress of France consists in the fact that the working class has torn down all the deceitful veils which obscured this fact. ("Pravda" No. 14 (218) 31st, (18) January 1913.)

## FROM SOVIET CHINA

### The Soviet District of North-East Kiangsi.

(Soviet Correspondence from Ko-Yuän in North-East Kiangsi.)

March 1932.

The Soviet territory in North-East Kiangsi, to-day comprises more than 20 districts.

After having defeated the third campaign of the Kuomintang against the Soviet districts last year, the Red Army also succeeded in recapturing the lost districts. In addition, new victories have been achieved in the Spring of this year. Thus at the end of February, three new Soviet districts were set up in the Kuang-Fung region (North-East of Kiangsi) and three further districts in the region between Djen-Yang and Pu-Zen. From here the Soviet Power, has been extended in the direction of Djen-Ngau. The advance of the Red Army has been particularly successful in Fukien. The town of Chunganh is captured and the Wuyi mountains, an extremely important strategical point, occupied, so that the Kuomintang troops have lost a strong basis. In the Te-Schin region (Kiangsi) the 6th Soviet district has been recaptured and a new Soviet district (the 10th) has been organised. In the course of a month the Soviet territory in North Kiangsi has increased by 200 square Li\*).

As a result of this extension of our Soviet district our aim, the uniting of the various Soviet districts into a co-ordinated Soviet territory, has been partly realised. Particularly important is the linking up of the Soviet district in North-East Kiangsi with the Soviet district in the North of Fukien, which was achieved by setting up a military guard to cover the connecting routes. The connection between the Soviet district in North-East Kiangsi and the Central Soviet district in Kiangsi was established by the partisan fights, so that a united Soviet district in Kiangsi is approaching realisation.

In spite of their repeated defeats, the troops of the Kuomintang reaction have not yet abandoned their hopes of annihilating the Soviet districts and are constantly carrying out fresh attacks. When the 9th, 79th and 53rd divisions of the Kuomintang army, after the defeat of the third campaign against the Central Soviet district, retreated to Anhwei and Chekiang, they attacked the centre of our Soviet district of Ko-Yuän. In other places they also attacked the agricultural population, set fire to the houses, seized the grain and killed civilians. In spite of this furious attack on our Soviet district, the Kuomintang army was repulsed by our heroic 10th Red Army supported by the Soviet population. Finally, the Red Army together with the local partisan troops inflicted an annihilating defeat on the Kuomintang army, which lost more than 1000 killed and wounded. The scattered remnants of the defeated Kuomintang army were driven over the frontiers of the province.

As a result of the constant defeats the Kuomintang troops were compelled to apply new methods in their fight. The 55th, 18th and 4th divisions of the Kuomintang army and the local "security detachments" of the Kuomintang are permanently stationed round our Soviet district. In addition to the numerous robber attacks upon the Soviet population, these troops are engaged in consolidating their position by erecting fortresses at distances of 30—40 Li from each other. The Kuomintang troops are now endeavouring to blockade the Soviet districts. In order to weaken the morale of the Soviet population they spread the rumour that the "fortresses mean the death of the Communist bandits". It is true, the fortresses mean a threat to the Red Army, which is still weak from the military-technical point of view, but in recent times it has succeeded in destroying not only some of the newly erected fortresses (near Wan Yian) but also some of the old ones (for instance in Yü-Kiang).

Under the former Le-Li-San leadership we made various mistakes in our agrarian policy. Thus for instance, the division of the land was not carried out in the interests of the poor peasants and land workers. The confidence of the middle peasants in the Soviets was also shaken by such mistakes. The correction of these mistakes consolidated and strengthened the confidence of the broad masses into the Soviet power.

As a result of the agrarian revolution a clear class differentiation is taking place in the village, and the class struggle is assuming sharper forms. The big peasants, who

\*) A Li is about a third of an English mile.



always liked to make themselves out to be middle or even poor peasants, were exposed by the toiling population. The result of this new correct agrarian policy was expressed in the fighting enthusiasm with which the poor peasant population repulsed the attacks of the enemy.

