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Increased Intervention Preparations.

By M. Louis (Paris).

More than half of the standing army of Japan is on Chinese territory. More and more Japanese troops are being thrown into the Yang-tse valley. Transports of troops and munitions are still taking place in Manchuria. The Japanese generals are concentrating more and more troops on the Korean-Soviet frontier.

Troops are being concentrated in Manchuria and Korea in order to prepare and carry out the attack on the Soviet Union. The Japanese militarist bandits need a certain time in order to appropriate Manchuria as a place des armes, as a jumping off ground for intervention against the Soviet Union. It is perhaps a question of weeks, or even of a few months. The war preparations are being made with feverish rapidity.

At the same time intervention is being prepared diplomatically, politically and organisationally. The Japanese generals are hastily carrying out the wretched farce of the "independence of Manchuria", the creation of a so-called new State with the former emperor, the degenerate half-idiot Pu-Yi, at the head. And the Commission of the League of Nations is now on its way to Manchuria. It is at present in Tokyo, and, as the "Times" of March 7th reports, the War Minister, General Araki, the ally of the Japanese socialists, declared that China is incapable of maintaining any order in Manchuria and laid stress on the Chinese inability to protect Manchuria against Russian aggression. This argument has certainly made a profound impression on the Commission of the League of Nations.

The white-guardist organisations in Manchuria, France, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria are feverishly arming. They reckon that decisive events can take place even before the Summer months.

The new "government" of the new "independent Manchuria" has already declared that the Chinese part of the

administration of the Chinese Eastern Railway will be dissolved and replaced by representatives of the new "government". There has thereby commenced a fresh chapter in the provocations and challenges of the Soviet Union. And in this the Japanese general staff, the government of the dictator Pu-Yi, can reckon on the full support of the social-fascist war inciters.

Directly on the frontiers of the Soviet Union, in Sakhalin, a few kilometres distant from the Soviet town of Blagovestchensk, there took place a "mutiny" of Chinese troops. It is already reported that the "lives and property of Japanese citizens are in danger". And one can be very certain that Japanese troops will march to Sakhalin, in order to protect the lives and property of the Japanese citizens. A glance at the map shows that the Japanese advance from Sakhalin to Blagovestchensk would endanger the railway line running to Vladivostok, to the coast district of the Soviet Union in the Far East, and at the same time endanger the lines communicating with the really independent Mongolian People's Republic. Therefore, a mutiny is organised in Sakhalin, therefore the lives and property of Japanese subjects are in danger, and therefore Japanese troops march on Blagovestchensk.

A Reuter report from Tokyo states that the Japanese government has instructed Mr. Hirota, the Japanese Ambassador in Moscow, to raise objections to the concentration of troops of the Red Army on the Korean frontier. At the same time Mr. Hirota is to point out that Japan, in accordance with the Peace Treaty of Portsmouth, has not concentrated any troops on the Korean frontier. The meaning of this step would be perfectly clear without the Tanaka memorandum and without the documents published by the "Ivestia".

We are witnessing the immediate preparations for intervention, the commencement of intervention.

At the same time **French imperialism is organising intervention in Europe.** The programme of the Tardieu government is intervention against the Soviet Union. The "Temps", the organ of French heavy industry and of the Foreign Ministry, states quite candidly that the Franco-British agreement is directed against the Soviet Union.

On the occasion of the funeral of Briand, the English Foreign Minister Sir John Simon went to Paris, and conducted negotiations with Tardieu, and the official report of these negotiations is a warning signal. The report states that agreement has been arrived at on the Chinese question and on the question of the Danube Federation, and that the way is being prepared to agreement on other questions.

The imperialistic antagonisms between France and England are not weaker; they have become more acute. The imperialist antagonisms between France and Italy have become exceedingly acute. In the Danube basin, imperialist antagonisms between Hungary and its neighbour, between Austria and its neighbours have greatly increased. The imperialist antagonisms between England and Japan have increased as a result of the world crisis. The antagonisms between Japan and the United States, between England and the United States, have also increased enormously. Tardieu, however, is now attempting provisionally to bridge over the imperialist antagonisms, at least in Europe, in order to be able better to organise and carry out the intervention. The Danube Federation, to which England has already given its approval, is one of the last steps towards achieving this end. The next and perhaps the final step will consist in the attempt to align Germany as an active participator in the intervention-front.

France is organising intervention. And it has already been ascertained in Moscow that the attempt upon the life of Twardovski, Counsellor to the German Embassy in Moscow, was carried out on the instructions of Polish citizens. The connection between Tardieu's diplomacy and the shots fired in Moscow is quite clear; the two are immediately connected. The Berlin "Vorwärts" has taken the war-provokers under its protection and expresses solidarity with the organ of the Polish defensive. And the Czech social fascist senator Moravezyk also attacks the Soviet Union on account of its policy of peace. The social fascists stand protectingly before the war provokers on the Polish General Staff.

In this situation is it at all necessary to point out what are the duties of the Communists, of the revolutionary workers? Is it necessary to insist that the increased preparations for immediate intervention can only be answered by intensifying the fight against imperialist robber war and intervention?

Japanese Bribery in London.

London, 14th March 1932.

Following the revelations of the attempts of the Japanese imperialists to bribe the French press, comes news of similar attempts made in London. The disclosure is made in a journal published in London called the "City Mid-Week", which circulates mainly in financial circles. It says:

"Part of their (the Japanese) general campaign, we learn, is an impudent attempt to influence the British press by various backdoor methods... The Japanese authorities have resorted to the method of attempting to have propaganda printed in the press without the knowledge of the editors concerned. Articles and letters are being submitted, apparently by independent writers, but actually inspired by Japanese agents.

"Various publicists and well known writers who are regular contributors to various newspapers, have been approached and offered payment if they can secure the publication of pro-Japanese articles.

"Several members of Parliament have been asked to sign their names to letters putting the case for Japan or the case against China, in return for a substantial fee. Fortunately the campaign is meeting with little success, but the public should be warned not to take too seriously some of the matter which may be published showing that Japan is a much injured nation, and the Chinese are all bandits and communists for having dared to unite against the invaders of their soil."

POLITICS

The First Ballot at the Presidential Elections in Germany.

Official Final Election Result:

	Presidential Election 1932	Reichstag Election 1930
Thälmann	4,982,870	4,590,160
Hindenburg	18,654,244	21,165,410
Hitler	11,341,119	6,379,672
Duesterberg	2,558,813	2,457,686
Winter	111,492	

The Berlin Election Result:

	Presidential Election 1932	Reichstag Election 1930
Thälmann	685,036	738,983
Hindenburg	1,308,225	1,169,697
Hitler	664,786	395,656
Duesterberg	232,181	351,346

* * *

In its article dealing with the election results the Berlin "Rote Fahne" of 15th of March writes as follows:

On March 13th five million workers and toilers, at the Presidential Election, boldly declared in favour of the revolutionary class struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party. Under the slogan of "class against class", the Communist Party has roused millions of workers to the fight against the employers' offensive, against the bourgeois dictatorship, against the new imperialist war. These five million votes cast for the candidate of the Communist Party are a great review of broad masses of workers who are ready, under the leadership of the Communist Party, to fight for the revolutionary way out of the crisis. The Communist Party has won nearly half a million of new workers' votes.

The 5 million votes polled by the candidate of the Communist Party, are of greater importance than the votes polled at the Reichstag election in September 1930. These votes were obtained in sharpest opposition to the social democratic policy of the "lesser evil", for the waging of the revolutionary class struggle, for the fight for socialist Soviet Germany.

By means of a hypocritical manoeuvre represented by the slogan: "Beat Hitler!", the social democratic party has once again succeeded in inducing great portions of the working class to tolerate the Brüning-Severing dictatorship, those masses who to day still will not believe that Hindenburg's policy paves the way to the open fascist dictatorship.

Never before has the importance and correctness of our strategic main orientation towards winning the majority of the working class, of wresting the workers away from the social democracy as the main buttress of the bourgeoisie been so clearly revealed as in the present situation. The result of the election shows that the 5 million votes which were cast for the Communist Party fall short of the objective possibilities obtaining in the present situation. The election result is unsatisfactory for the Communist Party. We have to state with Bolshevik self-criticism that hitherto we have only partly succeeded in shattering the shameful manoeuvres of the social democratic party, its deceitful phrases of the "lesser evil", of "State capitalism", the policy of the "Iron Front" and convincing the millions of social democratic and trade union workers of the correctness of our policy and wresting them away from the influence of the social democracy. The social democracy succeeded in making use of the counter-revolutionary mass movement of Hitler fascism, which is promoted and financed by the bourgeoisie, in order to fetter great masses of workers to the Hindenburg front. The policy of the bourgeoisie at the Presidential election is a characteristic example of the reciprocal utilisation of the social democracy and the national socialist mass movement by the bourgeoisie.

A comparison of the separate electoral districts shows the election result to be unequal. Whilst we have to record certain successes in rural districts and in Southern Germany (increased vote in Bavaria, Baden, East Prussia as well as in parts

of Rhenish-Westphalia), in other districts we note a stagnation or even a decline. Quite unsatisfactory are the results in Berlin (loss of 54,000 votes as compared with the Reichstag elections), in Hamburg (loss of 11,000 votes as compared with the Reichstag elections and even 44,000 votes as compared with the elections to the Hamburg-Senate) in Upper Silesia (loss of 8,000 votes) and in Halle-Merseburg (loss of 4,000 votes).

We must analyse the causes of these phenomena with bold self-criticism and do everything in order to remove the shortcomings in a rapid and determined manner.

The main causes of our lagging behind the favourable objective possibilities are the following:

Our fight for the united front of the proletariat can be successful only insofar as we prove capable of organising and leading the daily fights of the working class against the capitalist offensive. We have not succeeded in placing ourselves at the head of all forms of mass resistance to the employers attacks and the dictatorship of emergency decrees. We have not conducted a sufficiently ruthless and sharp fight against the social democracy and for the winning of the social democratic and trade union workers. Great weaknesses were shown in the carrying out of our strategic main task: the winning of the majority of the working class and of the united front policy from below. We must know how to promote the initiative of the masses and its fighting will and to convert it into concrete actions of the proletariat. The fight against the social democratic Party has been conducted in an inadequate manner before and during the election.

The fact that the imperialist war had already begun and that the danger of a war of intervention against the Soviet Union is looming up large, was not to a sufficient extent placed in the centre of our agitational-propagandist mass work and the organisation of a concrete mass resistance to the war preparations.

Sharpest self-criticism must be exercised on account of our inadequate work in the factories, the lack of understanding of the necessity to concentrate our whole work, especially our revolutionary trade union work, in the factories. In this respect a thorough turn must be effected throughout the Party, the Red Trade Union Opposition and all mass organisations.

Our activity among the unemployed is likewise inadequate. The Communists on the unemployed councils were not sufficiently active during the election campaign. The launching and waging of great fighting actions of the 6 million unemployed, who are living in deepest misery, is, together with our factory work, the most urgent task of the Party.

A further serious weakness lies in the fact that in directing our main strategic attack against the social democracy we have not sufficiently fulfilled in practice the special task of our fight against the mass influence of the national socialists.

The main shortcoming of our election campaign consisted in our treating too schematically our candidature and policy: "class against class", and not sufficiently connecting them with the concrete questions of daily politics. The fight for the socialist way out of the crisis of the capitalist system was very feebly conducted. These Parliamentary deviations are also expressed in the fact that we did not wage a ruthless struggle against the insolent, counter-revolutionary, deceitful manoeuvres of the socialist labour party and of the Trotskyists who shouted: "for Thälmann — against the C.P. of Germany".

It is therefore necessary to draw the lessons from the main deficiencies and shortcomings in order to set up the tasks for the carrying out of the second ballot in the Presidential election and the Diet elections in Prussia, Württemberg, Bavaria. In accordance with the directives of the Comintern and the Central Committee of our Party, we must place in the centre of our fight the mobilisation of the masses for the fight against imperialist war, for the defence of China and the Soviet Union. We must know how to connect the fight against imperialist war with the mobilisation of the working masses for the fight against the emergency decree dictatorship of Brüning-Severing, against all attacks of the bourgeoisie on the working population.

