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## The Lausanne Reparations Moratorium.

By Th. Neubaer (Berlin).

Already the second day of the Lausanne negotiations brought in a surprising manner the climax and the result of the Conference. The further course of the Conference will not bring anything important. The result of Lausanne is anything but a success for the foreign policy of the German government: no final solution but only a provisional solution; no cancellation of tributes but only a moratorium.

The payment of reparations is reserved "during the period of the Conference" without the existing treaty obligations on the part of Germany and the claims of the victor States being in any way altered. This postponement of payments will, it seems likely, extend over a period of six months, for it is intended to declare the Conference in permanent session, to transfer the discussions to the Committees and prolong them until after the Presidential elections in America, to be held in November, when it will be possible to gain a better idea of the international situation.

This decision adopted at Lausanne is without doubt a severe defeat for the German government. If the German bourgeoisie had wanted nothing more than a prolongation of the Hoover moratorium, then they could have had this already in January and had no need to prevent the summoning of the Conference by the obstinate refusal of the then Chancellor Brüning. This Cabinet of the "national concentration", this government by the grace of Hitler, has retreated far behind the standpoint adopted by Brüning.

The government of "national concentration", which proudly announced at Lausanne that it is supported by all the constructive national forces of the country, has, without any need, recognised the Young tributes by declaring that their legal validity is not doubted by anybody. As a matter of fact, the Young Treaties were forced upon Germany just as the Dawes Treaty; they are treaties which no free people would have voluntarily signed. Since the declaration of the experts at Basle, the Young treaties have become worthless scraps of paper. There was only one opinion: the reparations are dead. And now it is precisely the national government which, almost as its first act confirms the legal validity of the Young Treaties. It is true, Hitler on the eve of the Presidential election already expressly declared to the American journalist Knickerbocker that he recognised the existing treaties which enslave the German people. Thus the foreign-political programme of the national "constructive" forces is being realised step by step.

The way in which the moratorium decision came about emphasises the fact of the German defeat. French foreign policy has succeeded in inducing the British government to accept to a large extent the French reparations thesis. This is the result of the preliminary Conference which Ramsay MacDonald and his Foreign Minister Sir John Simon had in Paris with Herriot. The attempt of the German Foreign Minister von Neurath at the last moment to keep the English govern-

ment back from such an understanding with Paris, was either too late or at least failed to achieve its effect. The memorandum which Neurath submitted to MacDonald has at any rate not prevented the German government from being confronted at Lausanne with a firm front of the creditor Powers, the illusions which the gentlemen in the Wilhelmstrasse, for some unaccountable reason, continually cherish regarding support on the part of English imperialism have once again experienced bitter disappointment.

After an understanding had been arrived at between MacDonald and Herriot, the approval of the other tribute-receiving Powers (Italy, Belgium and Japan) was obtained and thereupon there was formulated that declaration which will be recorded in the chronicle of the reparations conference as the **"Five-Power Pact"**. This declaration was laid before the Conference as a decision already made. The role of the German Government was confined to declaring its approval! This the Reichs Chancellor von Papen did in the following words:

"I welcome this declaration . . ."

After the result of the Conference was thus already settled there commenced the debate! It provided the French Premier Herriot with the opportunity to declare that his government did not think of cancelling reparations, but that it must insist upon its claims and strive for a universal solution of the question of inter-allied debts. He thereby again emphasised that the reparations question is bound up with the question of inter-allied debts, and any concession to Germany was made dependent upon the attitude of the United States towards its European debtors.

The first reports of the moratorium decision adopted in Lausanne called forth in the bourgeois press of Germany, which apparently was not prepared for such a surprise, hopeless confusion which went so far that some papers spoke of the "end of the tribute policy". In the meantime, however, it appears that the bourgeoisie have become clear regarding the meaning of the decision. Now the press adopts quite another tone.

The **"Deutsche Zeitung"**, an open fascist paper, warns the Reichs Chancellor von Papen against agreeing to a moratorium, and demands **refusal of payment**:

"It is politically impossible for Herr von Papen to return home without the complete cancellation of reparations. For then after the elections, he will no longer have the support of the Rights."

The **"Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung"**, the organ of heavy industry, expresses the fear that the moratorium has deprived the German government of the only trump card it still had: the possibility of declaring a complete moratorium for all foreign payments.

It is significant that the national socialist press defends the Lausanne decision; thus the **"Angriff"** of June 20, writes:

"There is no need to say that the **finest technical basis for negotiations which Herr von Papen has obtained by the moratorium**, is of no use if as a result of France's attitude there is still completely lacking the actual basis for negotiations."

This defence of the policy of the von Papen government harmonises wonderfully with the declaration which the national socialists made on the 12th of March, 1930, on the adoption of the Young Plan: they would demand the heads of the Ministers who put their signatures to those laws. What Herr von Papen did in Lausanne amounts to nothing else but acquiescence in the maintenance and prolongation of the Young Plan. The national socialists ought therefore today to be demanding the head of the Reichs Chancellor. Instead of this, they defend his policy and represent his defeat as being a beautiful success!

Reichs Chancellor von Papen, in order to allay the excitement in Germany, has delivered a speech over the wireless in Lausanne, in which he appeals to the "unity of the German people" and sharply opposes the inconvenient criticism which, according to his opinion, is sheer "political blindness". It is very doubtful whether this appeal will help the Reichs Chancellor to hide his very serious foreign political defeat.

The continuation of the Conference hardly promises to improve the position of the von Papen Cabinet. French imperialism intends to make the final settlement of the reparations question dependent upon the fulfilment of demands which are of a most serious character. It is allegedly demanded that Germany shall make a **final payment** amounting to some thousand million marks, and also give imperialist France

certain political guarantees. The final payments are to be secured by the issue of 150 million bonds on the German railways. Regarding the political guarantees, some information is given by an interview which the Reichs Chancellor granted to the special correspondent of the "Petit Parisien". In this declaration von Papen showed himself to be a supporter of the Reichberg plan for a Franco-German military agreement. Such an agreement could be directed only against the Soviet Union.

Thus the foreign-political line of the von Papen Cabinet is already sufficiently clear. It means an immense danger to the German working class and also to the working class of all countries.

## POLITICS

### The Street Fights in Zürich.

By Jules Humbert-Droz (Zürich).

Switzerland is being drawn more and more into the vortex of the world crisis. The export industry is declining, unemployment and poverty are increasing. The exaggerated protectionist policy of the government, which benefits only the big peasants, prevents a reduction of prices. Switzerland is to-day the dearest country in the whole world, and the bourgeoisie, as in all other capitalist countries are endeavouring to shift the burdens of the crisis on to the masses and for some months past have been conducting a general offensive against wages.

The reformist leaders write and speak against wage reductions, but always intervene at the decisive moment in order to disorganise and stifle the resistance of the workers and to induce the workers to agree to wage cuts.

The Communist Party and the revolutionary Trade Union Opposition are striving their utmost to organise the united front of the workers in the fight against the capitalist offensive.

In Zürich 400 plumbers have been on strike for six weeks. This fight, prepared and organised by the R.T.U.O., is directed not only against the building employers but also against the agreement which the leaders of the reformist metal workers' union concluded with the capitalists. (This agreement provides, on the basis of the tariff agreement containing a sliding wage-scale clause, for a wage reduction of 5 per cent.)

The reformist leaders attempted right from the first day to break the fighting front. They called upon their followers to resume work under threat of expulsion, and refused to pay strike pay. They finally endeavoured to bring in strike-breakers from other localities. All their manoeuvres and threats, however, have proved in vain against the militant determination and the unshakeable front of the strikers. They have not succeeded even at their trade union meetings in obtaining a majority against the strike. At the meeting of the social democratic party specially convened for the purpose of opposing the strike, they did not even venture to put a resolution to the vote, as they feared that they would find themselves in a minority.

The sixth week arrived and the strike was carried on with just the same determination as on the first day. Its example called forth other movements against wage reductions: a strike of the boot and shoe operatives in Geneva, a building workers' strike in St. Gallen and a strike on a building job in Zürich.

The employers demanded of the reformist leaders the observance of the agreement which they had signed. They resorted to the most extreme measures: police provocations and the arrest of strikers. It should be remarked that there is a "socialist" majority on the Zürich Town Council and that the police are under the command of the social democrat **Wiesendanker**.

With the 13th of June there commenced a new phase of the strike. The strike pickets were brutally attacked by the social democratic police, and some of them were thrown into prison. The strike committee thereupon decided to hold a protest meeting on June 15th against the brutality of the police. The municipal authorities prohibited the demonstration. The strike committee, who clearly perceived that the police

were seeking an opportunity in order to choke the strike in blood, called off the demonstration. The working masses, however, who displayed the greatest solidarity with the strikers and were indignant on account of the police measures, defied the prohibition and gathered in Helvetia Platz where the demonstration was to have been held. At first the police did not take any action. When, however, a member of the Communist Party, after addressing the demonstrators, called upon them to march from the square in close ranks and proceed to the workers' quarters, the police, as if by command, suddenly attacked the masses of unarmed, peaceful workers numbering about 5000, with truncheons, drawn sabres and pistols. The workers defended themselves against the brutal attacks of the police with a hail of stones. Just as on May 1st 1929 in Berlin, the workers erected barricades in order to prevent the police patrol waggons from driving through the streets. Huge fires were built in the middle of the street for the same purpose. For four hours the police continually fired at the workers. There was one killed and about 50 wounded, many of them seriously. A certain number of police were also seriously injured. During the same night the police stormed the offices of the Party and raided all the revolutionary organisations.

On the following day, the municipal administration issued a manifesto prohibiting meetings and demonstrations in the open air. The Communist Party, on its part, summoned a meeting of functionaries of the workers' organisations in order to discuss the necessary measures.

More than 8000 workers gathered in the street where the meeting of the functionaries took place. At the conclusion of the meeting a demonstration procession was formed led by these functionaries. Three speakers announced the slogans of the Party: United front against wage cuts and the brutality of the socialist police, solidarity with the striking plumbers, protest strike at 10 a. m. on June 18 in order to convert the funeral of the victims of the police savagery into a mass demonstration.

The slogans met with enthusiastic approval. A demonstration numbering many thousands marched through the streets of the town. The indignation of the masses against the police was so great that the town authorities, surprised by the spontaneous demonstration of 10,000 workers, did not venture to send the police against them.

From this moment all the efforts of the social-democratic police were directed to preventing the Communist Party from speaking to the masses, from refuting the calumnies of the bourgeois and social democratic press and organising a general strike and demonstration on the day of the funeral of the police victims.

The "Kämpfer", the Zürich organ of the Communist Party, was confiscated at the printing works early in the morning on June 17. Wiesendanker attended personally and endeavoured by blows with a hammer to smash the type castings. The printing works were closed and sealed. There followed the arrest of all leading functionaries of the Party.

In spite of the repressive measures, which were intended to prevent the preparatory work, the Party developed a lively propaganda in the works and factories and at the various building jobs. On the evening of the same day the Party distributed about 10,000 copies of a special edition of the Basle "Vorwärts", in which was published the contents of the prohibited "Kämpfer". At 10 in the morning of June 18, about 4000 workers ceased work, although the employers had declared that those who ceased work need not come to work again on Monday morning.

The Zürich workers have learned from the facts of the last few days that the "Left" social democracy of Switzerland acts no differently from the rest of the parties of the Second International when faced with an upsurge of the class struggle.

Zürich now has its Zörgiebel, whose hands are red with the blood of the workers who defended themselves against a wage cut to which the reformist leaders had agreed.

The events of the last few weeks are a sign of the growing revolutionisation of the masses and of their fighting determination. The role of the social democracy has now become clearer to them. It is the task of our Party to extend and consolidate its organisations, to establish a firm footing in the factories, at the building jobs and in the trade unions, to build up the united front and the resistance to the wage offensive of the employers and against the terror of the social democratic police.

## The New Dictatorship in Chile.

By R. Ghioldi.

The government which emerged from the movement of June 3 and was headed by Colonel Marmaduke Grove, has been overthrown after two weeks' existence by a military coup d'état, instigated by Davila, Chilean Ambassador to the United States, behind whom there was no doubt the former dictator Ibanez.