The Provisional Central Government of Soviet China has also proceeded to carry out the labour legislation adopted by the Soviet Congress. Wages have been considerably increased, the eight-hour day has been realised by the workers' collectives and also the agricultural workers have partly won the eight-hour day.

The trade unions of our Soviet district now comprise 14,198 members, of whom 8764 are artisans, 4191 agricultural workers, 371 water transport workers, 505 unskilled workers, 303 miners and 64 commercial clerks. The trade unions are exerting all their forces in order to win a greater number of agricultural and industrial workers by a correct representation of the interests of their members.

Since the news of the Japanese attack on Manchuria reached our Soviet district the anti-imperialist and anti-Kuomintang mood of our Soviet population has greatly increased. In a very short time the membership of the League against Imperialism rose to 160,000. In February the League Against Imperialism held a delegate conference of the whole Soviet district. It was decided to fight, under the leadership of the Soviets, against imperialism, against the Kuomintang, and for the development of the agrarian revolution. In addition, the Congress adopted a programme of action of the anti-imperialist movement.

The news of the Japanese robber-attack on Shanghai greatly enhanced the fighting spirit of the Soviet population. Everywhere protest demonstrations of the workers and peasants took place. The toiling population of our Soviet district pledges itself to continue the fight with all its forces until final victory against the Japanese robber-attacks, against the partitioning of China by the imperialists, for the support of the heroic struggles of the Shanghai workers, for the defence of the Chinese Soviet districts and of the Soviet Union!

## THE WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS

### Petroleum in the United States and in the Soviet Union.

By M. J. Wachman (New York).

Oil is one of the major mineral resources of the world. The most acute imperialist rivalries have as their object the domination of the petroleum resources and the world markets of oil products.

At this writing representatives of the Soviet Oil industry are in the United States by invitation from the same financial and industrial interests that are responsible for the refusal of the United States to recognise the Soviet Union and for the encouragement which is lent to Japan by the United States in its war preparations against the Soviet Union.

Petroleum is one of the major industries of the United States. In 1929, according to the census, its output amounted to 2,612 million dollars or about 4% of the total industrial production. It is one of the most highly mechanised and rationalised industries. Even so, the capitalist world is compelled to admit that the Soviet oil industry has shown a much higher rate of development than in the capitalist countries. What is more, this has been the case not merely during the present crisis but even during the period of the highest capitalist prosperity. As a result, the magnates of petroleum in the capitalist world cannot conceal their awe, mixed with apprehension, of the economic effectiveness of Communism.

The capitalist world is seeking a characteristic way out of the crisis. Its old and tried method consists in transferring the entire burden of the crisis on to the shoulders of the toiling masses; in cutting wages, in maintaining, as far as possible, high prices. Its policy is to develop syndicates or cartels for a distribution of markets based on a pre-arranged proportional decrease in production. But this programme clashes with the imperialistic rivalries of capitalism, with its continuous search for new markets or rather with the continuous preparations to

seize by force of arms competitors' markets. It is because of these inherent rivalries and the predatory nature of capitalism that the Chadbourne agreement in the sugar industry failed so miserably, and it is this very reason that makes it impossible to expect any substantial results from the present conversations on the petroleum industry in New York.

At this moment the figures of the trend of production of petroleum of the capitalist world and in the U.S.S.R. gain in significance. Below we give a table compiled from data of the U.S. Department of Commerce for the years up to 1930 inclusive and from the magazine "World Petroleum" für 1931 and 1932:

Production of Petroleum (in thousands of barrels*)					
Year	World Produktion	U.S.A. Production	Ratio of U.S.A. Pro- duction to World Production in %	Soviet Pro- Production	Ratio of Soviet Pro- duction to World Production in %
1926	1,096,823	770,874	70.3%	64,311	4.9%
1927	1,262,582	901,129	71.4%	77,018	6.1%
1928	1,324,733	901,474	68.0%	87,800	6.6%
1929	1,485,829	1,007,323	67.8%	103,000	6.9%
1930	1,418,723	898,000	63.3%	135,165	9.5%
1931	1,355,295	850,275	62.7%	156,343	11.0%
1st quar. 1932	325,040	197,138	60.6%	39,105	12.0%

The period 1926-1929 is considered one of the most prosperous in the capitalist world and especially in the United States. But even during these "fat" years, capitalist industry shows a much slower rate of development than Soviet industry. Crude oil production in the United States increased from 771 million barrels in 1926 to 1,007 million barrels in 1929, or by 30%. In the Soviet Union, however, notwithstanding the fact that the petroleum industry still had to overcome the ruins left by the Mensheviks and their imperialist allies, the output of crude oil increased from 64 million barrels in 1926 to 103 million barrels in 1929, or by fully 60%. Thus, during the years of greatest capitalist prosperity, Soviet industry still shows a rate of growth twice as large as in the strongest sector of the capitalist world, the United States of America.