Our work must be mainly centred on the decisive strata of the working class, on the work in the factories. An army of 5 million, the best, most class-conscious part of the working class, is already following the flag of Communism, the only force which leads the working class to victory over capitalist dictatorship and over fascism. This army will grow. The Communist Party goes to the second ballot with its red workers' candidate Ernst Thälmann. In this second election

struggle it will carry its revolutionary programme, its Communist slogans, with the greatest sharpness and clearness to the masses of the German proletariat and the working people. It will, in a ruthless passionate fight against the social democracy, attack and expose the treacherous policy of the "lesser evil". That is at the same time the best and most effective policy for rallying the masses to the fight against the capitalist class front of Hindenburg, Brüning, Severing and Hitler.

The Uprising in Salvador and our Immediate Tasks.

By O. Rodriguez.

The heroic struggles of the workers and peasants of Salvador, under the leadership of the Communist Party, in the January uprising constitute a landmark in the development of the revolutionary upsurge in the **Caribbean countries** and in the whole of Latin America.

This uprising was a mass movement of toiling peasants and agricultural workers against the insufferable conditions of the deepening crisis and of the white terror, against the intolerable oppression of the native landlords and capitalists in alliance with foreign imperialism. It demonstrated a tremendous accumulation of revolutionary energy, readiness to struggle and self-sacrifice on the part of wide masses of workers and toiling peasants under the banners of the Communist Party, the rapid growth of the revolutionary upsurge among the masses which, in varying degrees, is the present characteristic of all the Caribbean countries. The poorly armed—practically unarmed—masses held their ground for over a week against the combined forces of the government, the armed fascist bands of the "golden" youth of the native and foreign exploiters, and the warships and marines of Yankee and British imperialism. Despite these tremendous odds, the masses have seized and held such cities as **La Libertad, Sonsonate, Ahuchapan** and many smaller towns in the important coffee region of the country, spreading throughout the entire Pacific coast and seriously threatening the capital of Salvador. The uprising showed the deep sympathies for the revolutionary struggles of the masses among the rank and file of the army which, on various occasions, had refused to fire upon the insurgents.

The workers and peasants of Salvador, led by the Communist Party, have written an undying and glorious chapter in the history of the world revolutionary movement. With their lives and blood they have proven to the struggling masses everywhere that on the next and higher stage of struggle, with a stronger Communist Party and more powerful revolutionary unions and Peasant Leagues that will be created in the course of the daily fight for the immediate demands of the workers and peasants, the victory must and will belong to the masses.

Supported by the Yankee, British and Canadian warships and marines, the government of Maximiliano Martinez has crushed the January uprising of the workers and peasants, killing and wounding between 500 and 2000 people. The government in alliance with the imperialists has unchained the wildest white terror, carrying through daily mass executions of all "suspected" of participation or even sympathy with the uprising. With special bestiality the white terror is raging against the Communist Party, the revolutionary unions and Peasant Leagues. This mad white terror is rapidly spreading to the other Caribbean countries, especially **Guatemala and Honduras**, in a desperate effort to check the growth of the revolutionary upsurge and as a measure of war preparations under the hegemony of foreign (chiefly, Yankee) imperialism. It is the task of the Communist Parties in the Caribbean countries to mobilise the widest masses of employed and unemployed workers, toiling peasants, and all sincere anti-imperialist elements, for a determined struggle against the white terror, especially in Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras, against the general offensive of imperialism and its native supporters (wage cuts, unemployment, etc.), against the imperialist robber war on China and for the defence of the Chinese revolution and the Soviet Union.

The lack of sufficient information prevents us at this time from making a complete evaluation of the struggles and lessons of the January uprising in Salvador. The Manifesto of the Communist Party of Salvador, published in the Bulletin of

the CP. of Honduras, January 1st, 1932, before the outbreak of the struggles, suffers from a number of basic defects. These defects are, in our opinion, as follows:

1. The Manifesto does not formulate the partial economic and some basic political demands of the masses.

2. The Manifesto does not call upon the masses for any concrete action (strikes, mass meetings demonstrations, etc.)

3. The Manifesto does not propose to the masses any definite and concrete forms of organisation for the carrying on of the struggle. On this point, as well as on the question of methods of struggle, the Manifesto contains neither slogans of action (Committees of Action, Revolutionary Peasant Committees, Joint Worker-Peasant Committees of Action) nor propaganda slogans (Soviets). The basic task of organizing Workers' and Peasants' Defence Corps is also absent from the Manifesto.

4. The basic demands of the agrarian anti-imperialist revolution are not stated with sufficient clearness, especially the anti-imperialist demands (confiscation of all imperialist enterprises, cancellation of foreign debts, withdrawal of all armed and other forces of foreign imperialism, etc.).

These basic defects of the Manifesto clearly show a non-Leninist approach to the task of unfolding the counter-offensive of the Salvadorean workers and peasants against the offensive of the exploiters. The actual course of the January events, the fact that the fight began with the highest form of revolutionary mass struggle (uprising) without the previous development and organisation of the daily struggles of the

masses through strikes, demonstrations, hunger marches, etc., demonstrates the same basic weaknesses as those contained in the Manifesto. These weaknesses are the result of the opportunist tendencies in our midst that have a "left" sectarian, a putchist approach to the tasks of the Communist Party. One of the chief lessons of the Salvadorean uprising is the great danger of putchist and "left" sectarian tendencies against which we must wage the most energetic struggle at the same time carrying on a merciless fight against the Right opportunism—the main danger in the present period—which hesitates to place the party at the head of the masses in their struggles against the landlord-bourgeois-imperialist offensive.

The workers and peasants of Salvador, under the leadership of the Communist Party, will continue with redoubled energy the fight against the offensive of the exploiters, learning from the defeat how best to prepare the fight for the coming victory. Our comrades must bend all their efforts to maintain the closest possible contact with the masses and to prosecute with the greatest energy the task of organising and leading the daily struggles of the workers and peasants for the improvement of their conditions. The utmost attention must be paid to the task of developing methods of illegal work under the present conditions of terror, to protect the Party organisation from the mad onslaughts of the enemy, at the same time utilising even the smallest possibilities for legal mass work, fighting for such possibilities, combining the illegal with the legal work and concentrating our activities on the plantations, haciendas and factories.

The War

The League of Nations Organises the War Against China.

By Clemens Dutt (London).

By fixing March 3 for the first meeting of the whole Assembly of the League of Nations, containing representatives of all the States adhering to the League for the purpose of dealing with the situation in the Far East, the big Powers in control imagined that they had allowed plenty of time for the defeat of the Chinese forces and that, consequently, they would be able to proceed at once with their plans and bargaining for the extension of the foreign Concessions and the dividing up of China. This was the reason why, in spite of the fact that the Japanese bombardment and destruction in Shanghai began on January 28th, the Council of the League of Nations took no steps of any importance until February 17th when it decided to send a special Note to Japan "appealing to the better nature of the Japanese people" (London "Times") and it was not until February 19th that a special Council meeting decided to convene the full Assembly on March 3rd.

Unfortunately for these manoeuvres, the Japanese military invasion of China, although backed by 50,000 troops with all the latest death-dealing equipment of modern war technique and protected by their safe base in the International Settlement, encountered an unexpectedly stubborn resistance from the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers in the invaded area. As a result, the operations took on far greater dimensions than had originally been expected, the toll in casualties and destruction was far heavier, and the Japanese were hard put to it to secure even the appearance of the military victory which was necessary for them if the League was to be faced with the necessity of recognising a fait accompli.

According to plan, the Japanese Army should have secured its objectives before the end of February, the Nanking Government was to have agreed on surrender and peace and all preparations were to have been made so that the League of Nations Assembly could note the fact that peace had been restored and that both sides, together with the representatives of the big Powers, were sitting down at a Conference in Shanghai to settle how the booty should be divided. In that case all the Assembly would have to do would be to take the **Round Table Conference** under its protection and bestow its blessing on the proceedings. This idyllic plan came to grief owing to the refusal of the Chinese masses to obey the surrender orders of the Kuomintang and it was only by the

utmost effort that the first stages of the plan could be put through in time for the Assembly meeting.

Thus, the Assembly presented a spectacle of unparalleled imperialist hypocrisy, being compelled in order to carry through its plans, to deliberately ignore or make a mock of obviously existing facts and even force through its intentions at the expense of openly sacrificing the whole sacred pretence of existing to preserve international peace and to protect the weaker nations from attacks by the bigger ones, in a word, all the pacifist humbug put forward by the founders of the League in order to disguise its purpose. **The Assembly of the League had not only to pretend that there was no war in the Far East but also that the war operations in these "hostilities", which were not a war, had come to an end.** The Assembly did finally decide in accordance with the wishes of the chief Powers, giving a free hand to Japan in Manchuria and making preparations for the Conference in Shanghai, but the reports of the proceedings add the culminating proof to the whole evidence which has been accumulating during the last six months, exposing the role of the League of Nations as the direct organiser of the war in the Far East.

Japan was only just able to put through its manoeuvres in time for the benefit of the Assembly meeting owing to the aid of the treacherous Kuomintang and the active assistance of the imperialist Powers. Thanks to the former, it was able to secure the withdrawal of the Chinese defence forces from Chapei and Woosung and to advance its troops far considerably more than 20 kilometres inland, thanks to the latter, it was able to stage a fake armistice arranged on board the British flagship and to pretend that it had ceased hostilities. In spite of the fact that all evidence showed that the Japanese were not only continuing the fight but were even repudiating the conditions put forward by their own mediators on the British flagship (at which only representatives of the Japanese Navy and not of the Army was represented), and in spite of the fact that the Japanese Government had obviously no intentions of withdrawing its armed forces in China, the League of Nations Assembly, when it met on March 3rd, declared through the mouth of its President, the French Socialist Paul-Boncour, that peace had been restored and "the honour of the League of Nations is saved".

Unfortunately for the "honour" of the League of Nations it became more and more evident the following week, that hostilities had not come to an end. It became more and more clear that the war continued and that the so-called cessation of hostilities was only a cheating manoeuvre of Japan in order to assist the predatory plans of the League of Nations and in order, under the cover of the pretended peace, to seize the most important industrial territory in China and begin the partition. It was even difficult for the delegates themselves to remember that the events in the Far East must not be described as a war. Thus the "Manchester Guardian" (March 5) reports:

"Mr. Sato (the Japanese delegate) in explaining why Japanese military reinforcements were arriving inadvertently used the words 'la guerre' (the war) with reference to the Far Eastern conflict, but the slip was corrected by the translator who used the word hostilities instead. . . . Nor does the slip appear in the verbatim report."

Nevertheless, reports of continuing Japanese attacks kept being put forward by the Chinese representatives. Finally, the League was forced openly to declare that it would not hear of any war operations taking place. M. Boncour declared that if the Assembly continued to listen to all the contradictory reports received, "**the League of Nations would be engaged in a discussion based on conflicting information!**" They must not be reminded of the truth.

Then came the problem of the question of the breach of the Covenant of the League by Japan and whether the League should recognise that Japan had broken every principle on which the League was supposed to be founded. Japan itself has an easy way out of this difficulty. Thus, when the League of Nations Manchuria Commission, which is at present investigating the Manchurian Problem by dining and wining with the leading feudal statesmen and industrialists in Japan, was entertained to a banquet by the Japanese emperor on March 3rd, Viscount Ishii, who presided, declared:

"A new interpretation of the League Covenant was necessary to meet the dangers to peace inherent in domestic anarchy."

This line, that the League of Nations Covenant does not apply to small nations without a settled government, has received full support from British imperialist circles but, naturally, it rather excites perturbation among the smaller States which are members of the League of Nations. Thus, when it came to the turn of the later to say their piece at the Assembly meeting, no less than 15 declarations by the delegates of small nations were made, and it was noted with some surprise that "one and all regard Manchuria as a clear example of the invasion of one State by another and take no account of the special situation in China." (Times, March 7th).

The responsible Powers at the head of the League could not, of course, be turned from their course by the misgivings of the small States. But they could not either adopt the open drastic line suggested by Japan. They were, accordingly, compelled to adopt a policy less frankly aggressive but more cynical and equally revealing as regards the character of the League. Their way out was, in effect, to say firstly that it was not for the League to make moral judgements and to pronounce who was wrong and who was right; its duty was only to make peace and, secondly, that their best course was to reaffirm the principles on which the League was founded, even if they were not observed. This was formulated in the important statement of Sir John Simon, the British Foreign Secretary, who declared:

"The first duty of the League was mediation. **The League could not pronounce a judgement on matters in controversy** but it might make a declaration reaffirming the fundamental principles of the League. . . . It would be better for the League to proclaim its principles, **even though it failed to get them observed**, than to forsake these principles by compromise. (Times, March 8th.)

