

INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 10 No. 44

25th Septr. 1930

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.

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Wall Street and the Argentine "Revolt"

By Harry Gannes (Neuyork).

The imperialist rivalries in Latin America between Great Britain and the United States have been raised to the highest pitch by the overthrow of President Hipolito Irigoyen. Britishally. General Jose Evaristo Uriburu, who led the coup d'état of the conservative bourgeoisie and landowners, utilising the ever-sharpening crisis and mass discontent, immediately made a drastic change in policy toward Wall Street.

Irigoyen's regime was openly hostile to American imperialism. He refused to appoint an ambassador to Washington and on every occasion encouraged Great Britain in its struggles against the Colossus of the North. This had already intensified the bitter struggle in Argentina between these two powers. The British D'Abenon commission had wrested 80,000,000 Dollar in trade of the United States. One month before the overthrow of Irigoyen, the Prince of Wales announced a forthcoming visit to Argentina to stimulate British trade. Dr. Max Winkler, leading American authority on Latin American investments at that time declared:

"It is reasonable to expect that the United States will not stand by idly, while Great Britain will strive to regain

the leading position in trade with the Argentine Republic. We doubtless are going to have keen competition . . . At the present time the keenest competition is likely to come from Great Britain, the pioneer in foreign investments."

The capitalist press in the United States could not conceal its joy over the destruction of the Irigoyen government. It welcomed Uriburu with open arms. Long conferences were held between the American ambassador Bliss in Buenos Ayres resulting in the request that Washington immediately recognise the new regime. In return Uriburu promised as a first step to appoint an American ambassador forthwith; to enlist Argentina in the Pan-American Union, a puppet of American imperialism, through which it works its will on the Latin American governments which comprise the Union. He declared in a statement addressed to President Hoover:

"I desire my government to establish friendly and mutually advantageous relations with the United States and shall name an Ambassador to Washington the instant

that the United States recognises the new Argentine Government."

To which he added:

"Both nations have everything to gain through diplomatic, economic and commercial co-operation and much to lose through political aloofness in matters in which the best interests of both are involved."

These were strange words from Argentina, when only a few months previously Irigoyen had blankly refused to speak to President Hoover over the newly built continental telephone system.

Days before Uriburu requested recognition, the Wall Street press had urged the Hoover government to take this step without any further delay. Not that Hoover and Secretary of State Stimson required any urging to grasp this opportunity to win so signal a victory over their foremost rival. But their hypocritical stand in refusing to recognise the newly established regimes in Bolivia and Peru, where Wall Street puppet governments had been overthrown, presented American imperialism with a dilemma should it precipitously recognise the Uriburu clique in Argentina.

The Wall Street Journal (Sept. 10) in its leading editorial entitled "Recognise Argentina", stated:

"On account of the heavy investments of American capital in Argentina and the large export trade with that country the question of official recognition of the new government becomes of great importance. The State Department owes it to American business to make an early announcement of its attitude in that respect."

How differently the American rulers speak when it comes to recognising a bourgeois tool who promises them absolute allegiance. The very Wall Street Journal which objects to recognition of the Soviet Union becomes lyrical in urging the recognition of Uriburu.

In the background of the present situation in Argentina is a long history of Anglo-American rivalry. Before the World War, Great Britain held undisputed sway in this important market. British investments in Argentina had advanced from 1,860,700,000 Dollars in 1913, to 2,140,104,000 Dollars in 1930, an increase of 15 per cent; while in the same period American investments had jumped 1,528 per cent, or from 40,000,000 Dollars to 850,000,000 Dollars. American imperialism had made even greater advances in winning away British trade. At the onset of the present economic crisis the competition for the Argentine markets became keener.

The British D'Abenon Commission had drawn up a detailed plan, which was approved by the MacDonald government by which it hoped to win back its commanding position in Argentina. In this plan they had the complete assent of Irigoyen. For a time it appeared that the passage of the Hawley-Smoot tariff, which excluded many of the agrarian products coming from Argentina, would aid the British scheme. But the constant agitation in Great Britain for Empire Free Trade, which would hit Argentine products still more severely, had its effect in Argentina.