Parts of the military and naval forces led by General Moreno and Admiral Jouard, after some brief street fighting, overpowered the government and set up a military junta, consisting of the above-mentioned Moreno and Jouard, and Colonel Merino. This junta immediately handed over its powers to a provisional government, headed by Davila, and of which Cavero and Cardenas are members.

From the rather vague reports to hand it appears that the movement was prepared and carried out by Admiral Jouard, the commander of the Chilean navy, in agreement with General Ibanez and President Monteros, who was driven from office on June 3.

Grove, Matte and some other Ministers have been arrested, and it is announced that they will be expelled to Argentina, as documents are said to have been found in their archives showing that they were supplied with money by the Soviet government. This stupid lie requires no refutation; in Latin America such slanderous accusations do not make an impression on anybody.

The declarations issued up to now by the new rulers of Chile who have set up a new dictatorship (one can regard this dictatorship as the continuation of the Ibanez dictatorship) are very meagre.

Let us first consider their acts. In Santiago and Valparaiso alone about 1000 Communists and revolutionary workers were arrested, immediately placed on board Chilean warships and conveyed to the uninhabited island of Mas Afura. This banishment to Mas Afura proves that the programme of the new government consists in oppressing the working masses still more and not allowing the workers to mobilise or wage any fight against hunger.

Another action which acquires importance as this government speaks in the name of "moderate Socialism", is the expulsion of the head of the "Amtorg Trading Corporation" Boris Krajevski. The Amtorg is the medium through which various Latin American countries maintain trade relations with various trusts in the Soviet Union.

Davila declared that the coup d'état against Grove had been called forth by the fact that the latter had betrayed the moderate Socialism of June 3 by having gone farther. It was desired, so he expressed it, to give Chile a socialist basis compatible with the existence of private property and of foreign interests, that is to say, with imperialism. Davila is striving for a Socialism "made in Wall Street".

The crisis in Chile is so deep that it permits of no solution without the severing of relations with the imperialists. The masses are tentatively seeking this solution; this is why Davila speaks of "Socialism", in order however to deceive the masses and the better to subject them to the dictatorship of foreign capital.

It is intended to convene a Constituent Assembly outside the control of the masses in order to create the basis of this "Socialism" to which Davila refers.

In Chile there is taking place a serious disintegration of the ruling class. The coup d'états and pronunciamientos which have rapidly followed one another, are an expression of this disintegration. At the same time, however, there is a strong movement of the masses, who wish to save themselves from starvation. For the bourgeois groups in Chile the problem is not only to find a way out of the crisis, but at the same time to prevent the revolutionary development of the spontaneous mass movement. Here lies the whole question.

Grove, who represented more the petty-bourgeois groups, went further in the use of demagogy. He compromised himself more with his promises than Davila; he confiscated foreign valuta, announced the socialisation of public education and intended, before all, to seek a solution of the crisis without regard to the interests of the Cosach Saltpetre Trust. But Grove himself began to adopt measures against the mass movement and against the Communists, and when the situation became difficult for the security of his government, he endeavoured to come to a compromise with Davila by offering him a position as Chilean Ambassador in some country in

Europe. But it was already too late. The American interests overthrew him with the aid of Ibanez and Davila and set up a new junta.

The collapse of Grove proves once again the failure of the attempts of the petty-bourgeois groups to seek a way out of the crisis outside the revolutionary mass movement. As they fear the people's revolution more than the pressure of the imperialists, they end their demagogy, which is frequently confined to words, with compromises or attempts at compromises, which in this case were in vain.

If in the course of the present events in Chile the Communist Party succeeds in rooting itself in the big industrial centres by wresting the masses from the ideological tutelage of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois elements, of the followers of Alessandris, Grove, the Trotskyist Hidalgo etc., it will fulfil its present main task. If the Communist Party participates in and organises the fights, if it takes the spontaneous movements in its hands, if it concretely exposes its opponents, it will be able to create some of the most important prerequisites for fulfilling these tasks.

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### Revolutionary General Strike and Street Fighting in Chile under Communist Slogans.

New York, June 21.

In spite of the strict censorship news has come through from Chile that the powerful mass strike movement of the industrial and agricultural workers against the new military dictatorship is still growing. All the vitally important works and enterprises are at a standstill. The attempts of the troops who are loyal to the government to run strike-breaking service on the railways and in the most important undertakings lead to repeated serious collisions with the strikers.

In **Santiago**, the capital town, and in **Valparaiso** street fighting has been going on for two days. The workers are fighting under Communist leadership and under Communist slogans against the return of the Ibanez dictatorship. In Santiago, the arsenal situated on the outskirts of the town was stormed by the workers. The Government Palace is guarded by armoured cars. In Santiago and Valparaiso, in addition to hundreds of wounded, the number of killed in the street fighting amounts to 25 and 20 respectively.

The American and English Government have requested their ambassadors in Chile to take special measures in order to protect foreign capital against a Communist revolt. A British battleship is already anchored off Santiago.

## The Situation in Latvia.

By E. Balzers (Riga).

In the small border States, including Latvia, the world economic crisis is having more serious effects than even in the big capitalist States. Production in Latvia is 40 to 50 per cent. below the pre-war level. One of the chief causes of the economic crisis in Latvia is the separation of the Latvian economy since the war from its economic-geographic hinterland, i. e. Russia. The overthrow of the Soviet Power in Latvia in 1919 barred the way for the further development of Latvian industry.

The output of Latvian industry has sunk 40 per cent. compared with the highest point of its post-war development (1928). In the last two years imports have declined 50 per cent., exports 40 per cent. Transport shows a falling off of 35 per cent. Since the collapse of the Danat Bank in Germany, the effects of which were also felt in Latvia, banking operations have been restricted. In addition, foreign exchange restrictions and import quotas have been introduced. The number of unemployed has doubled in one year. The State revenue has declined by one half. The State is no longer able to meet its liabilities and to maintain its apparatus of officials. There are indications of a depreciation of the Lat.

The efforts of the bourgeoisie to shift the burden of the economic crisis on to the working population have called forth increasing unrest among the working class and the pauperised section of the middle class. The fascist bourgeoisie are only able to maintain power by means of systematically increased terror against the revolutionary workers. The Communist Party has been illegal ever since the overthrow of the Soviet Power in Latvia. Meetings of revolutionary workers are generally prohibited. No paper published by the Left workers has been allowed to appear in the last six months.

In spite of this terror the C.P. of Latvia is organising the working masses and leading their fight. The discontent of the unemployed finds very plain expression. In Riga, Libau, Dünaburg and other towns, demonstrating unemployed have stormed the Town Halls, Labour Exchanges etc. The bourgeoisie have to employ the whole police apparatus against these and similar revolutionary actions.

Latvia's foreign politics are completely under the influence of French imperialism and its vassal in Eastern Europe, i. e. Poland. Latvia has always taken an active part in all anti-Soviet undertakings. Latvian foreign policy has of late been pursuing an outspoken interventionist line. Tardieu's proposal at the Disarmament Conference to set up an international intervention army was welcomed by the Latvian Foreign Minister. At the same time, the Latvian Government demonstratively made the ratification of the Pact of non-aggression with Soviet Russia dependent upon the attitude of Poland and Rumania.

In addition, the Latvian fascists are conducting a systematic campaign against the Trade Agreement between Latvia and the Soviet Union, which at the present time provides work and bread for 25 per cent. of the Latvian industrial and transport workers.

Further, it is to be observed that after Paris and Warsaw, Riga is one of the worst nests of white guardists. In Riga there is published the white guardist newspaper "Sevodnia", which is widely circulated in Eastern Europe, carries on systematic incitement against the Soviet Union and endeavours to provoke diplomatic scandals.

How energetically the Border States are equipping themselves military and technically for war is shown by the following new facts: Polish warships are being overhauled and repaired in Libau harbour; the harbour is to serve as a base for the Polish fleet. An agreement has been concluded with the Polish Aviation Company "Ljot", according to which the Company undertakes to train Latvian pilots free of charge.

The workers and peasants fraction in the Latvian Diet acquires particularly great importance by reason of the fact that it is the only legal point of support and mouthpiece of the revolutionary struggle. The fraction leads the economic fights of the workers and the revolutionary struggles of the unemployed. It uses the Parliamentary tribune in order to expose every advance of fascism and to summon the masses to struggle. The fraction, however, possesses particularly great importance in the fight against intervention; it exposes all the diplomatic and strategical-technical preparations for intervention.

This is the reason why the Latvian bourgeoisie are endeavouring to liquidate the fraction. Deputy **Miesis** has been arrested and imprisoned for having, allegedly, crossed the frontier illegally. On May 31st the deputy **Jankus**, who suffers from tuberculosis, was condemned to four years fortress imprisonment. At the same time the deputy **Meschuls** was handed over to the Court. Active preparations are being made in order to deliver other deputies over to the Court and to liquidate the whole fraction, as has already been done in Estonia, Lithuania and Finland. For this purpose an indictment has been brought forward in which membership of the fraction is regarded as "proof" of membership of the illegal Communist Party of Latvia.

The bourgeoisie and the social democracy are completely united in regard to the question of liquidating the workers' and peasants' fraction. The social democratic fraction was the first to demand the liquidation of the fraction.

The Latvian social democracy is the most "Left" in all Europe. It is only by its Left manoeuvres that it succeeds in exerting a certain amount of influence over the Latvian proletariat, which has acquired considerable revolutionary experience from the revolutions in 1905 and 1917 and from the time of the defence of the Latvian Soviets, which is particularly dangerous to the intervention-mongers. The Latvian social democracy takes an active part in all preparations for intervention. It is working at the reorganisation of the army; it is conducting a systematic campaign of lies against the Soviet Union; it combats the revolutionary movement. Fascist officers serve as instructors in its youth organisations. At its last Congress the social democratic party of Latvia demanded, among other things, a **military alliance of the Baltic States**.

This policy of the social democracy has been systematically exposed by the workers' and peasants' fraction. As a result,

the liquidation of the workers' and peasants' fraction is a political necessity for the social democrats. After the fascist flood has annihilated the revolutionary fractions in the other Border States, Latvia is the only country among the Baltic countries in which the revolutionary proletariat has succeeded in maintaining its legal fighting position in the Diet.

Only the increased fight of the Latvian working masses, supported by the solidarity of the international proletariat, can offer a check to the increasing activity of Latvian fascism.

## General Attack on the Revolutionary Movement in Czechoslovakia.

By G. Friedrich (Prague).

For weeks there has been proceeding a concentrated incitement against the revolutionary movement in Czechoslovakia. Arrests and house-searches are on the order of the day. After the prohibition of the Workers International Relief and the Red Aid, after the prohibition of various mass organisations and organs of the united front such as the Anti-Fascist League, Young Pioneers etc., the government has proceeded to dissolve the central bodies of the Young Communist League and its organisation in Prague.

The Czechoslovakian Government in which seven members of the social fascist parties hold Ministerial positions, is endeavouring by means of force to check the economic and political bankruptcy. It is preparing new measures which will place further heavy burdens on the working population.

The working masses are replying with increasing determination to the attacks of the government and the employers and are fighting under the leadership of the Communist Party for higher wages and better working conditions. Following the powerful and successful strike of the miners in the North Bohemian coalfields, the red trade unions and the Communist Party led over 3000 agricultural workers in the fight for higher wages and shorter working hours etc. In North and South Bohemia, in Prague and Moravia, thousands of building workers fought and are fighting for the demands formulated by the red trade unions. In Eastern Bohemia the red trade unions are preparing the fight of 40,000 textile workers against the wholesale dismissals and wage reductions planned by the textile employers. In these fights the Communist Party and the red trade unions became the sole leaders of the workers, and all these fights resulted in a diminution of the influence of the reformists.