It was finally agreed that this policy should be formulated in a resolution to be adopted by the General Committee on March 11th. The resolution once more calls attention to the undertaking involved in the Covenant of the League and draws the attention of all members to the pledge of

territorial inviolability and political independence therein contained. The resolution further declares, as its most drastic threat, that the League will not recognise any Treaty or Agreement which is arrived at by methods contrary to the Covenant. It proposes the appointment of a Committee of Nineteen Members which shall report on the withdrawal of troops and the restoration of peace and order. This Committee is to make its first report on May 1st.

Thus, on the whole, the big Powers have managed to get their way. **Most important of all, the question of Manchuria was kept altogether in the background.** In effect, Japan is given full authorisation to go ahead with its annexation of Manchuria and the preparation of interventionist war against the Soviet Union. The peace negotiations for the withdrawal of Japanese troops from China are obviously to be based on the establishment of so-called neutral zones round the big trading centres which obviously represent an extension of the foreign concessions, the abolition of which has always been the first demand of the Chinese nationalist movement. The League of Nations is playing a leading role in the extension of foreign occupation in China and the colonisation of the country. It will lead the negotiations between Japan and the national betrayers of the Nanking Government for this purpose.

In spite of the exposure presented by the meeting of the League Assembly, the **Second International** still continues to ask for pressure to be put on the League organisation of war-mongers in order that they should suppress war. But, in the meantime, events are still developing. The Japanese invading forces have presented a new ultimatum threatening a new offensive unless the Chinese defending army retreats further. Already preparations for this offensive are in full swing. At the same time the **wave of popular indignation in China at the treachery of the Kuomintang and Nanking Government is mounting higher and higher.** The war against the united imperialist attack on China, against the imperialist attempt to crush Soviet China and to mobilise intervention against the U.S.S.R., can only be waged as a national-revolutionary war of the Chinese masses under the leadership of the Chinese working class and with the support of the militant working class throughout the world. The League of Nations has done nothing to allay the war danger; on the contrary, it itself makes and leads the war. The fight against the war and the imperialist war makers is the immediate and urgent duty of the world proletariat.

WAR AND SOCIAL FASCISM

Vandervelde—a Japanese War-Propaganda Agent.

By M. Louis (Paris).

The II. International is **increasing** its war incitement. **The Chairman of the II. International, M. Vandervelde**, the war inciter and organiser of intervention, is distinguishing himself in this sphere. In "Gesellschaft", the theoretical organ published by Hilferding, he has written an article on "the development in China".

Vandervelde, of course, takes up a position in favour of the hangmen and betrayers of the Kuomintang, the agents of imperialism in China, who have delivered Manchuria and Shanghai over to Japanese imperialism. The Soviet revolution, the red army of the Chinese workers and peasants, are Vandervelde's enemies. Vandervelde writes only of "red bands", and he is very downhearted because the Kuomintang hangmen have been unable to defeat these "red bands".

"In spite of the personal intervention of Chiang Kai-shek, the red bands still continued their mischievous activity. It was in vain that they were defeated and dispersed; they came together again, for their recruiters were hunger and misery."

M. Vandervelde speaks the language of the imperialists and of the Kuomintang. For the chairman of the II. International, Soviet revolution and Red Army are red bands. The same Vandervelde, however, at the same time spreads deliberate lies, idiotic despicable calumnies about the Chinese Communists. He states:

"Nevertheless, the first attack from outside against Chinese integrity sufficed in order, over night, so to speak, to put an end to all inner disputes and to weld the hostile parties into a united front... On the 29th (September), even the Bolshevik (or alleged Bolshevik) leaders subordinated themselves to Marshal Chiang Kai-shek."

This lie is all too obvious. It should be remarked in passing, that it is a deliberate lie to say that unity of the Kuomintang has been established. The various Kuomintang groups fought one another in the interests of the various imperialist Powers. Vandervelde's assertion that the Bolshevik leaders in China submitted to Chiang-Kai-shek is (one cannot really find a milder expression) a damnable, idiotic, despicable lie. The Chinese Bolsheviks are taking part in the fight against Japanese imperialism as an independent force; they are for the revolutionary war, against Japanese imperialism, for the revolutionary war against the division of China, for the independence, inviolability and unity of China against all imperialists; but in order to conduct the revolutionary war, they are fighting for the overthrow of the Kuomintang traitors.

The Japanese war-propaganda centre once spread the lie, that the Chinese Bolsheviks had submitted to the Kuomintang, but abandoned it later. Vandervelde eagerly seizes upon this lie, originated by the Japanese war-propaganda centre, in order to make propaganda for the "national united front" advocated by the II. International. He diligently serves Japanese propaganda not only on this question, but also asserts that Manchuria is a sort of "no man's land with an aboriginal population". As a matter of fact, Manchuria is inhabited by 30 million Chinese, 1 million Koreans and 100,000 Manchus. Vandervelde's thesis is also put forward by Mr. Sato, the Japanese representative in Geneva. M. Vandervelde, however, is chairman of the International of war-inciters not solely in order to make propaganda for Japan. His chief task consists in inciting against the Soviet Union and taking part in the preparation and organising of intervention against the proletarian State. Vandervelde writes:

"It is said that Japan's attack on Mukden has called forth a strong protest in Moscow. This is perhaps true in regard to circles of the III. International, which cannot on principle do otherwise than fight against every imperialism, excepting of course their own. Whether this is the case in official circles and in the Kremlin appears very doubtful. It is much more probable that the Russian and Japanese governments—just as at one time Russia and England in Persia—do not think of quarrelling over their spheres of influence in Manchuria."

Thus according to Vandervelde, the Soviet Union is an imperialist country, and the III. International supports the imperialism of the Soviet Union. This thesis is indispensably necessary for the bourgeoisie, and Vandervelde supplies it, while at the same time he has the impudence to assert that "the Russian and Japanese governments—just as at one time Russia and England in Persia—do not think of quarrelling over their spheres of influence in Manchuria". Vandervelde puts the Soviet Union on a same footing with Russia of the Romanovs, with England and other imperialist States, and makes the dirty insinuation that there exists an understanding between the Soviet Union and Japan. In order to back up his criminal thesis, this "socialist" asserts that the Soviet Union has laid its hand on Eastern Mongolia, while he knows all the time that Eastern Mongolia is an independent Republic in which there is not a single Red Army man. The Tanaka memorandum, however, contemplates the annexation of the Mongolian People's Republic; and Vandervelde supplies the ideology for this.

One cannot enumerate all Vandervelde's despicable lies and distortions. They are too many. One must point out, however, that Vandervelde is not only chairman of the II. International, but also a former and future Minister of the king of Belgium. He must, therefore, in the first place support Belgian imperialism and defend its interests. He also has the amazing audacity to assert that "Belgium was the first European nation voluntarily to renounce its territorial rights in China". He has the effrontery to put forward the obvious lie "that the Belgians in China—of their own free will—occupy the same position as the Germans and Austrians, who were deprived of their concessions by the Treaty of 1919 and in return were given certain extraterritorial rights." It is incredible how Vander-

velde can lie so impudently, how he can speculate on the ignorance of the social democratic readers.

For what are the facts? Belgium's unequal treaties with China expired in 1926. In that year the social democrat Vandervelde, who was Foreign Minister in the Belgian government at that time, sharply opposed the termination of the Belgian-Chinese Treaty on the part of the Chinese. He caused to be arrested those Chinese students who protested in Brussels against the attitude of the Belgian government, and had some of them expelled from the country. When the Peking government declared the Treaty to be invalid, Vandervelde appealed to the imperialist Hague Court of Arbitration for the protection of Belgian privileges in China.

The Germans and Austrians have of course no extraterritorial rights; but the Belgians have these rights. Only the Soviet Union has voluntarily renounced all concessions and all unequal treaties.

The English Labour Party represents the policy of British imperialism as a model, declaring that in 1926, when British goods were boycotted and British lives endangered, "the British government adopted a policy of liberal and friendly co-operation with the new China". Vandervelde recommends Belgian imperialism as a model. Every merchant praises his own goods, and every social imperialist supports his own imperialism.

For the partition of China, against the Chinese revolution, for the Japanese robber-war, against the Soviet Union, for its own imperialism, for intervention with its own bourgeoisie—that is the policy of the II. International.

INTERNATIONAL FIGHT AGAINST WAR AND INTERVENTION

The Fight of the Japanese Proletariat against the War.

By J. W.

The Japanese proletariat is still very young. It grew up and developed under conditions of an absence in the country of any social conflicts, in fact of any striving for freedom worth mentioning. The stifling atmosphere of a monarchist reaction has in the course of a number of decades stamped even the proletariat with a certain conservatism. Only a small percentage of the workers have been drawn into any organisation. The Communist Party has existed only 6 to 7 years and is forced into conditions of strict illegality. Revolutionary traditions are only now being created in the country.

The faithful lackeys of the Japanese monarchy, the social democrats, are striving with all their powers to stir up the chauvinist feelings of the masses and to persuade them to support the robber-war in China. They are endeavouring to divert the feeling of discontent and despair among the disinherited masses into the channel of war fever. Whilst the workers and peasants are fighting against the war, the social democrats organised a demonstration in front of the premises of the Mizui concern under the slogan: "Against foreign-exchange speculation, the profits of speculation to be applied for war purposes and for the support of the soldiers at the front." They thereby wish to make use of the bitterness of the masses against inflation and high prices for the purpose of war-incitement. Not content with supporting the slogans of the bourgeoisie, the social democrats are also attempting to use "socialist" slogans in the service of chauvinism. They want to prove that "the intervention in Manchuria is not an imperialist act, as even a socialist Japan would have to fight for the necessary raw material for its industry", that "these materials are, however, in the hands of America, England and Russia". The Japanese social democrats wish to use the desire of the masses for socialism in order to justify the plundering of China and the preparations of intervention against the Soviet Union as well as war against America and England.

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In order to arrive at a correct estimation of the anti-war mood in Japan, one must bear in mind that an outspoken military and police-absolutism prevails in the country. Any poor person can be arrested by the police without ado and

held in police custody for months. The police cells are the terror of the propertyless. Years of imprisonment are nothing in comparison with one week's confinement in the police cells.

The social democrats help the police in every way. They are in open alliance with them, which is all the firmer as it is to their mutual advantage. Here are a few facts: In the year 1931 there took place the Congress of the Left Peasant League "Dseno". The delegates sympathising with the Communist Party formed the majority. There thereupon took place, obviously at the request of the social democrats, the arrest of all Left delegates, which circumstance was then used by the social democrats, who were left without any opponents, in order to get the Central Committee of the League into their hands. This Central Committee, which came about thanks to the help of the police, then decided to expel all the arrested delegates from the C.C. and the League.

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The advance-guard of the proletariat, the Communist Party of Japan, has adopted a correct attitude in regard to the question of the war, the protection of the Chinese people and of the Soviet Union. Various mistakes and omissions

International Mobilisation for the Struggle against War.

England

18th to 23rd March: Fighting Week against imperialist war.

20th March: Fighting Day against imperialist war.

Norway

15th to 22nd March: Anti-war week.

Holland

20th to 27th March: Anti-imperialist fighting week.

27th March: People's Congress against imperialist war and the Dutch imperialist government.

Switzerland

3rd to 9th April: Anti-war week.

France

24th to 31st March: Fighting week against the war.

cannot alter this fundamental fact. Already before Japan's attack on China, the Communist Party of Japan warned the masses of the people. The organ of the C.P. of Japan "Sekki" (Red Flag) published on July 5th last year an article entitled: "Fight against the war preparations"! in which it wrote:

"The whole of the bourgeois press is making propaganda for the idea of the special importance of Manchuria and Mongolia as an impulse to a new revival of Japan. It is agitating for war. ... Workers and peasants! Refuse to pay any taxes! Refuse to pay the blood-taxes for the interests of finance capital! All our forces in the service of the fight for emancipation from the capitalist yoke."

On August 1st, the Party carried out a number of strikes and demonstrations against the war. As an answer the police arrested more than 1200 workers.

On September 19th, the day on which the Japanese army commenced the attack on Mukden, the Communist Party issued a Manifesto to "The workers, peasants and soldiers!" in which it stated: "The bourgeoisie and the landowners have already robbed you of work, bread, land and freedom. The war serves their interests. It will increase your sufferings still further and bring you utter ruin." The manifesto called for the fight: "For the immediate withdrawal of the troops from Mukden and all occupied districts, do not transport a single soldier. Resist all warlike actions of Japanese imperialism, enter into an alliance with the Chinese workers and peasants. Organise strikes and mass demonstrations against the war and for your demands!" The Party declared that "the fight for peace without a revolutionary fight at the same time is an empty, lying phrase." Its slogan is: "down with imperialist Japan, for Soviet Japan!"

