

The Results of the Spring Sowing Campaign in the Soviet Union.

English Edition

Unpublished Manuscripts Please reprint

INTERNATIONAL

Vol. 12 No. 29

PRESS

30th June 1932

CORRESPONDENCE

Editorial Offices and Central Despatching Department: Berlin SW 68, Lindenstraße 71-72. Postal Address, to which all remittances should be sent by registered post: International Press Correspondence, Berlin SW 68, Lindenstraße 71-72. Telegraphic Address: Inprekorr, Berlin. Telephone: Dönhoff 2856 and 2867.

CONTENTS

| | |
|---|--|
| Politics. | The War. |
| F. Brand: The Political Situation in Germany 583 | K. Tineva: What Does War Bring to the Working Women? 591 |
| William Rust: British Imperialism and Ireland 584 | How the First World War Was Prepared. |
| G. Z.: Austria faced with Bankruptcy 585 | The Third Balkan War 592 |
| J. B.: Sharpening Situation in Egypt 586 | The Co-Operative Movement. |
| Germany. | Ma: The Co-Operative Peace Apostles as they Really are 595 |
| E. Thälmann: The Role of the von Papen Government 586 | Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union. |
| Fascism in Germany. | The Result of the Spring Sowing Campaign 596 |
| H. Jäger: The National Socialist Workers' Party V. 587 | The New Industrial Constructions in the Ural 597 |
| The White Terror. | The World Economic Crisis. |
| Bulgarian Class Court Imposes Savage Sentences 588 | J. H.: Canada and the Imperial Economic Conference 598 |
| The Disarmament Swindle in Geneva. | In the International. |
| Comrade Litvinov on the Sabotage of Disarmament and Hoover's Proposal 589 | Käthe Duncker: Clara Zetkin 75 Years Old 599 |
| Th. Neubauer: Hoover's Disarmament Proposals 590 | Proletarian Youth Movement. |
| | Weiss: Plenum of the Young Communist League of America 600 |

Lausanne—a Conference for a New Reparations Plan

By Karl Radek

The Lausanne Conference was preceded by consultations between the representatives of the French and English governments, on whose results the press reported very optimistically. MacDonald's opening speech was held in an unusually solemn tone. The English prime minister declared repeatedly that what is now at stake is nothing less than the salvation of the "whole world, the fate of the whole system which is shaken to its foundations". A few years ago the declaration that the whole capitalist system is in danger would have been regarded as pure communist agitation. Today such words from the lips of the English prime minister are no longer regarded as "impermissible propaganda". The capitalist business world is aware of the truth of these words. Mr. MacDonald draws the conclusion from his estimate of the international situation, that we must act with increased speed. "Despair is a fortress which must be taken by storm, not by a long siege." And yet MacDonald drew no further concrete conclusion from this assertion beyond stating that Germany has not the right to a one-sided rejection of the obligations undertaken, and that any alteration in these obligations could only follow as result of an understanding among the Powers which signed the Young Plan.

"What does the lack of a clear programme on MacDonald's part mean?" was the question put by the press after the English prime minister had opened the Conference with his solemn declaration. Some maintained that an agreement had been arrived at between England and France, but that the English prime minister was anxious to leave to his French colleague the role of a patron of Germany. Others saw in MacDonald's silence the proof that England and France had come to no understanding. The latter turned out to be right. The lack of agreement is seen unequivocally in the declaration made by England, France, Japan, Italy, and Belgium. This declaration signifies at bottom that the above named Powers "without anticipating the final solution of the question, postpone the reparations payments during the period of the Conference".

The French and English text designate the postponement with the word "reserve"—"reserved", meaning that it is not a simple postponement, but one with all rights reserved. Beyond this, the full text expressly emphasises that the final solution is not anticipated, that is to say, that no such solution yet exists. All the talk about an impending final solution turns out to have been pure propaganda. The imperialist

Powers, even in face of the fact that the fate of the capitalist system is at stake, have not the courage to relinquish these reparations, though the majority of them—not without justification—see in these reparations a factor rendering the international crisis more acute, and forming a hindrance to finding a way out of this crisis.

And what was the reply made to this declaration by the Reichs chancellor **von Papen**, the representative of those circles of the German public who have accused all German governments for years of being too yielding, and have declared that a "national" Germany would speak a very different language with the enemy?*) The Reichs chancellor von Papen, whose excellent French pronunciation is stressed by the French press, repeated Brüning's declaration that Germany cannot pay any further reparations, but did not protest against the attempts to postpone the solution of the reparations question. The most important item of his speech was his statement that in consequence of the fall in prices the burden of interest dues on all debts, not only State but private debts, had increased by 50%. This passage of von Papen's speech deserves particular attention in so far as it contains a concealed threat that Germany is likely to place on the agenda a proposal for liberation—if only partial—from the private debts. The London "Times" reported on 17th June in a telegram from Berlin that the newspapers politically nearest to the government are demanding today that the threat of a moratorium for all debts, including private ones, should be relentlessly utilised for the attainment of an understanding in Lausanne.

This threat, expressed at first with the utmost caution and concealment, did not, however, prevent the representative of the French government, prime minister **Herriot**, from defending the "right" of France to reparations. M. Herriot did not speak as Poincaré would have spoken, but according to the comments of a number of French journalists, he spoke almost like Tardieu. At the moment of the profoundest world crisis, when the capitalist world does not know what the next day may bring, M. Herriot looks out for a distant shore of a fresh period of prosperity, when Germany, freed from reparations payments and liberated from inner debts by an inflation, may once more become a dangerous competitor to the other capitalist Powers. M. Herriot referred to a table comparing the debts of Germany, England, and France. According to the calculations made by Walter Layton, Germany's debts would amount to 12,000 million marks after liberation from reparations, whilst those of France would be 51,000 millions and those of Great Britain 130,000 millions. The German railways would only have a debt of 10,000 million francs in this case, the French railways would, however, be in debt to the extent of 45,000 million, and the English 100,000 million francs. The German railways would then be enabled to reduce their freight rates, and this is well known to be a very powerful competitive weapon. Herriot brought forward these figures, and put the question of whether this was just? He declared that he himself had no plan by whose aid justice might be restored. He mentioned, however, the price which might persuade the goddess of justice to close at least one eye. There is no political peace without economic peace, observed M. Herriot, but at the same time there is no economic peace without a political peace. Translated into the language of common mortals, this aphorism signifies: "If Germany will submit in the sphere of politics to the will of French imperialism, then we are ready to discuss the question of reparation payments".

The correspondent of the "Daily Herald" maintained that Herriot's words made such an impression that the English Chancellor of the Exchequer **Neville Chamberlain**, who had to speak after Herriot, included in his speech a few sentences insisting on the final solution of the reparations question, and warning against the idea that in the future the Versailles robbery could go quietly on. According to the information given by this same correspondent, a number of the representatives of the French Left bloc present were so alarmed at Herriot's speech that he was obliged to leave at once for Paris, in order to weaken the effect of the telephone communications of his political friends with Paris.

French imperialism can not and will not relinquish the golden noose which it has thrown round the neck of Germany by the Versailles treaty. Its economic position worsens day by day. France is now at last learning the bitterness of a fully developed crisis. One might expect that French imperialism would have other cares at the moment than what may happen after the crisis. But French imperialism has always been exceedingly obstinate in the defence of its "rights". **The more decidedly its hegemony in Europe clashes with the actual relations of forces in the world, the more tenaciously must it cling to the rights and titles of its rule over Europe.**

The latest telegrams slightly raise the veil behind which negotiations are being carried on for the final solution of the reparations question. The speech of the French minister of finance in an interview with the representatives of the press shows very clearly that there is no agreement among the former allies, and that France, which has not yet any exact financial plan, insists that the place of the now buried Young plan is to be taken by a new reparations plan, no matter under what name. In French circles a great variety of proposals are being drafted. One suggestion is the formation of a compensation fund, to which Germany must pay in proportion to the increase of its receipts from railways and exports. 52% of these payments would go to France on the basis of the decisions of the Spa Conference, one of the 35 reparations conferences.

Another "solution" suggested for the reparations question is the transference of a part of German industry to the French. A loan has also been proposed, to be accorded to Germany after the money market has been stabilised, with the condition that the realisation of this loan is transferred to the former allies, in the first place France. The French minister of finance even endeavours to gather in a part of the reparations in the form of payment in kind, of course for the benefit of the unemployed!

* * *

But even the concessions which the former allies are ready to make to Germany (relinquishment of a part of the reparations for the duration of the crisis) are made dependent on a change in the attitude of the United States. It will be remembered that the United States refused the renewal of the moratorium for the international debts, so that in December the European debtor countries will have to pay interest to America unless it changes its attitude. It is highly improbable that France, Italy and Belgium either can or will pay this interest. Only the proud City deems it inadmissible to cease the payment of interest without the agreement of the United States. And now the struggle for the plan of action to be adopted towards the United States is raging behind the scenes. The most radical proposal comes from **Keynes**, in the London "Times". He proposed that the Lausanne Conference, immediately after opening, should proclaim the annulment of the reparations and then travel to Washington, in order to negotiate there with President Hoover and the leading representatives of the Republican and Democratic Parties on the question of the inter-allied debts. Let Hoover refuse to take part in this discussion. In Keynes' opinion he will shrink from such a step just as all responsible Americans would shrink from the consequences of such a negative attitude, for the United States would then take unprecedented responsibility upon itself in the eyes of the whole world, and commit an action which would never be forgotten.

Mr. Keynes therefore recommends the representatives of the imperialist governments and banks to make a kind of hunger march to Washington after the style of the veterans. The English imperialist press rejected this proposal, stating that public opinion in the United States would regard this as extortion, and would be less inclined than ever to consider the demands for a revision of the debt question. Up to the present nobody has suggested any other plan.

There can be no doubt that the European Powers intend exploiting the presence of the American delegation in Geneva for the purpose of negotiating with it on the further development of the question. But nobody can say what the end of this game may be. Mr. Keynes is of the opinion that all that is necessary is to bang on the table with an energetic fist, and

*) This article was written before von Papen's interview with the representative of "Matin" in Lausanne had taken place. Ed.

this will expose as a legend the general opinion that the American public is opposed to the annulment of the inter-allied debts. This conviction of Mr. Keynes has no substantiation. It cannot be assumed that the American taxpayers, at a moment when milliards are being demanded from them in fresh taxes, will be ready and willing to shoulder voluntarily a further 250 million dollars in interest for the loans of America to the Allies. Without doubt America, upon which the European imperialist Powers are endeavouring to thrust the whole responsibility, will reply to this endeavour by pointing to **the enormous expenditure for military purposes being made by the European States.** America will propose that the reparations knot of inter-allied debts shall be cut not only in Lausanne with the cancellation of reparations, but also at Geneva with the reduction of armaments. (The latest events, Hoover's proposal to reduce armaments by one third, have already confirmed the forecast here made.)

The Lausanne Conference does not offer a picture which the German press can venture to present in an especially optimistic light. Even at this 35th reparations conference the imperialist Powers have not yet succeeded in finding a way out of the situation. The Polish senator **Kosicki** writes in the "**Gazeta Warszawska**" on 17th June:

"In Lausanne and Geneva the diplomatists are energetically at work, but nobody can convince us that world questions are being solved there. The question involved is a much more modest one. At these conferences a **formula is being sought for**, in the first place, enabling the present situation to be continued everlastingly, whilst on the other hand this must be done in a manner satisfying public opinion in the different countries. There is no small accumulation of questions: reparations questions, questions of disarmament, of restoration of peace and of confidence among the population of Europe. **But there is no-one who has found the means to solve these questions. There is only the possibility of postponement . . .** A certain period of time will pass, **the economic crisis will become accentuated, nobody will be able to pay debts.** French public opinion will get used to the idea that France is not going to get another penny. American public opinion will realise that it is useless to rely on the solvency of the former allies. And finally the United States will be weakened by economic decay. Then it will be easier to pass the sponge over the debts."

We doubt very much if the matter will pass off so painlessly. There can, however, be no doubt that **Kosicki** is right in saying that the whole capitalist world is incapable of directing one unanimous will towards the solution of this question, and does not possess one single real leader.

Strange as it may appear, the von Papen government is so far the only one to make capital out of this question. Only yesterday it was designated by the French, English, and American press as a child of hell. Today all are only too glad that the representatives of the von Papen government have not banged on the table, and have not conducted themselves at the Conference as the nationalist press expected they would, and as the representatives of the former Entente feared. The London "**Times**" of 18th June praises the von Papen government for its moderation, and writes that **the world which sincerely desires relations with Germany on the basis of equality can congratulate itself that this world, now that Mr. Brüning has not succeeded in remaining in office, has a government of generals and junkers to deal with.**

The banking magnates are obviously afraid of the demented Philistine Hitler, and prefer to trust to the moderation and sense of the German generals and landowners. For them Herr von Papen is the "lesser evil". The "**Times**" declares that the von Papen government is resolved to carry out its decisions, however unpopular these may be, and therefore we may have faith in its meeting the obligations undertaken towards foreign countries. This gain with respect to the imperialist Powers may turn out to be a **loss** for the von Papen government at home, for it is easily comprehensible that Germany, if it does not succeed in ridding itself of the reparations during the crisis, will have to bear these reparation chains for a long time to come.

POLITICS

The Political Situation in Germany.

By F. Brand (Berlin).

It is only natural that at the present time, when the Conference on Reparations is being held in Lausanne, German home politics is very much under the influence of the foreign policy of the Reich government. One can state, however, that the attitude of the German delegation at Lausanne, and particularly of its leader Reichs Chancellor von Papen, has not strengthened the political situation of the Cabinet at home.

The readiness with which von Papen, on the second day of the Conference, accepted the moratorium proposal of the five Powers caused a part of the pro-government press, especially the German nationalist press, to address warnings to him. The further course of the reparations negotiations gave occasion to the Hugenberg party to dissociate itself even more plainly from the foreign policy of the Reichs Chancellor. The interview which von Papen gave to the "**Matin**" correspondent was the last straw.

The "**Deutsche Tageszeitung**" of 25th June wrote regarding this:

"Should it prove true that von Papen has actually admitted the right of the French to compensations and has added that he would gladly give financial compensation, but unfortunately was not in a position to do so, we should see in this an almost irreparable worsening of the whole situation of Germany in regard to the tribute question and a serious disgrace to Germany. . . We still hope, however, that von Papen can deny or correct this assertion."

The Reichs Chancellor's denial was not long in coming; in its most important part he stated:

"A part of the French press has reported my last conversation before my departure from Lausanne in a form which could lead to misunderstanding. This applies especially to the passage dealing with the right of France to compensation for renouncing further reparation payments. . ."

The "**Deutsche Tageszeitung**" of 26th June replied as follows to this weak declaration of the Reichs Chancellor:

"The declaration of the Reichs Chancellor regarding his recent interview with a French journalist does not accord with the expectations which we expressed yesterday evening and which we were justified in expressing in the interest of the German people as well as in view of the statement of von Papen to the representative of the "**Matin**" that he represented all the national forces of Germany. . ."