These facts have terrified the bourgeoisie and the reformists. They rightly perceive that the realisation of their starvation plans is endangered. The nervousness of the Czechoslovakian capitalists and their agents in the government increases the nearer the **Sokol Congress**, this military parade of all the forces of the Little Entente including the white-guardists, approaches. And here there commenced one of the most demagogic manoeuvres of all the forces of the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie. Whilst **Slavik**, the Minister of the Interior, announced at the Congress of the Slovakian People's Party the regime "of a strong hand", he was seconded by the chairman of the Czech socialist party **Klofac**, who urged him to follow up words with deeds. And the social democratic parties, in order to pacify the rank and file who are observing with growing concern the reactionary policy of the bourgeois-socialist coalition and are protesting against the persecution of the labour movement, demanded energetic action against the fascist movement so as to create the appearance that the government is proceeding impartially against "the Left and Right subversive elements". And in truth: the youth organisation of the Czech fascists with 119 members was dissolved, about 100 members of the fascist sport movement were arrested and—nothing more. On the other hand, the activity of the Workers International Relief and the Red Aid organisations, which have thousands of members, was suppressed. Hundreds of house searches were carried out. Whilst the social democratic press, in order to divert the attention of the discontented masses of workers, publishes reports with big headlines of an alleged suppression of the fascist movement, in regard to the dissolution of the Young Communist League it confines itself to giving the bare police report. The social democratic party endeavour by this means to cover up their direct responsibility for the suppression of the revolutionary labour movement.

The incitement is still going on. The press of the national

democrats is calling for the dissolution of the Communist Party, the arrest of all Communist agitators who incite to strike, the removal of all Communist deputies from Parliament, the suppression of the Communist press. This press campaign is only the prelude to the further plans of the government. For this reason the Communist Party is calling upon the whole of the working class of Czechoslovakia to defend their fighting organs, the red trade unions and the C.P. of Czechoslovakia, and to reply to the dissolution of the revolutionary mass organs and the Y.C.L. with still greater activity and mass entry into these organisations.

## GERMANY

### Germany at the Turning-Point.

By Hermann Remmele (Berlin).

The 1st of June 1932 will remain a day of first class importance in the history of the political development in Germany. On June 1st Field-Marshal **Hindenburg** received the resignation of the Brüning Government and summoned the **Papen** Government which, as the bourgeois press has since reported, had been prepared weeks beforehand. Brüning had behind him a safe majority in the Reichstag and almost the whole of the Reichsrat. Papen had the existing Parliament against him from the beginning. But he had the Reichswehr, and in critical times bayonets count for more than Parliamentary votes. The feudal Herren-Club, the old Hohenzollern generals, Potsdam, had achieved their aim. The Ebert Republic experienced its Jena. The old Field-Marshal, the unswervingly faithful servant of the Hohenzollerns, was and remains true to his caste, the junkers and monarchists—a fact which he himself never concealed.

Only petty-bourgeois illusionists, political ignoramuses and those whose job it is to deceive could promise any other issue of the political development of "Republican" Germany. The tremendous fraud perpetrated by the social democrats and the Centre on the millions of electors in March and April by supporting the candidature of Hindenburg as the bulwark against fascism has been exposed in a few weeks. What were the electors told at that time? "If you want to defeat fascism vote for Hindenburg." "Hindenburg is the only guarantee for democracy and the Republic!" Thus the "Republicans" smoothed the way for fascism, which is today the banner of all the reactionary forces, from the Hohenzollerns, and the jack-boot militarists of the old Prussian type, to the industrialists and kings of finance.

The **November Republic** has finished its course. In 1918 **Ebert** and **Scheidemann**, with the loyal toleration and support of Generals Hindenburg and Gröner, took over the heritage of the Hohenzollerns. At that time it was the only possibility of saving the capitalist order from Bolshevism. Today the "divinely appointed rulers of all Germans" are returning to resume their hereditary rights. The Ebert Republic has fulfilled its role. The petty bourgeois Republicans had to drain the cup of bitterness to the last drop. The November Republic, which was borne on the crest of the revolutionary wave which shook the whole of Europe at the end of the world war, is now buried under a new wave of militarist chauvinism which has arisen on the basis of a new world crisis and danger of imperialist war which has seized the whole of the capitalist world. The "upheaval" of the capitalist regime in Germany has international effects. The attack of the fascist reaction in Germany is a signal for the general attack of fascism in the whole capitalist world.

Much as the junkers who are allied with finance capital long for the past pomp and splendour of the old Prussian regime, these things belong to the past. The Germany of 1932 is different from that of 1918. The October revolution gave birth to a new proletariat in Germany. Although social fascism has up to now succeeded in deceiving millions of German workers with illusions regarding the peaceful growth into Socialism on the basis of the "freest Republic of the world", this period of social democratic deception is now approaching its end.

History is a good school-master. That which the past and all the revolutionary agitation and propaganda was unable

to achieve in sufficient measure—to reveal to the whole proletariat its historic mission, the political development in the period from 1918 to 1932, the end of the Ebert Republic, immediate bitter experience, are achieving even in the case of the most backward and credulous followers of social reactionary reformism. Millions of members of the reformist and christian trade unions, millions of followers of the social democracy, millions of workers believed that they were serving their class by fighting for the Ebert Republic. For this Republic they fought and bled, suffered hunger and made innumerable sacrifices, in order to experience in the end the bitterest disappointment. Not defeated in the open field of battle, but struck by the very weapons which the Republic provided for its defence; beaten on the ground of the Weimar Constitution, fettered by article 48 of this Constitution, which was to have been a specially sharp weapon for the defence of this Republic—this is what millions of social democratic workers feel and realise today. With the slogan: Against Bolshevism, for the defence of the Republic, the petty bourgeois Republicans have deceived the masses of the German workers and smoothed the way for the fascist regime and a government of the monarchist reaction.

Shortly before the Von Papen "coup" the social democrats, in order to maintain civil peace, liquidated even their "Iron Front". This, of course, only served to encourage the fascist monarchist circles. Now, after the fascist monarchist wing of the bourgeoisie have carried off the victory, **Wels** and **Breitscheid** and other social democratic leaders are blustering and threatening all sorts of "revolutionary" deeds. "The fight for the second Republic begins! This first Republic is finished for us!" "We are fighting on quite new ground!" "Whilst we renounce and abandon this Republic, which still exists on paper, we are preparing for the fight for the second Republic!" "Under this slogan, for the second Republic against the State of the Rich and the barons, we shall enter the fray!" Thus writes **Höferrmann**, the head of the Reichsbanner, in the "Alarm" and announces the resurrection of the "Iron Front". These radical posturings reflect the rebellious feelings of the awakening million masses of the working class rank and file of the social democracy.

From end to end of the country, thousands and thousands of social democratic workers are flocking to the united front meetings and demonstrations which the Communists are organising under the slogan of the **anti-fascist action**. Huge meetings conferences and congresses of the anti-fascist action under the leadership of the Communists are attended by delegations of the official party organisations of the social democratic party, of the reformist and christian trade unions, and are greeted by deputations elected by workers in the localities.

With the change in the political situation in Germany, the united front action of the Communists has entered a new stage on a far stronger basis. The slogans of the Communists meet with an enthusiastic response among the rank and file of the social democratic party, as is shown especially in the last few days by the eager way in which the offer of the united front made by our Berlin District Party Committee to all workers and workers' organisations has been taken up. The slogans of the Reichsbanner and the social democracy for the second bourgeois Republic can only call forth contempt. The social democratic workers, who have been so thoroughly fooled and deceived, have no desire to begin the same game all over again in order at the end to find themselves at the same place at which they commenced. The experience with the Republic has left deep traces in the class-consciousness of the German proletariat. This class-consciousness of many of the social democratic workers is now entering a higher stage: it is growing into a revolutionary consciousness of the historic mission of the proletariat, to conscious and determined will to fight against capitalist society and fascist dictatorship and for the establishment of the rule of the proletariat in Germany.

The anti-fascist action under the leadership of the Communist Party can and will thereby become the starting point for the strongest mobilisation and organisation of the working class in the fight for the emancipation of the German proletariat from social and national bondage. No matter how much the official party and trade union organisations for the social democracy may seek to oppose the developing united front of the German working class, they cannot thereby prevent the revolutionary upsurge in Germany and the revolutionary emancipation of the German working class.

## FASCISM IN GERMANY

### The National Socialist German Workers' Party.

By Hans Jäger (Berlin).

#### IV.

#### The Propaganda.

The methods of propaganda, the extent and large-scale character of the agitation conducted by the National Socialist Party show that here there is at work not a movement which, has to rely on the pennies contributed by its members. No, the modern methods of propaganda, their American character show that behind the scenes, the big trust magnates are at work in order to win the masses for this curious "workers' party", this greatest mass bluff of the 20th century.

The references to the heavy industrial, agrarian and foreign sources of income are almost as old as the movement itself. Already in 1923 it was known that the party was financed by Bavarian engineering, tobacco and brewery capitalists. But already at its inception there was talk of the secret relations with Italy, France, Czechoslovakia and Henry Ford. There then followed the revelations of Mücke regarding the connections with the Saxon industry. Later Borsig, Kirddorf, Thyssen and others were mentioned. And to-day Hitler is still busy collecting huge sums from the capitalists. He approaches the heads of industry, assures them of the harmlessness of the movement to capital, his respect for "creating" employers, apologises for the socialist phrase-mongering, which is indispensable in order to win the workers, and then contributions are thankfully received. Of course, the Nazi press does not say a word about these speeches to the Ruhr industrialists (Düsseldorf), the shipowners (Hamburg and Bremen), the bankers (Berlin). The Nazis are faithful to the employers, but only if they receive the necessary palm oil, just as any other mercenaries. And even now relations with circles abroad are not severed. In the French Chamber of Deputies Paul Faure, a socialist deputy, mentioned the subventions of Hitler by the Skoda works. Among the papers left behind by Ivar Kreuger there were found some very strange receipts, and there exist connections with the English oil king Sir Henri Deterding through the mediation of Lord Beaverbrook. This was not even denied! It is in the interest of the foreign imperialists that the party which in addition to the social democratic party, most furiously incites against the Soviet Union and is most ready for a crusade against Bolshevism, should become continually stronger.

When such financial means are at their disposal, the national socialist party can of course afford to lavish money on propaganda; then they can make a great show in an election campaign with 50,000 meetings, in which speakers are sent to the most remote villages, have airmen in their service to cover the streets of the big towns with mountains of leaflets, in their house to house propaganda not leave a single house at which at least ten leaflets have not been delivered, distribute newspapers and pamphlets gratis, maintain a private army, feed and clothe it for weeks, send it through the towns and over the country right to the remotest corners, perhaps provide free beer to the backward and unenlightened elements in order to work up the necessary enthusiasm, or, as in the case of the Prussian election in 1932, taking advantage of the need of those unemployed who are receiving only poor law relief, get them to display Hakenkreuz flags at their windows in return for two marks a day.

So much for the extent of the propaganda. But here there exist certain "principles", even if in other respects there is a total lack of principle. Hitler has written regarding this in "Mein Kampf", and in addition there is a little book written by Stark entitled "Modern political propaganda" in which these principles are laid down. Hitler states that in the first place the spoken word can bring about revolutions. But the bourgeois intelligencia are against this because they have not the capacity to influence the masses. Therefore the bourgeoisie have lost feeling with the masses. Hitler therefore shows the bourgeoisie how things are to be done, that there is something they can learn from him. The triumph of national socialism, therefore, is due to speculation on the stupidity of the masses. At the same time there is expressed here the contempt for theory, after the style of Mussolini,

who boasted that he had hardly ever read a book. One must have the "courage to be banal". The Nazi speakers do not show the connections between things. They are unable to. They speak to the workers only of concrete things, but when addressing petty bourgeois audiences they use such phrases as "Prussia must become Prussian again!" Each gets his particular dose! This creates momentary advantages. Hitler states the printed word remains the same no matter into whose hands it falls. By this he means that a speaker can adapt his words to the audience. Frequent use is made of these tactics. When addressing workers the Nazi speakers talk socialistic, when addressing bourgeois audiences they use nationalist phrases. The Nazis again make a great use of suggestion. Just as when one constantly reads advertisements for a certain tooth paste one gradually begins to believe that this particular brand is the very best for cleaning the teeth, so also is it with the methods of the Nazis.