When the ephemeral capitalist prosperity gave way to the present deep crisis at the end of 1929, production of petroleum in the capitalist world dropped, the output in the United States falling from 1,007 million barrels in 1929 to 859 million barrels in 1931, or 16%. Not so in the Soviet Union. The world crisis could not invade the country under communist rule. During the two years of the crisis, Soviet oil production increased from 103 million barrels to 156 million barrels in 1931, or 52%.

The process of decline in the capitalist world and progress in the Soviet Union has continued into 1932. The Soviet share of world production continued to increase, while that of the United States again declined. In 1926 the United States accounted for 70.3% of the total world production. With the exception of 1927 the share of the United States has since then declined; in 1931 it amounted to 62.7% and during the first quarter of 1932 it dropped to 60.6% of the total world production. During the same period the Soviet share of total world production shows a continuously rising trend. In 1926 it equalled 4.9%; in 1931 it reached 11% and in 1932 it further increased to 12% of the total world output. Under the leadership of the Leninist Communist Party the Soviet Union is making gigantic strides to overtake and surpass the capitalist world.

No wonder that the capitalist world cannot conceal its increasing wonderment and concern over the rapid advance of socialism. World Petroleum, a journal of the petroleum industry of the United States, comments as follows in its issue of May, 1932, on the progress of the petroleum industry in the U.S.S.R.:

"Credit must be given the Russians [read: the Communist regime.—M.J.W.] for enthusiasm and skill in rehabilitating the neglected ruins of the petroleum industry which they inherited. The increase in Russian production from 60,000,000 bbl. in 1926 to 156,000,000 bbl. in 1931 is an achievement which the capitalist countries can admire while deploring its consequences."

The spokesman of the mightiest section of imperialism in

\* 1 barrel = 42 gallons; 7 barrels = 1 ton.

oil naturally fails to mention that the neglected ruins of the petroleum industry were inherited by the Bolsheviks from their fellow magnates. It is also quite easy to understand why, with all its professed admiration, World Petroleum would deplore the consequences of the rapid progress made by the Soviet oil industry. The giant strides of the Piatiletka undermine the very foundation of capitalism. Communist economic effectiveness in the face of declining capitalism is opening the eyes of

the most backward elements among the working class of the capitalist world. But what the working class must know is that the imperialist powers do not confine themselves to mere platonic regrets. At this very moment they are feverishly engaged in war preparations against the Soviet Union, and only the organised, mobilised power of the working class throughout the world will be able to prevent an armed attack against the Soviet Union and another world conflagration.

## **Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union**

# **Concerning Soviet Trading.**

**By M. I. Kalinin.**

The Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have issued a decision on the collection of grain and on the development of collective trading with grain, and a further decision on the cattle breeding plan and trading with meat on the part of the collective farms, the collective farmers and the individual poor peasants on the 6th and 10th May respectively. These decisions are of very great importance for the peasantry and in particular for the collective farmers.

First of all the grain collection plan was considerably reduced in comparison with last year which was a bad harvest year. In other words, given an average harvest it will be much easier to carry out the grain collection plan than it was last year.

Secondly, even before the summer sowings the plan was divided up according to districts. This made it possible at least by districts to extend the summer sowings with a view to securing an improvement in the supplies for personal use. (The winter sowings have already been extended.) One can therefore be certain that the grain stores in the districts will be considerably larger.

Thirdly, the collective farms and the collective farmers have the right to sell grain in shops and in their own collective trading groups after they have completed the grain collection plan and contributed to the State grain funds.