The "**Kölnische Volkszeitung**", the chief Centre paper for West Germany, quite openly raises the question whether Reichs Chancellor von Papen is still possible as head of the German delegation in Lausanne!

It is significant that the only party which has refrained from expressing a word of criticism regarding the Lausanne Conference and von Papen's attitude at the Conference is the **National Socialist Party**. On the other hand, the Nazis are endeavouring in every way to dissociate themselves from the von Papen Cabinet in another respect. For over a week they had maintained complete silence regarding the first Emergency Order. Then, however, the ferment in their own ranks compelled them to repudiate this Emergency Order. In doing so they made use of a whole mass of phrases, but in the State Diets they have consistently voted against the Communist motions demanding the repeal of this Emergency Order. For more than two weeks the Communists have been demanding the summoning of the "**Permanent**" (Supervisory) Committee of the Reichstag; but the chairman of this Committee, the

national socialist **Strasser**, has up to now prevented the summoning of this Committee, because he does not wish to allow the motion of the Communists demanding the cancellation of the emergency orders to be dealt with by this Committee.

Whilst the national socialists believe that they can deceive their supporters by means of radical phrases in regard to the emergency order policy of the Papen government, they are attempting at the same time, by means of an unsurpassable incitement against Communism, to rouse the passions of the working elements among their followers in order thereby to render them blind to the national socialist toleration of the von Papen Government. The Berlin Nazi paper "**Der Angriff**" was able to go so far in its murder-incitement that it openly called for the murder of Communist leaders, and at public meetings the national socialist speakers have quite openly mentioned the names of Communist leaders who must be got out of the way!

The intensified terror of the national socialists, these defence troops of the German capitalists, which set in throughout the country immediately after the withdrawal of the prohibition of the storm detachments, has, however, encountered a very energetic resistance. For this reason the Nazi leaders are crying all the more loudly for the prohibition of the Communist Party of Germany; and in this they are supported by the whole of the reactionary press. They accuse the von Papen Government, and especially the Reichs Minister of the Interior **von Gayl**, of not having acted energetically enough. They have sent deputations to him, who submitted to him their "evidence" regarding the "terror of the Communists" and also of the social democratic Reichsbanner. It is reported that the Minister of the Interior promised that he would adopt measures within 24 hours.

The national socialists are at the same time the driving forces in the intensification of the conflict between the Reich and the State governments, especially **Bavaria**. They make the ultimate demand that the Reichs Government cancel the prohibition of uniforms and demonstrations which is still in force in the South German States. Von Gayl has promised to fulfil also this demand.

In the meantime, however, the Bavarian government has launched a counter-offensive. The Bavarian Prime Minister, **Dr. Held**, in a speech in the Diet, fiercely denounced the home policy of the Reichs Government. The Bavarian Diet approved his declaration; the Bavarian government has appealed to the Reichs President and at the same time announced that it will continue its resistance within the framework of the Reichs Constitution.

The increased terrorism of the Hitler bands has, in turn, called forth a very rapid and big extension of the **anti-fascist united front**. There are already a whole number of splendid examples in which, in the fight against the fascist murder-bands, social democratic and Reichsbanner workers acted together with Communist workers and formed a firm defensive front. This was the case in **Breslau** last week, when the national socialist terrorist bands, who had come from all parts of Silesia and attempted to terrorise the working class quarters, everywhere encountered the firm united defensive front of the workers which was formed at once. This was also the case in a number of localities in the Rhine district, in Central Germany and also in Berlin.

The fact that on Saturday last a body of Hitler troops attempted to storm the premises of the "**Vorwärts**"—they were able to force their way into the first courtyard—has made a deep impression on the masses of the social democratic workers; it has greatly increased their determination to join the red united front.

The social democratic leaders who are frantically endeavouring with all means to stem the united front movement and to continue their incitement against the Communist Party of Germany, are finding themselves in an increasingly serious quandary; they cannot prevent the social democratic and Reichsbanner workers from recognising more and more that the red united front is their only defence against facism.

There is no doubt that the resistance of the proletariat is rapidly growing, the activity and elasticity of the Communist Party is developing on the basis of the united front policy, in spite of many weaknesses, faults and deviations. Under the slogan of the united anti-fascist front, the Communist Party of Germany is again advancing and with it the German proletariat.

British Imperialism and Ireland.

By William Rust (London).

The sudden and sensational negotiations between **De Valera** and the "National" Government ended in a deadlock.

De Valera's Oath Bill has been rejected by the Irish Senate and will be held up for eighteen months unless De Valera declares a new General Election in the meantime. The land annuities which fell due on June 15th have not been paid to Britain and De Valera intimates that the Free State will probably refuse to pay other sums (Pensions etc. which together with the annuities amount to 5 million pounds per year). On the other hand De Valera has offered to arbitrate on the question of these payments although he stipulates that the question should be decided by an international body and not the Empire Tribunal. This offer was rejected by the British Cabinet which so far has taken no action on the annuity question.

In the course of negotiations De Valera also raised the question of partition and put forward a proposal for a united Ireland but in such a form as to rob the demand of any anti-imperialist significance. De Valera was willing that his "united Ireland" should recognise King George! **J. H. Thomas**, in reporting this proposal to the British House of Commons said:

"The point Mr. De Valera put forward was that when a united Ireland had been accomplished it should be recognised as a republic, though, he pointed out, with some form of association with the British Commonwealth in some circumstances and for some reasons, with the King as Head of the Association".

Nevertheless, De Valera's royal republic is not acceptable to the Die Hards of Northern Ireland who are reported to be raising a fighting fund and a defence force "for use if necessary on the free state border". Lord Craigavon, Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, states that if the necessity arose, it would be the duty of the British Government "to defend the frontier and the people as they would any other British property".

The debate in the British House of Commons on the negotiations revealed that the Anglo-Irish conflict far transcends the formal issues of the Oath and the annual payment of certain sums to British Imperialism. The "National" Government sees in these demands an expression of the struggle of the Irish workers and peasants against capitalist exploitation and for complete national liberation. This mass struggle menaces the security of British Imperialism at the very moment when it is engaged in the completion of its plans for Imperialist war. In fact the outstanding feature of the debate was not the blustering speech of **J. H. Thomas** but the intervention of the War Premier, **Lloyd George**, who had launched the Black and Tan terror on Ireland and was the leading figure in framing the notorious Irish Treaty.

Lloyd George's speech was specially significant as it was the first speech delivered by him in the House of Commons since the General Election. He spoke in unqualified support of the Government and his leading theme was that British domination of Ireland is a vital part of the preparations of the coming war. Amidst Conservative cheers he said:

"Conditions were introduced into the treaty making it impossible for anyone to raise a great army in Ireland, further, he said, the ports of Ireland must be open to us for purposes of defence. We had the experience of the war, when the coasts of Ireland were the deadliest trap for our ships. If the coast had been in the hands of an independent sovereign state, we might have been done for and we were not going to take that risk."

The speech was warmly applauded in the columns of the capitalist press. "Britain must control the coasts" wrote the **Sunday Times**, in a lengthy article endorsing the sentiments of **Lloyd George**.

"With an Ireland that was a foreign country our naval situation would be difficult almost to extremity... The reality which the symbol [the Oath] expresses is to us nothing less than life or death, when life is at stake no nation sticks at trifles."

The leaders of the **Labour Party** who are strong upholders of the Irish Treaty are at one with the capitalists, but of course endeavour to disguise their position with the use of liberal phrases. Their role is to act as the go-between for the

British Imperialists and the Irish National Reformists. Their contributions in the House of Commons are limited to a deprecation of the outspoken threats of Thomas and the exposition of legal arguments in order to prove that an agreement is possible if a few shadowy constitutional concessions are made.

J. H. Thomas' statement on behalf of the "National" Government amounted to a declaration of economic war on Ireland. He stated that the existing 10% Empire Preference on goods imported into Britain could not operate after November 15th so far as the Free State is concerned unless new agreements were made. The Government, he said, using the most threatening and insulting language of an Imperialist oppressor towards a small state, "would take whatever steps were deemed necessary". It is clear that British Imperialism intends to operate a weapon of economic coercion. But it is by no means certain that this weapon will prove successful. Neither should it be assumed that Ireland is not in a position to continue its struggle against British Imperialism. In the first place, it is clear that economic coercion is a two-sided weapon. If tariffs are imposed on food supplies imported from Ireland, it will undoubtedly meet with a boycott of British goods in Ireland. Costs of production will rise in Britain and the capitalists will endeavour to pass the tariffs on to the shoulders of the British workers who will have to suffer because of higher prices.

Moreover, Ireland's struggle is of decisive political importance at the present time because of the forthcoming **Ottawa Conference** where British Imperialism will endeavour to strengthen the Empire and overcome the strivings of the dominions towards economic independence by making tariff bargains. The intention is to persuade the Dominions to take more British manufactured goods in return for a guaranteed British market for certain Dominion raw materials food stuffs.

Judging by the strength of the Dominions and the influence of American capital within them there is little possibility of this Imperial Conference being more successful than others where similar proposals have been put forward. So far the published statements of the Dominion capitalists are all against making any concessions to British Imperialism.

In this situation, Ireland's defiance will strengthen the attitude of the Dominions and may actually cause a deadlock right at the outset of the Conference. Considered from the military strategical point of view, Ireland's attitude is of decisive importance. This question will be of outstanding significance at the Conference where the organisation of a war front against America will be of dominating importance.

This is the present situation. What will be De Valera's next steps? Clearly, Ireland's struggle against British Imperialism, if continued, will lead to an intense and bitter conflict, comparable to the insurrection and civil war which ended with the signing of the Treaty in 1921. So far as De Valera is concerned there is no indication that he will carry through the struggle. A real fight against British Imperialism could only be carried out through the mobilisation of the workers and peasants which would inevitably develop into a fight against capitalist exploitation in Ireland itself.

The manufacturing capitalists and the larger farmers whose interests De Valera represents will not organise a mass fight. On the contrary they are pursuing in Ireland a reactionary policy which is undermining the standards of the toilers. There are many indications from De Valera's own statements that although he is skilfully manoeuvring he is aiming at a compromise regardless of the interests of the workers and peasants. His offer to arbitrate on the land annuities is an indication of the path that he is treading. The fact that from the outset he has proposed the abolition of the Oath not as a means of strengthening the fight against British Imperialism but solely in order to remove "causes of discontent" shows that he is not the leader of revolutionary struggle. His active participation in the Eucharistic conference now taking place in Dublin shows that he is closely connected with some of the most reactionary forces in the world.

Pressure of the masses has compelled De Valera to make demands on British Imperialism and it is the independent struggle of the masses which will determine whether the putting of these demands will develop into a real fight against British Imperialism and capitalism in Ireland. That is why the activity of the **Revolutionary Workers Groups** of Ireland is of such decisive importance at the present time. Their task is to organise the mass movement on clear revo-

lutionary lines, to develop the present struggle into a fight for the abolition of the entire Treaty and for the setting up of a Workers and Peasants Republic. This means that the Revolutionary Workers Groups must come forward expounding the revolutionary way out of the crisis and organising workers and peasants in daily struggle behind their immediate demands. In **Belfast** and throughout Northern Ireland they must carry on a revolutionary propaganda against a partition and for the unity of Ireland. They must work in close association with all the revolutionary elements in the Irish Republican Army, many of whom have always been sceptical of De Valera's policy and are increasingly ready to join in the struggle for the social demands of the workers and poor farmers. Especially should the Revolutionary Workers Groups guard against the danger of dragging at the tail of De Valera.

In Britain itself the revolutionary workers must take up the "Irish question" with far greater energy than has hitherto been the case. Masses of workers are now discussing the Irish situation and it is the task of the **British Communist**

Party to utilise this wide interest in order to assist the Irish workers in Britain to join in the struggle and to arouse a widespread feeling among the British workers against British Imperialism and for a Workers and Peasants Republic of Ireland.

The development of the Irish struggle depends upon the organisation of the mass movement under revolutionary leadership in both Ireland and Britain.

Austria Faced with State Bankruptcy.

By G. Z. (Vienna).

The latest financial measures of the Austrian government bear all the features of State bankruptcy.

Although it has not been formally announced, there already exists today de facto a foreign moratorium, as the National Bank has ceased to issue foreign bills to pay debts owing abroad. This Austrian moratorium differs from similar measures in the Balkan States as it was issued without any previous agreement and without any special legal regulation. The directors of the National Bank "decree" and there comes into force an exceedingly important measure not only for Austrian economy but also for the relations of Austria with foreign countries. It is simply stated through official channels that the National Bank grants no more devisen for payments abroad, and at the same time those Austrians who have foreign debts are advised not to deposit the sums due either at the Court or the National Bank but to hold ready, the equivalent amount in shillings.

The granting of powers to make such dispositions, i. e. an actual financial dictatorship, to the Board of directors of the National Bank, took place by virtue of the "Economic-Political Emergency Powers Act", to which the social democrats agreed.

The most striking measure, illustrating the disastrous position of Austria, is the **announcement by the government that on July 1st it will no longer be in a position to pay the civil servants their full salaries.** To the protests of the representatives of the civil servants unions, the Financial Minister Weidenhoffer calmly replied: "But gentlemen, the State is bankrupt!"

On July 1, the civil servants, without distinction, are to receive only 60 per cent of their pay, whilst the remaining 40 per cent will be paid on July 7 in the case of those receiving the lowest scale pay of 170 shillings a month, and on July 15 in the case of those receiving more than this minimum. This arrangement will continue in the future until an improvement in the revenue receipts permits a return to normal conditions.

The provincial governments of **Lower Austria, Salzburg and Carinthia**, and also the **Austrian Federal Railways** have already resorted to the expedient of paying their employees in instalments. Everywhere however, those employees whose salaries amounted to not more than 200 shillings a month were exempted from this arrangement.

How small the sums will be which the civil servants are to receive on July 1st can be judged by the fact that of the 220,000 government employees, 92.4 per cent. receive a monthly salary ranging up to 500 shillings, nearly 50 per cent. less than 370 shillings and 35 per cent. the minimum of 170 shillings. The greatest indignation against the government prevails among the civil servants.

The Minister of Finance points to the growing deficit in the State budget. It is estimated that by the end of this year the deficit will be 400 to 480 million shillings, or more than 20 per cent. of the total budget.

This deficit is to be covered partly by **economy measures** but for the greater part by **increased taxes and customs duties**. It is intended to double the crisis tax (an addition to the income tax, the rate of which is the same for the small and the large incomes), to double the sales tax, to increase the taxes on coffee, tea, spices and to increase the post and telephone charges.

These measures are in no way calculated really to cover the deficit, for their result will be a reduction of consumption and a consequent decline in revenue.