The fact that the number of strike struggles and peasant outbreaks in Japan have increased and continue to increase in the period of the war is of very great importance. The anti-war and anti-government character of the fight of the workers and peasants is expressed particularly clearly in the fact that nearly all the strikes and peasant outbreaks are accompanied by fierce street collisions with the police, as well as in the fact that in these collisions the workers have the sympathy of the neighbouring inhabitants and are directly supported by the latter. In the rural districts, the peasants render aid by supplying food.

The bourgeois and the social democratic press maintain complete silence regarding the direct actions against the war. It was obviously only due to an oversight that a bourgeois newspaper published a report of a strike at an aircraft factory which is engaged on war work. If, however, we take a glance at the five numbers of the illegal newspaper "Musansi Simbun" which has come into our hands, we find in every number numerous reports from workers correspondents of anti-war actions in various parts of the country. The issue of October 18 gives reports of a number of demonstrations against the war, which took place on October 7th:

"The demonstrations took place at the following places: at building works and at the Labour Exchange, at the pump factory etc. Delegate conferences were held on October 5 in the following undertakings: in the tramway depot, in a department of the electricity works, at the Labour Exchange, the textile factory, at the tobacco factory; on October 6th, at a chandelier factory, at an iron works, in a musical instrument factory, in a rubber factory, in a woollen factory, in the printing works, in a tobacco factory (another one), at two Labour Exchanges. Further, delegate conferences were held at an iron works where the workers are on strike, at an electro-technical factory and elsewhere; slogans against the war in Manchuria and Mongolia were issued, namely: hands off Manchuria and China, down with the imperialist government of Japan, support the unemployed instead of spending money on the war."

The issue of November 15 published a report, still incomplete, of the demonstrations on the occasion of the October Celebrations, and writes:

"On November 7th demonstrations under the slogans 'Long live the 14th Anniversary of the October Revolution! Down with the imperialist war, protect the Soviet Union!' took place in the following towns: Tokyo—in Kudan, in the tramway depot, at the Tokyo railway station, in the imperial and in the Vased (university). In spite of the fact that more than 200 comrades were arrested before the demonstrations, more than 2,500 persons took part in the demonstrations in Tokyo. On the same day, many thousands of leaflets were distributed. In Kudan, 400 workers (unemployed, railway workers, and printers) took part in a demonstration. More than 500 workers took part in a demonstration at the Tokyo railway station. Here over 100 persons were arrested. In the universities of Tokyo and Vased, demonstrations attended by more than 1,000 students took place. Over 100 workers demonstrated at the big printing works Sūjesija. A meeting of over 400 strikers was held at the textile mills. Unemployed and factory workers took part in demonstrations at the 3 Labour Exchanges."

There follow further reports of similar demonstrations against the war in a number of industrial centres: Osaka, Yokohama etc.

In the issue of November 28 we find a number of reports of anti-war demonstrations which took place in many villages. One such report reads as follows:

"In the prefecture of Toyama a meeting was organised which was attended by over 500 peasants, who thereupon marched in a demonstration procession. At the collisions with the police the demonstrators called out: 'When we have a Soviet government, you (the police and nationalists) will get short shrift'. On the following day, the police, out of fear of an attack by the masses, were compelled to release the five persons they had arrested."

In the same number we find the following communication from a correspondent:

"At a meeting of working men and women of the textile mill 'Tokyo-Moss', which was convened by the reformist trade union, a working woman quite openly declared: 'The war in Manchuria is an imperialist war to enrich the capitalists at

our cost; our work becomes harder every day; we are in constant danger of dismissal and wage reductions; the leaders (reformists) do nothing for us. We are absolutely against the war. She was handed over by the reformist leaders and the management to the police. At the mill, signatures of the workers to a protest against her dismissal were collected with great success."

The issue of December 19 reports:

"The workers of 7 factories in Tokyo who were on strike organised on November 28th a joint demonstration under the slogans: 'Down with the imperialist war', 'down with the dismissals'. At this demonstration a joint strike committee was elected."

At a locality in the provinces a conference of the local council and of the peasant organisations adopted a decision calling for the fight against the imperialist war and the immediate withdrawal of the troops from Manchuria. At this Conference there were present 14 delegates elected by the members, as well as 4 guests.

What are the most outstanding facts in these communications from worker correspondents on the fight against war?

The anti-war movement is springing up from **below**. The advanced workers are displaying initiative, energy and activity in developing and spreading the anti-war movement.

Not only workers but also peasants are participating in the movement. It is impossible to overestimate this fact.

The anti-war movement already bears the active character of street demonstrations and meetings, economic strikes, and actions of the peasants against the big landowners.

The continued anti-war demonstrations of the poor students bear witness to the anti-war feeling of the lower strata of the population. According to the latest reports dated 11th February, a fresh students demonstration against the war has taken place.

The anti-war feeling is finding its way into the citadel of Japanese imperialism, into its army, where things have already gone so far that the soldiers are refusing to fight and demanding to be sent home. These actions of the soldiers against the war show that the ferment among the soldiers is already widespread. This is confirmed by an American paper, which refers to the bad morale of the Japanese army.

The number of immediate fighters against war does not, for the time being, extend beyond a few thousand. But there are workers, peasants and students who demonstrate against the war although they know that their fate may be the torture chamber. There are soldiers who refuse to fight although they know that they will be court-martialled for doing so. Each one of these workers and soldiers, peasants and students expresses the inward hopes and strivings of many hundred of thousands who have not yet reached this height of heroism, but soon will.

The anti-war movement in Japan shows that the war against China and the Soviet Union is becoming more and more unpopular among the great mass of the working population of Japan.

In Japan we have an extraordinary favourable situation for the fight to convert the imperialist war into civil war, for the people's revolution against the war and the bourgeois-landowning monarchy, for the fight for rice, for land and liberty, for the workers and peasants government.

Anti-imperialist Demonstrations in Holland.

Amsterdam, 11th March 1932.

Many hundreds of working men and women demonstrated here against Japanese imperialism. In front of the Japanese Consulate mounted police made a sabre charge on the demonstration. Disturbances continued until late in the evening.

In **Rotterdam**, where a similar demonstration took place the workers affixed a large red streamer to the consulate building bearing the inscription, "Down with Japanese Imperialism! Hands off China and the Soviet Union!". The windows of the consulate and the Japanese coat of arms were destroyed.

Who is Conducting the Defensive War against the Japanese Robber War?

By Min-tin.

Peking, February 26.

War, conducted with the most modern technical means and utilising all the experience of the last world war, commenced already a month ago in Shanghai. The soldiers of the 19th Canton army, the working men and women of Shanghai and the students are carrying on a heroic defensive fight. One asks, how is it possible to wage such a defensive fight against the well trained Japanese army?

The Chinese lackeys of the imperialists: the Kuomintang militarists, bureaucrats and politicians of all shades, who wish to avoid a defensive fight at any cost, who are still negotiating with the Japanese and other imperialists in Shanghai, Nanking, Geneva etc. and endeavouring to sabotage and frustrate the defence put up by the Shanghai proletariat, hastened to declare that it was a slander to say they were against the defensive fight. By speeches and various manoeuvres they now wish to create the impression that they were the leaders of the defensive fight. But what are the actual facts?

Wang-Chin-Wei, the present head of the Nanking government, declared after the outbreak of the war that the Nanking government would in no event wage war against Japan but settle the conflict solely by diplomatic means. Instead of repelling the Japanese attack, he is preparing the **fourth campaign against the Chinese Soviet districts.**

Chiang-Kai-shek, colleague of Wang-Chin-Wei in the Nanking government, is declared by his enemies in the Kuomintang to be a consistent opponent of any breach of relations with Japan. He returned to Nanking at the end of January only because Wang-Chin-Wei had promised him to sever the alliance with the "unruly" elements, such as Eugen Chen. "The Manchou Pao", published in Dairen, stated in its issue of January 26th that Chiang-Kai-shek had delivered a big speech in which he declared:

"Since the events in Manchuria, many people have advocated a war with Japan. Should Japan one day be induced by such phrases really to proclaim war, I am afraid that within 2 to 3 days it would occupy the whole of our coastal districts and the Yangtse valley. Our leader, Sun Yat Sen, in his time always warned us against adopting an absolutely hostile attitude towards Japan, for within ten days it could destroy our whole power in China."

Up to the present, this betrayer of the people has refused to send his well-armed troops to Shanghai. He will send them only on condition that the troops at present fighting in Shanghai are removed. This means in practice, the disarming of the soldiers of the 19th Canton army, the fighting Shanghai proletariat and students, and also the voluntary handing over Shanghai to the imperialists.

And how does the matter stand with the Eugen Chen-Sun Fo group, who present Wang-Chin-wei and Chiang Kai-shek as being sabotegers of the war against Japan? Their ministerial posts were sacrificed for the sake of the alliance between Wang-chin-wei and Chiang-Kai-shek. In the meantime, they make out as if their break with Wang-Chin-wei was the result of their anti-Japanese policy. It is known that ever since his secret journey, as foreign Minister of the Canton government, to Tokyo—after the occupation of Mukden by Japan—Eugen Chen has been regarded by the whole of the Chinese people as a betrayer of his country. It is an open secret that while in Tokyo he gave his approval to an agreement under which Manchuria and Mongolia is ceded to Japan. The indignation of the Chinese people against Eugen Chen is so great that the workers and students of Canton have many times attempted to bring him before a Court. The indignation of the working masses in Nanking and Shanghai was particularly great after his appointment to the position of Foreign Minister in the Nanking government, in the middle of January last. In order to maintain his position, he decided then to pose as an enemy of Japan, and on the occasion of the Japanese ultimatum to the mayor of Shanghai he proposed to the government that it immediately break off diplomatic relations with Japan, without entering into war, in order thereby to exert pressure upon Geneva and Washington and compel them to interfere in the Sino-Japanese conflict. His policy means in practice: Mongolia and Manchuria for

Japan; division of the rest of China among all the imperialists. As a result of the uninterrupted victories in Shanghai, the Canton rulers, who have again formed a separate government, represent Eugen Chen as their hero in order to strengthen their position against Nanking.

After the first victories of his soldiers and the Shanghai working masses, the commander of the 19th army **Tsai Chin-kai**, made out as if he had been the organiser of these fights, and caused to be announced in the newspapers that he had taken leave of his family in order to fight to the bitter end. As a matter of fact, this "heroic" general has since this time been sitting in the halls of the foreign consulates discussing with the Japanese and other foreign representatives the question of capitulation, the establishment of a neutral zone and the termination of the war. Two hours before the outbreak of war, the correspondent of the "Ta Kung Pao" telegraphed to Tientsin that Tsai Chin-kai, as a result of gifts of money from the Shanghai bankers and Chamber of Commerce, had ordered his troops to withdraw from Shanghai. It is perfectly clear that Tsai-Chin-kai, right from the commencement up to the present time, sought to hinder, betray or to break off the defensive fight against the Japanese invasion. The Shanghai working masses have seen through his game and describe him as a second edition of General Ma in Manchuria.

Who are the actual leaders of the defensive fight? From all the news published in the world press and the reports from Chinese newspapers, it is to be clearly seen, in spite of their tendencious character, that the war is being conducted by the revolutionary soldiers of the 19th Army, the Shanghai working men and women and the students and poor population of the town. The "United Press" points out that the Japanese sailors and soldiers wantonly fired with machine guns on passers-by in Hongku. The "United Press" further reports that the Japanese declared these measures to be necessary in order to drive out the Chinese bandits and partisans. On the 31st January, "Ta Kung Pao" reported from Shanghai: "Masses of students are streaming into the army in order to be employed on transport service. It is specially noteworthy that the majority of the workers from the foreign quarters and the Chinese city are forming themselves into groups of partisans for the fight against the Japanese . . ." Many working women are taking part in the fighting, as Chapei is a silk spinning centre of Shanghai. The "Manchou Pao" reported on February 10, that more than 80 armed women were taken prisoner by the Japanese on the Woosung front and immediately shot. On February 29, after the first fight, soldiers' committees of revolutionary soldiers and armed workers were formed. At the same time, the working class of Shanghai proclaimed a general strike. The small shopkeepers compelled the Chamber of Commerce to bring business to a standstill. On the initiative of the Anti-Imperialist League, an anti-Japanese fighting committee was formed for the purpose of setting up a united leadership.