These decisions of the government follow organically first of all from the increase in the supplies of industrial goods, secondly from the increase (collectivisation) of agricultural production, the improvement of agricultural equipment and the use of tractors, all of which results in an increase of the grain quantities intended for the market, and thirdly from the fact that with every succeeding year the State obtains larger and larger quantities of grain intended for the market from the Soviet farms.

The decision on the meat plan has the same aim, namely to improve trading relations between town and country, to develop commodity exchange between the collective farms and the factories, and to create a full possibility for the free sale of the surplus products of the collective farmers and the individual poor peasants. In order to support this commodity exchange the government has cut down the original meat supply plan for the coming three quarters of the current year by half.

At the moment it is the task of the toiling peasants and in particular of the local authorities to put these decisions of the government into execution. The decisions declare expressly: "It is the duty of the local authorities to support the collective farms and the collective farmers in this respect." Naturally, the government, which is aiming at strengthening the economic connections between town and country by supporting free buying and selling in the villages, at the same time demands categorically that private traders, speculators and middlemen who attempt to exploit this new possibility in their own interests, be ruthlessly excluded and put down.

It is not only a question that after the carrying out of the State tasks with regard to grain and meat the government permits the free sale of the surplus quantities, but the party has in the past year frequently adopted decisions concerning the necessity of developing soviet trading with vegetables and in general with articles whose sale and purchase is not

regulated by the State. The special character of the present decisions of the government lies in the fact that the grain and meat supply plans have been reduced. With this decision a certain category of the population will now begin to supply its needs from the market, that is to say, the market is a necessary factor in supply.

In May last year, at the initiative of comrade Stalin, the Central Committee issued instructions for an increase in the number of co-operative and State shops. In the appeal of the Council of People's Commissars, the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Central Co-operative Association, it is expressly stated that "the abolition of the private trader and of private trading does not mean the abolition of all trading; on the contrary, the abolition of private trading demands an all-round development of Soviet trading and the development of a network of co-operative and State trading organisations all over the Soviet Union."

The instructions of the XVII. party conference for the Second Five-Year Plan pointed out particularly that: "a further rapid improvement of the supplies for the workers in the towns and the toilers in the villages, both of industrial and agricultural products is possible only on the basis of the development of commodity circulation, and this demands an all-round development of the network of shops and the necessary technical reconstruction of the whole trading organisation. Only on this basis can the standardisation of commodity supply be abolished and the centralised system of distribution be replaced by a highly-developed system of Soviet trading."

All these instructions have undoubtedly furthered Soviet trading. Particularly valuable is the fact that not only have the co-operatives, but also the industrial associations and trusts opened shops in the districts.

With regard to trading with food supplies, the chief work falls to the distributive co-operatives. Without going into the objective causes, it must be pointed out that this work is not yet being carried out satisfactorily. The distributive co-operatives suffer from a tendency to regard themselves as mere instruments of distribution, whereas Soviet trading demands an understanding of the necessity to secure still more goods than those supplied by the State.

The recent decisions of the Council of People's Commissars and of the Central Committee of the Communist Party have very definitely placed the distributive co-operatives before this question of trading, above all with foodstuffs. The basis of Soviet trading is extending to its natural limits: the individual peasants from the toiling population of the villages and the collective farmers and the collective farms come to the market as the producers of foodstuffs. In the beginning petty trading will dominate on the market and the seller will dispose of his goods direct to the buyer, who is at the same time the consumer; but with the development and consolidation of the Soviet market the peasant will sell to the co-operatives a whole pig or a whole sheep, and the collective farm whole loads of seasonal products which must be disposed of quickly, or which demand special warehousing which the collective farms cannot supply. It is clear that if the co-operatives are not prepared to take over these commodities they will fall into the hands of the private speculator. Willy nilly, the Soviet market will be a test for the co-operatives. If the speculators actually appear on these markets, then that will be a proof of the weakness of the co-operatives.

Amongst other objections, I have heard the following: Isn't that a deviation from the general policy of the Party? I am of the opinion that anyone who reads the decisions of the Council of People's Commissars and of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and also the decisions of the Central Executive Committee and of the Council of People's Commissars on the trading regulations for the collective farms, the collective farmers and the individual poor peasants, will understand that all these decisions aim at carrying out the decisions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and of the XVII. Party conference on Soviet trading. Naturally, the market can be altered from a place of exchange between the workers in the town and the toilers in the country into a place where speculators, middlemen and private traders enrich themselves at the cost of the workers and peasants. And therefore the decisions stress particularly the necessity of dealing ruthlessly with the speculators and private traders.