Thus everything which the government does moves in a vicious circle, which deliberately aims at only one way out, namely **foreign loans**, the condition of which however is the **inclusion of Austria in the French Danubian bloc**.

Sharpening of the Situation in Egypt.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

In the last few months a number of facts have shown that the increasing resistance of the broad masses of the Egyptian people to imperialist oppression is shaking the British hold on Egypt. The British government finds itself compelled to create fresh means for securing the continuation of its rule and to adopt precautionary measures in case of a revolt of the Egyptian people.

One of these measures is the construction of the Djebel Aulia Dam. Already in the year 1916 a British specialist stated in a secret memorandum addressed to Lord Kitchener, that by the construction of a dam in the Sudan, by the erection of a gigantic sluice at Djebel Aulia, it would be possible for the British, by shutting off the Nile water at any time, to cause a draught and to starve the whole population, or by opening the sluices, to flood the most fertile districts. Since then the repeated attempts of the British government to carry out the construction of the dam have been thwarted by nationalist resistance.

Now, however, the pseudo-Parliament of Sidky Pasha, which was elected last year after the bloody May fights against the will of the great majority of the population and under the protection of British bayonets, has passed a Bill sanctioning the construction of the dam. The British specialists hope that in a few years the construction of the dam, which has been taken in hand at once, will have made such progress that they will be able in case of necessity to cut off Egypt from the Sudan.

At the same time, measures have been adopted in order to fortify the Suez canal zone, which is being converted into a British military zone. British forts and barracks are being erected along the length of the Suez canal, and the British general staff attach so much importance to this fortified area that they are adopting means in order to remove the Egyptian civil population into the interior of the country and to set up a purely military regime in the area in question. The more the ferment increases in Egypt, the more urgent appears to the imperialists the task to set up an iron ring round the country in order to be prepared for the coming explosion. At the same time, however, these measures constitute a particularly important part of the British war preparations in Egypt.

That new explosions threaten is shown not only by the series of attempts on the life of Sidky Pasha, not only by the increasingly strong language of the opposition press, but also by the rising wave of social unrest in town and country. The completely impoverished fellahs are seeking a way out of the strangling poverty in increasingly frequent attacks against the government tax collectors, against the landowners and money lenders. (According to modest estimates, since the commencement of the world crisis the standard of living of the fellahs has sunk to a third of the former already exceedingly low standard of living.) It is only with the greatest difficulty that the authorities are able to suppress the peasants' revolts, which often embrace whole villages.

In the towns the number of strikes, in which the workers often fight heroically not only against the employers but also against the government and the police, is increasing. In the year 1931 the number of strike days in Egypt amounted to nearly half a million; the number has increased still further

in the first half of the present year. The crisis has resulted in increased unemployment. Whilst there exists no support or relief by the State for the unemployed, the "philanthropic" relief which was provided at the beginning of the crisis has now been done away with in many localities.

Whilst the economic situation of the masses is so desperate, the colonial companies are still able to pay high dividends. The hatred of the masses against imperialism and its assistants is increasing more and more. Even the treacherous national reformist Wafd party has to take into account the excited mood of the masses by issuing manifestoes against Great Britain. Of course, the object of the Wafd is to induce the British to avail themselves again of their services instead of, as is the intention of the present British "National Government", to negotiate with Sidky Pasha for a new treaty between Great Britain and Egypt. The Wafd makes use of anti-imperialist slogans in order thereby to rally the masses behind its flag and then to sell these masses to the British.

To the anti-imperialist masses themselves, however, the fight against the British oppressors is a serious matter. The growth of anti-imperialist feeling is symptomatic of the fresh sharpening of the situation in Egypt.

GERMANY

The Role of the von Papen Government.

By Ernst Thälmann (Berlin).

Berlin, June 24, 1932.

Today's "Rote Fahne" published a leading article by Comrade Thälmann, in which it is stated inter alia:

"Brüning was overthrown because the rate of fascism no longer sufficed the bourgeoisie in order to safeguard the capitalist dictatorship. As a result of the sharpening of the economic crisis, the bourgeoisie must proceed to a monstrous attack on the standard of living of the proletariat and all toiling sections of the population.

The bourgeoisie demand increased fascist terror against the proletariat and in particular accelerated measures against the proletarian class organisations, against the anti-fascist organisations, against the Young Communist League and before all against the Communist Party of Germany.

The bourgeoisie can solve the task of fitting the fascist mass organisations into the capitalist State apparatus only by means of an outspokenly fascist government. The Brüning government was overthrown as a result of the assault of the East Elbian big agrarians, who, supported by the fascist mass organisations and their terror, have made increasingly insolent claims upon the state funds, and who by means of the Papen Government wish to have their rights and privileges restored more rapidly.

Whilst the methods of the Brüning government aimed at carrying out all the attacks upon the standard of living of the proletariat and the toiling population in immediate collaboration with the reformist and christian trade union leaders, who were partly directly represented in this government, the bourgeoisie now consider the time come to adopt a position of open fight against the trade unions and the social insurance.

The composition of the fascist von Papen Cabinet of junkers, barons, counts etc. is not the result of chance. Hindenburg's nomination of Ministers who are personally and politically most closely connected with the royal families which were driven out by the revolutionary revolt of the people in the year 1918, must be considered as a sign of the advance of the old aristocratic caste which ruled in the time of the Hohenzollern monarchy and is now eager to take over again, in one form or another, their "traditional right" to rule over the people. They are now attempting by means of Schleicher, Hindenburg and Hitler, by a regency of a member of the Hohenzollern family or by open efforts, to restore the monarchy in Prussia and in the Reich, to regain the old rights and privileges they have lost.

Thanks to the policy of the social democratic leaders, who in the service of finance capital and out of fear of the proletarian revolution made use of the old officer corps in order to smash the revolutionary advance-guard of the proletariat under the leadership of the Spartacus group, the princes now hope to establish a new so-called "drittes Reich" of exploitation and oppression.

The proletariat, the whole of the toiling people, must realise the serious danger of a greater enslavement of the German people by the gang of princes lusting for power and luxury and basing themselves upon the murder-organisations of the national-socialists. The proletariat must not allow itself to be confused for one moment by the tactics of the social democratic leaders, who attempt to conceal the close connection between the monarchist efforts at restoration and the fascist dictatorship of finance capital by making the "monarchist danger" the main question and by sabotaging the real fight against the fascist measures of finance capital.

Three-class franchise, unbounded absolutism, odious court intrigues, Byzantinism, unrestrained dictatorship of finance capital, brutal crushing of the workers' most elementary rights—these are some of the features of an era in which the bourgeois-capitalist class State is governed by a monarchy.

The separatist tendencies at present revealed reflect the serious contradictions in the camp of the bourgeoisie. The proletariat must clearly realise the underlying causes of these tendencies. The efforts to loosen the connection between the various German States are the outcome of the old contradictions which were apparent already in the Reichs policy conducted by Bismarck in the Hohenzollern Empire. French imperialism is deliberately making use of these contradictions in order to make Germany more dependent within the Versailles system. The so-called "South German fronde" of the states which are mostly under the influence of the Centre party, is the outcome of the contradiction between the interests of South German industry and agriculture on the one hand, and the East Elbian big agrarians and West German heavy industry on the other. The preferential treatment accorded the East Elbian junkers by the "Eastern Relief" and other measures of the Reichs Government, the preferential treatment of the West German heavy industry by means of subventions out of the state funds, have called forth the greatest opposition on the part of the South German capitalists. The junkers and barons who are now behind the Reichs government are threatening to nominate Reichs Commissioners over the recalcitrant State governments. It is only the social democrats who want to make out that this fight for economic and political interests within the camp of the bourgeoisie constitutes an "anti-fascist action" on the part of South Germany against the Papen Cabinet, as the "Vorwärts" of June 21 maintains.

No matter what forms this "fight" between the Reich and the federated States will assume, its result will be a further strengthening of the fascist forces in the Reich and in the States for the defence of the general interests of German finance capital. Hence the Papen Government is a government for the immediate establishment of the fascist dictatorship.

The immediate aims which the von Papen Government wishes to realise are, in the main:

1. Abolition of social insurance, of the last political achievements of the working class, abolition of unemployment benefit and the conversion of unemployment insurance into a charitable institution. Introduction of general compulsory labour service in order to reduce the standard of living of the whole toiling population.

2. Preparation and carrying out of the suppression of all revolutionary labour organisations.

3. Open inclusion of the fascist terror organisations of the Storm Detachments in the capitalist State apparatus so as to ensure the monstrous offensive against the toiling people with the aid of increased fascist terror. Increased militarisation, in particular of the youth (compulsory labour service, fascist "sport" organisations etc.).

The national socialists are wholly responsible for the policy of the von Papen Government, which is supported by a Pact which Hitler and Göring concluded with General Schleicher for the carrying out of the fascist emergency order policy against the toiling people. The Nazi press welcomed the von Papen Cabinet. Hitler has openly declared that when he takes office he will not repeal the emergency orders and that he is ready to pay the debt tributes which burden the people. Thus the policy of the national socialists, who are subsidised by finance capital, is a policy of the defence of the Versailles slavery and the double exploitation of the German people by German and foreign finance capital. The national socialist leaders are the immediate supporters of the government, which is bargaining at the Conference in Lausanne

with the inexorable creditor Powers over the price of Germany's participation in a war against the Soviet Union. The national socialists are supporting a government which makes no attempt to conceal its efforts to bring about a Franco-German war alliance against the Soviet Union and against the enemy at home, i. e., against the revolutionary proletariat and its leader, the Communist Party.

The social democracy, which by tolerating the Brüning Government and by the election of Hindenburg has created the prerequisites for the establishment of the dictatorship of the junkers, generals and captains of industry, is, in addition to the Nazis who are the immediate support of this government, the indirect support of the von Papen Cabinet. As the social democratic and reformist trade union leaders are still able to influence decisive sections of the working class, to divert them from the fight and to weaken the working class by their permanent and intensified incitement against the Communist Party and the revolutionary united front and the Soviet Union, the social democracy is now as before the main social support of the bourgeoisie.

The Communist Party of Germany is sharply opposed to all bourgeois-capitalist parties, from the social democrats to the national socialists. The deeper the capitalist mismanagement drives the toiling masses into misery, the more determined and the more courageously will the Communists, marching at the head of the masses, hold aloft the banner of the fight for Socialism, the fight on the basis of our programme for the national and social emancipation of the German people.

FASCISM IN GERMANY

The National Socialist German Workers' Party.

By Hans Jäger (Berlin).

V.

The Social Composition.

1. Changes in the Social Structure.—The Bourgeoisie.

The social composition of the national socialist workers' party has undergone changes. At first the middle class elements predominated by a long way. Up to 1923, when the movement was mainly confined to Bavaria, the national socialist party consisted chiefly of confused philistines. A glance at the lower officials at that time shows this. Therefore the Bavarian district remained true to Hitler, who for quite understandable reasons still keeps the headquarters of the movement in Munich and prefers to hold the annual conferences in Nuremberg. But the bourgeoisie at that time did not yet openly support national socialism, although they contributed generously to its funds.

A fundamental change took place when the movement spread to the North, i. e. after 1923. Here greater emphasis was laid on the guiding principles of the movement:—there can be no national movement unless it is socialist, and there can be no socialist movement unless it is nationalist, by which means Hitler sought to attract the discontented elements both from the Right and the Left, and as a result the class antagonisms in the party itself became much more evident. In the North, the national socialists ousted the German nationalist movement, which up to 1923 was loosely allied with Hitler but which although national-fascist and anti-semitic was openly reactionary, monarchist and anti-working class and represented only the big landowners and junkers and therefore allowed no scope for the use of social demagogy. This German nationalist movement was practically wiped out by the Nazis.

The sham socialist demagogy which was employed much more intensively in the North had various results. At first the Nazis succeeded on a much larger scale than in Bavaria in winning backward workers, demoralised and declassed as a result of unemployment, and the S.A. in particular acquired another composition. Then, however, large parts of the bourgeoisie were at first mistrustful and therefore were not so ready to open their purse-strings as the bourgeoisie in Bavaria. They either took the socialistic phrases at their face value, or feared that they would be accepted at their face

value by the national socialist followers. It was the time when Hitler had not yet delivered his speeches to the leaders of industry and explained to them his real aims, when he did not yet feel himself so secure as to be able to expose himself in this manner without danger. At this time we find Hitler supported only by small employers and capitalists, who believed that on this platform they could conduct their fight against the big trusts, finance capital and the Stock Exchange (Manufacturing industry against raw material monopoly). The above-described form of propaganda—"the nationalist movement must become socialist and the socialist movement nationalist!"—which was carried on in North Germany by Otto Strasser and Göbbels and later also by Dr. Ley, had, however, further results: among the members and also among the storm troops there were formed large groups which believed so much in socialism that they later rebelled (some of them were caught by the wiles of Otto Strasser and Stennes, who split away from Hitler and formed independent groups, while others found their way into the ranks of the Communist Party of Germany), or were firmly convinced that Hitler would bring in socialism and attributed all his actions to a definite tactic which, for reasons of discipline, must not be frustrated. And finally, there are those who believe that it is necessary to remain in the party in order not to weaken the movement, and that they will be able later to realise the socialist demands against the will of Hitler whose authority in the party has fallen as a result of his obvious dependence upon the big industrialists, his servile attitude to the foreign imperialist Powers and his capitulation to his subordinates. Among the leaders there were then formed, apart from the Hitler clique, groups which completely broke with Hitler (Otto Strasser and Stennes) in order to beguile the members and prevent them from going over to the Communist Party. A part of the Stennes group rattled at the last moment and remained "true" to Hitler, i. e., allowed themselves to be bought by him, but still continue a sham opposition within the party in order to keep the members from leaving it and also in order, to create for themselves a strong position against their "leader".

This is a game with divided roles—nothing else but a difference as regards tactics. Hitler does everything in order not to offend the bourgeoisie (he forbade Goebbels to hold a demagogic "German" May Day festival planned to be held on May 1st; he was horrified on account of the smashing of shop windows in Leipziger Strasse, the fashionable shopping quarter in Berlin, in October 1930; he apologised for the participation of the Nazis in the metal workers' strike, who, however, only sabotaged the strike), while Goebbels on the other hand does everything in order, with the aid of the most shameless demagoguery, to keep and win the workers.

A further stage was reached when in North Germany the Nazi leaders convinced the big employers of the harmlessness, in fact of the tremendous usefulness of this party which already at the 1928 election absorbed all the votes formerly cast for the German nationalists. By various hints to the bourgeoisie they were given to understand that they should not take the words "Socialism" and "Workers Party" too seriously; that they themselves had an interest in this sort of propaganda, through which alone it was possible to win the workers away from Marxism. And when the storm detachments developed into terrorist troops not against Jewish capitalists but exclusively against revolutionary workers, against the hated Communists, then the employers were reassured. The more so when they saw how the "white nuclei", the factory organisations of the Nazis, could be used as denouncers of the Reds, as factory strikebreakers and as a means for holding down the workers. The bourgeoisie also came to realise that here there is a tremendous reserve force which can be used for the setting up of the dictatorship and at the same time as a threat in order to extort concessions at the reparations negotiations. This does not alter the fact that in the sphere of foreign politics the Nazis will not undertake anything against France, but on the contrary, are only too eager to join in a united front with the French imperialists against the Soviet Union.