The fights in Shanghai have provided the revolutionary movement with a number of lessons: firstly, the forces of the revolutionary Chinese masses are mature and sufficient in order to take up the fight against the imperialists. Secondly, superior war technique, modern weapons and favourable strategic situation are not sufficient in order to conduct war against the will of the working masses. Thirdly, an army which has not the masses behind it is not able to undertake a successful war. Fourthly, the Chinese Red workers and peasants army is invincible. If to-day the 19th army in Shanghai, together with the Shanghai working masses, is able to offer such tenacious resistance to Japanese imperialism, then the Red Army will be able to achieve great victories. This lesson, which the Shanghai proletariat has now given us, is able to shatter all the counter-revolutionary theories, both inside and outside our ranks, regarding the fight for emancipation.

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Anti-Japanese Demonstration in Vienna.

Vienna, 13th March 1932.

Yesterday evening a powerful demonstration of **young workers** took place in front of the Japanese Embassy here against the criminal policy of Japanese imperialism in the Far East and in defence of the Soviet Union. The demonstrating young workers expressed their disapproval of the Japanese attitude in the usual fashion by smashing all available windows. The police arrested two young workers.

Anti-War Demonstrations in the U.S.A.

New York, 13th March 1932.

An anti-war demonstration of several hundred revolutionary workers took place in front of the Japanese Consulate in **Chicago**. The demonstrating workers were brutally attacked by the police and their posters were torn. Many workers were beaten up by the police. Two workers and three policemen received bullet wounds. 30 demonstrating workers were arrested including a worker named Stephen Check who is accused of having fired at the police.

Demonstrations against imperialist war and in defence of the Soviet Union also took place in the banking quarter of **New York**.

The four workers killed by the police in **Detroit** were buried yesterday. 6,000 workers followed the coffins bearing red flags and banners. The coffins of the murdered workers were draped with red. The procession halted near the town hall and a great protest meeting was held. The police were unable to prevent mass participation although they had previously declared that they would not permit a funeral demonstration.

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International Anti-War Conference.

Berlin, 11th March 1932.

An appeal has been issued here for an international anti-war conference in Berlin on the 20th March. The appeal is signed by the **League against Imperialism**, the **Workers International Relief**, the **League of the Friends of the Soviet Union** and by various other organisations including Chinese, Japanese and Korean groups. The aim of the conference will be to co-ordinate the international work against war and to organise effective international action.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The Bargaining over the Plan for a Danube Customs Union.

By Gabriel Péri.

Geneva, March 11, 1932.

Important diplomatic negotiations over the Plan for a customs union between the Danube countries have commenced, the phases of which deserve to be followed with the greatest attention. The day before yesterday, **Pertinax**, in the "**Echo de Paris**", which has now become the official paper of the French Foreign Ministry, gave the following particulars regarding Tardieu's plan: In the first place the combination which was originally contemplated as a customs union in the actual sense of the word, shall today exist only as the setting up of preferential customs duties between the participators. These tariffs are to be laid down in commercial treaties to be concluded between each individual country. The first of these treaties is being concluded between Hungary and Czechoslovakia. The "Echo de Paris" adds: "it is not true that Poland is entering this circle."

These particulars must not be taken literally, for they to a great extent form part of a manoeuvre of the French government. It suffices to read the Polish press in order to perceive Poland's desire to take part in the planned Union. There is no doubt, that this desire also prevails in the French Foreign Ministry.

Owing to vacillations displayed last year by Yugoslavia and especially Rumania regarding the Little Entente, French leading circles became convinced of the necessity of strengthening the political and military organisation of the Little Entente by setting up a comprehensive control of a system, with the help of which the status quo of the Danubian States could be maintained.

This idea corresponds to the programme which Tardieu has developed. In order to make sure of its realisation, France has secured the co-operation of Great Britain. It has now become evident that the scope of the agreement, concluded between France and Great Britain in February, goes far beyond the limits of the reparations question, which provided the pretext for this agreement. For the rest, the "**Temps**" openly admits this when it writes:

"If we consider the great questions of the moment, it becomes evident that any solution presumes the bringing of the policy of Great Britain and the policy of France into harmony. Whether it is a question of the reparations and the debts between the governments, the frozen credits, disarmament, security, the restoration of Central Europe, the relations between the so-called capitalist civilisation and the pseudo-civilisation of the Soviet Union, without such an agreement nothing can be settled permanently."

As is to be seen, among the objects which, according to the "Temps", render necessary an understanding between France and Great Britain, is the question of joint action against the Soviet Union. It is significant that this cooperation with Great Britain is offered on the occasion of Tardieu's anti-Soviet Danube plan.

Several press organs, such as the "Economist" and the "Daily Telegraph" have, it is true, expressed fears in regard to the French plan and their disquietude that a grouping could arise in Europe, under the hegemony of France, extending from the Danube to the Baltic and embracing 116 million inhabitants. Other organs have advocated the formation of a British-Scandinavian grouping against this bloc. On the other hand, the comments of the city, especially of the "Times", are friendly towards the French proposal. In any event, it appears that Great Britain is not making any objection to the departures from the most-favoured nations clause between the Danubian States which are necessary for the realisation of the Plan.

It is realised, in view of the character of Tardieu's programme, that France, moved by the desire to preserve its leadership, has found it necessary to exclude Germany from the preliminary negotiations over the formation of the new grouping. It is here that the first difficulties are revealed and the first antagonisms have come to light. The Germany of Brüning, it is true, is inclined to enter into a group which is directed against the economy of the first proletarian State, but at the same time it desires that the Danube bloc should not set up any insurmountable barriers to its expansion towards the South-East.

As soon as the French plan became known, the German government undertook a counter-move by offering the Austrian government to conduct special negotiations on the basis of preferential tariffs, which Germany would grant Austria without demanding similar privileges in return.

Now it is quite obvious that in this sphere French imperialism holds specially high trumps against its rival. There is only one force that will realise the union of the German speaking peoples, and that is the revolutionary proletariat, which is waging an open fight against the treaties of 1919.

As a matter of fact the step taken by Germany in Vienna troubles leading circles in France very little. The "Journal de Geneve" writes as follows regarding this step:

"The incident is not very serious in itself, because Germany's aid to Austria cannot be effective."

As regards the official attitude of France, it can be summed up as follows: If Austria should accept Germany's proposal the Danube Plan would be wrecked, in which case Austria could not expect any help from France. In order to give more weight to this threat, the French government has placed one of its creatures at the head of the Creditanstalt and is negotiating at present for the purchase of the Austrian railways.

But Germany is not the only State which is interfering in this matter. Another rival has appeared on the scene, namely, fascist Italy. If the commercial treaties regarding which negotiations are proceeding between Rome and Budapest and which provide for the setting up of export premiums, are fully carried out, they will endanger the Danube agreement just as much as the preferential customs treaty between Austria and Germany would.

Italy does not wish to be ousted from the positions which it acquired in Central Europe, and which it has maintained with ever increasing difficulty in the past twelve months against the advance of French imperialism. It therefore has no desire to leave the leadership of the group to France. Italy proposes that before organising general aid for the Danube States, attention shall be paid to those countries whose situation is particularly critical, namely Austria and Hungary. It so happens that both these countries are already bound to Italy by special agreements.

Needless to say, France is firmly determined to employ the same means of blackmail and pressure. The Hungarian Foreign Minister Valko, after signing the commercial treaty between Italy and Hungary, hastily took train to Geneva and Paris. On the other hand, in order to anticipate Italy's counter-stroke, Tardieu proposed to Grandi a programme of negotiations between France and Italy which in particular shall provide that France makes no claims whatever in Abyssinia, that the nationality statutes in Tunis shall be prolonged and a loan granted in support of the Lira. In return for this, Italy shall support the French standpoint at the "Disarmament" Conference and give its approval to the French Plan for a Danube bloc.

For the rest, these negotiations illustrate in a very instructive manner the endeavours of French imperialism, by means of pressure, by bargaining and by compromise, to secure the carrying out of this plan which will play a decisive role in the organising of the fight against the Soviet Union.

THE WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS

The Collapse of the Kreuger World Trust.

By Th. Neubauer (Berlin).

The world crisis of capitalism has again overthrown one of the strongest citadels of international finance capital, Ivar Kreuger's world trust. The suicide of the trust king on March 12th in Paris only sealed a fate which could no longer be averted.

The Kreuger trust was of the type of those gigantic financial capitalist undertakings which are characteristic of the imperialist phase of capitalism. It arose out of a hundred various, juridically independent but interconnected companies, which drew their profits from all capitalist countries. Matches, ore, wood-pulp, telephones—that was the productional basis of the Kreuger trust upon which he erected the vast network of his financial businesses: monopoly, loans, banks. The capital in the hands of Ivar Kreuger amounted in all to more than 4,000 millions.

The Kreuger trust is relatively still very young; it was founded in 1917. What distinguished it from others was an enormous activity in all spheres, an extraordinary aggressiveness towards all its competitors, and an insatiable lust for expansion—qualities which promoted its development by leaps and bounds.

The foundation capital of the Kreuger match trust, the "Svenska Tandstick A.B.", was 45 million Swedish crowns. Its present day capital amounts to 360 million crowns. In the year 1928, according to the annual report, it had 150 match factories in 35 different countries and employed more than 150,000 workers; in the year 1930 it had over 250 factories in 43 different countries. In the year 1930 the trust acquired a match monopoly in five countries, in return for which it granted loans amounting to 176 million dollars and itself took up loans to the amount of 200 million crowns.

The initial basis of the Kreuger trust was relatively very small: the match production of a small country which plays no role in the concert of the big imperialist powers, and which can place no navy nor army at the disposal of its financial and industrial magnates in support of their plans of conquest. What Sweden could not give Kreuger found through his close connections with the finance capital of the leading imperialist countries, especially the U.S.A., England and France. He built his trust on the broadest international basis and created for himself not only firm positions on the stock exchanges of New York, London and Paris, but also firm connections with the governments of these countries. One can therefore not speak of a "Swedish trust" in the same sense as one speaks of a U.S.A. trust or of an English or German trust. Kreuger's world trust is international in a special sense; the main supports of his power lie outside Sweden.

The collapse of the gigantic Kreuger trust is a symbol of the tremendous collapse of the capitalist system. For nearly two years past the Kreuger shares were among the gilt-edged securities of the international money market. In the year 1930

the chief company "Aktie-Bolaget Kreuger och Toll", paid a 30 per cent. dividend, and even in the year 1931 the dividend amounted to 20 per cent. It is true, at that time rumours were already current to the effect that the real situation of the trust in no way justified the high dividend and that Kreuger paid out 20 per cent. only because he wished by every means to maintain the reputation of his trust.

The first rumours that the Kreuger trust was in serious difficulties came in the Summer of 1931. Ivar Kreuger made an indignant denial of these rumours, but he was unable to dispel the feeling of mistrust. The Kreuger shares lost 50 per cent. and more of their value (at times 68 per cent.) on the international Exchanges. Kreuger was compelled to sell the "L. M. Ericson Telephone A. B.", whose capital amounted to 100 million crowns. He endeavoured once again, however, to conceal the real position of his trust when, in January, he announced the acquirement of the North Swedish **Boliden Gold Mine** which, it was alleged, would bring him in 667,000 dollars worth of gold per month. But this transaction instead of having a reassuring effect, only called forth fiercer criticism of his expansionist policy, and after a brief rise the value of Kreuger's shares sank more perceptibly. The collapse of the gigantic trust could no longer be prevented; and in order not to experience this Ivar Kreuger fired a bullet into his heart.

Immediately after the end of the world war, Ivar Kreuger set out to conquer the world market for matches. His first attack was directed against the Japanese, who were ousted from the Indian market and attacked in their own country. The second conquest was the U.S.A. market. Here, however, Kreuger encountered the capital power of the stronger Rockefeller group; he had to come to an agreement with it, and in 1923 founded together with Percy Rockefeller the "**International Match Corporation**", with a foundation capital of 28 million dollars, and 47,250 million dollars of shares without voting rights. The third stage of the Kreuger expansion was the subjugation of the Japanese match industry in 1924, after the collapse of the "Suzuki" concern, and at the same time the penetration of the "Svenska" into the Chinese market. In 1927 Kreuger penetrated England and founded the **British Match Corporation**, with a share capital of 6 million pounds, swallowed up the English rival firm of "Bryant & May" and secured for himself the market of the British colonies. About this time Kreuger captured the Belgian match industry and acquired the majority of the German match factories. He secured the German market by the conclusion of the match monopoly, which the finance minister Hilferding granted him in return for a loan of 500 millions.