To this there is added the unbounded demagoguery to which we have already referred. According to the advice of **Stark**, leaflets intended for distribution in working class quarters are to be drawn up in very rough and blunt language; those intended for the bourgeois quarters must be drawn up in a more refined style. Placards and posters must be so worded that it will be impossible to tell until the conclusion from whom they emanate.

The leaflets and placards are drawn up in a sensational manner, so as to arrest attention and arouse curiosity. Hostile attacks are immediately parried, as for example, in the leaflets regarding the alleged attitude of the Nazis to the trade unions, wage agreements, social insurance or on the attitude to women and women's work. They reacted with great promptness for instance, on the occasion of the collapse of the Danat Bank, Stalin's famous speech in June 1931 on the six conditions etc. A Nazi leaflet issued during the Presidential election showed particular skill and cunning. It was issued in the form of a Communist leaflet and signed by alleged Communists. It stated that Thälmann had no prospect of being elected, that therefore Communists should vote for Hitler, who would not be able to solve any problems, so that as a result of his election a revolutionary situation would be accelerated. As in words, so in songs. All revolutionary songs are appropriated. At Nazi meetings the "International" and other revolutionary songs are sung, only the words being different. The Nazis also seek to imitate the Communists in issuing factory and street newspapers.

Everywhere it is attempted to make a mass impression. After the prohibition of the Storm Detachments all members of the National socialists went about displaying their badge, the Hakenkreuz, in order to impress the public with their strength. When demonstrations were still allowed, Goebbels declared that the Nazis must march every Sunday to Wedding or Neukölln in order by this means to get the workers used to the attacks of the fascists. At the same time they endeavour by this means to intimidate the wavering. Thus the national socialists seek to convince the broad masses that the movement is inevitably spreading and resistance to it impossible.

Under all these circumstances the successes of the Hitler movement are not surprising. National socialism promises the workers higher wages, the employers lower wages, the consumers lower customs duties, the big agrarians higher customs duties, to the workers Socialism, to the employers the inviolability of private property, the peasants are promised land, the agrarians the safety of their property, the tenants lower rents, the house owners higher rents, the nationalists the cessation of reparations payments, the Entente the fulfilment of all obligations, the disinherited the fight against finance capital, the foreign capitalists the payment of interest, the Republicans the Republic, the monarchists the restoration of the Hohenzollern, the workers in Wedding the revolution and the employers the counter-revolution.

Thus the employers see in Hitler their rescuer from Bolshevism, the dictator over the rebellious masses; the petty bourgeois see in him the solver of the crisis, the emancipator from the foreign yoke, the leader to new national revival; the peasants see in him the protector of agriculture, the intellectuals the purger who will cleanse the Augean stable of corruption, whilst the misled proletarians see in him the revolutionary fighter against international finance capital and the emancipator of oppressed Germany.

The contradiction between oppressor and oppressed in the Hitler party is the Achilles heel of national socialism. But an Achilles heel is not in itself a wounded heel—the mortal wound must first be inflicted.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### Scottsboro, Vandervelde and the Belgian Congo.

By J. Louis Engdahl.

Gendarmes of the Renkin-Cocq regime in Belgium sought to bar the way to the European tour of the Scottsboro Negro Mother, **Mrs. Ada Wright**. Expelled from the country, forbidden to return even for passage to Holland, she came back across the border unannounced, appeared at a tremendous meeting in **Brussels** when it was thought she was in Paris, and then cheering thousands demonstrated at the railroad station as she continued on her way, this time without police interference.

Scottsboro had become a slogan of struggle against oppression in the **Belgian Congo** which touched the nerve centres of Belgian imperialism. Efforts to gag the Scottsboro appeal were smashed, however, by the mass basis of its appeal. On the day that the Scottsboro Mother was expelled the American International Red Aid Secretary continued the tour and spoke to thousands in the coal mining-metal industrial centre of **Seraing**. The police offered no resistance until the last word of "The International" had resounded through the Plaza before the local railroad station. Then they made their arrest; but only after a bitter struggle with the workers. The decree delivered over the telephone by the minister of justice from Brussels was that the American Red Aid Secretary must leave the country immediately, that he would be placed under arrest if he spoke at another meeting.

Next day, however, protests pouring in militantly denouncing the expulsion of the Scottsboro Mother and demanding her right to return, and the right of the American Red Aid Secretary to remain in the country, supported by direct demands upon the highest ministers of the Belgian king preparing his welcome for the American aviatrix, **Amelia Earhart**, brought quick results. The ban on the meetings was lifted and the American Red Aid Secretary was allowed to speak, but decision on the return of Mrs. Wright was no doubt purposely delayed until the workers took things into their own hands and brought her back themselves.

This protest storm brought swirling to the surface of the struggle none other than **Emile Vandervelde**, chairman of the Second Socialist International, former Socialist minister to his royal majesty, but still a member of parliament. He came to and was allowed to speak at the Scottsboro demonstration. He was listened to with interest. He admitted that the International Red Aid had saved the lives of the Scottsboro Negro boys. He said he spoke only as an individual and professed his humanitarian instincts had been outraged by the sentence of death passed on the Negro children. He said if he had still been the first minister of the land, the Scottsboro Mother would not have been denied entrance to the country. He did not have a word to say against the oppression of the Scottsboro Mother under Socialist attacks in Germany, Austria, Switzerland and other countries although this had been sharply brought to his attention. He had not a word to say about the social-democratic police gendarmes in other countries, nor of the Ramsay MacDonald government in England for refusing entrance to the Scottsboro Mother. He did not explain the silence of his own official organ, **Le Peuple**, that only gave some notice, as he himself came to the demonstration, after the thundering protest had stormed upwards from the toiling masses. No breath of explanation as to the oppressive role of the social-democracy in the colonies and semi-colonies.

Vandervelde's manoeuvre reveals the fact that the social-democracy realises that the mass proportions of the Scottsboro campaign, drawing into its orbit the struggle on behalf of the Negro masses in the African colonies of European imperialism, cannot be ignored. As in the Sacco-Vanzetti campaign they now seek to enter it to betray it.

This is the second important development resulting from the European tour of the Scottsboro Mother, just as the first important development was the forcing of the United States Supreme Court to give a hearing to the appeal demanded by the International Red Aid in the United States at the moment when workers over Europe were storming at the doors of American embassies and consulates in numerous countries. These achievements must be stepping stones raising the protest to higher levels.

## The War

# The League of Nations Commission's Journey Through Manchuria.

By Min Tin.

Peking, End of May 1932.

The League of Nations Commission of Enquiry which on April 19 went from Tientsin via Dairen to Manchuria, returned to Dairen on May 26. According to the report of the "Manchu Pao" they are to have a long talk with Count Ushida, President of the Manchurian Railway Company, and the governor of Kwantung, after which they will proceed to draw up a comprehensive report on the result of their inquiries. The "Manchu Pao" also reports that, simultaneously with the Commission, there arrived in Dairen Sir Miles Lampson, the British Ambassador in China, for the purpose of having a "private" meeting with his fellow-countryman Lord Lytton, the chairman of the League of Nations Commission. One cannot, therefore, expect anything else from the report to be drawn up in Dairen than the official handing over of Manchuria to Japan, the further partitioning of China among the imperialists and more intensive preparations for intervention against the Soviet Union.

The colonial governors of Europe and America have made a very pleasant journey through Manchuria with their Japanese colleagues, visiting Moukden, Harbin, Changchun and Tsitsihar and during this journey have sufficiently humiliated and tormented their unwanted fellow travellers. Mr. Wellington-Koo was nothing else but their prisoner. At first the so-called Manchurian government refused to grant him permission to enter the country. Lord Lytton then posed as the protector of China by recommending that Wellington-Koo travel with the Commission, and declared himself ready to be with him during the whole journey. Nevertheless, Wellington Koo and his staff were surrounded in Dairen by an army of Japanese spies and not allowed to go outside the Japanese concession or to get into contact with any Chinese in Manchuria. In Moukden some members of his staff were arrested as were also Chinese who attempted to speak with him. Thus Wellington-Koo was compelled to leave Moukden with his staff and return to Nanking. He was forbidden on pain of arrest to visit any other towns. The "heroic diplomat", as the Kuomintang people now call him, was therefore under the direct protection of Lord-Lytton, was in fact the fifth wheel of his coach.

The Japanese colonial officer General Honjo and the Japanese colonial diplomat Ohashi, the first Ministerial director of the Foreign Office of the Manchurian government, placed at the disposal of the League of Nations Commission whatever they desired. They organised "mass" delegations, arranged conversations between the Commission and members of the Manchurian government, drafted memoranda. The first report of the League of Nations Commission from Moukden to Geneva is based entirely, as even the imperialist press in China has to admit, on one-sided information obtained from Japanese sources. In addition to the Japanese, at every station the Russian white guardists came forward with complaints against the Chinese militarists and Russian Bolsheviks. Finally, in Harbin the Commission received a number of white-guardist delegations and declared that they had obtained from them copious and valuable material and proposals.

When the Commission were in Tientsin and in Peking they declared that they would not take any notice of the Manchurian government, for it is not recognised either by the League of Nations or by the members of the same. Arrived in Moukden, however, they immediately commenced an exchange of Notes with the Japanese puppet government in Changchun. On May 3, they attended a solemn audience with the ex-emperor Pu. In addition, they paid several visits to the Chancellor and the Foreign Minister of this government. In Harbin they declared that the insurgent troops in

Manchuria consisted for the most part of bandits; they wanted however at all costs to have a talk with General Ma in order to have a report from him. On the protest of the Japanese diplomat Ohashi on behalf of the Manchurian Foreign Minister, they immediately abandoned this intention. In this way the League of Nations Commission Enquiry, consisting of representatives of five of the big Powers, have recognised the Japanese puppet government de facto and de jure.

In the middle of May it was suddenly reported in Moukden and Tokyo that the League of Nations Commission had proposed to convert Manchuria into a League of Nations' mandatory territory. The Japanese press sharply opposed this proposal, as did also Count Ushida. But are the Japanese in reality so entirely against this proposal? The Japanese secretary of State, Morikago, submitted in December last a secret proposal to the Cabinet regarding the Manchurian question, the first points of which read as follows:

"We must immediately bring about the independent State of the North-East, so that all treaties between China and Japan and China and other Powers regarding Manchuria and Mongolia can be immediately done away with . . . At first Manchuria and Mongolia must be declared an independent free state in order to divert the Europeans and Americans. We can then attempt to obtain mandatory right over this country . . ." (Published in the "Ta Kun Pao", of March 6, in Tientsin.)

The League of Nations' proposal is only a fulfilment of the desire of the Japanese imperialists. If Japanese imperialism pretends to be sharply opposed to this plan, it is only playing the same game which it played in Shanghai. The present Japanese offensive against Shangkaiwan and the advance into Hupeh are means of military pressure used against the Chinese people in order to realise this plan.

The League of Nations' proposal is, however, a pre-arranged affair not only between Japan and the international imperialists, but also with the Kuomintang: see the secret treaty between Japan and the Nanking government brought about through the mediation of Sir Miles Lampson, see also the declaration made by Wang-Chin-wei after signing the Shanghai peace treaty, "that the Manchurian question will soon be solved by diplomatic means". The aim of these machinations of the imperialists and of the Kuomintang is to convert Manchuria into a base from which attacks can be launched against the Soviet Union.

## Japanese Advance against the Frontiers of the Soviet Union.

Peiping, June 20.

A further advance of the Japanese troops in the direction of Amur is reported from Tsitsihar. The occupation of Sakalyan (on the Soviet Russian frontier opposite Blagovshchensk) is expected in the next few days.

Further Japanese cavalry troops under the command of Yosioka have arrived in Tsitsihar.

The press reports: the chief of the Moukden police, the Japanese Mitani, has organised troops of air police in view of the constant growth of the insurrectionary movement. Reports from Japanese sources state the insurgents are advancing in the direction of Tsitsihar. The Sinbun Rengo news agency states that according to all appearances the Japanese troops have suffered heavy losses here. 3,000 partisan troops attacked the Japanese garrison north of Kintchoo on the Moukden-Shanghai Railway.