The mistrust of the bourgeoisie has disappeared, particularly after inconvenient elements have been excluded from the party. The only thing which causes the bourgeoisie uneasiness is that there are followers of the Nazis who still seriously believe in Socialism, and if they stake everything on the Nazis the proletarian resistance might become too strong and, with the disappointment of the masses resulting

from a 100 per cent Nazi regime, there would no longer be any possibility of retreat and Bolshevism would be on the order of the day. Therefore the bourgeoisie prefer a coalition which allows possibilities of retreat and in case of need to make use again of the social democratic party.

The employers not only subsidise the national socialist party but have even become members, although in many cases their acceptance into the party has been kept secret or even denied (Thyssen and the former President of the Reichsbank Schacht). There are even membership cards deposited in the Brown House in Munich of which the ordinary members know nothing. Among such "friends of the national socialist workers party" we need only mention the Ruhr industrialists Kirdorf, Wiskott and Mutschmann, a textile owner. The organs of heavy industry such as the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung", "Börsen-Zeitung", "Rheinisch-Westfälische", "Bergisch-Märkische", "Bergwerkszeitung" are already so friendly to the Nazis that they do not differ from the Nazi press except in regard to social demagoguery. Wherever big employers play an important role in the party they are described as "creative", "Aryan" employers, who are supposed to be "socialistically inclined". The blind obedience which is instilled, the military drill, the lack of political training and experience, often prevent the younger working class elements in particular from seeing behind the mask.

The solicitation of the support of the big landowners goes on much more openly. It is thought that there is no need to show any reserve in face of the peasants. The new Prussian Diet fraction of the Nazis includes a great number of nobles, among them being the Hohenzollern prince Auwi.

Thus in the national socialist workers' party there is a rich selection of all those who belong indirectly to the bourgeoisie. It swarms with higher officials, directors of industry, corporation lawyers who have realised that the national socialist party has the "sublime task" of reinstilling respect for authority into the minds of the workers.

THE WHITE TERROR

Bulgarian Class Court Imposes Savage Sentences.

On 15th of June there commenced in Sofia the trial of the C. C. of the C. P. of Bulgaria and of the C. C. of the Y. C. L. After four days proceedings in the absence of all the accused and the defence, there was formally pronounced the drastic sentence of 111 years imprisonment for the 12 accused. The chief accused Comrades **Racho Zaneff**, **Boris Kotchev**, **Todor Matanoff**, **Blagoi Popov**, **Pelo Pelovski** and **P. Stanchev** were each sentenced to 12½ years imprisonment. Three other comrades, including a woman, were each sentenced to 7½ years' imprisonment, and three further comrades each to 4½ years' imprisonment. Further, all the accused were deprived of civil political rights for 8, 10 and 15 years and in addition fines were imposed ranging from 90,000 to 270,000 Leva.

The class justice of the bourgeoisie showed its true countenance already on the first day of the proceedings. The Defence submitted a motion that the Court should inspect the torture chamber in the police headquarters in which the accused were "interrogated" last year by the police, and also the room in which Comrades **Kotchev** and **Nenov** had "committed suicide". The Court rejected this motion.

During the reading of the indictment, at the passage where it was stated that Comrade **Koffardiev** committed suicide in the street, the accused **Zaneff**, who had accompanied **Koffardiev** on the night of the murder, called out with indignation: "That is a lie, the police agents murdered **Koffardiev**!" Thereupon the police officers, under the very eyes of the Court, sprang up and struck Comrade **Zanev**, who was fettered, in the face with the butts of their rifles. Comrades **Kotchev** and **Pelovski**, who were likewise fettered, on hastening to his aid, were also brutally beaten in the same fashion. The Court ordered that these three comrades be excluded from proceedings and immediately conveyed to prison. As a protest, the rest of the accused sang the "Internationale". The Court thereupon ordered that they be immediately conveyed to prison. Incensed at the ill-treatment of the accused and their exclusion from the proceedings, the Defending Counsel and the

member of the German League for Human Rights, Ernst Gläser, left the Court.

The farcical trial was continued. In an almost empty court room the Court heard the evidence of some police agents who had been subpoenaed on behalf of the prosecution. The indictment and the "confessions" made by the accused at the preliminary inquiry before the examining judge were read out. The speech of the Prosecution culminated in the Public prosecutor characterising the courageous attitude of our comrades as impudence. Sentences were pronounced in the absence of the accused and of the Defence.

The bourgeoisie did not succeed in concealing from the working population the revolutionary importance of the trial. On the day of the pronouncement of the sentence, protest meetings took place in the streets of Sofia in spite of their being prohibited. The indignation on account of the scandalous sentence was great and penetrated deeply into the masses of the proletariat. The Government and the judicial authorities were bombarded by mass protests. The international proletariat expressed by means of protest meetings, resolutions and telegrams its solidarity and brotherly sympathy with the accused.

The courageous, revolutionary attitude of the accused in the Court, the stormy protests of the Bulgarian and international proletariat called forth an increased incitement on the part of reaction against the revolutionary working class. The reactionary paper of the Bulgarian bankers, "Slovo", published a leading article roundly abusing the accused on account of their revolutionary attitude on the first day of the proceedings. In addition, the paper demanded strong measures against the legal workers' organisations and their dissolution.

The "democratic" Muchanoff Government have been totally unable to allay the economic crisis which is raging throughout the country. The number of peasants whose goods and belongings are sold up on account of indebtedness is

increasing every day. The attempts of the government to meet the agricultural crisis by a partial or complete abolition of the land tax will not ameliorate the misery. It is remarkable that even the "Demokraticheski Sgovor" of the former Zankoff government quite agrees to a partial abolition of the land tax. The paper is only opposed on patriotic grounds to the motion of the Minister for Agriculture Gitchev for the complete abolition of the land tax. The paper writes:

"The State budget must be balanced. If the land tax is completely abolished the State will have to obtain money by other means from the same peasants. The land tax, however, has the advantage that the peasants thereby feel more closely bound to the State."

This is the open language of the reaction, which shows that the "new reforms" will not lighten the burdens borne by the masses.

Nanking Statement on the Ruegg Process.

Shanghai, 23rd June 1932.

The official Nanking government agency Kuo-min announces that the proceedings against Paul Ruegg and his wife who have now been in prison over a year, have not yet been begun (and this after the beginning of the trial has been officially reported on numerous occasions!), but that the trial will begin "during the next few days"!!! Count has already been lost of the number of times official statements have been issued according to which "the trial is about to begin". The statement seeks to excuse the delay by declaring that the documents in the case have all had to be translated into Chinese. These are the notorious "documents" which were produced from nowhere without a shred of evidence to support the government statement concerning their origin. The whole attitude of the Nanking government shows clearly that they have no evidence against Ruegg and are afraid to bring him to trial.

The Disarmament Swindle in Geneva

Comrade Litvinov On the Sabotage of Disarmament and Hoover's Proposal.

Speech Delivered in the General Commission of the Disarmament Conference.

Geneva, June 23, 1932.

Comrade Litvinov, the chairman of the Soviet delegation, delivered the following speech in the General Commission of the Disarmament Conference:

"I take this opportunity in order to make a few general remarks on the state of affairs at this Conference. There exists no doubt that all the delegations consider this state of affairs as highly unsatisfactory. This recognition, however has not yet found any formal and effective expression. After all, the fifth month of the Conference is nearly over without our having made the least progress or achieving the slightest result. At the first sessions of the Conference and of its General Commission considerable differences of opinion among the delegates became apparent, and those differences of opinion would still seem to remain in full force at the present moment. I would like to emphasise that these differences of opinion exist not only between two or three States.

I will attempt to set forth this idea more clearly. If any State raises objections to this or that kind of armament, then there exists a difference of opinion between this State and all those States which agree to this kind of armament. If a new proposal regarding some of form of disarmament is made and is not accepted by all delegations, then one can speak of differences of opinion between the originators of the proposal and other delegations and not of differences of opinion with any individual State.

When I say that no results have been achieved I do not for a moment forget the enormous work which the so-called technical Commissions have performed during the last few months. This is proved by the 500 documents and the huge pile of pictures which have been sent to the delegations. The

question is, whether this work has anything to do with the Conference and whether the Conference will make use of it. Thus, for example, the Commissions have discussed the question of defining what are aggressive types of weapon, whilst as yet we have no decision acceptable to all delegations on the absolute rejection of aggressive types of weapons. The Commissions have dealt with the question of internationalising the air fleets whilst there exist no agreement on this internationalisation, but on the contrary, strong objections to it. I will not multiply examples.

The work of the Commissions, therefore, was of a purely academic nature. The members of the Commissions were aware of this and could not rid themselves of the doubt whether they were not working in vain, and this fact was bound to affect the rate and the character of the work of the Commissions in bringing in the various documents and information through the States into the Commissions etc.

There is lacking, however, not only fundamental decisions of the Conference regarding the questions dealt with by the Commissions but also decisions regarding the most important cardinal questions: after long preparations lasting for nearly ten years, the Disarmament Conference, after sitting for nearly five months, has not given any answer to the question whether all of the States represented at the Conference are at all prepared for any disarming or a reduction of armaments; and from this there arises the abnormal character of the situation. I have in mind direct material reduction of armaments and not economic measures, as for instance limitation of budgets, which could be determined not by a conference but rather by the economic and financial situation of the individual countries or all countries. Of course, insofar as no other results are at hand, a limitation of the military budgets may

be regarded in certain circles as being the result of the Conference. But for the peoples of the State represented by me, as well as for the peoples of the whole world, not supposed results of the Conference but real results in regard to disarmament are of interest.

The Soviet delegation forms part of the Conference, it takes part in all its Commissions as well as in its Bureau, and this could lead to false conclusions as to the Soviet delegation having a certain share of responsibility for the fruitlessness of the work of this Conference. In reality the Soviet delegation cannot shoulder such a responsibility, as none of its main proposals were accepted by the Conference, as the conference has not discussed those questions which the Soviet delegation raised nor applied those methods which it recommended. The Soviet delegation declared and declares that the State represented by it agrees to complete disarmament and even partial disarmament (qualitative and quantitative), and that it is prepared to go as far in this direction as the concurrence of the other States allow. Only when all other States openly make analogous, or at least similar, declarations at this Conference will it be possible to speak of a real commencement of the work of this Conference. I think it is time to make this commencement.

I welcome the essentials of the proposal just made by the American delegation, the more so because they tend in part—even if they do not go so far—in the same direction as the Soviet proposals which have been made here formerly without meeting with any support.

I welcome these proposals because they contain one or two important principles which the Soviet delegation has set up here and in the sessions of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission, and in particular the principle of proportional reduction of armaments whilst maintaining relativity between the States. Any violation of this principle would make the work of this Conference absolutely fruitless.

However, the American proposals contain points which distinguish them from the Soviet proposal, and they must of course be subjected to an open discussion. I will not deal with these points now, but reserve the right to return to them when the discussion is opened.

For my part, I would propose that this discussion be postponed not too long, so that we shall be able as soon as possible to make clear our attitude in principle to these proposals, and in this way the Conference might at last make a beginning with its work.

Hoover's Disarmament Proposals.

Accentuation of the Imperialist Antagonisms at Geneva.

By Th. Neubaauer (Berlin).

President Hoover's disarmament proposals, which were read out by Mr. Gibson, the head of the American delegation, in the General Commission of the Disarmament Conference on Wednesday, have caused considerable excitement. For months the conference had been at a dead-lock; all the speeches at the full sessions and all the diplomatic manoeuvres in the Committees aimed only at veiling the fact that in reality all the imperialist countries wanted not disarmament, but increased armaments, and that each of these states wanted to shift on to its opponents the responsibility for the failure of the Conference. Even the arrival of the American representatives at Geneva could not in any way alter this state of affairs. Now, however, the President of the United States has submitted proposals to the Conference which look almost like an ultimatum. Hoover's five proposals read as follows:

"First, the Kellogg Pact, to which we are all signatories, can only mean that the nations of the world have agreed that they must use arms solely for defence;

"Secondly, this reduction should be carried out not only by broad, general cuts in armaments, but by increasing the comparative power of defence through a decrease in the power of attack;

"Thirdly, world armaments have grown up in general mutual relation to each other, and, speaking generally, such relativity should be preserved in making reductions;

"Fourthly, reductions must be real and positive, and they must effect economic relief;

"Fifthly, there are three problems to be dealt with — land, air and naval forces. They are all interconnected. No part of the proposals which I make can be dissociated from the others."

Proceeding from these "principles", Hoover demands the reduction of all armaments by a third, and estimates that this will result in a saving of 10,000 million dollars in a period of ten years. Hoover does not want to leave it to the Geneva Conference to decide in what manner armaments shall be reduced, but makes concrete proposals corresponding to the particular interests of American imperialism.

In order to reduce the offensive character of all land forces, he proposed the abolition of tanks, of chemical warfare and large mobile guns. The carrying out of this proposal would affect not American imperialism, but imperialist France and in particular its vassal States.

But Mr. Hoover is quite willing to permit exceptions for civil-war purposes and for the maintenance of colonial domination. The States are to be permitted to maintain armies which are sufficiently strong to maintain "internal order" and to crush the proletariat. In this respect the President of the United States meets with the fullest agreement of all governments of the capitalist countries. In addition, the States shall be permitted to maintain colonial armies strong enough in order to choke in blood the emancipation struggle of the oppressed colonial peoples. This part of the American "disarmament" proposals will be gladly accepted by the imperialist Powers.

On the other hand, Mr. Hoover's proposal regarding the abolition of **bombing planes** encountered the fiercest resistance of the French. The English made a very sour face on hearing the proposals to reduce armaments at sea, especially in regard to the reduction of their **ships of the line and cruiser fleets**, and France icily rejected the demand to reduce its submarine fleet.

After Mr. Gibson, the American Ambassador, had read out this disarmament programme, the opponents at once made their declarations. The English Foreign Minister, **Sir John Simon**, declared his strongest objections, particularly regarding the proposals for a reduction of naval armaments. **Paul Boncour**, the French War Minister, opposed the Hoover proposal in still sharper terms and opposed to it the French plan for the "organisation of international security". After the German representative Nadolny, and the Italian Foreign Minister, Grandi, had made declarations in support of the proposals of the American government, the Conference was adjourned for an indefinite period.

Hoover's action in Geneva was the **counter-stroke against the "European united front" of the debtor Powers at Lausanne**. At the reparations Conference no other basis of negotiations had been found than the linking up of Germany's tribute payments with the inter-allied debts to the U.S.A. The American government, however, is not inclined to make a present to its creditors of the 25,3 million dollars yearly interest, which it badly needs in order to cover the deficit in its budget.