Finally, about **75 to 80 per cent. of the world production of matches was in the hands of the Kreuger concern.**

The Kreuger trust acquired special importance on account of the State match monopolies which it acquired in return for loans. They best characterise the parasitic character of the trust and reveal in the most striking manner the close connection between the economic and political interests of imperialist finance-capital.

The following is a survey to date of the Kreuger match monopolies and State loans:

1925 Poland: 6 million dollars; 1930 renewed, 32.4 million dollars (monopoly for production, wholesale trade and export).

1926 Greece: 1 million Pound Sterling (monopoly for production and import). **Peru,** one year's agreement, 200,000 pounds Sterling (monopoly of production and trade).

1927 France: 75 million dollars (import of about one third of consumption, supply with machines and raw materials). **Ecuador:** 3 million dollars (monopoly of production and trade). **Bolivia:** 2 million dollars (monopoly of production and trade).

1928 Esthonia: 7 million crowns (monopoly of production, sale and export). **Latvia:** 6 million dollars (monopoly of production, sale and export). **Hungary:** 36 million dollars (monopoly of production and wholesale trade). **Yugoslavia:** 22 million dollars (monopoly of production and wholesale trade).

1929 Rumania: 30 million dollars (monopoly of production and wholesale trade).

1930 Germany: 125 million dollars (Swedish-German monopoly company). **Lithuania:** 6 million dollars (monopoly of production, wholesale trade and export). **Danzig:** 1 million

dollars (monopoly of production and wholesale trade). **Turkey:** 10 million dollars (monopoly of production and wholesale trade).

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Ivar Kreuger had affiliated to his trust a number of banks. His oldest family bank is the "Scandinaviska Kredit A.B.", which he controlled with a nominal 9.9 million crowns share capital. In addition he owned the "Stockholms Inteckning Garanti A.B.", the majority of the shares of the Holl. Koopmansbank in Amsterdam (share capital 6 million florins), the majority of the Banque de Suede et de Paris (share capital 100 million francs), and participated in numerous other banks, including the German Zentral-Bodenkredit (alleged capital 12 million crowns) a Warsaw and a second Amsterdam bank. For the purpose of carrying out his great financial operations Kreuger founded in 1925 the "Swedish American Investment Corporation" (300,000 founders shares without nominal value, of which the Kreuger och Toll possesses 270,000), and the "N. V. Financiële Maatschappij Kreuger och Toll" (share capital 10 million florins, of which 9,970 are in the possession of Kreuger). Consequently his financial operations were more and more confined to these two companies, i. e. to the Dutch and the American money market.

The rapid development of the trust, however was possible thanks only to the circumstance that Kreuger, in addition to his own bank institutes and financial companies, had the greatest support of international finance capital: he was in close co-operation with the Deutsche Diskonto Bank, with Lee Higginson & Co. (Rockefeller), Credit Lyonnais Paris; in particular he had very close connections with the American Rockefeller group; but he also established good relations with the Morgan trust.

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The causes of the collapse of the Kreuger Trust are at present still veiled in secrecy. It is generally known that both the ore and the wood pulp companies were seriously suffering from the lack of capital. But it may well be assumed that gigantic losses have occurred due to the disastrous decline of production.

It is highly probable, however, that the losses on the loans and other financial business will decide the situation of the Kreuger trust. It is known that all the South American States are insolvent, and even if Kreuger in his denial of August 1931 categorically declared that all the interest on the loans had been paid, nevertheless one must be somewhat sceptical towards this statement. It is also hardly likely that Hungary, Rumania, Greece, and Yugoslavia, all of which States are in great financial difficulties, have paid the interest on the Kreuger loans.

At the present time it is by no means possible to survey the results of the collapse of the Kreuger trust. One thing is certain: Swedish capitalism is very seriously shaken. The Swedish government has therefore decided to grant a moratorium on the debts of the Kreuger concerns. But it is probable that a number of other countries, especially the U.S.A., will feel the effects of this gigantic collapse.

The crisis of capitalism has caused the overthrow of a powerful world trust. A Mene-tekell for the capitalists of all countries!

C.G.T.U. Unions Act against War.

Paris, 8th March 1932.

The C.G.T.U. (revolutionary trade union federation) has decided to form a national cartel of all those unions whose workers are engaged in the war and subsidiary industries (metal workers, chemical workers, arsenal workers, transport workers, seamen, dockers, railwaymen, post and telegraph workers, etc.) in order to organise the struggle against imperialist war preparations more efficiently.

The C.G.T.U. calls upon the unions in question to work out a plan immediately for the practical organisation of the struggle against war and the defence of the Soviet Union and to carry out the organisation of local anti-war cartels.

The C.G.T.U. appeals to all unions organising the workers connected with the war and subsidiary industries to organise a **mass mobilisation against the warmakers** and to organise the workers of all unions in **united front cartels.**

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

Twenty four New Furnaces in the Soviet Union.

In its issue of March 10th the "Pravda" published a long article on the 24 new blast furnaces which will commence working in the Soviet Union this year. It points out that iron and steel form the basis of Soviet technical independence. The iron smelting industry is the basis for the defence of the Soviet Union, the socialist fatherland of the international proletariat. The iron smelting industry is the chief sector of our economic front.

In the current year investments in the foundry industry will total 1,800 million roubles. The production of cast iron will increase by 4 million tons this year. Whilst the production of iron and steel is sinking in all capitalist countries it is steadily increasing in the Soviet Union.

Last year the Soviet Union overtook Great Britain in the production of pig-iron. In 1931 four new blast furnaces were lit. In 1932 24 new blast furnaces of the most modern type and 65 Siemens-Martin Furnaces would open up production. In a single year the capacity of the soviet iron industry would increase 80%. The capacity of the new blast furnaces would total 7.5 million tons or as much as the total annual production of Great Britain.

In the capitalist countries one blast furnace after the other was being raked out. In the **United States** only 69 furnaces out of a total of 307 were working. In **Germany** only 47 were working out of a total of 155, in **Great Britain** 70 out of a total of 400 (mostly old and small).

The bourgeoisie desire by means of the war in China to set production going in the capitalist countries which are at present lying idle. In the Soviet Union, on the other hand, socialist construction is making headway in all spheres, the productive forces are growing at a tremendous pace.

The 24 new blast furnaces in the year 1932, in view of the furnaces which are being extinguished in the capitalist countries, best indicate the diametrically opposite character of the two lines of development. The new blast furnaces change the aspect of the Soviet smelting industry. They are being erected according to the last word in technique which is connected with the socialist organisation of work.

Over half of the 92 furnaces at present at work in the Soviet Union were old and small, having a capacity of not more than 300 cubic metres, but the new blast furnaces had a capacity of 908 cubic metres, and a number of them exceeded 1,180 cubic metres. Blast furnaces of this size existed nowhere else in Europe and only a few in the United States. The new soviet blast furnaces were mechanised throughout, all the heavy work was performed by machinery. An interesting comparison with the **Tata iron works in India** showed that whilst the Tata furnaces were modern and constructed according to American principles, the heavy work attached to them was performed by cheap female labour which rendered mechanisation unprofitable. Anglo-Indian capitalist methods versus Soviet socialist methods!

The new blast furnaces which are being built in all parts of the Soviet country mean a powerful development of productive forces. The Magnitovska and Kusnetzka blast furnaces are a pride for the proletariat of the Soviet Union. In the course of 18 months the working class achieved the first great victory in the establishment of a huge coal and iron industry in what were only recently unpopulated districts of the Urals and Siberia. Contrary to all the prophecies of the opportunists, contrary to the prophecies of all our enemies, the first Magnitovsk blast furnace was set going, the factories of the proletarian capital town receive the first 1000 tons of pig iron obtained from the ore of the Magnitovsk mountain with Kusnetz coke.

The further three furnaces in Magnitogorsk and the four furnaces in Kusnetzka which are to be set going in the course of the present year, will convert the second coal and smelting basis into a powerful bulwark of socialist industrialisation of the Soviet Union.

The "Pravda" which makes special reference to the enthusiasm of the workers who increased the government plan by a million tons, states that 9 million tons of the plan plus a million ton from the year 1932 is the task of the economic plan of the last year of the Five-Year Plan. It further states:

The working class is successfully building the socialist smelting industry. How much force the class enemies were exerting already in order to sabotage this work, wreckers of all shades were persistently attempting to disorganise this important sector of socialist industrialisation. The Right opportunists, these agents of the kulaks, are furiously opposing the development of the iron industry. The Leninist Party, which advocates a Bolshevik tempo, crushes the class enemies and their agents, is leading the masses of the proletarians and collective peasants in the fight for the completion of the first Five-Year Plan in four years, for the building up of Socialism in the second Five-Year period.

THE WHITE TERROR

The Work of Fascist Terrorist Justice in Italy.

By Giovanni Verdi.

The Special Tribunal for the Defence of the State, which has its seat in Rome, was particularly active in the year 1931 and had to record a great increase in the number of cases tried by it and in the number of convictions, as well as in the severity of the sentences passed. In the past year the Special Tribunal tried 78 cases in which, in all, 685 persons were accused. Of these 179 were acquitted and 506 were given sentences aggregating 2062 years, 5 months and four days imprisonment. The Special Tribunal passed a death sentence, which was carried out.

These terrible figures regarding the political victims in fascist Italy in the course of a single year are directly connected with the economic and political situation and with the revolutionary activity of the working masses. The economic crisis has become continually deeper in Italy since 1930. The increasing unemployment and poverty are causing a great upsurge of oppositional activity against fascism and of the fight of the masses for their elementary class demands. The Communist Party and the revolutionary organisations led by it have considerably increased their organisational work, and a great number of victims have to be recorded in the fight led by them, under conditions of absolute illegality, against a powerful fascist state apparatus.

The number of victims of the Special Tribunal is greatest in those districts of Italy in which the fight is most developed. They are mainly districts possessing a strong proletariat and long traditions of revolutionary struggle:

District	Trials	Persons sentenced	Length of Sentences
Emilia and Romagna	21	228	810 years, 11 months, 5 days
Venetia Giulia and Veneto	12	109	440 years, 10 months, 20 days
Lombardy	11	49	342 years, 3 months, 10 days
Tuscany	8	51	185 years, 11 months, 15 days
Piedmont	7	46	168 years, 1 month, 5 days
Total	59	483	1948 years, 1 month, 25 days

The social-democratic press of the emigration attempt to make out that the victims of the Special Tribunal are mainly non-communists and to claim them for themselves as "anti-fascists". That this is an direct swindle is to be clearly seen from examples such as those of comrades Pietro Secchia and Battista Santhia, who as leaders of the Communist Party, members of the Central Committee, were sentenced to 18 and 17 years respectively.

In spite of the existence of the Special Tribunal there are various categories of political offences which are tried by ordinary courts (as for instance, contravention of the strike prohibition, acts of violence against official persons etc.). But the rule regarding this is very elastic, so that, for instance, in the case of big strikes the offenders are tried by the Special Tribunal.

In the year 1931 the ordinary courts—which of course are out and out fascist—dealt with 14 cases against 171 accused, of whom 61 were acquitted, 110 sentenced to a total of 221 years, 3 months and 4 days imprisonment, one to imprisonment for life and one to death.

The trials of the Sicilian "Maffia" come under the category of "criminal secret conspiracy", which is tried by a jury. The Sicilian "Maffia" is a special social phenomenon originating from the time of feudalism in Sicily. The "lower Maffia" was at one time allied with the big landowners who created it as an instrument for subjugating the peasants. The "Maffia" was supported by the democratic governments, but was later abandoned by its masters, who went over to fascism, and replaced by the repressive apparatus of the State. For five years the "Maffia" has borne a decidedly anti-fascist character and is sharply combatted. In the year 1931 alone, eight trials were held against it with 732 accused, of whom 263 were acquitted, 456 condemned to 3395 years imprisonment and thirteen sentenced to life-long imprisonment.

In Sicily the ruthless exploitation of the peasant population and the general terror exercised in the Island have caused the broad masses of the population to sympathise with the "Maffia" and to practise solidarity with it in the common fight against fascism. Under these circumstances, the "Maffia" acquires first-rank political importance.

In the year 1931, class justice in Italy conducted in all 100 trials with 1589 accused. Of these accused, 503 were acquitted, 1072 sentenced to a total of 5677 years, 8 months and 8 days imprisonment, 14 were sentenced to imprisonment for life and two received the death penalty.