## Secret Anglo-Tibetan Alliance Threatens Soviet Union.

Shanghai, 20th June, 1932.

The Chinese newspaper "Dagun Bao" reports that a secret agreement has been concluded between the Dalai Lama of Tibet and the British government according to which the British will take over the post and air services in Tibet and receive a monopolist concession for the exploitation of the Tibetan coal resources. Great Britain, on the other hand, will give Tibet assistance in the organisation and equipment of its army. A first delivery will consist of forty pieces of artillery together with large supplies of shells, two thousand field service rifles and two million rounds of ammunition. The Tibetan army is already fairly well equipped on modern lines thanks to British assistance, and it is officered by men who have enjoyed university education in Great Britain.

A struggle is proceeding in Tibet between the English and the Chinese tendencies, and for the moment at least the English tendency would seem to be successful, as witness also the attack on Chinese territory carried out by well-armed Tibetan troops.

Referring to this secret agreement, the "Pravda" of today's date writes:

"What has happened is not surprising. The general aims of British policy in Tibet have not changed since 1914. The Dalai Lama and the whole feudal-aristocratic clique which rules in Tibet are little more than puppets in the hands of the British resident who willingly affords them support in the plans for the establishment of a 'Greater Tibet'. British imperialism hopes in this way to strengthen its influence over the western provinces of China and in particular over Sinkiang which lies directly on the Soviet frontier."

## U.S. General on Far Eastern Situation.

New York, 20th June 1932.

General Graves, the commander of the American forces in Siberia from 1918 to 1920, has given an interview to a representative of the Philadelphia "Public Ledger" concerning the situation in the Far East. General Graves declares:

"It is not correct to assume, as many people do, that there is an anti-militarist party in Japan which is opposed to imperialist expansion. There is nothing more than differences of opinion between moderates and extremists. The moderates are opposed to experiments at the moment, simply and solely because they think that the moment is not propitious, and not in the least because they are opposed to them on principle. There is no doubt that a strong extremist militarist group is urging a drive for the conquest of Western Siberia whilst Russia still has its hands tied with its economic problems. This Japanese militarist group wants a Japanese-Manchurian-Siberian empire up to the Baikal Lake."

The representative of "The Public Ledger" then asked General Graves whether in his (Graves') opinion a Russo-Japanese war would remain confined to Asia. The journalist writes:

"General Graves thought over this question for a while and was obviously not sure whether he ought to answer it or not, but finally he answered slowly and distinctly: 'If Japan begins a war on Russia then it will be because those people who control Japan's policy are sure of enough support to compel Russia to hold big sections of its strength elsewhere and prevent it deploying all its forces against Japan. Not one single, intelligent Japanese soldier would dream of undertaking a war against Russia unless he was certain, or had an agreement in his pocket to the effect, that Japan would not stand alone.'"

The journalist then asked whether this answer meant that Poland and Rumania would attempt to hold Russian armies on the European frontiers and to draw in France.

"Graves made no direct answer to this question, but he declared: 'If war breaks out between Russia and Japan then there is no doubt that the interests and agreements which bind the small States together will draw them all into the war exactly as was the case in 1914 and we should then all sink into the deadly confusion of a new world war.'"

General Graves then expressed the opinion that the

Japanese sideline in Shanghai was a great military error which retarded the development of the Japanese plans for the conquest of Siberia. He then continued:

"However, the events in Shanghai represented a temporary hindrance only. Those people who are imbued with the idea of a Japanese-Manchurian-Siberian empire are not prepared to abandon their plans so easily. The situation in the Far East remains dangerous. Only the re-opening of diplomatic relations between the United States and Russia can do anything really considerable towards putting out the sparks which threaten to develop into the flames of a new Russo-Japanese war."

Graves remarks in the same interview concerning the activities of the notorious "Cossack Hetman" Semionov are also very interesting. Graves speaks with first-hand information when he declares:

"Whilst the American expeditionary force was in Siberia Semionov organised the murder of American soldiers, the idea being to put the blame onto the Bolsheviks and provoke me to exceed the limits of my orders and to interfere in the Russian civil war. I am informed that Semionov is now in Manchuria and you can be sure that his presence there represents a source of unrest. Manchuria is full of Russian Whites who hope to return to Russia and who are prepared to go to any lengths in order to aggravate the situation and drag in other countries."

## Japan's Immediate Aim — Habarovsk and Vladivostok.

New York, 21st June, 1932.

The former correspondent of "The New York World", Mitchell publishes an article in "The New Republic" in which he points out that the danger of an attack on the Soviet Union is a real one. He writes:

"The Japanese military leaders have long wanted to attack the Soviet Union. The two Siberian towns Habarovsk and Vladivostok are of extreme importance for Northern Manchuria both from the military and the commercial standpoint. The occupation of these two towns by the Japanese would considerably strengthen the position of the Japanese in Manchuria. At the same time, the Japanese hope that this would cause the Soviet government to give up its plans for the industrial development of Siberia, and this would place Japan in a better position to oppose the United States in the Pacific."

Mitchell then points out that Roumania has refused to conclude a Pact of Non-Aggression with the Soviet Union, and declares that many neutral diplomats attach considerable significance to this fact because they do not believe that Roumania's obstinacy is an independent phenomenon. They are convinced that France and its allies intend to keep their hands free for all eventualities. Mitchell points out that this means that should Japan attack the Soviet Union then France and its allies would certainly make a drive into Ukraina. He writes:

"It is an undeniable fact that influential circles in Europe support Japan and want a war with the Soviet Union. Should the Soviet Union be forced into a war in the Far East then all European governments will undoubtedly be subjected to strong pressure in order to compel them to take action against the Soviet Union."

In an editorial comment on Mitchell's article, "The New Republic" points out that at the moment there is a strong danger that Germany will be drawn into the anti-Soviet front. It writes:

"It is reported that Hitler has already been present at a series of conversations with French representatives. France would perhaps be prepared to give Hitler a free hand internally and even to make considerable concessions in the reparations problem, whilst Poland would perhaps be prepared to make concessions in the corridor question if Hitler would be prepared to promise Poland complete security for its frontiers towards Germany."

(Editorial Note: Both the above item and the interview given by General Graves to the representative of "The Philadelphia Public Ledger" have been re-translated from the German. Although the contents of these items is correct in spirit, the text will undoubtedly vary in style from the original.)

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

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

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

# **The Fight Over the Spoils Threatens to Become a War between the Balkan Allies.**

## **The Fight Over the Spoils Goes on . . .**

London, April 13 (Reuter). The Serbian Finance Minister declared yesterday in his speech in the Skupstchina:

"Demobilisation cannot be carried out among the allies before the solution of questions of territory."

## **. . . And Threatens to Call Forth a New War between the Allies.**

It is more advisable to negotiate regarding the new frontiers with weapons in hand. The allies are marching against each other. Bulgaria is sending its troops which have been released by the fall of Adrianople to the West and South-West against Serbia and Greece. ("Vossische Zeitung", April 14.)

## **. . . The New War Can now Begin.**

Vienna, April 18. A Serbian transport of munitions has been attacked by Bulgarian Komitadji between Kumanovo and Polanka. A fierce fight ensued as a result of which 80 Serbian soldiers were killed and wounded.

("South-Slavian Correspondence".)

## **Scutari Fallen.**

Cetinje, April 23. (Official.) The Montenegrin troops have entered Scutari.

## **Krupp's Briberies.**

*The bribing of prominent officials at the war office by the firm of Krupp, the supplying of important secrets to the armament king, the degeneration of this affair to a regular corruption scandal—all this was first made known as a result of Liebknecht's revelations in his speeches delivered in the Reichstag on 18th and 19th April 1913.*

## **Liebknecht's First Speech.**

German Reichstag Sitting of 18th April.

Dr. Liebknecht (Socialist): "Capital knows no country . . . The armament firms systematically sell their products abroad, no matter whether they are to serve later to kill the German people. The Dillinger works are owned for the greater part by French capitalists, and at the general meetings of the firm French—the language of the "hereditary enemy"—is used. The firm of Friedrich Krupp in Essen until a few weeks ago had an agent in Berlin named Frank, who was commissioned to bribe officials at the War Office and Admiralty in order to obtain secret information in which the firm is interested. This state of affairs existed for years.

## **". . . Considerably Exaggerated".**

Von Heeringen, Minister for War: I believe that Deputy Liebknecht has very considerably exaggerated the whole affair . . . Perhaps these factories are also responsible for the turmoil in the Balkans?

## **Liebknecht's Reply to the War Minister.**

Reichstag Sitting 144, Saturday April 19, 1913.

Deputy Liebknecht (Socialist): The Minister for War replied to me yesterday . . . He denied that any secrets had

been divulged to Krupp. But he is aware that such secrets have been betrayed . . .

The army bills in Germany and France, which are the greatest danger to European peace, are the products of the business patriots . . .

The Deutsche Waffen und Munitionsfabriken have spread false information in the foreign press in order to stir up feeling in Germany in favour of the new army bill. Krupp in Essen has for years employed bribery in order to get hold of military secrets. This state of affairs must considerably alter the attitude of the Reichstag to the armament question.

## **There is no Question of High Treason.**

Reply of the War Minister.

War Minister von Heeringen: I said already yesterday that, so far as I am aware of the result of the investigation to date, there is no question of high treason, of betrayal of military secrets endangering the security of the country . . .

## **How "Public Opinion" is Influenced.**

Letter from the "Deutsche Waffen- und Munitionsfabriken Aktien-Gesellschaft".

Berlin-Karlsruhe, directed to an address in Paris:

"We have just wired you: "Please await our letter of today's date in Paris." The reason for this telegram was that we desire to have published in one of the most widely read French newspapers, if possible in the "Figaro", an article with the following contents:

"The French military authorities have decided considerably to accelerate the rearming of the army with machine guns and to order twice the number than was at first intended."

Will you please do everything in order to secure the publication of such an article.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) Deutsche Munitions- und Waffenfabriken.

(Reichstag-sitting, Nr. 147, April 23, 1913.)

## **Secret Agreement between Austria and Italy Regarding Albania.**

The Russian Ambassador in Paris, to the Russian Foreign Minister.

Paris, April 20 (May 3rd), 1913.

The "Temps" of this evening states that according to reliable information an agreement has been concluded between Austria and Italy under which the course of the river Skumbia shall form the dividing line between their two spheres of influence; Austria is proceeding to occupy Durazzo and Italy Valona.

Isvolski.  
("Isvolski's Diplomatic Correspondence" 1911-1914 vol. 3, page 145.)

## **The General Strike in Belgium.**

Brussels, April 12. When these lines appear a large-scale strike will have broken out in Belgium, not because the workers are dissatisfied with their wages but for political reasons, in order to achieve a new franchise . . .

("Vossische Zeitung", April 14.)

**Brussels, April 15.** The strike situation today is as follows: There are about 50,000 more workers on strike than yesterday; in all therefore, 300,000. These are, in the main workers in the big industrial centres. In Ghent about 13,000 workers have downed tools. In Brussels and the neighbourhood the number of strikers is about 20,000. In Antwerp docks only 30 per cent. of the workers are on strike. In the industrial centres a further increase in the number of strikers is expected in the next two days.

("Vossische Zeitung", 16th April.)

## The Anniversary of the Blood Bath on the Lena.

**Petersburg, April 17.** In Petersburg the workers in many big and small enterprises ceased work on the occasion of the anniversary of the bloody events in the Lena gold fields. (General Press Report.)

## The Berne Conference of German and French members of Parliament.

Berne, May 10, 1913.

The Conference of French and German members of Parliament was opened this morning in the large hall of the Berne University. There were present about 140 French and 447 German members of Parliament. The opening speech was delivered by Grimm, member of the Swiss federal Council.

("Vossische Zeitung", May 13, 1913.)

## The German Ambassador in Paris, Freiherr von Schoen, to the Reichs Chancellor Bethmann Hollweg.

Paris, May 13, 1913.

If the Radicals and socialists here attended the Berne Conference in large numbers and endeavoured to represent it as a landmark in the history of Franco-German relations, this was to a great extent in order to take the wind out of the sails of the chauvinist nationalist movement.

von Schoen.