Mr. Hoover five Points will just as little achieve real disarmament as **Wilson's 14 points** brought real peace. They are not a programme of peace but a large-scale strategic manoeuvre of the imperialist war policy.

British Government's Reply to Hoover's Proposal.

London, June 28.

The British Government is preparing its own disarmament proposals as an alternative to the Hoover Plan. They propose to welcome the Hoover proposals as a first class gesture and a "valuable contribution to the suggestions already put forward", but they will not accept them as a basis for discussion.

Britain will suggest reducing the size of ships instead of their number, and will propose the total abolition of submarines, knowing that there is no chance of this being accepted. "**The Times**" states that the British Government will also consult the Dominions with a view to bringing forward a complete plan which will go far beyond the Hoover Plan. That this plan was not brought forward at the beginning of the Conference is evidence of its demagogic nature as a mere move in the inter-imperial Anglo-American antagonism.

THE WAR

What Does War Bring to the Working Women?

By K. Tineva.

The world war, the tragedy of the toilers hitherto unparalleled in the history of humanity, lasted four years. For four years millions of sound and healthy men and youths stood at the front and there met their death, whilst other hundreds of millions suffered misery and starvation. Whole provinces and towns were reduced to ruins, were devastated. Millions of refugees—women and children—were driven from one front to the other. Misery, starvation, sickness and death prevailed among the population.

Millions of men and youths in the factories were replaced by women and children, who toiled from morning till night, for 12 and 14 hours, inhaling the poison-laden air of T.N.T. and poison gas and in return received a miserable wage which barely sufficed to keep them from starving. In order not to be suspected of treason they had to put up with all the hardships of factory life, otherwise they were threatened with hunger, arrest, prison, summary courts, etc.

A German working woman described in "Die Kämpferin" of March 16, 1932, her experiences in the war as follows:

"During the war of 1914-1918 I worked in the Leverkusen factory, in a workshop where picric acid was produced. We all of us had internal troubles of some sort or other. The picrate dust ate into our clothes and our skin so that we were as yellow as canaries. Accidents were a daily occurrence."

Another working woman reports:

"During the war years I worked in factory No. 336. We worked from 6 in the morning to 6 in the evening and earned 60 to 80 marks a week. We had to work in gas masks and dare not take them off while we were in the factory, for a poison gas was being produced which was invisible but exceedingly virulent. Cases of gas poisoning were frequent. Accidents were an every day occurrence and no one could ascertain how many victims there were. The factory fire brigade were always standing ready in order to carry out injured working women. New working women were engaged every day, and this gave us some means of judging how many victims the production of poison gas demanded.

"I shall never forget one frightful incident. A container had been filled with gas, when suddenly a rubber tube broke and in an instant the poison gas spread over an area some hundreds metres wide. We who were in gas-masks immediately hastened to help the women who were without gas masks. The victims lay there in convulsions—it was a terrible sight. We helped to remove the injured, but then received a reprimand from our foremen; it was no concern of ours, we ought to have gone on with our work.

"We received each day half a litre milk, which usually had already turned sour. At that time not even babies received any milk.

"Those workers who were killed by the poison gas had a cross put over their graves as token of a grateful country's thanks."

She concludes:

"Not a gramme of poison gas, not a gramme of explosives for a new war! Hands off the Soviet Union and China!"

Another working woman in Zwickau reported in the same paper:

"In 1914 I worked in a spinning mill, where all the men had been called up to the army. After a time our factory went over to the production of cotton yarn. Then we noticed at once how the profits of our employer increased. We had to do night work, the orders came in so fast. Every second week we had to work on the night shift from seven in the evening until half past five in the morning. Our food consisted of potatoes, bread and mangel-wurzels. When we left the factory in the early dawn we looked like living corpses. We often went without sleep in order to stand in the food-queues, as otherwise we working women could not obtain any potatoes, bread, or coal. We often stood there for hours in vain: when it came to our turn everything was sold out."

A working woman from Hamburg writes:

"In October 1914 I was sent along with 40 other young girls from Chemnitz to Schwarzenbeck, near Hamburg. We were given jobs in a vegetable canning factory and had to undertake to remain at work there for three months. But already after the first fortnight we were unable to stand it any longer and ran away at night. The work was very hard. We worked in a fearful heat and as food already then received preserved vegetables almost every day. We often found pins, matches etc. in our food. The factory worked two shifts of 10 hours each. We slept in a common dormitory over the workshop. Our bedding consisted of a sack of straw and a blanket. We were paid 25 Pfennig an hour, but deductions were made for the food so that very little was left over. Russian prisoners of war also worked in this factory.

"I experienced many other things during the war. I don't want another war! We must fight against the enemy in our own country! All women must be mobilised against the new world war!"

The effects of the terrible living and working conditions of the workers were seen everywhere. Everywhere there prevailed epidemics, high mortality, decline of the birth rate, increase of prostitution and increase of crime among children.

How great the mortality increased during the war is shown by the following figures:

Out of every 1000 inhabitants there died of various diseases:

| | 1913 | 1918 |
|-------------------|------|------|
| France | 17.6 | 22 |
| Germany | 15.7 | 18.9 |
| England | 13.6 | 17.6 |
| Italy | 18.3 | 33 |

Birth rate per 1000 inhabitants:

| | 1913 | 1918 |
|-------------------|------|------|
| France | 18.4 | 19.8 |
| Germany | 27.2 | 14.3 |
| England | 23.9 | 17.7 |
| Italy | 31.1 | 18.1 |

*

In order to give some idea of the horrors of the coming war we give one or two quotations from the bourgeois press, which cannot be suspected of being in sympathy with the despised yellow race. The bourgeois American "China press" writes:

"Everywhere a horrifying picture. Wounded Chinese women and children lie in pools of blood among dead bodies of women and children. Peasants were shot down while working in the fields."

The correspondent of a popular, French paper writes regarding the towns and districts through which Japanese troops passed:

"The appearance of these towns cannot be compared with the appearance of towns after bombardment in the imperialist war. On taking possession of Chenchu, the Japanese organised a band of 300 people out of the scum of the population, who, led by Japanese soldiers, destroyed and set fire to houses and factories. Within an hour, peasants and peasant women in Chenchu were massacred wholesale and over 5000 houses were set on fire. In Chapei with its 100,000 inhabitants there is not a single house left standing. For a mile distant one sees nothing but smoking walls, the sole remains of the town. In San-Wang (10,000 inhabitants) only a few houses are standing. In the neighbourhood of Shanghai entire localities have been completely wiped out."

The working class, which has not forgotten the horrors of the great war and is still suffering from its results, which sees in the example of the Japanese campaign in China all the horrors of the coming war, no longer views the coming war with the same eyes as in 1914. The experiences of the last few years and the work and the fight of the Communist Party are rendering all working men and women, all toiling peasants bitter enemies of war. In order that humanity shall be saved from a new devastating imperialist war it is necessary to convert this anti-war feeling into determined revolutionary action against war and intervention and to win the broad masses of women for the anti-war front.

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 Third Balkan War.

"The Antagonism between the Balkan Allies has Become 'Less Acute.'"

The Austrian Upper Chamber on the Foreign Situation.

Vienna, June 27, 1913 (Herrenhaus). During the discussion of the budget estimates the Prime Minister Count Stürgkh declared regarding the foreign situation:

The threatening accentuation of the antagonism which arose between the **Balkan Allies** in connection with the partitioning of the captured territory has happily become less acute, as the Balkan States appear to be on the way to adopting means for achieving a peaceable agreement . . .

Bloody Fights between Bulgarian and Greek Troops.

Athens, June 27, 1913. The Greek Ambassador in Sofia has today handed over to the Bulgarian government a Note which, in view of the attempt of the Bulgarian government to make the Greek mobilisation of troops responsible for the difficult situation and the bloody fighting between the troops on either side, points out in the first place that already on February 19, when most of the Greek troops were in Epirus, Bulgarian troops attacked the Greeks near Nigritta with artillery.

("Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung", June 29, 1913.)

Who is the Aggressor?

Sofia, June 30. The Bulgarian troops have today been given strict orders to cease operations and to reply with appropriate measures only if they are attacked by Serbian or Greek troops. ("Mir").

*

Athens, June 30. The official press bureau publishes the following telegram from Salonika:

"The Bulgarian army has commenced a general attack on the Greek and Serbian forces . . ."

Bulgaria "Protests".

Sofia, June 30. The "Agence Bulgare" reports: The government has instructed the **Bulgarian representatives in Belgrade and Athens to protest** against the incidents which have given rise to the absolutely unjustifiable fighting on the part of the Serbian and Greek troops and against the uniting together of Greek and Serbian troops, the obvious purpose of which is provocation.

Belgrade, June 31. Replying to the Bulgarian verbal Note which was delivered at 3 o'clock this afternoon by the Ambassador Toshev, the Serbian Government declared that the assertion of the Bulgarian government that Serbian and Greek troops had attacked Bulgarian troops near Eleutheria and Zlatov is untrue

("Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung", July 2nd 1913.)

The Big Powers Make "Urgent Representations".

London, July 2. It is reported that the great Powers have made urgent representations in Sofia, Belgrade and

Athens, and brought pressure to bear on the governments there in order to induce them not to be drawn into war but to smooth the way for arbitration.

("Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung", July 4, 1913.)

Austria-Hungary as War Inciter.

Vienna, July 2nd. The "Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung" writes: All reports regarding intervention by the European Powers in the Balkan war are false. It may be that the Triple Entente or individual members of it have undertaken demarches or exerted pressure on this or that Balkan State. The Austrian-Hungarian monarchy leaves the Balkan States perfectly free to settle their disputes in whatever way they please.

Austria "Mediates" in the Bulgarian-Rumanian Conflict.

Vienna, July 4. The "Neue Freie Presse" reports from Sofia regarding negotiations between Rumania and Bulgaria:

Through the mediation of the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy negotiations are being conducted between Bulgaria and Rumania regarding the ceded territory. The report of the "Universul" to the effect that Rumania has sent an ultimatum to Bulgaria, is characterised by the Rumanian authorities as an invention.

And Behind the Scenes.

Conrad von Hoetzendorf's Interview with Count Berchthold.

I asked him: How is the situation? What is our policy? What will happen if it comes to a war between Serbia and Bulgaria?

Count B.: "Then we shall look on and wait."

I: "And if Bulgaria comes off second best?"

Count B.: "Then we shall intervene."

I: "Armed?"

Count B.: "Yes."

I: "Shall we remain in Serbia?"

Count B.: "His Majesty's attitude is evasive. Archduke Franz Ferdinand will not hear of annexation. It will not come to an Entente between Rumania and Bulgaria."

I: "Would Rumania intervene in the war?"

Count B.: "Yes! Bulgaria is greatly concerned over this."

I: "Do you believe that Rumania will wage war?"

Count B.: "Rumania will occupy what it wants to have."

I: "Would we carry out action against Serbia without regard to Rumania?"

Count B.: "Yes, because Rumania is only 'occupying' territory."

I: "What do you think Russia will do?"

Count B.: "Threaten. Then Germany would intervene in order to hold Russia in check."

I: "But if she does not allow herself to be held in check?"

Count B.: "Then it will be necessary to proceed energetically against Russia."

(Conrad von Hoetzendorf: "Aus meiner Dienstzeit", pages 353/54.)

Trial Mobilisation in Russia.

Petersburg, July 7. The reports published abroad of a trial mobilisation of the Russian army are described by the Petersburg Telegraph Agency as quite unfounded. All that is taking place is the annual Summer manoeuvres of the reservists. (Russia.)

Mobilisation in Rumania Begins.

Bucharest, July 5. The War Ministry publishes an appeal to all who wish to volunteer for service in the army. The volunteers can choose their army corps; they must, however, be at least 18 years old . . .

("Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung", July 6, 1913.)

Severance of Diplomatic Relations Between Athens and Sofia . . .

Sofia, July 6. (Vienna Telegraphic Correspondence Bureau.) The Greek Ambassador Panas left Sofia yesterday morning . . .

. . . **Belgrade and Sofia.**

Belgrade, July 6. The Serbian Chargé d'affaires in Sofia will today inform the Bulgarian Government by means of a Note that owing to the treacherous attack by the Bulgarian army of June 30 and the further attacks, it appears proved beyond doubt that the Bulgarian Government, inspired by unintelligible hatred and hostility, has commenced war against Serbia without declaration of war and thereby destroyed the alliance and the treaty of friendship. From today, therefore, the Serbian Government regards all relations with Bulgaria as broken off and recalls its Ambassador . . .

("Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung", July 8, 1913.)

20th World Peace Congress.

The programme of the Hague Peace Congress has just been announced. The actual Congress will begin on August 20 and last until August 23. As already reported, the patronage of the Congress has been taken over by His Royal Highness Prince Henry of Holland.

("Die Friedenswarte", 1913, July, page 255.)

Strengthening of the Triple Alliance.

Rome, July 4. "Corriere d'Italia" writes regarding the meeting of the King of Italy and his consort with the German emperor in Kiel: "The meeting in Kiel shows to the whole world that the Teutonic-Latin alliance is firmer than ever, after having emerged unharmed from the storm which has been shaking the Orient for the past 18 months. The Triple Alliance was never of greater value to humanity, the world and history than at the present time.

("Vossische Zeitung.")

Armament Competition among the Imperialist Powers.

German Army Bill Passed.

Berlin, June 30 (Official). The army bill was passed at today's, 173rd, session of the Reichstag.

The Echo in France.

The "Figaro", in an article entitled "The Example" writes:

Everything has gone off just as the German Government wished. One can understand the joy and the patriotic pride which filled the German Reichstag when this memorable law was passed. The Reichs Chancellor, in moving sentences, gave expression to these feelings. It is unnecessary to point here to the painful contrast between the Reichstag and the Palais Bourbon. On the one side, determination, discipline and readiness for sacrifice, and on the other side, the fact that the Government and the majority of the Chamber are held in check by a handful of demagogues . . .

("Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung", July 2, 1913.)

Austria's Armaments.

Field-Marshal Conrad von Hoetzendorf: Aus meiner Dienstzeit.

In Germany the new Army Bill became law on June 30, 1913. Reichs-Chancellor Herr von Bethmann strongly supported it, giving as a reason the changes in the Balkans . . .

Austria-Hungary, whose political and military situation had been rendered very difficult and dangerous by the issue of the Balkan crisis, must not remain behind the far-reaching preparations of the other States, in fact it must clearly realise that it is threatened with a fight for its very existence.

Three open enemies: Russia, Serbia, Montenegro, a concealed enemy: Italy, in addition a doubtful ally: Rumania, and only one sure ally: Germany; this is the present situation.

It appeared as if the monarchy was threatened by an attack from three sides. It was urgently necessary to employ all means and forces against this if we did not wish to sacrifice the existence of the Empire and of the dynasty without a fight.