The Special Tribunal sentenced each accused, on an average, to 4 years and one month's imprisonment, while the average sentence passed by the ordinary courts was 2 years and 3 days. The sentences passed on the "Maffia" amounted on an average to 7 years and 5 months. The average sentence passed by all the courts amounts to 5 years, 3 months and 16 days.

Of the 503 accused acquitted, more than 400 were deported. Thus "acquittal" is equivalent to political banishment.

That is the terrible record of fascist reaction for the past year. In the first few weeks of 1932 the Special Tribunal has already passed 300 sentences, and hundreds of fresh accused are awaiting sentence. In January alone the Sicilian jury courts handed out sentences amounting to 200 years imprisonment, and condemned two accused to lifelong imprisonment, while two new big trials of the "Maffia" are pending. In one of them the Public Prosecutor is demanding 1,000 years imprisonment against 343 accused. At the same time the regular courts in Italy are maintaining their activity.

But the working class also is not remaining inactive. There is already an open fight against capitalism, which starves and murders the masses. The latest events in Venetia Giulia, in Istria, in Emilia, in Sardinia prove that the masses are following the path indicated by the Communist Party. The Communist Party is redoubling its energies in order to lead the struggle of the masses.

GERMANY

Ernst Thälmann: The Revolutionary Way Out and the C.P. of Germany*).

By M. H.

The credit and financial crisis which set in in the middle of 1931 in a whole number of States as a result of the industrial, commercial and agrarian crisis, is rendering the capitalist way out of the crisis more and more difficult.

The big bank collapses in the whole capitalist world, the abolition of the gold standard, the shaking of the valuta—all these are signs of the extension of the crisis of the credit and financial system, which in turn gives a fresh impetus to the industrial, and commercial crisis.

The unexampled decline of production, of turnover in trade and commerce, the mass unemployment, have called forth a further tremendous intensification of the fight for markets.

This fight, which is being conducted by all capitalist countries with the aid of protective tariffs, import quotas, import prohibitions, termination of commercial treaties, foreign exchange restrictions and export dumping by a deliberate policy of inflation, brings the problem of a

restitution of the world more and more to the front of international politics and causes the question of imperialist war, before all against the Soviet Union, to assume more threatening forms every day.

In the Far East imperialist war has become a fact. The Soviet Union, which this year is completing the foundation of socialist economy, shows by its whole policy as well as by the proposals for complete disarmament submitted to the Geneva Disarmament Conference that it alone is the bulwark of peace.

In regard to the question of imperialist war, the policy of the II. International and of the different socialist parties is today more unscrupulous and criminal than in August 1914.

Never since the time of civil war and imperialist attack on the Soviet Union in the years 1917 to 1920 was the hour of aggressive war of the imperialists against the Soviet Union so near as at the present time. The Communist International is the only Party, and the representative of the only class which is really fighting for peace and against imperialism. Its main slogan of defence of the Soviet Union by the masses of the proletariat can, from a slogan of agitation, rapidly become a slogan of action for the Communist Parties and the revolutionary working class following them. This chief slogan of ours implies irreconcilable fight against all imperialist robbers and their social fascist parties.

How has the situation in Germany developed in connection with the intensification of the world economic crisis?

Here, too, there is to be seen a higher phase in the development of the crisis. A number of the most important key positions of finance capital, big banks and big industrial concerns (Nordwolle, Schultheiß-Patzenhofer, Borsig, etc.) have already been seized by the crisis.

The German bourgeoisie had to proclaim a temporary moratorium (closing of banks, Hoover moratorium, standstill agreement).

Finance capital is seeking, by plundering the masses whole sale, to prevent the financial crash, and the government is striving by subventions and by merging the German big banks to postpone the collapse of the banking concerns.

These measures, however, serve only to postpone the threatening insolvency and the danger of inflation created by it. In the period from the middle to the end of 1931, the stock of gold and foreign bills of the German Reichsbank declined by about 50 per cent. The export surplus of German foreign trade is dwindling every month as a result of the international commercial war. The home market has declined 30 per cent below the level of 1929 as a result of the continual reduction of the purchasing power of the masses. In spite of all "measures of economy", the deficit in the State finances amounts to over 2,000 million marks. In spite of the open and concealed subventions to the junkers and big peasants, the agrarian crisis is assuming increasingly acute forms.

As a result of the 6 million unemployed, the many millions of workers on short-time, the reduction of the wages of the German working class in the year 1931 by 58 per cent, the ruin of large sections of the urban and rural middle classes, pauperism is increasing enormously.

The bourgeoisie is again considering inflation as a way out. The Wagemann plan of double currency recently put forward, which is only a new edition of similar proposals emanating from the camp of Hugenberg and Hitler, has now the support of the chemical concern, hitherto one of the soundest parts of German finance capital, as well as the full approval of the national socialists, the social democracy and the reformist trade union bureaucracy. Nevertheless there exists a serious obstacle to the realisation of this plan: the fear that an inflation would exceedingly accelerate the revolutionisation of the masses. For the policy of the double currency would result in a depreciation of the mark in Germany. On the other hand, however, the policy of inflation is closely connected with the problem of reparations and debts. Contrary to the estimate of all the capitalist parties from the social democratic party to the Nazis, the Hoover plan has proved to be a joint action of American and French imperialism in order to maintain the Young system. The Lausanne Conference has been postponed indefinitely.

It is becoming more and more evident that the whole bourgeoisie, including the social democracy and the national socialists, is incapable of conducting any other policy than the policy of capitulation to French imperialism.

"It is sheer madness to believe that the German bour-

*) Speech of Comrade Thälmann, delivered at the Plenary Session of the C. C. of the C. P. of Germany on February 19, 1932. Internationaler Arbeiterverlag, Berlin.

geoisie will be able to pay 20,000 million marks in the next ten years and that the German proletariat, groaning under the double yoke of its own and the foreign bourgeoisie, will permit this 20,000 millions to be squeezed out of it without serious fights and upheavals." (Stalin.)

Such a revolutionary orientation of the masses naturally demands a successful fight of the C. P. of Germany against the nationalist demagoguery of Hitler fascism and the winning of the masses for our revolutionary policy of national freedom and for our fight against the fascist home policy of the Brüning government. (To be concluded.)

COMMEMORATION DAYS

Goethe.

Born 1749, died on March 22, 1832.

By K. A. Wittfogel (Berlin).

I. After the "Hegel Year" the "Goethe Year".

On March 22nd 1832, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe died. The centenary of his death has called forth a regular floor of bourgeois Goethe celebrations and memorial articles, whose content is in inverse proportion to their length. In 1931, the international bourgeoisie "celebrated" the memory of Hegel. In 1932 they are "celebrating" Goethe. They understand the first of these intellectual giants just as little as the second. On the one hand the bourgeoisie of necessity lack the methodological prerequisites in order to grasp such phenomena as Hegel and Goethe in their historical setting. On the other hand, any approach to a real understanding is rendered politically impossible by reason of the defensive position, which is threatened on all sides, in which the bourgeoisie at present find themselves as a result of the crisis of the capitalist system. To recognise the truth regarding the peculiar position of Goethe, his life and his work, means to confess that unfavourable social conditions, narrow, thwart and cripple the greatest genius. To recognise the truth regarding Goethe means to condemn that social order in which the development of the creative forces (material and cultural) are sacrificed to the interests of an exploiting ruling class.

2. Marx and Engels on Goethe.

Marx and Engels have on several occasions expressed their opinion regarding the problem of Goethe. Their most important pronouncement regarding Goethe, published in the "Deutsche Brüsseler Zeitung" in the year 1847, reads as follows:

"Goethe adopted a dual attitude to the German society of his time. At one time he is hostile to it; he tries to escape what is repulsive to him, as in "Iphigenia" and during the whole of **Italian Journey**; as **Goetz**, **Prometheus** and **Faust** he rebels against it; as **Mephistopheles** he pours bitter scorn on it. At another time, on the other hand, he is friendly to it, adapts himself to it, as in the majority of "**Zahme Xenien**" (Harmless Epigrams) and in many of his prose writings; praises it as in the "**Maskenzügen**" (Masked Processions), in fact he defends it against the onward-urging historical movement, as for instance in all his writings where he comes to speak of the French revolution. There are not only individual aspects of German life which Goethe recognises as against others which are repugnant to him. He is frequently the prey of different moods; there is in him a continual fight between the poetic genius who is sickened by the wretchedness of his environment, and the wary child of the Frankfurt Councillor or Weimar Minister who considers it necessary to make a truce with it and to accustom himself to it. Thus Goethe is at one time colossal and at another petty; at one time a defiant, world-scourning genius, and at another time a considerate, self-satisfied, narrow philistine. Even Goethe was not able to vanquish German wretchedness; on the contrary, it vanquished him and this victory of wretchedness over the greatest German is the best proof that it cannot at all be overcome "from within". Goethe was too universal, too active a nature, too sensual in order like Schiller, to seek release from this wretchedness in a flight to the Kantian ideal; he was too discerning in order not to see that this flight finally reduced itself to an exchange of dull misery for an overwhelming misery. His temperament,

his powers, his whole mental tendency urged him to practical life; and the practical life of his time was wretched. In this dilemma, to exist in a sphere of life which he was compelled to despise, and yet to be fettered to this sphere as the only one in which he could be active—this was the dilemma in which Goethe continually found himself; and the older he became, the more the powerful poet retreated behind the insignificant Weimar Minister. We do not, like Börne and Menzel, reproach Goethe for not being liberal, but because he could at times also be a philistine; not because he was incapable of any enthusiasm for German freedom, but that at a time when Napoleon cleaned the great German Augean stable, he could with solemn seriousness carry on the petty affairs and menus plaisirs of one of the most smallest German courts." (My emphasis W.)

3. German "Wretchedness".

If one wishes to understand Goethe scientifically, one must proceed according to the example of the Marx—Engels analysis of social conditions within which Goethe developed and carried on his creative work. A backward process of production, the modern class divisions making only their first appearance, the bourgeois-revolutionary elements therefore still undeveloped—that is the general social picture which, according to another remark made by Marx, still existed 15 years after Goethe's death and made the situation so hopeless for a German poet. At a time when bourgeois revolutionary ideas, proceeding from France and England, infected the whole of Europe, a young bourgeois poet in Germany might realise and portray the contradictions of late feudal absolutism—in the long run he would be bound either to capitulate or to be broken. The wretchedness surrounding him had an all too "lulling" effect, to quote Marx again; the preponderance of the old and the corresponding weakness of the new social forces affected him. Goethe had to submit to this law. The courtier of Weimar triumphed more and more over the "powerful poet".

4. Why "powerful"?

Goethe is powerful, on the one hand, because of his temperament and his mental powers, because of his peculiar sense of reality—capacities which, on the other hand, were combined with an extraordinary versatility of gifts and creative power. In Goethe's urge to practical life there was contained an elementary materialistic trait. It was naive materialism which caused Goethe to introduce a materialist theory of art with the following statement:

"The inner content of the object worked upon is the beginning and end of art. True, one cannot deny that genius, the trained artistic talent, can by proper treatment make everything out of anything and master the most recalcitrant material. On close examination, however, there arises out of it more and more an artifice than a work of art." (Poetry and Truth, vol. II. 7.)

Shakespeare had "the advantage of being born in the harvest time". Shakespeare had "to thank his fatherland" for the wealth of his creations. Thus according to Goethe himself, whether the genius produces works of art or "artifices", whether his production turns out rich or poor depends upon objective circumstances over which the genius has no control.

5. Limitations.

Goethe was unable consistently to maintain this materialistic depth of insight, nor, where it naively existed, was it combined with naive dialectical elements. Goethe worked as the son of a prosperous citizen and as a servant of absolutism. He affirmed both in theory and practice the division of society according to estates: "I know as well as anybody how necessary the division of society according to estates is, how many advantages it has brought me," declares Werther. But thereby Goethe bars himself from access to a militant dialectical attitude.

6. The Rebel.

As a result of his tremendous will to reality—true, within the limits of his class attitude as a big bourgeois and without dialectical sharpness—Goethe was obliged to see and attempt to set forth the problems of his time. To set forth these problems, be it even from a limited big bourgeois standpoint, means: to **criticise** the existing order, to oppose, if not the whole, nevertheless some of its aspects; if not to be a revolutionary, to be at least a **rebel**. Goethe, particularly the young Goethe, adopted a rebellious attitude towards the conventional

rococo-like stiffness of feeling and bearing. An untrammelled, big bourgeois style of life, an unconventional simple and often blunt language, a thoroughly "pagan" view in regard to the erotic characterise Goethe in his pre-Weimar and his early Weimar time. Numerous poems of this epoch, "Werther", many passages in the first part of "Faust", the first conception of "Stella", the early parts of Wilhelm Meister, his free marriage with Christiane Vulpius are expressions of such a rebellious attitude.