(Great Politics. Vol. 39, page 315.)

## Lenin: On the Berne Conference.

The Conference of French and German members of Parliament which took place in Berne on May 11, again reminds us of the attitude of the European bourgeoisie to war and peace.

It was the Alsace-Lorraine and Swiss representatives who took the initiative for convening the Conference. The French and German socialist members of Parliament turned up in good numbers. From the bourgeois deputies there came a fairly large number of French Radicals and Radical Socialists, who in reality have nothing to do with Socialism and in most cases are hostile to it.

The Conference was undoubtedly an imposing demonstration in favour of peace. It would, however, be a great mistake to have any faith in the fine speeches of those few bourgeois members of Parliament who were present at the Conference and voted for the resolution . . .

("Pravda" No. 103, May 20th, 1913.)

## The Conflict over Scutari: On the Threshold of the European War.

### Nikita Enters Scutari:

**Scutari, April 30.** (Official) A great triumphal arch has been erected for the king of Montenegro's entry into Scutari.

### The Powers Demands Evacuation.

**Petersburg, April 30.** The Powers have addressed Notes to Nikita demanding the evacuation of Scutari. ("Rjetch".)

### Montenegro's Answer.

**London, May 1.** (Reuter) It is believed that the instructions given to Popovitch, the Montenegrin delegate, are such that they make an arrangement possible. Montenegro itself lets it be seen that it is prepared to evacuate Scutari; the Note in reply which was received this morning reveals a more moderate attitude.

## Austrian Troops Ready to March.

**Paris, May 2.** (Havas) The Austrian Ambassador refuses in any way to undertake to agree to the conditions submitted by Montenegro. He rejects the second as well as the first Note and objects to the attitude of the Ambassadors' Conference.

**Vienna, May 2.** Before the commencement of the Ministerial Council a leading statesman declared to the editor of the "Neue Wiener Tagblatt": The situation is exceedingly critical. The decision lies in the hands of the Emperor. The Ministerial Council is dealing with the different questions relating to the carrying out of this decision. The questions are of a financial and military nature. The Ministerial Council merely takes note of the approaching military decisions. From now on these dispositions will be decided by the chief of the General Staff. Italy is acting with us.

("Vossische Zeitung", May 2nd.)

## The Triple Entente Against the Advance into Albania.

**Paris, May 4.** The Austro-Italian Treaty for the partition of Albania has made a great impression here and aroused uneasiness. This question will be discussed at the Conference of the Ambassadors. ("Temps".)

**Rome, May 4.** The report of the "Temps" regarding an Austro-Italian Treaty for the partitioning of Albania is devoid of any actual foundation. (Stefani.)

**Vienna, May 6.** King Nikita unconditionally renounced Scutari. He has, however, immediately requested the king of England to decide the question of Scutari.

## Scutari Handed over to the Powers.

**Vienna, May 14.** A detachment of international troops will occupy Scutari, at 2 o'clock tomorrow afternoon while at the same time it will be evacuated by the Montenegrin troops. ("Vossische Zeitung", May 14, 1913.)

## "Peace" in the Balkans.

**Athens, May 12.** (Reuter.) The allies have agreed to cease hostilities and take part in the London Peace Conference. The allies express their regret that the Powers have not taken into consideration the reservations made by them which affect the vital interests of the allies.

**London, May 13.** The Bulgarian Ambassador in London received telegraphic instructions this morning to sign the preliminary peace. Up to this afternoon the Greek and Serbian representatives had not received any instructions. This does not mean, however, that there exist any differences of opinion. ("Vossische Zeitung", May 14, 1913.)

## Conclusion of Peace.

**London, May 29** (Reuter.) Bulgaria will sign the peace treaty tomorrow at the Foreign Office, as desired by the English government, but the Bulgarian delegation will not attend the meeting which the other allies have agreed to hold this afternoon in order to discuss the protocol, the text of which Bulgaria does not approve.

**London, May 30.** The preliminary peace was signed at 12.40. ("Vossische Zeitung", May 30, 1913.)

## Towards the Third Balkan War. Serbia Demands the Revision of the Treaty of Partition.

Belgrade, May 28, 1913.

At today's session of the Skuptchina the Prime Minister Pasitch, replying to interpellations regarding the government's foreign policy, stated:

"The great Powers at the commencement of the war declared themselves disinterested, nevertheless they deprived Serbia of precisely those districts which formed part of the old kingdom of Serbia and which would have been absolutely indispensable for Serbia's political and economic independence. Serbia willingly submitted to this but declared that it expected certain compensations therefor from the great Powers. It annoys us that the great Powers, by agreeing to Austria's proposal regarding Albania, renounced the final solution of the Balkan question and created a state of affairs which will remain for a long number of years a source of trouble and

embarrassment. The final conclusion of peace with Turkey by no means solves all questions. There still remain outstanding the questions of settling the frontiers dividing the Balkan States from each other, upon the correct solution of which the further welfare of the Balkan peoples depends. The dispute with Montenegro offers the least difficulties... We hope that the delegates of the great Powers will endeavour to remove the difficulties for Serbia and the construction of the Adria railway arising out of the intended separation of Albania from Serbia..." ("Vossische Zeitung", May 29, 1913.)

### **The Effect of Pasitch's Speech in Bulgaria.**

**Sofia, May 28.** (Official.) The declarations of the Serbian Prime Minister have not come as a surprise, as they had been foreseen, but they have aroused general and profound annoyance and even indignation.

("Vossische Zeitung", May 29, 1913.)

### **Greece Also Dissatisfied.**

**Salonica, May 30.** (Official.) The Prime Minister Venizelos had again today a long interview with the king. It is stated that hopes of an understanding with Bulgaria have not been abandoned and that Venizelos prefers a peaceful understanding. ("Vossische Zeitung", May 30, 1913.)

### **Mobilisation in Greece.**

**Athens, June 5.** The "Official Gazette" published a decree calling the 1913 class to the colours.

**Salonica, June 5.** Greek ironclads, among them being the "Averoff", and several torpedo boats are at present lying in the harbour here. A part of the fleet is to proceed tomorrow to Menos, which will serve in future as a base. The Prime Minister leaves Salonica tomorrow. ("Agence d'Athènes.")

## **From the Archives of Secret Diplomacy.**

### **The Fight for the Turkish Strategic Railway Lines.**

**The Russian Foreign Minister to the Russian Ambassador in Paris.**

**St. Petersburg, May 29 (June 11), 1913.**

Russia wishes to obtain the exclusive right to construct railways East of Ersingjan and Diarbekr. France is to receive the railways to the West. The approval of Turkey will be obtained in return for a four per cent customs duty.

**Sasanov.**

("Isvolski's Diplomatic Correspondence" 1913-1914 vol. 3, page 175.)

### **The German Army Bill and the Russian-French Answer.**

**Kohlhaas, German General Consul in Moscow, to Reichs Chancellor Bethmann Hollweg.**

**Moscow, May 8, 1913.**

The "Russkoje Slovo", in a leading article, deals again with the effect on Russia of the strengthening of the German army.

The paper again expresses the opinion that Russia must make up for its slower mobilisation by maintaining the bodies of troops in the military commands on the Western frontiers at war strength in time of peace. In addition, it is necessary to establish three new army corps in European Russia. This means that the peace strength of the army must be increased by 200,000 men...

It looks as if the paper possesses information to the effect that a strengthening of the Russian army in the direction indicated is actually planned.

**Kohlhaas.**

## **Building of New Strategic Railways in Russia with French Money.**

**The Russian Finance Minister to the Russian Foreign Minister.**

**St. Petersburg, 14th (27th) June 1913.**

**Sergej Dmitrievitch!**

The chairman of the Paris Stock-Exchange, H. de Verneuil, informed me when he was in St. Petersburg that he was instructed to make known to us the point of view of the French government regarding the emission in France of Russian State loans, and State guaranteed loans. He explained to me this point of view as follows:

"I am empowered to inform you that the French government is prepared to permit the Russian government to raise every year on the Paris market 400/500 million Francs in the form of a State loan or a loan guaranteed by the State, in order to realise a programme of railway construction for the whole of Russia, under two conditions:

"1. that the building of the strategic lines, which are to be planned together with the French General Staff, shall be commenced at once;

"2. that the peace strength of the Russian army shall be considerably increased."

... Although I have not at the time any list of those lines the construction of which appears desirable from the standpoint of the French General Staff, I am of the opinion that the construction of the lines which will be discussed in the Commission for new railways and also the laying down of a second track on the State railways according to the proposal of the Minister for Transport, will completely satisfy the wishes of the French government.

**Kokovzov.**

### **France Must Also be Strong.**

**The German Ambassador in Paris, Freiherr von Schoen, to Reichs Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg.**

**Paris, June 17, 1913.**

The discussion of the bill providing for three years' military service has now been going on in the Plenum of the Chamber for two weeks. When it will come to an end and what form the law will finally have it is impossible to say at present. One thing appears certain however: the principle of three years' service will be adopted by the majority of the Chamber as well as by the Commission. The course of the proceedings so far has clearly shown that those who are against the return to the three years' service are in the minority...

The chief argument which the supporters of three years' service make use of both inside and outside of Parliament is the steadily increasing German superiority and the danger arising from it of a sudden attack by Germany in overwhelming force.

**von Schoen.**

### **Lenin; The May Day Celebrations of the Revolutionary Proletariat.**

The working class draws into revolutionary actions the masses of toilers and exploited who are deprived of their most elementary rights and are driven to desperation.

The May Day celebrations of Petersburg and also of the whole of the Proletariat of Russia have again and again clearly proved to all those who have eyes to see and ears to hear, the great historical importance of revolutionary illegality in present-day Russia... In response to a decision adopted by 5 to 7 members of the executive committee of the Petersburg organisation—in response to a leaflet printed and distributed in 200/300 copies, 250,000 people in Petersburg rose like one man...

This year's May Day celebrations have shown the whole world that the proletariat in Russia is firmly pursuing its revolutionary path, apart from which there is no salvation for Russia, which is decaying and putrefying while it lives.

("Sozialdemokrat" No. 31, June 28 (15) 1913. Collected works vol. XVI, page 484, Russian.)

## FROM SOVIET CHINA

### Economic Construction in the Chinese Soviet Districts.

Correspondence from the Chinese Soviet District in Hunan and Hupeh.

The unprecedented flood disaster last Summer deprived 10 million people in China of their means of existence. On my way to the Hunan-Hupeh Soviet district I saw countless starving people wandering about in the wilderness; there are over 300,000 in the neighbourhood of Wuhan. Starvation, plagues and the bayonets of the Kuomintang decimate the population.

As soon as I entered Soviet territory I immediately noticed the complete difference. Here one finds no wandering groups of starving people. Of course, from time to time starving people from the districts of the white terror emigrate to the Soviet districts. Here the population live in perfect peace. It appears as if they had not been affected at all by the fearful flood last Summer, although a great part of the Soviet districts in Hunan-Hupeh, such as Hantchuan, Kenli, Meny-ang, Tiemmen etc. are situated directly in the flood area in the Yangtse valley, where the Siang flows into the larger river and where the population suffered greatly as a result of this flood.

Is this a miracle? By no means. The local peasants said to me proudly: "We have the Soviet Government". According to their own account the flood destroyed everything they had: houses, tools, draught animals, seed-corn. The breaking through of the dam caused them the greatest concern. Agriculture has now already recovered. A part of the seed-corn was replaced by the Soviet Government and the rest they bought from their own co-operatives. The Soviet government placed 400 draught animals at their disposal and set up a factory for the manufacture of tools.

As soon as a new Soviet district is captured the property of the big landowners is confiscated and used to meet the needs of the peasants. If land, seed and draught animals are supplied, what is there then lacking in order immediately commence the restoration of agriculture? Draught animal centres are now being set up in the villages. In addition, the peasants are organised in columns and shock brigades for the purpose of the spring sowing. They vie with each other in achieving the biggest Red Harvest, whilst the surrounding white districts are the scene of famine and disaster.

As regards the restoration of the dykes there still exist difficulties. Everyone knows that there is still lacking a complete building plan and large sums of money necessary in order to finish the repair work and to carry out a proper system of irrigation.