The co-operatives must understand that the present measures have nothing whatever to do with that period of the New Economic Policy, in which under certain circumstances the enrichment of the private trader was tolerated. This stage is long past. The production of agricultural machinery has reached such a stage of development that the collective large-scale agricultural undertakings can be supplied completely. Already the State receives hundreds of millions of poods of market grain from the Soviet farms. No less than seventy per cent. of the total area under seed is in the hands of the collective agricultural undertakings.

The practical aims of these decisions can be seen by all. The aims are to increase the activity of the collective peasants, to extend the market for agricultural products by drawing in the collective farmers and those individual poor peasants who are still outside the collectives, and to obtain a better supply for the workers, particularly in the factory housing colonies which are closer to the markets. Apart from these direct aims, the following consequences must not be forgotten. In every working class colony there is a distributive co-operative. In order to be up to standard the co-operative must take an active part in the commodity circulation in the place in question.

It must also be pointed out that after January, apart from the other agricultural products, grain will come onto the free market, that is to say, a commodity which is one of the most monopolised and necessary commodities. Is it not the duty of the co-operatives to begin to collect grain as soon as it appears on the market in large quantities, in order to be able to supply the population with bread in a time of shortage? Taking all the new circumstances into consideration it is clear that the government categorically demands from the co-operatives that they not only distribute the State commodity funds, but also organise Soviet trading. The role of the soviets in the development of trading is tremendous.

The roads leading to the towns must be kept in a passable condition. The market must be suitable for the holding and display of the goods brought into it. In other words, the town itself must attract the collective farmers and individual poor peasants.

The privileges which the collective farmers, and the poor individual peasants have received are considerable, and they will increase in value the better the land is tilled, because the decisive factor for grain production is still the number of hectares under seed. Agricultural producers are in very favourable circumstances in the Soviet Union. The colossal growth of industry and thus of the urban population offers a tremendous market for agricultural products. Production itself offers very good results when it is remembered that the most difficult and most important task, the transition from individual to collective production, has in the main been already accomplished. Agricultural technique, the tractor and all the other agricultural machinery, all this represents a new basis for us and under these circumstances it would be very foolish, a crime against the people in fact, if we did not do everything possible to increase the harvest to a very high level.

Needless to say, this complicated work with all its numerous forms and productive channels, must be co-ordinated by the local party organs on the basis of the decisions of the Council of People's Commissars and of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. The condition of success is that the local authorities understand that the present stage of the work of socialist construction is a very important stage with very complicated forms of the class struggle.

## ORGANISATIONAL QUESTIONS

### Questions Connected with the Growth of the Communist Party of Poland.

By Aronsky.

The Communist Party of Poland which works under extremely difficult conditions of White Terror and strict illegality, has nevertheless grown by 107% in the course of 14 months. The experience and methods of the recruiting activity of the C.P.P. are of considerable importance to the other Comintern sections.

In the midst of the grave economic crisis and capitalist offensive the C.P.P. has been able to organise and develop an effective counter-offensive of the toiling masses into which the fundamental strata of the proletariat are more and more drawn. Recruitment for the Party is carried on systematically, and experience has shown that wherever the C.P.P. carries on steady work for the preparation and carrying through of class struggles, wherever the Party has succeeded in mobilising broad masses for revolutionary demonstrations, the Party organisations have gained in strength and have considerably increased their membership.

The revolutionary activity of the C.P.P. is full of examples of Party organisations growing and gaining in strength through the demonstrations and strikes that have taken place, already at their preparation and in the beginning, as well as during the struggle. The experience of the C.P.P. has also shown that this mode of recruiting is the best for keeping in the ranks of the C.P.P. the newly made members from non-Party or social democratic ranks. For these workers look upon the Communist Party as the organiser and leader of class struggles for their daily interests and demands. There is not much fluctuation among them.