Recognising this it was my constant endeavour to develop our defensive forces, and before all to raise the necessary recruits and the financial means.

Three Years Service Law in France.

Paris, July 20. The law restoring the three years' military service was passed by the Chamber of Deputies yesterday, by 358 votes against 204.

("Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung", July 22, 1913.)

Report of Herr von Winterfeldt, German Military Attaché in Paris.

Paris, August 20, 1913.

. . . . As things are at the moment Germany has, it is true, every reason to keep a sharper eye than ever on its Western neighbour in regard to military affairs; it has, however, no cause to regard the new French military law as more threatening than it actually is. After the experiences I have had in Paris I think I can unhesitatingly express the opinion that the practical result of the last German Military Bill, after it has been successfully carried out, will be much more real than the gains which the French will achieve with incomparably greater sacrifices by means of the three years military service law.

(The Great Politics, vol. 39, page 209/216.)

The Reply of the German Workers to the Army Bills.

Hamburg, July 18. The strike of the dockworkers is in full swing and has spread to Kiel and Flensburg. The fighting spirit of the strikers is excellent.

("Bremer Bürgerzeitung".)

Berlin, July 19. The strike of the Hamburg dockworkers has spread to Flensburg, Kiel and Stettin.

("Lokal-Anzeiger".)

The Trade Union Leaders "Surprised".

The strike of the dockworkers has rapidly spread from Hamburg to Flensburg, Kiel and Stettin, without, however, opening up any favourable prospects for the movement. If the Hamburg strikers have succeeded by their sudden action in taking the employers by surprise, this feeling extends no less to the trade union leaders . . .

("Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung", July 19, 1913.)

Social Democracy and the Army Bills.

Haase's Declaration in the Reichstag:

"The majority in this House has voted for a new monstrous and completely unjustified increase of armaments. We have proved that this is not the way to protect our country from the danger of war and to secure peace between civilised peoples . . . Our motions, which were directed to removing the serious abuses obtaining in this system and to prepare

for its transformation into a people's militia, have been defeated. **The Army Bill has become law.** We are now faced with the question, who is to pay the costs? We have always demanded that the burden of armaments shall not be imposed on the propertyless. In this we are **in full agreement with the international social democracy** The law imposing a special levy for the purpose of meeting the military expenditure, and the property tax law no doubt have **many faults**, the removal of which we have fought for in vain. Nevertheless they mark the **beginning** of the property taxes and legacy duties which we have always demanded. . . We are prepared to vote for these two bills in order to prevent other taxes constituting a burden on the poor sections of the population being introduced in their place. In doing so we proceed from the conviction that the heavier taxation of the possessing classes in order to meet the cost of armaments, will help to cool their enthusiasm for a continuation of armament-mongering and thereby facilitate our fight against militarism."

This declaration leaves no doubt regarding the social democracy's rejection on principle of militarism, against which the fraction has consistently and energetically fought.

("Vorwärts", July 1, 1913.)

The "Patriotic Feeling" of the Social democracy is Recognised.

How petty, how childish is the reproach that the government, by adopting a compromise proposal, has been drawn into the wake of social democracy. All these proposals have emanated not from the social democracy but from the bourgeois parties. The fact that the social democrats have finally voted for them should be regarded not as something to be deplored but as a welcome success. Or is it of no account that a party which now has behind it 4 million electors and has over 110 seats in the Reichstag, voted for the levy of 1000 million marks and the property increment tax bringing in 100 million yearly—all expressly for military purposes? And is it nothing that at no stage of the negotiations did they make any attempt at obstruction?

"Vossische Zeitung", July 1st.)

Lenin: Armaments and Capitalism.

... Armaments are regarded as a national act, a patriotic act. Everything is kept strictly secret. The docks, the factories and works producing machine guns, dynamite and munitions are, however, international undertakings in which the capitalists of the various countries jointly deceive and rob the "public" of the different countries by supplying ships or machine guns either for England against Italy or for Italy against England.

England is a member of the Triple Entente; Italy is a member of the Triple Alliance, which is hostile to the Triple Entente. The celebrated firm of Vickers (England) has its branches in Italy. The shareholders and directors of this firm incite England against Italy and Italy against England, and rob the peoples of both countries.

The Conservative and Liberal Ministers and Members of Parliament are, for the greater part, shareholders in these firms. One hand washes the other . . .

("Pravda", 3rd June (21st May) 1913.)

Advance of Rumanian Troops into Bulgaria.

Vienna, July 16, 1913. Rumanian troops, under the command of the Rumanian Crown Prince Ferdinand, crossed the Bulgarian frontier to-day. They did not encounter any serious resistance as the Bulgarian troops are engaged in extensive fighting on the Greek-Serbian front.

Athens, July 20, 1913. The War Ministry reports that the enemy forces, which had retreated from Demirhissar and consisting mainly of the largest part of the third and eleventh divisions, were repulsed by a Greek division and driven back to Nevrokop after fierce fighting lasting for days. ("Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung", July 22nd, 1913.)

Bulgaria Sues for Peace.

Vienna, July 17, 1913. The „Neue Freie Presse“ publishes a report from Bucharest according to which King Ferdinand of Bulgaria has made a direct request to King Carol of Rumania to make known Rumania's peace conditions.

Rumania Submits Its Conditions.

Bucharest, 18th July, 1913. (Vienna Telegraph Correspondence Bureau.) Rumania insists that the object of its advance into Bulgaria is to effect the conclusion of an armistice. So long as this has not been effected there can be no talk of a cessation of the advance.

Agreement between Rumania, Serbia and Greece Regarding Peace Conditions.

Bucharest, July 20, 1913. According to "L'Indépendance Roumaine", Rumania, Serbia and Greece have come to an agreement regarding the peace conditions, and that a Conference of all the belligerents is to be convened. Serbia and Greece propose Sinaia as the place of the Conference.

Commencement of the Peace Conference at Bucharest.

Bucharest, July 30. (Agence Roumaine.) The session of the peace conference began at 4 o'clock. . . The session was then interrupted in order to give the military experts an opportunity to draft an agreement regarding the cessation of hostilities. After resumption of the session the Conference approved the protocol regarding an armistice of five days.

Austria and Russia Reserve the Right of Revision.

Bucharest, August 8. There took place a long session of the Peace Conference today. The Chairman, Majoresco, caused to be read the letters from the Austrian-Hungarian Ambassador and the Russian Ambassador of the 4th, 6th and 8th inst., in which they reserve the right to demand a revision of the Treaty of Bucharest.

Peace Treaty Signed.

Bucharest, August 10. ("Agence Roumaine.") The Peace Treaty was signed at 10.30 this morning in the closing session of the Peace Conference. ("Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung", August 12, 1913.)

France Wishes to Conclude Treaties with Turkey.

The Russian Ambassador in Paris to the Russian Foreign Minister.

Paris, July 20 (August 2), 1913.

Count Vitali has just informed me that he has finished his negotiations with Djavif Bey and that the contracts will be signed in the next day or two. The Pekerdje-Trapezunt railway line is excluded from the concession; to this the French government, on the urgent advice of Count Vitali, finally agreed. Negotiations will shortly take place between France and Germany regarding the Kahrput-Diarbekr line.

Isvolski.

("The Diplomatic Correspondence of Isvolski" 1913-1914, vol. 3, page 220.)

The Russian Foreign Minister to the Russian Ambassador in Paris.

St. Petersburg, July 22 (August 4).

The news that France will shortly sign the treaties with Turkey makes a very bad impression on us. Sasanov.

("The Diplomatic Correspondence of Isvolski" 1913-1914, vol. 3, page 222.)

Russia Considers Coercive Measures Unavoidable in Order to Effect the Evacuation of Adrianople.

The Russian Ambassador in Paris to the Russian Foreign Minister.

Paris, July 27 (August 9), 1913.

I make use of every opportunity in order to warn Pichon that coercive measures against Turkey will be necessary in the near future in order to bring about the evacuation of Adrianople. I urgently request you to let me know in good time what coercive measures we intend to adopt. **Isvolski.**

("The Diplomatic Correspondence of Isvolski" 1913-1914, vol. 3, page 228/29).

The Triple Entente Ready for the European War.

Official Protocol of the Conference of the Chiefs of the Russian and French General Staffs in August 1913.

In accordance with paragraph 1 of article 4 of the Military Convention of August 17, 1892, His Excellence General Gilinsky, chief of the General Staff of the Russian Army, and General Joffre, chief of the General Staff of the French army, met together several times in conference at St. Petersburg and Krasnoje Selo in August 1913.

The various points of the above-mentioned convention were examined in turn by the participants in the Conference and gave occasion to the following exchange of opinion:

Article 1. (Text the same as that of the preceding protocol.) This applies still more than hitherto in view of the considerable growth of the military power of Germany in the present relations of power within the Triple Alliance.

Article 2. As the French and Russian governments recognised in the years 1911 and 1912, German mobilisation would compel Russia and France, on the first news of this, immediately and simultaneously to mobilise all their forces, without this requiring any preceding agreement. This applies also in the case of any hostile action of the German army against one or the other of the allied Powers. But if only Austria or Italy undertakes a partial or even a general mobilisation, such an agreement is indispensable.

Article 3. In agreement with the view of their predecessors, the participants in the Conference are unanimously of the opinion that Germany would send the greater part of its forces against France and employ only a minimum number of troops against Russia.

The main result of the coming into force of the German military law of 1913 will be a shortening of the period necessary for mobilising the German army. This army will therefore have a longer time at its disposal than formerly in order to operate against France before turning against Russia.

The plan of the Allies must therefore consist in endeavouring to conduct a simultaneous attack on both sides, which shall constitute the utmost exertion of their joint efforts.

General Joffre declares that France intends to employ on its North-Eastern frontier nearly the whole of its forces, which according to the figures contained in the text of the Convention will exceed 200,000 men; that the concentration of the fighting formations on this frontier will be completed, for the greater part, on the 10th day of the mobilisation and that the offensive of these troops will commence on the morning of the 11th day.

General Gilinsky declares that Russia will send against Germany an army numbering at least 800,000 men; the concentration of these troops on the Russo-German frontier will be completed, for the greater part, on the 15th day of mobilisation and the offensive of these troops will commence after the 15th day. Towards the end of the year 1914 the period required for concentration will be two days less.

The participants in the Conference lay down the main outline of the plans for the advance and disposition of the French and Russian armies destined to be used against Germany . . .

Article 4 . . . The telephonic connections between the Russian and the French General Staffs can be maintained via English cables and through English mediation.

The agreements with London have just been concluded and the sending of information can therefore proceed.

Cablegrams will be sent via America, Australia and Zanzibar or via South Africa, Zanzibar and then to Odessa . . .

Chief of the General Staff of the Russian Army (signed) J. Gilinsky, Chief of the General Staff of the French Army (signed) Joffre.

("The Diplomatic Correspondence of Isvolski" 1913-14, vol. 3, page 272/276.)

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

The Co-operative Peace Apostles as they Really Are.

By M a.

"Co-operation is peace", that is what the leaders of the national co-operative associations and of the International Co-Operative Alliance asserted, and repeat even now at every opportunity. In nearly all the official documents of the **International Co-Operative Alliance** the leaders maintain that one of the most important tasks of and at the same time the greatest service performed by the co-operatives is the "consolidation" of general peace.

In August 1913, there was held in Glasgow, Scotland, the **9th International Congress of Co-Operative Societies**. At the session which took place on August 29, the Congress adopted a resolution on securing international peace. The resolution stated, inter alia:

"The International Co-Operative Congress declares that it heartily welcomes, together with the co-operatives of the whole world, all actions which they may undertake or participate in to secure peace."

A year later the world war broke out. In the very first days of the war the socialist Albert Thomas was appointed munitions minister, and subordinated the **French** co-operative movement wholly and entirely to the interests of French imperialism.

The leaders of the powerful **British** co-operative movement undertook to supply the English army with food and articles of consumption through the co-operatives.

The social democratic co-operative leaders in Germany did the same for the **German** army. These social democrats wrote as follows in an appeal addressed to the co-operatives right in the first days of the outbreak of the war:

"If Russian tsarism with its allies intends to trample Germany in the dust, then all questions regarding the origin of the war must be pushed in the background in face of the imperative duty to protect our national existence, the German people, and thereby at the same time the culture and morality of mankind, from the Russian regime of the knout which is a disgrace to humanity."

Regarding the role of the co-operatives during the war, no less a person than the late well-known co-operative theoretician, the French **Professor Charles Gide**, wrote as follows in the year 1927:

"What has the war done for the co-operative movement? It has done it a great deal of good; one can even say that the co-operative movement has been one of the greatest benefitters by the war."

The co-operative leaders have not failed to render thanks to their paymasters, the General Staffs of the imperialist countries, for these benefits.

"The co-operatives", says Gide, "have proved to be the most valuable auxiliary troops of the authorities. The authorities in all countries have acknowledged this."

Professor Gide has in mind those services which the co-operatives rendered in the distribution of food to the civil population of the belligerent countries. He does not mention, however, that the leaders of the co-operatives did nothing in order to protect the interests of the masses of working class consumers against the military authorities.

It was three years after the formal ending of the world war, when in reality the war was still being continued with other economic means—occupation, boycott etc.—that the co-operative apostles of peace met together again at an Inter-

national Congress at **Basle** in **1921**. Professor Gide spoke on the question of the fight against war. He stated:

"What is necessary in order to abolish war? In order to achieve this we must place the world on a higher, safer foundation; we must endeavour to suppress completely hatred among the peoples. We can only hope to achieve this ideal, however, by means of education."

What the education of the masses is to be like was shown by the fact that the Congress found it necessary to emphasise in its resolution that **every country has the right and the duty to defend its independence**.

By this declaration the leaders of the co-operatives placed themselves fully and entirely behind their national governments, leaving it to the bourgeois jurists to decide whether the next imperialist war will be a war of aggression or defence.

At the **12th International Congress of the Consumers' Co-operatives in Stockholm**, in the year **1927**, the reformist co-operative leaders were compelled to place the question of fight against war again on the agenda. The threat of a new imperialist war, this time against the State of the workers and peasants, against the Soviet Union was very imminent.

Under the pressure of the masses organised in the co-operatives, and especially of the members of the English Women's Co-operative Guilds, the leaders of the English Co-operative movement brought forward a resolution at the Stockholm Congress in which it was stated:

"The Congress expressly recommends all co-operative organisations to declare themselves most emphatically against war and to let the world and especially the national governments know that they are absolutely opposed to any economic or military policy which appears calculated to call forth war . . . and . . . to be ready at any time to oppose the declaration of war by obstinate resistance."

But even this non-committal resolution was altered, on the demand of the **German** and **French** social democratic leaders, in the sense that the passage regarding obstinate resistance was deleted.