Much of the damage done to the dams has already been made good, and repairs are still going on at other places. A member of the provincial Soviet Government estimated the cost at 2½ million dollars. In order to raise this money, the Soviet Government issued dyke repair bonds for 300,000 dollars, the chief purchasers of which are the wealthy peasants and merchants in the white districts, and adopted a decision to impose a levy on every Soviet district to the amount of 30 per cent of its revenue.

A member of the government told me that half of the work had already been done, and that all repairs to the Yangtse-Siang dams in the Soviet district would be completed by June. The Soviet population displays the greatest interest in the repair work and takes part in it enthusiastically. Many persons are voluntarily giving their free time to this work, and from time to time members of the government and party workers help in this work.

There exists no octroi within the Soviet districts. The Soviet Government has established customs houses in the frontier districts between the Soviet and white territories, where duties are collected on imported and exported goods. It should be remarked, by the way, that under Soviet rule there are only two kinds of progressive taxes: land tax and trade tax. Articles of consumption less than 30 dollars in value are exempted from import and export duty.

The agricultural tax is collected twice yearly according to the harvest of the peasant. Harvests less than 100 dollars in

value are exempted. On the other hand, the rich peasant must pay 15 per cent., the middle peasant 5 per cent., and the poor peasant 3 per cent., or nothing at all. The districts damaged by the flood are exempted from all taxes this Spring.

The red soldiers are exempted from the agricultural tax. In every village a piece of land, usually 20 to 30 Mu, is reserved for the red soldiers who are not engaged in fighting, or for Kuomintang soldiers who leave the Kuomintang and come over to the Red Army.

The economic blockade by the enemy and the unceasing attacks by the white army have reduced the revenue from the trade tax. Economic construction is hindered somewhat as a result of these difficulties. The tremendous work of repairing the river dykes is approaching an end. Many handicrafts and manufactures are being specially encouraged by the Soviet Government. The provincial Soviet Government has already established a sandal factory and a mat-weaving works. Small workshops are now being built in various districts.

In order to liquidate commercial speculation the provincial and also the district Soviets have set up State shops and stores and are helping the population to organise co-operatives. There already exist 90 consumers' co-operatives and 40 producers' co-operatives. The big peasants are not allowed to join the co-operatives; the entrance fee for the middle peasants is 50 and for the small peasants 30 cents. It is largely due to the fishing co-operatives that the population which was suffering from famine has been supplied with food.

As regards cultural work, workers and peasants' clubs, reading rooms, libraries, dramatic clubs, workers' and peasants' evening schools, Lenin elementary schools and training courses have been established in various towns and districts.

The organisational basis of the Soviets is as follows: The provincial Soviet Government consists of 11 committees; for trade, agriculture, finance, administration, labour, education, social welfare, workers' and peasants' inspection, women, military and justice. A presidium consisting of members of these committees and elected by them forms the highest administrative organ.

The political defence bureau, which was founded in order to combat all counter-revolutionary forces, is led by a member of the committee appointed by the Presidium.

## THE WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS

### Ottawa—A Conference of Hunger and War.

By R. Bishop (London).

The opening of the Ottawa Conference is only a month ahead. The Conference will meet in the shadow of intensifying crisis throughout the capitalist world. The Conference will pave the way to open war on the Soviet Union and intensification of Anglo-American antagonism leading to war with the United States. Behind such phrases as "Empire Economic Unity", "a sterling bloc", and "imperial rationalisation of industry" will the true war-aims of the British imperialists be concealed.

But nowhere will the fact that tariffs lead to war be more clearly discernible than at Ottawa.

The agenda of the conference is announced as being:—

Preferential tariff on Empire goods entering Britain and on British goods entering the Dominions; establishment of a stable Empire currency; the possibility of a tax on foreign wheat and meat imported into Britain so as to give preference to Dominion products; allocation of certain growing industries to Britain and certain others to the Dominions; provision of markets for more British coal in Canada and the establishment of an Empire Economic Secretariat.

Thus it will be seen that the economic programme is what figures openly on the agenda, but behind it all the forces of British capitalism are holding out bribes to the Dominion capitalists to ensure their support for war.

British capitalism is sending its strongest possible delegation to Ottawa. Seven Cabinet Ministers are to be sent, including the **Minister for War**—a strange delegate to a peaceful economic conference. The chairman and secretary of the

Trade Union Congress are also going, to ensure the social patriots working in complete harmony with the imperialists. Other open capitalist representatives include Sir Gilbert Vyle, chairman of the British committee on Empire Trade, Sir Alan Anderson, chairman of the Wheat Executive during the war, Sir Edward Davison, chairman of the British Empire Producers' Association, and Lord Weir, Director-General of Aircraft Production and President of the Air Council during the last war. Again the war-like note enters.

**Stanley Baldwin** expressed his view of the importance of Ottawa as follows:—

"The natural destiny of our country is economic union with our own flesh and blood. If that cannot be accomplished it may well be that we shall be driven to look towards Europe."

The National Government fully realise the difficulties that confront them at Ottawa. While prepared to give Britain certain preferences over foreign countries in relation to manufactured goods, the Dominions will still keep their tariffs sufficiently high to develop their own industries at the expense of the British industries which have hitherto supplied the Dominion markets.

The preliminary conversations with the Dominions have no doubt convinced the National Government that no decisive improvement in the economic situation of Great Britain is likely to emerge from the Ottawa Conference. But British imperialism has not the power either to renounce its European connections in favour of the Dominions or its share in the Dominion markets in favour of Europe. British capitalism today sells more goods to Europe than it does to all the Dominions. The National Government aims at playing a more active role in European affairs than formerly.

The Economic Conference aims at "**Imperial economic unity**". What is meant by this? The following quotation from the "**Times**" of May 6, may throw some light upon the matter:

"No one pretends that the policy of beginning with national security, going on to imperial economic co-operation and ending with the formation of an economic unit far beyond the bounds of the political Empire, will be carried out easily, but the existence and the actions of the Committee (Import Duties Advisory Committee) will facilitate rather than obstruct such a plan."

It is clear, that the intention is not to limit imperial economic unity within the confines of the Empire. British imperialism is out to extend its Empire and tariffs are one of the weapons to this end. But, apart from the Soviet Union, the world is already divided up among the imperialist Powers. To extend the Empire beyond its present boundaries is to attack those other Powers or their colonies, mandated territories or spheres of influence—or the Soviet Union.

The creation of a **sterling bloc** will have the same effect. It means in reality the extension of the British Empire at the expense of other Powers. The drawing of any further countries into the sterling bloc means a threat to the value of the tribute from the investments there of any other Imperialist country. The drive for imperial rationalisation of industry is primarily a mobilisation of this industry for war.

Tremendous difficulties confront the realisation of any of these objectives however. The Dominions are all anxious to export both their industrial and agricultural products, just as British capitalism wants a wider market for its products. Likewise the products of other countries which, while outside the "political Empire", are yet within the orbit of British imperialism, conflict with the products of the Dominions, particularly in the case of Argentina, Brazil and Denmark.

The British capitalists in these latter countries are not concerned to take matters lying down.

**Sir Edmund Vestey**, head of the largest cold-storage and frozen meat enterprise in the world, has issued a statement in which he speaks plainly on the matter.

"How many of the 1000 delegates at Ottawa", he asks, "will be imbued with the determination to prevent the exploitation of British patriotic sentiments and to safeguard Britain's export trade upon which her future and the future of the British Empire depend?"

"How many on the other hand will connive at—if not support actively—a ramp to reduce supplies and increase the cost of Britain's meat, butter, apples, oranges, bananas, grapes etc. for the benefit of those they represent?"

"Those of us who are behind the scenes can see that

the ground at Ottawa is being prepared with the main object of taking unfair advantage of the patriotism of the British consumer."

Sir Edmund states that "the hotels of Ottawa will be thronged with opportunist advocates of the interests of Dominion producers at the expense of the British people". He himself, he states, has always been a believer in Empire Preference in principle. At the General Election he "inserted prominent advertisements in support of that policy in every important newspaper in the country". But when the interests of Vestey's are at stake he alters his tune.

The solution of the contradiction lies in the search for still wider markets by all the countries concerned. This means a tremendous accentuation of Anglo-American rivalry. Ottawa marks a decisive stage in the war preparations of British imperialism against U.S. Imperialism. But whilst Britain is intensifying its war preparations against the U.S.A. it is seeking to get the co-operation of the U.S.A. in the war bloc against the Soviet Union.

Whilst striving to isolate its U.S. rival by the threat of a permanent sterling bloc of all the countries driven off gold, it suggests to U.S. imperialism that a common front against the Soviet Union—for the defence of civilisation—would provide a solution for their crisis. For in the territory of the Soviet Union all the capitalist Powers see unlimited new opportunities of exploitation—once the Soviet power is destroyed. Japan has taken the lead, says Britain in effect to both the U.S.A. and to the Dominions. Join with us in following that lead and we will at once find a mutual solution of our crisis and destroy this growing menace to capitalism.

These are the plans of British imperialism at Ottawa. But the capitalists of Britain are themselves fully aware that their task is not an easy one. So violent are the contradictions that the task of reconciling them is an impossible one, whilst at home the workers are realising more and more that whatever the outcome of the conference it will mean fresh burdens upon their shoulders, in the shape of increased armaments expenditure, new duties etc. In such a conference of war-makers it is fitting that the Trade Union Council should be officially represented.

British imperialism looks to the trade union bureaucracy to play an important role in lulling the workers into a false sense of security about the war situation and in stifling effective resistance to tariffs.

## Italy's Misery in Figures.

By Giovanni Germanetto.

In March 1932 there were in Italy 345,530 more\* unemployed than in March 1931 and 903,000 more than in 1924. In April 1932 there were 329,672 more unemployed than in April 1931 and 627,789 more than in April 1930. The goods' traffic both on the railways and on merchants ships, foreign trade, industrial production, wages, the number of marriages and births are all declining... The bankruptcies, the number of dishonoured bills, the production of armaments, the cost of living and the death rate are all increasing.

According to the faked monthly reports of Medolaghi, director of the National Insurance Funds, the number of unemployed, which figured at 1,147,945 on February 29 last, had sunk to 1,053,016 on March 31, i. e. had declined by 94,929.

The fascist press calls attention to the "remarkable decline in unemployment", and adds that the measures adopted by the fascist government and Italian economic circles are responsible for the recovery of industry, which is bound to make further progress in the next months or so.

In the year 1924 the peak figure of unemployment was reached in December with 150,000; in the year 1930 also unemployment reached its highest point in December when it stood at 642,196; and in December 1931 at 982,321. In the year 1932 the peak figure was reached in February with 1,147,945. Even the expert juggling of Medolaghi cannot cloak over the fact that in the course of eight years unemployment has increased tenfold.

The fascists put the figure of the unemployed in March 1932 at 1,053,016 of whom 284,000 are in receipt of benefit. That means that out of the actually existing three million unemployed, only 284,000 receive the miserable unemployment benefit. "*Giornale d'Italia*", which records the decline of unemployment and lauds the "wise policy of fascism", adds that the increase in unemployment is solely due to seasonal causes.

The following figures, all taken from Medolaghi's reports, better indicate the real state of affairs:

	Unemployment on	
	31st March 1931	31st March 1932
Agriculture . . . . .	173,443	247,120
Mining . . . . .	18,648	27,826
Industries working up Agric. Products . . . . .	55,958	82,003
Metal Working Industries . . . . .	57,802	89,454
Building Trade . . . . .	222,949	332,876
Textile Industry . . . . .	90,062	133,765
Public services . . . . .	12,708	21,789

A comparison between March 1931 and March 1932 shows an increase in unemployment in all categories without exception. In April 1930 there were in agriculture 94,039 unemployed, in April 1931 already 149,034, and in April 1932 208,587. In the building trade the number of unemployed in April 1930 amounted to 96,818, in April 1931 to 201,752 and in April 1932 to 307,585. These figures refute the "Giornale d'Italia", which maintained that the increase in unemployment is due to seasonal fluctuation.