Let us take for instance, the Party organisations of the largest industrial centres of Poland—**Upper Silesia** and the **Dombrovo Basin**. The Party has succeeded in organising there mass revolutionary demonstrations of employed and unemployed workers and carrying on systematic work in the mines and factories, one of the results of this activity being the doubling and trebling of the membership of these organisations. After police raids, these organisations re-establish themselves rapidly, and their activity does not slacken. The change in the social composition of the Party is reflected in the improvement of its national composition. In the C.P.P., excluding West Ukraine, the percentage of Jewish workers from the small industry was reduced in the course of one year from 30 to 23%; 77% are Poles, and chiefly, workers. But it must be pointed out that these changes take a different aspect in the various districts. While in the industrial districts the change in the direction of an increase in the proportional weight of Party members of pure Polish nationality is the consequence of the broadening of the Party basis in the industrial districts, in the agrarian and agro-industrial districts this is the consequence of the rapid growth of the rural organisations and the absolute predominance of the peasant element over the urban. The Party organisations in the so-called agrarian districts have grown by 78% as a result of their activity with regard to organising the struggle of the peasants and agriculture labourers. In the agricultural labourers' sector, the weakest in the C.P.P., thanks to a whole series of successful strikes, a considerable change has taken place, and the C.P.P. has already hundreds of members in the estate nuclei. The Warsaw organisation, after the successful tramwaymen's strike, trebled the number of members from tramwaymen's ranks.

But alongside the successes of the C.P.P. in its recruiting activity, one must also pay special attention to a whole series of defects. The greatest defect is the unevenness, and in a certain measure, the abnormal character of the growth of the Party. An analysis of the figures indicating the growth of the various organisations shows clearly the Party's backwardness with regard to workers employed in the big industry. It is in the agrarian districts that the growth is most rapid. But in the towns of these districts the Party organisations are weak, they do not grow, and in some cases their membership

even declines. In one of these districts the Party has out of 1,300 member only 20 urban industrial workers in its ranks, in another 17 out of 610, and in yet another 20 out of 220, the rest are peasant elements. It is self-evident that from the point of view of correct development of these C.P. organisations, this is not normal.

What do these facts show? There is no doubt whatever that in the considerable and steady recruiting activity of the C.P.P. especially on the part of the local organisations, there is lack of planning and system, without which the growth of the Party cannot be properly regulated. Moreover, this defect shows also that there is underestimation in the ranks of the Party organisations of the decisive significance of these fundamental proletarian cadres in our Party, inadequate work in the factories in general, and the large factories, in particular.

However, the C.P.P. is aware of this serious weakness, and is endeavouring to remedy it as soon as possible. This requires correct and more energetic organisation of the work in the factories: a decisive turn of the Party organisation towards the main and decisive strata of the working class, the workers in the big industry (metal workers, miners, railwaymen, workers employed in arms and munition factories, textile workers etc.).

The state of the **Warsaw Party organisation** causes the greatest uneasiness. The organisation in the capital of the country which must be at the head of the revolutionary movement in Poland, and should be very active in all class struggles that take place in the various centres, cannot certainly cope with these tasks owing to the absence of a sound proletarian basis, above all, among the metal workers (the big industry of Warsaw.) The absolute majority of the membership of the Warsaw organisation is from the small and middle industries, and only 18 to 20% from the big industry.

An analysis of the number of **unemployed** in the ranks of the Party demonstrates another substantial weakness in the growth of the Party. It is characteristic that in the present situation created in Poland by the economic crisis, when the number of unemployed grows from day to day and has already reached an unprecedented figure (370,000 the official figure—which does not include the small industries and unemployment in the rural districts), the number of Party members from the midst of the unemployed is very small, its growth is slow, and in several cases the number has declined. For instance, in a large textile centre, such as the **Lodz** district where 50% of workers employed in the big industry have been discharged, the Party organisation has only 15% unemployed in its ranks.

This question calls for special attention and serious consideration, also because in the C.P.P. this question bears a different aspect than, let us say, in the C.P. of Germany where the weakness of the Party and an anomaly is the extremely large percentage of the unemployed in the Party organisations.

## The Growth of the Communist Party of Peru.

By Gomez.