That was the end of the "fight" of the co-operative apostles of peace against the danger of imperialist war. In

place of the fight against the preparations for a new war on the part of the imperialists there came the **fight against the Co-operatives of the Soviet Union** and their representatives in the International Co-operative Alliance, as well as **against the Soviet Union** itself. All the proposals and motions of the co-operatives of the Soviet Union in the various organs of the Alliance regarding organising an effective fight against war preparations and armaments, were definitely and systematically opposed. At the same time, a campaign of lies and incitement against the co-operatives of the Soviet Union and against the Soviet Union itself was conducted in the co-operative press of the various countries.

In this campaign the social democratic co-operative bureaucracy of **Germany** played the leading role. The reformist leaders of the **Swiss** co-operative movement also published regular "reports" of "hunger, misery and oppression" of the workers in the Soviet Union.

The co-operative leaders of **England** and **France** who are more "friendly" towards the Soviet Union and Soviet co-operatives, the "neutral" co-operative bureaucrats in **Czechoslovakia** and **Austria** who, under the pressure of the masses, are compelled to recognise many successes of the Soviet Union and its co-operatives, endeavour with every means to mislead the rank and file of the members regarding the real situation in the Soviet Union and regarding the danger of war threatening the workers' State.

The treacherous leaders of the co-operative mass organisations in the capitalist countries resort to every possible manoeuvre in order to divert the masses from the fight against the danger of war, to deceive them regarding the real aims of and the conditions in the Soviet Union, to place the co-operatives again in the service of imperialism in the event of a new war against the land of the workers.

It is the task of the proletarian co-operative opposition in the capitalist countries, under the leadership of the Communist Parties, to expose these manoeuvres, to point them out in the every day fight for the winning of the masses for the revolutionary united front of the militant proletariat. International Co-operative Day this year must furnish the occasion to continue this work of enlightenment with increased strength and energy among the broad masses of co-operators.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

The Result of the Sowing Campaign.

Leading Article of the "Pravda" of June 26, 1932.

The figures given by the People's Commissariat for Agriculture regarding the spring sowing campaign confirm the complete victory of the Soviet and Collective farms in agriculture.

The sowing is approaching an end. The results of the last few days in regard to the different, and especially the late, cultures are not yet to hand. Up to June 20, 94.5 million hectares had been sown with summer corn.

The result of the sowing marks the conclusion of a whole stage of the fight and the work of the Party for the organisational and economic consolidation of the collective farms.

The Soviet farms occupied the leading position in the sowing campaign. By June 20 they had sown 10,776 million hectares, (102.9 per cent of the plan), whilst last year they sowed only 9,206,000 hectares in the course of the whole sowing campaign. The extension of the area under cultivation by 1,574,000 hectares is due to the cultivation of the lands allotted to the Soviet farms last year. The victories of the Soviet farms, which are still at the commencing stage, shows how opportune was the decision of the Central Committee and of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture regarding the closer contact of the leadership to the Soviet grain farms and the creation of trusts on a Union scale. What have the **Right** and **"Left"** opportunists to say now about the failure of the building up of socialist grain factories! Already in the current year, the Soviet farms will supply the country with more than 150 million poods of grain.

The collective farms have also considerably increased the area cultivated by them. Last year, when collectivisation

amounted to 54.7 per cent, the total area covered by the Spring sowing was 58,641,000 hectares. This year the collectivisation reached 61.5 per cent, and the area cultivated 66,875,000 hectares. Is this not a proof of the successful organisational and economic consolidation of the collective farms?

Up to June 20, the Soviet and collective farms had cultivated in all 77,651,000 as compared with 67,847,000 hectares last year. **This increase of nearly 10 million hectares shows the extraordinary rapid pace of development of the socialist sector of agriculture.**

This year 82 per cent of the Spring sowing falls to the collective and Soviet farms. Four-fifths of the cultivated area in the hands of the Soviet and collective farms! Do we need a clearer proof of the victory of socialist forms in agriculture? **This fact proves beyond doubt that the Soviet Union is finally on the path of Socialism.**

Our Party has achieved tremendous successes in the sphere of setting up machine and tractor stations, the most important means for the technical re-equipment and socialist education of the peasants. In the past year the machine and tractor stations have tilled 20 million acres, i.e., a third of the cultivated area of the collective farms. In the Spring of this year they have extended the area tilled by them by more than 15 million hectares. **53 per cent of the total area cultivated by the collective farms was tilled by the machine, and tractor stations.** Does this not prove that the line of the Party, aiming at the wholesale organisation of machine and tractor stations, has proved successful?

The results of the Spring sowing fully confirm the correctness of the line of our Party, which aims at the machine and tractor stations embracing all the collective farms.

Already at the October Plenum last year, the Party issued the slogan of collective economic trade. The recent decisions of the Party and the Government regarding the trading activity of the collective farms, the collective peasants and the working individual peasants, and which aim at increasing their economic self-activity, have resulted in an all-round development of the circulation of goods for the satisfaction of the growing requirements of the toiling masses. The successes achieved in the cultivation of economic plants will considerably strengthen the raw material basis of our light industry and contribute to the further development of the production of articles required by the masses.

The **cotton sowing** was ended considerably earlier than last year, whilst at the same time 200,000 hectares more were sown. Half a million hectares more were sown with **sunflower seeds**, and 100,000 hectares more with **sugar beets** than last year. On the 20th of June the area sown with **flax**, although the sowing was not yet ended, already surpassed that of last year.

It is possible for us considerably to increase the grain harvest and the crops required for industrial purposes, as compared with last year.

The workers and peasants State has rendered support to the districts which have experienced a bad harvest, by supplying them with seed, fodder and food, and is conducting a persistent fight against the heritage of the past—draughts and bad harvests. **Only the Soviet economic system is capable of combating such difficulties as bad harvests.** The experience of the current year have completely confirmed this.

The results are there! The working class and the collective farms have proved victorious in this year's sowing campaign. The collective farms have been strengthened politically, organisationally and economically. 82 per cent of the total area under cultivation has been sown by the collective and Soviet farms.

All the outcry of the Mensheviks, the social revolutionaries, Trotzkyists and Right opportunists during the sowing campaign, foretelling a failure of the sowing is ridiculous and miserable. Their predictions regarding the fiasco of the sowing campaign have come to nothing. All attempts of the enemies of the toilers—the Mensheviks, social revolutionaries, Trotzkyists, and also the Right opportunists, to bring the Soviet Union back on to the capitalist path, are finally defeated and brought to naught.

The result of this year's sowing proves that the Soviet Union is **finally on the new socialist path and that the decisive victory of Socialism can be regarded as certain.**

The result of this year's sowing allows us to draw another important conclusion. The Party has constantly emphasised the necessity of strengthening the concrete leadership. In those Republics and territories in which all the conclusions were drawn from the directives of the C.C. of the Party, in which the work was guided not only generally but concretely, more land was cultivated than last year. **Where, however, the work was not placed on a new basis, where insufficient attention was devoted to agriculture, there the Right and "Left" opportunists found favourable ground, there the plan was not fulfilled.**

The Party successfully crushed the resistance of the kulaks and their agents in our ranks—the Rights. "But it would be stupid to believe that the Right deviation is already buried. The strength of Right opportunism is the strength of the petty-bourgeois elements, the strength of the pressure of the capitalist elements in general and of the kulaks in particular on the Party. Precisely because the Right deviation reflects the resistance of the fundamental elements of the dying classes, precisely therefore the Right danger is at the moment the chief danger in the Party." (Stalin.)

The peculiarity of the present sowing campaign lies also in the fact that the elements hostile to us attempt to use "Left" methods in order to destroy the alliance of the working class with the peasantry. The "Left" exaggerations which occurred in certain districts encountered the fiercest resistance of the Party. The relentless fight of the Party against the Right and "Left" opportunists secured the victory in the sowing campaign. This furnishes the guarantee that complete

collectivisation and the liquidation of the kulaks as a class will be ended within the period fixed by the Party.

The victories achieved in this Spring are remarkable and important. The positions of Socialism have become incomparably stronger, the decisive victory of Socialism can be regarded as an accomplished fact. The Soviet Union is finally on the new socialist path.

The New Industrial Constructions in the Ural.

Letter from the Ural.

The new industrial basis in the Urals is developing with a rapidity surpassing all expectations. The industrial new constructions, which are converting the Urals into one of the most important industrial centres of the Soviet Union, are distributed over the whole district. Their foundation consists of an abundance of natural wealth simply unimaginable to West Europeans.

It is of course impossible here to give full details of all these constructions. We shall only mention the most important. In the first place there should be mentioned the town of Sverdlovsk, which is destined in the very near future to become one of the biggest engineering centres in the Soviet Union. Not far from Sverdlovsk there is springing up the Ural factory for the construction of big machines, and close to it a factory for the construction of excavators and a tool factory. In addition, it is intended within the next year or so to build an electro-machine combine in the Sverdlovsk district.

The first to be completed will be the Ural machine factory, which acquires extraordinary importance as the chief supplier of plant for the smelting industry. The important role played by this factory in Soviet industry is already evident from the fact that, together with the machine factory in Krematorg, it is capable of equipping two works of the size of Magnitostroy. The annual output of the Ural machine factory is estimated at four complete smelting furnaces and 20 Martin furnaces, 9 rolling works, and plants for mining etc. In the first place the Ural machine factory will supply the plant for the smelting works in Nishni-Tagilsk, whose first blast furnaces will commence working at the beginning of 1933. A part of the factory has already commenced working, including the departments for metal constructions, iron and steel casting, tool construction etc.

Of no less importance is the Ural factory for manufacture of excavators, as the Soviet Union, which suffers from a shortage of contrivances for the mechanising of building work, is particularly in need of excavators. The annual output is laid down at 3000 excavators. The factory will commence working already at the beginning of 1933. An exceedingly favourable circumstance is the fact that this factory and the machine factory are situated on the same site, and can therefore be regarded as one unit so far as power supply, research work and training work are concerned.

Another important centre in the Urals is Cheliabinsk, which at the time of the Tsars was a notorious place of banishment. The tractor factory, an electro-smelting combine, a zinc-smelting works and other similar undertakings determine the character of present-day Cheliabinsk. The tractor factory in Cheliabinsk is known all over the Soviet Union. But only after paying a visit to this factory can one gain any adequate idea of its size and importance. Here 40,000 sixty horse power tractors are to be produced annually. On the site of this factory there is already erected the huge scaffoldings of the steel casting works, the smith's shop and fitting works.

The most important question for the Cheliabinsk tractor factory, as well as for the whole automobile and tractor industry, is the raw material basis, i. e. the production of high quality steel. A further serious problem for these new industrial giants is the acquirement of the mastery of the technological process. An important measure in this respect is the factory already existing for experimental purposes, which is intended to be used as a school for the training of skilled workers, giving them a knowledge of the technics of production.

Less well-known among the general public is the electro-smelting combine in Cheliabinsk. Its importance arises from the fact that everything which is produced in this combine had previously to be imported from abroad. The construction of this combine is therefore a means of securing the tech-

nical and economic independence of the Soviet Union. The combine comprises: 1. a works for producing iron alloys, with an output capacity of 12,000 tons of ferro-silicium, 2,000 tons of chromite, and 500 tons Wolfram. The construction of the works was commenced in 1930 and was completed in July 1931. At present 7 electric furnaces are at work. 2. An aluminium and abrazite work with a production of 7000 tons of aluminium and an equal quantity of abrazite products. This enterprise will be working full capacity in August. Production has already commenced in part.

In addition, there is to be attached to the above-mentioned combine a works for the production of chromite of a high quality, an electrode factory with a production of 12,000 tons of electrodes, an electro-steel works producing non-rusting steel and zinc bands.

As regards Magnitostroy, this gigantic works is known throughout the whole world. The first furnace was to have produced according to plan, 1200 tons of pig iron every working day, but already shortly after it commenced working it achieved an output of 1250 tons. A second furnace has already commenced working, as well as the electric power station, coke batteries etc.

Those who have not seen the chemical combine Beresniki themselves will hardly be able to form an idea of the enormous extent of this exceedingly important industrial construction. We will only mention here the machine construction for the chemical industry. Those who come to Beresniki are simply overwhelmed by the manifold character and complexity of the plant: huge boilers, (120 tons of steam per hour), gigantic compressors, complicated batteries, finest measuring instruments, which automatically record the variations. A part of this plant is devoted to the production of acid-proof metal.

In Magnitostroy, Beresniki, Solikamsk and Nadeshinsk work is proceeding on an unprecedented scale. The old Ural is changing its appearance every day. In this transformation there is reflected the tremendous and rapid advance of the Soviet Union.

THE WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS

Canada and the Imperial Economic Conference.

By J. H. (Toronto).

On July 15, the Empire Economic Conference will convene in **Ottawa**. Representatives of the capitalists and financial magnates of British Dominions, colonies and the mother country will gather, in order to find a scheme of how to patch up the crumbling parts of the once great Empire. The capitalist rivalry between the Dominions themselves and the Dominions and the mother country is very acute. The present economic crisis, which hit the Dominions and colonies even harder than other imperialist countries, has only sharpened the capitalist contradictions.

The tariff war between the Dominions on the one hand and between the Dominions and England on the other has been going on in a much sharper form since the crisis began, and does not stop even with the prospect of the coming conference.

The doing away of the old "free trade" policy by the British government, and imposing a 10% duty on all goods imported, giving only preference on imports from Canada and other Dominions, is a warning of the British bourgeoisie of what may be expected of it after November 15 when these preferences will expire. The "national" government headed by the traitor Ramsay MacDonald, does not take any chances in waiting for the "blessings" which the Ottawa conference is supposed to bring. The "**Manchester Guardian**" in its editorial of April 28, speaking about the new tariff policy of the British government, quite frankly says:

"... Before us lies Ottawa and the prospect of still more complicated and hampering tariffs, a nightmare of which the proposal for controlling meat imports . . . give credible anticipation."

But the Canadian bourgeoisie itself is not sitting by idly waiting for the conference. In spite of the optimistic and

high sounding speeches of the conservative and liberal politicians, the prophecies of a "new era": the war for markets and the setting up of new tariffs is being intensified. The Canadian government was the first one among the Dominions, to adopt a discriminatory tariff based on the lower value of sterling after it went off the gold standard. Specially high tariffs have been imposed on certain British imports.

Sir Herbert Holton, chairman of the Royal Bank of Canada, in his report at the annual meeting on January 14, 1932, said:

"It will require careful analysis and close study to create a scientific tariff structure which will stimulate reciprocal Empire trade without handicapping home industry."

The only way of course in which Sir Herbert wants to "protect" home industry is by still higher tariffs.

Mr. Ilsley, M. P. from Nova Scotia, speaking in parliament on May 12, on the Economic conference, referring to the tariff policy of Great Britain, said:

"... That is to say she would make her preference lapse on November 15th, so that she would have something to bargain with . . . It seems to me at the forthcoming Imperial Economic Conference we should not, if we can help it, tie our hands so far as negotiations with foreign countries are concerned. We may depend upon it; that the United Kingdom will not tie its hand on these relations."