This attitude culminated in an attack upon the ideology of the then ruling class, on Christianity, as well as in a direct criticism of the contradictions of the social order itself. In the "Wandering Jew" we find extremely "subversive" descriptions of the christian world of gods. In "Mahomet" he sets up a pantheistic world view as against the prevailing religion. Faust's "confession" in the first part of "Faust" has ever since its first publication right up to the present time, called forth the displeasure of all ecclesiastic circles. The monologue of "Prometheus" announces in words which are among the greatest ever penned by a German poet, a purely secular standpoint. The world of gods is formally recognised as still existing, but it has at the same time **lost all value.**

The "Götz von Berlichingen" contains in its first version (1771) the sharpest attacks against the feudal lords who "squeeze the last drop of blood out of the peasants", who are a "devastating fire" which "devours the happiness of serfs, blood and sweat without being sated". Only Götz, who as a knight and as representative of a dying class rebelled against the existing order, or rather against the new forms of the existing order, this "miserable wretch" (Marx to Lassalle) who criticises the rising absolutist central power from a reactionary standpoint, was revolutionary neither actually nor in his imagination. He wished to help the insurgent peasants "if they refrained from all violence..."

Werther's complaints against the nobility, who haughtily hold themselves aloof from the well-to-do bourgeoisie, aim not at the abolition of the privileges of the nobles, but at their extension to the well-to-do bourgeois strata. Egmont is, like Götz, a revolutionary leader against his will. Like Götz he wishes to deprive absolutism—whose fury he recognises and fiercely castigates—of its poisonous fangs by negotiations.

In "Götz", in "Prometheus" in "Urfaust" the German bourgeoisie at that time criticise and rebel against and advance a demand for a change of the existing institutions, existing views, existing forms of life, even if the rebellious spokesman shrinks back terrified, in face of the weakness of the bourgeoisie, from raising the question of power.

7. Weimar.

The outward aspects of Goethe's life are generally known. Goethe was born in 1749 in Frankfurt on Maine, studied in Leipzig and Strasbourg, returning in 1771 to his native town, and in the midst of his creative work was summoned to the petty court of Weimar. Contrary to all legends, Weimar finally fettered him to the existing wretched conditions. There he could be "freely" active. But at what a price!

A wealth of rebellious works commenced in 1773/75 were laid aside and never completed. These include, "Julius Ceasar", the "Wandering Jew", "Mahomet" and "Prometheus".

After taking up his residence in Weimar, his creative powers seemed to decline. For ten years, apart from fragments, he produced next to nothing. The atmosphere of the court proved to be the more suffocating, the more powerful, since 1789, on the other side of the Rhine, the fire of the great revolution flared up. In his creative works Goethe has not done justice either to the French revolution or Napoleon's cleansing work in the German Augean stables. In order to defend the interests of the absolutist regency against the revolutionary tendencies which were fermenting also in Germany, he had to stifle his own profound sense of reality and to fabricate distorted pictures instead of actual pictures of life.

But Goethe's elementary materialist forces, no matter how much they were fettered, could not be destroyed even in Weimar. The flight into a magnificent portrayal of the problems of a private court ("Iphigenia" and "Tasso") was followed by outbreaks of his old rebel spirit ("God and the Bayadère", the "Bride of Corinth"). Also in the concluding

parts of "Faust", Mephistopheles satirically holds up the mirror to the world of a feudal court. The outline of a religion, uniting Christianity, philosophy and paganism in "Wilhelm Meisters Wander Years" is, in spite of the concession to Christianity contained in it, even now anything but orthodox christian.

At the same time, his urge to reality finds an outlet by devious ways. He occupies himself, in a conservative-reformist manner, with the government of Weimar. He now begins his studies of natural science, which now absorb a great part of his mental activity. The materialist who is restricted as a poet, expresses himself with the greatest passion in natural science, where no political barriers restrain him. The first attempts at an evolutionary theory in geology, botany and zoology are to be found in Goethe's works, the natural science section of which comprises 13 volumes.

8. The Heritage.

When Engels wished to indicate a model for proletarian revolutionary narrative, colossal as Goethe's figure as a whole appeared to him, his choice did not fall on Goethe but on Balzac. When Marx undertook the same thing in the sphere of drama, whilst lauding Goethe, his choice fell not upon the latter but upon Shakespeare. The tragedy of Goethe, which is not the tragedy of an individual but of the literature of a whole class, is indicated by this attitude of Marx and Engels. The young German bourgeoisie, too weak to bear their most powerful poet, permit him, driven by necessity, to be caught in the "wretchedness" of the Weimar court life, where his extraordinary creative powers were more and more narrowed and distorted as time went on, and in fact were finally ousted from poetic activity.

Only the proletariat is able impartially to record the profound contradictions in the development and the creative activity of Goethe. In Goethe's time the bourgeoisie were **not yet**, and later (when a big labour movement grew up menacingly) were **no longer** capable of creating their own big bourgeois literature; to-day they cannot and dare not see the actual facts regarding the foundation and the development of Goethe's work. They seek rather outwardly to "inherit" "their" Goethe, to emphasise some of his individual features which, in their present undermined condition, are bearable, agreeable or comfortable to them. Shrinking back from the defiant genius, they reverently acknowledge everything that was flight from reality, narrowness, shortsightedness—in short the expression of German wretchedness in Goethe's life and creative work. Thus the present "Goethe year" becomes for the bourgeoisie a fresh pretext to cover up the decay and rottenness of its old age with the waste products of its youth.

PROLETARIAN COMMEMORATION DAYS

Historical March Days.

1848—1871—1917.

By Karl Mertens (Berlin).

After the "July monarchy" had been overthrown in Paris on February 24, 1848 and the Republic proclaimed, the revolutionary fire also seized **Vienna** and **Berlin**. The insurrection and barricade fights took place in Vienna on March 13 and in Berlin on March 18, 1848.

Meanwhile, the workers in Berlin were excluded from the newly established civil guard. The Paris workers, who were partly armed, were no less feared in Berlin than in Paris, and although the Berlin proletarians cannot point to a June insurrection in reply to the counter-revolutionary challenge of the newly baked bourgeois Ministers—there was still the storming of the arsenal in reply to the actual disarming by their exclusion from the civil guard.

This was sufficient for the bourgeois and the junkers, who were terribly frightened right from the first day of the revolution.

For the undeveloped and unripe German bourgeoisie, headed by **Camphausen** were even less prepared than the French bourgeoisie, headed by Lamartine, to set up the Republic in place of the monarchy. It only wished to obtain "freedom", i. e. **freedom of trade**, and it was immediately prepared, on March 17, to sell the workers, who fought for them against the junkers, at a not very high price. The German bourgeoisie displayed a peculiar capability to make full use of the victory of counter-revolution in the other countries. The June defeat of the Paris workers, the victory of Cavaignac, was at the same time a defeat of the Berlin proletarians and a victory for Camphausen, or more correctly said, of **Brandenburg**. It was not to be wondered at if, the so-called Prussian Parliament was transferred to Brandenburg, in order to be able to devote itself "in all quietness" to its great tasks.

The first act of the March revolution of 1848 in Germany concluded thus: "**Brandenburg in the Parliament and Parliament in Brandenburg.**" With this short dialectical sentence Karl Marx, in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, summed up the results of the March revolution of 1848.

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18th March 1871. Again revolution. But with quite another content. The extremely nebulous "social Republic" demanded already in February 1848 by the Paris workers had received its concrete content and a concrete form—the **form of the Paris Commune**.

Bonapartism, rotten to the core, was not able to conduct a war against strong Prussia. And this second French Empire ended as Marx predicted: in a parody. Emperor and army were made prisoners and the nephew of Napoleon conveyed to Wilhelmshöhe. The vacant throne in Paris could not be occupied by a royal offspring,—the "season" was too unfavourable for this transaction. Thus the Republic was proclaimed out of necessity. But it soon became evident that the most important task which the bourgeois Republic had to fulfil, i. e. to defend Paris and France against the Prussian armies, this most important national task could not be fulfilled by the so-called "national defence" because it did not even attempt it.

The armed Paris proletariat, organised in the National Guard, appears on the scene. Originally it only had the intention to control the activity of the government in regard to the defence of Paris and to secure the supplies of the working population of Paris.

These were the original tasks of the **district councils elected** in the twenty Paris districts and of the elected Central Committee of the National Guard.

This however sufficed. Thiers and the government of the so-called "National Defence" immediately realised the danger of this double government. The Paris workers were to be disarmed, the real defenders of Paris and France were to deliver up their weapons. The Paris workers did not hand over their arms, but instead won the victory over the counter-revolutionary Versailles army. The nebulous "social Republic" of February March 1848 thus obtained its historical form by proving that a social Republic must be won in open fight against the "national government". The next revolutions, on a higher stage, were to draw the lessons from February-March 1848 and March-May 1871.

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March 1917. The imperialist chain broke at its weakest link. Tsarist rule was swept away in a few days by the revolutionary storm. The Russian proletariat, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, appropriated the lessons of the European revolutions. Lenin and the Bolsheviki realised the teachings of Marxism on the bourgeois revolution, which "is only the immediate prelude to the proletarian revolution" (Communist Manifesto). They applied the experiences not only of the revolution of 1905 in Russia but also of the Paris Commune in 1871 to the revolution in Russia, i. e. its development into the proletarian revolution.

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1848, 1871, 1917—three revolutions in March, which are of tremendous importance for the history of the Labour Movement and the emancipation of the proletariat.

The March revolution of 1848 in Germany took place under much more developed conditions than, for instance, the English revolution in the 17th century and even the French revolution 1789—1794. **The forms of the class struggle** were already more advanced, there existed to some extent a class consciousness of the proletariat.

Hence, one of the most important demands of the Communist Manifesto was—the **constitution of the proletariat as an independent class**, as a "class as such". Hitherto the proletariat has only fought against the enemies of its own enemies, only against the feudal lords and the landowners in the interest of the bourgeoisie; every victory has exclusively become a victory of the bourgeoisie, whilst after the victory the bourgeoisie proceeded, hand in hand with the junkers, against its allies of yesterday.

The establishment of the bourgeois Republic is only a short **episode** on the way to the emancipation of the proletariat. Nay more! The actual fight of the proletariat against its immediate oppressor—the bourgeoisie—only starts with the **overthrow of the monarchy**, for the bourgeois Republic is the best form for the exploitation of the working class by the ruling bourgeoisie.

This was one of the most important lessons which Marx and Engels drew from the February Revolution in France and the March revolution in Germany.

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The June of 1848 announced the March of 1871—the Commune.

The tasks for this first workers revolution were set up by Marx and Engels in their classical, historical and other works and Letters soon after the revolutions of 1848. The most important tasks are: the shattering of the bourgeois State apparatus (the "executive power"), establishment of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. The prerequisite for the victory of the proletariat is its alliance with the poor peasantry, without whose choir the proletarian revolution and its solo song becomes its death song. (18th Brumaire.)

The Paris Commune of 1871, the first workers' revolution, was the realisation of this programme. In addition, this revolution discovered the **forms** of the proletarian State in the transition period to the Communist society. After the Paris Commune the proletariat knew which form the State would assume in the transition period: "**A State according to the pattern of the Paris Commune**", was Lenin's teaching, by which it is implied that the Paris Commune discovered "the **type**, the **form** of the proletarian State, but that this proletarian State must be developed still further.

The March revolution of 1917 showed that the Russian proletariat has learned from the experiences of the former revolutions, of February and March 1848, March 1871 and the Russian revolution of 1905; that it has appropriated the lessons of these revolutions. For **after Engels' death in 1895, Lenin took over the banner of revolutionary Marxism; he applied the teachings of Marx and Engels to the period of imperialism and the proletarian revolutions.** The "**Letters from Afar**" and the "**April Theses**", "**Marxism and Revolt**", "**The Bolsheviki Must Seize Power**" all written in the period from March to September 1917, contain the most important teachings of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism, in particular on the question of the transformation of the bourgeois revolution into the proletarian revolution.

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Three times March: 1848, 1871, 1917. Bolshevism-Leninism Lenin's Party, rendered it possible that March 1917 was followed by October—the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat over a sixth of the world.

The German March 1848 and November 1918 will also be followed by the German October.