In the first fourth months of 1932 the number of goods trucks carried on the railways amounted to 12,004,840 tons as compared with 14,195,405 tons in the same period of 1931. That is a decline by 2,190,565 tons.

In April last 2,687,473 tons of goods were loaded in Italian ports as compared with 2,726,489 in 1931.

Industrial production shows the following decline:

	1931	1932
Rolled iron in the first Quarter . . . . .	319,174 tons	281,649 tons
Cast iron in the first 4 months . . . . .	164,216 "	158,985 "
Steel in the first four months . . . . .	476,124 "	414,451 "
Lead in the first four months . . . . .	8,091 "	8,734 "
Zinc in the first four months . . . . .	6,067 "	4,648 "

Apart from the production of lead, the output of all other categories in the metal industry declined.

The production of artificial silk, of benzine and sulphate of copper is likewise declining. The artificial silk mills are working only a third of capacity. The production of concrete and superphosphate is declining.

Foreign trade is likewise on the downgrade. Imports in the first four months of 1932 amounted in value to 2,991 million Lira as compared with 4,169 million Lira in the same period of 1931; exports amounted to 2,226 million Lira as compared with 3,204 million Lira in 1931.

The crisis is also reflected in the increasing number of bankruptcies. In April last there were 1793 bankruptcies as compared with 1373 in April 1931. In March last the number of bankruptcies recorded was 1668.

A comparison of the number of marriages, births and deaths is no less instructive. In the first four months of 1932 the number of marriages amounted to 92,729, as compared with 102,656 in the year 1931 and 111,277 in the year 1930. In the year 1932, 351,257 children were born as compared with 373,763 in the same period of 1931 and 393,733 in the same period of 1930. The number of deaths rose from 194,344 to 229,778 and 223,358 respectively.

The price index for wholesale trade fell while the price index for retail trade rose. In February 1932 the wholesale price index stood at 323.49, in March at 322.14 and in April at 318.79. The price index for retail trade rose meanwhile from 75.08 in February to 76.31 in March and 77.17 in April.

The fascist statistical returns give the following figures regarding wages (taking 100 to represent the level of July 1929): December 1929: 102.06, December 1930: 95.53 and December 1931: 88.99. "Gazetta del Popolo" puts the existence minimum for a workers' family at 254 Lira a week. What worker's family however earns 254 Lira? A skilled printing trade worker receives 180 Lira a week, but that is an exception. The position of the unskilled workers is, of course, still worse. Fascist statistics can only be used as a rough guide; the actual situation of the workers is far worse than these figures indicate. In his speech in Rome Mussolini expressed satisfaction that Spring had arrived. He hopes that Spring and the blessing of the Pope will help him to overcome the crisis; but neither the peculiar statistics of Medolaghi nor the articles of Mussolini's journalists can alter the fact that unemployment and misery are increasing. Mussolini's slogan: Hold out! is becoming every day harder to realise. The unemployed masses are in a ferment, they are beginning to rebel.

## SOCIAL FASCISM

### The Convention of the American Socialist Party.

By A. G. Bosse (New York).

The 17th National Convention of the American S.P., held in Milwaukee toward the end of May, was at the same time a nominating convention to name presidential candidates for the national elections in November. The spectre of the Soviet Union haunted the convention. The Scripps-Howard press and groups of liberals throughout the country, as well as many business-men, have come out for recognition of the U.S.S.R. The leaders of the Democratic party in the Senate and the House have also endorsed this position. The S.P. worked feverishly, hysterically, on a programme to catch the crumbs of revolt resulting from the worst crisis in capitalist history—to come forward as the third party of the bourgeoisie, the party of opposition. And on the issue of Russia it had to take a stand since, with the intensification of the crisis and the approaching shadow of world war, the masses of workers and petty bourgeois are beginning to think on the subject. Therefore the convention came out for recognition of the U.S.S.R.—but with provisos.

The keynote of the discussion was set by one of the leading delegates, Chas. Solomon, Socialist candidate for governor of New York in the last election. In discussing the resolution on recognition, Mr. Solomon declared,

"We demand democracy for everybody . . . I even defend that right for white guard Czarists."

The resolution on recognition was passed, but with amendments of a Second-Internationalist character. The "militant" proponents of recognition urged an attitude of "friendly neutrality". Norman Thomas, ex-priest and presidential candidate, amended the resolution to demand freedom for political prisoners and establishment of civil liberties.

Heywood Brown, who is interested in Socialism only second to Broadway chorus girls and whiskey, who doesn't like Negroes, and who is the chief columnist for the N.Y. World-Telegram, said at the convention,

"America can do what Russia has done and do it a great deal better . . . I believe that force and violence are distinctly a handicap in any revolution . . . the ballot box itself could prove to be a sort of jar containing a genie."

The second important issue to come before the convention was that of the League of Nations and the World Court. Realising fully the role of the League in organising an imperialist united front against the U.S.S.R., the convention urged the U.S. to join the League and the Court. It endorsed adherence to the League "under conditions which will make it a more effective instrument for world peace". To create the illusion that this robber band is already an effective peace agency is typical of these imperialist pacifists.

Two hundred and fifty delegates were claimed to be present, representing 14,500 members, according to the "New Leader", but the official report stated that there were 219 delegates, and no more than 162 voted on any questions. The membership was also doubtlessly greatly exaggerated. There were very few young people among the delegates, no Negroes and few workers; mostly shopkeepers and professionals. In his report, the national secretary, Senior, claimed the membership had doubled in the past four years, and the circulation of the party press increased from 300,000 in 1928 to 700,000. The leading reporter of the New Leader stated that the circulation was a million. However, despite exaggerations, it is likely that the influence of the S.P. is growing, with the intensification of the crisis and the increasing demagoguery of its spokesmen. Senior put forward as the battle cry of the party, "Let everyone who believes in honesty in politics vote Socialist this Fall . . . the S.P. is the opposition party". Further evidence of this may be found in the following incidents: when the resolutions committee reported out an application card for new members containing reference to the class struggle, this was defeated, with Hillquit, the great "Marxian", fighting for its deletion; when certain delegates proposed to favour confiscation of private property, Thomas the presidential nominee, hysterically shouted that he would refuse to run. The delegates

thereupon substituted "transfer" instead, by a vote of 162 to 14. Thomas' statement that "forcible confiscation and civil war . . . would create havoc and starvation" must have alarmed the tens of millions of now jobless workers and their families facing starvation.

The sharpest fight of the convention was on the chairmanship of the party. **Hillquit**, supported by the old New York machine, defeated Hoan, the candidate of Thomas, Broun etc. by 105 to 80. Hillquit, who is a rich corporation lawyer and now attorney for czarist oil capitalists in a suit against the Soviet government, charged his opponents with anti-semitism, non-Marxism, a too friendly attitude toward the U.S.S.R., and a wrong conception of Americanism. The "progressive" element opposed him because he has been exposed to the workers as a rabid enemy of the U.S.S.R., a strike-breaker, and a big business lawyer.

The national platform adopted characterised the S.P. as the one democratic party of the workers "whose programme would remove the causes of class struggles". How—is left to the imagination of each individual socialist. It proposes to transfer industry to socialist ownership and "democratic control". How, again, is not stated. Popular catchwords like planning, benefitting labour, democracy, etc. abound. The programme very carefully "failed" to demand social equality for the Negro, limiting itself to economic, political and legal equality. How much of a menace capitalism considered this party and its convention is shown by the fact that the two largest networks of the radio trust permitted its spokesmen to speak to the nation, and the capitalist press generally gave it many columns and pictures.

## SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

### "Thinking" Machines.

Moscow, June 10, 1932.

The American specialists have always maintained that it would be possible to mechanise the work of cotton harvesting when "thinking" machines had been invented. In place of the thinking machines they have employed Negro workers, these cheap human machines to whom scant consideration need be shown.

The difficulty of mechanising the cotton harvest lies in the circumstance that the cotton crop does not ripen all at once, but must be harvested in three different periods. At the first harvest only a part of the cotton pods are open; the rest must be left on the stems. Later on the greater part of the pods ripen and are gathered at the second harvest. At the third harvest, the pods which are only half open and those which are not open at all are gathered. There were needed therefore cotton harvesting machines which can "distinguish" the ripe from the unripe pods.

This difficulty has now been overcome by Soviet industry. This year thousands of cotton harvesting machines will be used of gathering the cotton harvest.

The achievement of the cotton harvesting machine stands to the credit of two small Soviet factories: the Factory "**First of May**" in Bjelaya Zerkov, and "**Petrovski**" in Cherson.

In the factory "First of May" there was constructed the first cotton harvesting machine, a massive, complicated, pneumatic machine, which gathers the first and second cotton harvests. The machine sucks the cotton out of the open pods and gathers it in reservoirs. Although the production of such machines is something quite new for the little factory "First of May", it surpassed its production programme for 1931 and turned out more than 800 of such machines. In the current year the factory is to produce 4000 such machines, 2500 by September 1st.

But the factory "First of May" constructed machines suited only for the first and second cotton crops. The problem of the third harvest still remained unsolved. In the Ukraine, where increasingly large areas are being planted with cotton, the greater part of the crop is yielded by the third harvest. The Cherson "Petrovski" factory made the mechanising of the third harvest its task.

The "Petrovski" factory constructed a cotton combine. This machine plucks the closed pods, opens and empties them. The first experiments with these machine achieved good results; there is no doubt whatever that next year thousands of such combines will be working in the collective cotton farms and on the Soviet cotton farms. 500 of these machines will be produced this year.

The cotton extracted from the pods, however, still contains remnants of the pod or of the leaves. It requires therefore a special cleaning machine, the construction and production of which has likewise been taken over by the Petrovski factory. The work is proceeding successfully. In the course of this year 250 of such machines will be produced. This factory is now engaged in constructing a machine for removing the bare cotton plants after the harvest and preparing the ground for the new cotton seed. It is intended to produce these machines in 1933.

In the near future Soviet cotton will be harvested with Soviet machines.

## Friends of the Soviet Union to the Front!

By A. Kurella.

Who are the friends of the Soviet Union? How many are there? This is the question which is being put everywhere at the present moment when the attack of the imperialists on the first Workers' State threatens to become a fearful reality.

It is put by the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union who want to know who is ready to come to their aid.

It is asked in the propaganda centres and mobilisation offices of the imperialist General Staffs, who are weighing the chances of war.

It is put by every friend of the Soviet Union in the capitalist countries who wants to know how many comrades in arms he will find at his side when the hour of danger for the Soviet Union strikes.

On April 6, 1932, at a meeting of the workers of the **Siemens Works in Berlin**, it was proposed to express solidarity in all capitalist countries with the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union by **collecting millions of signatures**. The workers of the **Citroen Works in Javel** near Paris recently adopted a similar decision, and at the national conference of the Friends of the Soviet Union in Sweden the representative from the **Stockholm Arehns Works** suggested organising a regular campaign for collecting signatures.

The realisation of these proposals provides the possibility of answering that question, who are the friends of the Soviet and how great is their number.

Therefore the International Secretariat of the Friends of the Soviet Union has taken up the suggestion of the Siemens, Citroen and Arehns workers. In a recently published manifesto it addresses all organisations and individuals who are prepared to take part in the collection of signatures to an expression of greetings to the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union. The declaration reads as follows:

### Greetings to all Toilers of the Soviet Union.

"On the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the proletarian revolution, of the completion of the Five-Year Plan in four years, we send you, workers and peasants of the Soviet Union brotherly greetings. You are working to realise the old aims of the Labour Movement for which so many struggles have been waged, the building up of Socialism. This work of construction is now threatened by war. We make your cause ours. We will fight with all our forces against the blows of reaction aimed at your work. We will defend socialist construction to the last. We confirm this pledge by our signatures."

The Sections of the Friends of the Soviet Union have already commenced to organise the campaign. The Swedish Section has been the first to prepare the addresses of greetings and to distribute them. The campaign will extend over the whole of the coming months and will be concluded by the sending of delegations to the celebration of the XV. anniversary of the revolution and to the National Congresses of the Friends of the Soviet Union which will take place in all countries immediately after the return of the delegates from the celebrations.