"In 1911 54.3% of our exports were to other parts of the Empire: in 1932 the figure was only 38%. In 1911, 28.7% of our imports were from other parts of the British Empire, whereas in 1932 the figure was only 25.5% . . . It would be unwise to fly in the face of that trend."

Thus the Canadian capitalists are preparing for the conference.

The Canadian ruling class is desperate. It fights with all weapons it has learned to use from its older imperialist rivals, in order to secure markets.

The United States with its Smoot-Howley tariff bill passed in June 1930, has cut down Canadian imports by more than 50%. Canada immediately replied with its special tariff act of September 1930. The United States was the biggest buyer for Canada, taking 45% of all Canadian exports. The trend of trade between the two countries may be judged by the drop in the value of agricultural and vegetable products exported to the United States during the months of July, August and September, immediately after the Smoot-Howley tariff bill was passed. This drop was from \$10,015,000 for the three months in 1929, to \$5,371,000 for the same period in 1930: this represents a shrinkage of over 46%. This is one reason why the Canadian capitalist class is on the one hand eagerly waiting for the conference and on the other not expecting much from the conference, since it knows well that all the other Dominions and the mother country have the same imperialist aims.

One of the important things which is to come from the conference for **Mr. Bennett** is political capital. The conference affords a wonderful opportunity for fooling the workers with high sounding phrases and hopes of what the conference is supposed to bring. The starvation policies and terror regime have shattered all election promises. High tariffs, wage cuts, and suppressive measures against the working class organisations have failed to "bring back prosperity". Something different is necessary if the workers are to be fooled again.

Mr. Bennett himself does not expect to revive the crumbling, the slowly decaying British Empire. He has expressed this already at the unsuccessful attempt made at the imperial conference in London in 1930. In 1929 speaking in parliament, not as a prime minister, but only as M.P. for Calgary, Mr. Bennett said:

"... I suggest to the government that since England can no longer take the lead with respect to this matter this country should call a great economic conference to meet in Ottawa. Let the Dominion of Canada take the lead."

The capitalist papers all over the country have already let loose a stream of propaganda about the "prosperity" which the conference is going to bring. While this flood of propaganda about the conference is going on, at the same time a similar flood of the most vicious lies and slanders against the Soviet Union is poured out by the same capitalist press. Both are to serve the same purpose. The Imperial Conference

shows the capitalist way out of the crisis and the Soviet Union the revolutionary way out of the crisis. The campaign of slanders and lies about the Soviet Union is in preparation for one of the main objects of the Imperial Conference, that is, the war against the Soviet Union.

Just as the Imperial Conference of 1930, just as the League of Nations could not and cannot solve the contradictions and bitter antagonisms among the imperialist powers, so the conference will not solve these problems. On the contrary. It will only further sharpen the competition within the British Empire on the one hand, just as the 1930 conference did, and the rivalry between Great Britain and the United States on the other.

Mr. Bennett in his speech in parliament on May 10th, said: "... I can only say that other governments as this realize, that this is not a mere meeting together of men for the purpose of dealing with the material things of life. There are other forces that must be reckoned with; ... and that very fact operates in men's minds, governs their actions, restrains their conduct and disciplines their observation."

These "other forces" are the growing revolt of the working class, and the forces of socialist construction in the Soviet Union. The ground is being prepared by the Bennett government to deal with these forces. The most brutal terror against the workers at home, the further reduction of the unemployed to conditions of slavery; these actions to prepare the "hinterland" for the conquest of markets. The embargo on Soviet products, the vicious lying propaganda and the whipping up of hatred against the victorious socialist construction, for the purpose of falling in line with the imperialist powers for war on the Soviet Union, as the second step for the conquest of new markets and the crushing of the workers' republic. These will be the main questions considered behind the scenes in Ottawa.

The British dominions must fall in line in the anti Soviet united front. And if Great Britain cannot lead them in line then Canada will take the lead. The recent actions of Canada have shown that its government is well capable of filling this role.

The conditions of the workers are getting worse every day. According to the figures of the Toronto Board of Trade Journal for April, the total number of employed workers in February 1932, was 819,175. Professor Jackson estimates the total number of jobless in Canada to be 726,594. This number of unemployed does not include any of the part time workers. More than 85% of the workers still employed are working only part time. The prospect of the conference for the workers can be only further unemployment, further wage cuts, in order to be able to compete with the capitalists of the other countries and Dominions. Increased tariffs will mean monopolisation of the home market, raising the prices of the necessities of life to the workers, and thus bring further starvation to the masses of toilers, even those who are still employed.

The **Workers Economic Conference** which is called for August 1st, in Ottawa, by the national committee of the unemployed councils will have a mighty task to perform. It will be the task of this conference to show to the workers that the only way out of the present crisis is the revolutionary way, whose standard bearer is the Soviet Union. The Workers Economic Conference, meeting at the same time when the Imperial conference will still be in session, must demonstrate sharply to the assembled imperialist representatives and to the Bennett government that the exploited masses will not stand any further cutting of the standard of living, and are organising to follow the example of the Soviet Union, and will defend the country of the workers against all imperialist attacks.

Soviet Construction in Hupeh Province.

Shanghai, 27th June 1932.

The bourgeois newspaper "Shanghai Times" publishes an article on the situation in the soviet district to the north of the Yangtze-Kiang in the province of Hupeh. It declares that the Soviet government in this district represents a highly-organised power with its own State apparatus, post and stamps; It also reports that the Soviet authorities are zealously working to bring the irrigation and canal system into order. In order to obtain the assistance of the National Committee against Floods the Soviet authorities have released a high military official. About seventy members of the Committee are now at work in the Soviet district.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Comrade Clara Zetkin 75 Years Old.

By Käthe Duncker (Berlin).

Comrade Clara Zetkin will be 75 years old on 5th of July next. More than two-thirds of her life have been spent in active fight for the aims of the international Labour Movement.

The daughter of an elementary school teacher in Saxony, Clara, when she was about 20 years old, came to Leipzig and there attended the Teachers' Training College which was conducted by a leader of the bourgeois women's movement, Auguste Schmidt. Here Clara showed and developed extraordinary gifts, even though her warm temperament and irrepressible energy caused her to rebel against the high-brow atmosphere, remote from actual reality, which prevailed at the school. Here Clara also became acquainted with the half-hearted and confused attitude of the bourgeois women's movement towards economic and class conditions.

In Leipzig, Clara came into the circles of Russian political refugees. In intercourse with them her keen intellect acquired its Marxist training and she developed into a conscious class fighter and revolutionary. In this circle of emigrants she got to know Ossip Zetkin, with whom she later lived in free union. When later he was expelled from Germany as an "undesirable alien", she followed him first to Switzerland and afterwards to Paris. Soon after the death of Ossip Zetkin, which took place in 1889, Clara returned to Germany and found work in the Dietzgen Publishing House in Stuttgart. In 1892 she took over the editorship of "**Gleichheit**", the social democratic women's paper, which had been founded a year previously by Emma Ihrer.

Both as editor of the "**Gleichheit**" and also as a speaker at numerous meetings Clara Zetkin regarded it as her main task to educate the proletarian women to class-consciousness and prevent them from being drawn into the bourgeois women's movement.

In Germany women's work had developed to great extent already in the eighties of last century. But the women who were engaged in trades or professions were for the greater part still dominated by petty-bourgeois ideas. In addition, it was difficult to reach the women, as the majority of them were scattered in home industries or in small undertakings. Moreover, the complicated and reactionary laws regarding the right of organisation and assembly rendered almost impossible the political and trade-union enlightenment and organisation of women.

Then it was Clara Zetkin, who—equipped with a Marxist training and an equally thorough and many-sided education, and as an eloquent and rousing speaker and writer—rallied the proletarian women under the flag of the class-conscious international labour movement. With great clearness and sharpness she elaborated in the "**Gleichheit**" and in various speeches the differences between the proletarian and the bourgeois women's movement. For the proletarian women it was necessary to fight with the men of her class against capitalist exploitation; and whilst striving for political equality, this was only a means to an end. Not a fight between the sexes, but class struggle was her slogan.

It was chiefly due to Clara Zetkin's activity on the "**Gleichheit**" that the proletarian women's movement, right from the beginning, kept itself free from the bourgeois feminist movement and came forward at the same time as a part of the general labour movement. As editor of the "**Gleichheit**" she considered it her task to train and educate a body of capable women agitators who then, armed with good material and clear as to their aims, should work among the proletarian women.

Clara edited "**Gleichheit**" until 1916, when the party Central committee, which was violently pro-war, deprived her of it.

But Comrade Zetkin was not only a leader of the proletarian women's movement; she was also in the front line in the general fight of the Party. She took up an attitude on all political questions and right from the beginning adopted the revolutionary Marxist standpoint. Already in the nineties of last century there commenced in the social democratic party, at first almost imperceptibly, but later more openly, that change which found its conclusion in the world war. From a party of

revolutionary class struggle it became a petty-bourgeois reform party. This process began with a small group of party comrades seeking to change the attitude of the party to the bourgeois State; voting for the budget was justified; colonial policy was approved; criticism of German militarism was moderated. Clara Zetkin opposed all such tendencies with passion and determination. This attitude brought her into close alliance with Rosa Luxemburg, with whom she was united by the closest friendship until the murder of Rosa in 1919.

When the world war broke out Clara Zetkin at first endeavoured to restore the severed connections with the women comrades in other countries. In March 1915, she convened the Women's Conference at Berne. She was placed under preventive arrest for several months for having spread the Berne Manifesto. Together with Rosa Luxemburg and Franz Mehring she published in June 1915 the first number of the „**Internationale**“, the only number which was published during the war. She then consistently pursued her path via the Spartakus Bund to the Communist Party and the III. International.

And even if today age and ill-health prevent her from standing in the front ranks of the proletarian fight for emancipation, she nevertheless follows with passionate interest all phases of this fight, and as far as possible takes part in events by word and pen.

As an outstanding international personality her name stands in history alongside that of Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht and Franz Mehring, of all of whom she was a close friend.

We trust that our veteran comrade may live to see the barbarism of fascism vanquished and the red flags flying over Soviet Germany.

PROLETARIAN YOUTH MOVEMENT

Plenum of American Y.C.L.

By Max Weiss (New York).

Placing as the "basic task of the League and its leadership the bolshevisation of the Y.C.L., that is the sharpest struggle against imperialist war and for the correct line of the Comintern and Y.C.L. on the basis of the letter of Comrade Stalin", the plenum of the National Executive Committee of the Y.C.L., held in **Detroit** June 4-6, declared uncompromisingly for war on all old methods of work.

This determination was brought forward as the keynote of all the proceedings of the plenum. The greatest possible emphasis was placed on stimulating the work of the League for the penetration of the factories in order to transform the League in the shortest possible time into an effective mass organisation with its roots in the shops. In this connection it was specially emphasised that while certain numerical gains had been made in membership, the growth was of an undirected, accidental character and not based on the most decisive section of the working class youth in the basic industries.

The weaknesses of the League in the struggle for winning the **Negro youth** were ruthlessly exposed with sharp criticism of the failure of the League to master the prerequisites for successfully achieving this task—the conduct of struggles for the daily needs of the Negro youth together with the eradication of both open and concealed white chauvinism in the ranks of the League.

As a demonstration of the turn of the League toward serious work among the Negro youth, four Negro comrades were added to the National Executive Committee, making a total of ten. The composition of the twelve additional replacements made on the National Executive Committee were equally an expression of the seriousness of its drive toward and into the factories.

The plenum opened at one o'clock Saturday afternoon with the report of Comrade **Clarence Hathaway** for the Central Committee of the Communist Party. This was followed by the report of Comrade **Gil Green** for the National Executive Committee of the Young Communist League. Following these two reports, an exhaustive 16 hour discussion began involving almost all of the delegates to the plenum.

The character of the discussion, with its emphasis on concrete methods of penetrating the factories in the light of the conditions of actual war-time work, was emphasised anew with a special 45 minute report on work in the Ford plant by Comrade **William Goetz of Detroit**. In addition to this report, two young automobile workers from the Ford and Briggs plants spoke on their experiences in the factories with the necessary conclusions for the organisational tasks of the League.

Unsparring criticism was directed at the failure of the League leadership to wage a satisfactory struggle against both the right and "left" errors of the League, and the failure to popularise among the broad ranks of the membership the results of whatever such struggles had been carried on. It was recorded that the crass opportunist errors of both right and left character committed by the New York district in the struggle against war were repeated by a number of other leading districts primarily because the N.E.C., in attacking and exposing the misconceptions of the New York district, had not brought these lessons to the entire League.

The reports and discussion further characterised the failure of the League to initiate and systematically maintain the necessary series of youth actions against war. This was due to the opportunist underestimation of the danger of immediate attack on the Soviet Union as well as to the failure of the membership and part of the lower leadership to understand the present events in the Far East as the actual beginning of the imperialist war against the Soviet Union.

To guarantee the carrying out of the task set before the American League by E.C.Y.C.I. of concentrating "on all the most important factories, mines, and ports in order to prepare and lead the struggles of the young workers" as well as of establishing "serious connection with the young workers in each given factory and department, to learn the actual conditions of the young workers through the closest daily contact", the plenum unanimously adopted the proposal of the National Committee for concentration on key districts, shops, ports and the armed forces. The following national factory concentration points were selected:

1. Ford Plant (Detroit)
2. Bethlehem Steel Works (Baltimore)
3. Stockyards (Chicago)
4. Pittsburgh Terminal Mines (Pa.)
5. Youngstown Sheet and Tube (Youngstown)
6. New York waterfront.

It was further demanded of the members of the National Executive Committee that a collective leadership, based on work among the lower units of the League and in and around the factories, be established by assigning all leading members of the League leadership to work on one particular plant, factory or port, the results to be checked up periodically by the National Committee.

Particular emphasis was laid in the report of Comrade **Green** for the National Committee on building a mass circulation for the "Young Worker" as one of the most powerful weapons of the League in its work among the youth. The extent of the influence of the "Young Worker" was set as one of the major criterions for estimating the growth of the mass influence of the League itself.

The perspective of earnestly and with full determination setting about to realise the task of surpassing the Party in membership in the shortest possible time was opened up before the League in connection with the fulfilment of the major tasks of the League as outlined in the resolution of the E.C.Y.C.I. which was also unanimously adopted as the resolution of the plenum.

The plenum fully confirmed the action of the N.E.C. Bureau in removing Comrades **Gerson** and **Austin** from the leadership of the League because of their leading role in carrying on an unprincipled struggle at the Sixth Convention and continuing it until the period of the plenum. At the same time, it was pointed out that the entire leadership was responsible for this unprincipled manoeuvring although Gerson and Austin were the sharpest expression of it.

The plenum closed with two special conferences on **sport work** and **children's work** in which the entire plenum participated.