The Communist Party of Peru—one of the youngest, and at the same time, one of the best Communist Parties of South America—carried out from July 15 to September 15, 1931 a big campaign for the enlistment of new members for the Party, having signed a revolutionary competition agreement with the C.P. of Chile. According to this agreement the Communist Party of Peru which had about 500 members, was to recruit in the indicated period 984 new members. The results of the recruiting campaign have shown that the C.P. had under-estimated its own influence among the workers: despite the short duration of the campaign, 1,739 new members were recruited. This means that in the course of two months the C.P. of Peru grew almost by 400%.

Indian agricultural labourers and ruined peasants have for the most part swelled the ranks of the Party. The enormous influx of Indians into the C.P. is of considerable importance not only to Peru, but to the whole of South

America. The Indian population is the most oppressed, and is undergoing at the same time a rapid process of revolutionisation. In the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and feudalism, the national revolutionary movement of the Indians will play an important part. Peru is one of the most important centres of the revolutionary movement of the Indian masses. The C.P. of Peru sets the example to all the other South American C.P.'s how to work among Indians, what must be done to bring them over to the side of the proletariat, despite all the existing difficulties (difference in language, the Indians' lack of confidence in the whites, including even the workers, etc.).

In order to get into the "gasiendas" and "gamonales" of the big landowners, and also into the Indian communes, the C.P. of Peru made use in the first instance of the unemployed Indian miners who were returning to their commune or to the estate of the landlord. Many of them have shown themselves as the best propagandists of the Party and organisers of Party nuclei among the Indians. Even non-Party Indian miners have done much for the popularisation of the C.P.

For the enlistment of Indians for the C.P., and for the establishment of Party nuclei in the "gasiendas", "gamonales" and communes, the Party made use also of urban artisans—semi-proletarians, who in most cases are Indians or half-breds. Such artisan members of the Party who are closely connected with the rural Indians and have their full confidence, constitute 17.1% of the total Party membership. Thanks to them, the C.P. has organised a series of nuclei on the estates and in the communes and has recruited a considerable number of Indians for its ranks. During the recruiting campaign, the C.P. organised in a small Indian village in the South a mass demonstration of the Indians for the restitution of the cattle that had been recently taken away from them by the landlord. This struggle was soon crowned with success, and the news of it spread throughout the South, and strengthened considerably the prestige of the C.P.

Though the social composition of the Party has considerably improved (workers constitute 45% of the membership, and even 60% in the organisation in the capital), one must say that the C.P. has hardly made use of the enormous possibilities for the enlistment of industrial workers in the **main** branches of industry (oil fields, mines, sugar and cotton plantations, etc.). The C.C. itself has admitted that the majority of the factory nuclei did not carry out the tasks set them, and that with a few exceptions, the number of workers recruited by them is considerably below the plan. During the recruiting campaign, the C.P. did not organise mass demonstrations in the towns and, what is more serious, did not even participate in the strikes that were taking place.

The C.P. which had not paid sufficient attention to the enlistment of industrial workers, followed the line of least resistance by recruiting a relatively large number of artisans, students, etc. The C.C. of the C.P. of Peru has frankly admitted this fundamental defect of the recruiting campaign, which shows its readiness to remedy it.

In order to keep the new members in the Party, one must organise short-term study circles, so as to familiarise young Party members with the statutes and the most important decisions of the C.P. and C.I. The new members must be drawn into the work of the C.P. through the lower Party organisations—the Party nuclei whose activity must also be brought up to the mark.

Simultaneously with energetic work for keeping the newly made members in the C.P., the Party must work for its further growth, first and foremost, by drawing into its ranks workers employed in the main branches of industry, including enterprises belonging to foreign capitalists.

Simultaneously, the C.P. must persevere in the correct course of energetic recruiting of Indians, especially, proletarians and semi-proletarians—agricultural labourers in the "gasiendas" and peasant semi-serfs in the "gamonales". At the same time, the C.P. must pay special attention to enlistment of Negro and Chinese journeymen and agricultural labourers who are exploited in the North of the country under semi-slave conditions.

In this manner the C.P. of Peru will not only increase its membership, but will also fight fluctuation which is still the most serious defect in most of the C.P.'s of South America and the Caribbean countries.