The crisis in Argentina had become particularly sharp. Irigoyen in establishing his dictatorship, covered with demagogic phrases, excluded from power large sections of the bourgeoisie; he antagonised leading officers of the army and navy. These elements, utilising the mass discontent of the impoverished workers and peasants and counting on the support of American imperialism and their hatred of Irigoyen's regime, successfully overthrew the tottering government. Their desire for quick recognition and support from the United States emanates to a great degree from their understanding of the deep roots of British imperialism in Argentina which can stir up serious counter-action in the provinces as well as in Buenos Ayres. With American imperialism solidly backing the new regime (as it undoubtedly will) they feel much more secure against their internal enemies and their British ally.

It does not require much insight to see the tremendous impetus to the war danger between the two powers as a result of the recent "revolts" in Argentina, Peru and Bolivia, and the threatening uprisings in Chile and Brazil. The entire Latin American continent is ablaze with mass discontent, which for the moment is being utilised by various strata of the bourgeoisie imperialist supporters, to instal fascist regimes.

POLITICS

The German Reichstag Elections and the Tasks of the C.P. of Germany.

By Fritz Heckert (Berlin).

When, at the end of July last, the Brüning Government dissolved the Reichstag because it did not possess a majority for carrying through its dictatorial taxation measures, neither it nor anybody in Germany believed that the elections on September 14 would have such a result. The fact that the old bourgeois parties have been almost completely shattered by the election and a new party, the National Socialist Party, has far outstripped all other bourgeois parties, is almost unexampled in the history of Parliament.

The result of the elections denotes more than mere discontent with the policy hitherto pursued in Germany: it indicates the rapid approach of a great revolutionary crisis arising on the basis of the economic crisis and the Young Plan.

The Communist Party has increased its vote from 3,260,000 to nearly 4,600,000. That is a gain of more than 1,300,000 votes. At the same time the social democratic party has lost over 600,000 votes, while the participation in the election was 13 per cent higher than at the previous Reichstag election. Reckoning according to seats, the social democracy, in view of the greatly increased participation in the election and the growth in the numbers of electors, ought to have increased its seats from 153 to 181. Instead, however, it has obtained only 143 seats. The loss of 38 seats cannot be designated as a trifling loss or even as a "social democratic victory" as "Le Peuple" and other social democratic organs do.

Reckoned according to the increased participation in the election the Communist Party would have increased the number of its seats from 54 to 63, but it has actually obtained 76, which means that it has really been able to gather fresh broad masses of the workers round its flag. The votes lost by the social democracy were almost entirely absorbed by the Communists. It is only in a few places that our gains in votes were less than the losses of the social democracy. There can be no doubt whatever that the Communist Party has succeeded in deeply penetrating the ranks of the social democratic electors. This is also shown by the continual and increasing going over of social democratic workers and young workers to the Communist Party and to the Young Communist League.

What makes the vote of the Communist Party so important is the fact that it is almost entirely derived from the proletarian class, whilst the growth in the Hitler party, on the other hand, mainly represents only a regrouping in the bourgeois camp. The German Nationalist Party lost half of its electors to Hitler, whilst the German People's Party lost 40 per cent and the State Party lost 20 per cent of their supporters to the national socialists. The national socialists became the rallying centre of all discontented elements of the bourgeoisie and a portion of the workers and employees who have been betrayed by the social fascists and are now misled and confused by the fascists. It thus represents a socially heterogeneous crowd.

If one compares the bourgeois votes with the votes cast for the social democrats and Communists, one does not observe any great change in the total result. As the bourgeois parties, and in particular the national socialists, conducted their election campaign under the slogan: "shatter the Marxist camp" (under which term they mean the social democrats and the Communists), it can be said that this attack has been completely repulsed and has ended only with the bankruptcy of the bourgeois parties. Of all the bourgeois parties only the Centre is able to record any gain. But this gain is only an absolute increase in the vote polled, whilst relatively considered the Centre has to record a loss. Only in the Rhineland-Westphalian industrial district have the Communists succeeded in winning over a part of the workers who have hitherto supported the Centre Party.

The Communist Party gained its election victory under a clear and straightforward slogan: Overthrow of capitalism and fight for a Soviet Germany. This slogan dominated the

whole of the election agitation. At no time was there the slightest deviation from the revolutionary line. Our opponents, the bourgeois parties and also the social democrats, thought that this emphasis upon our revolutionary principles would frighten away the electors. The result of the elections has proved the exact contrary, and thereby demonstrated before the whole world that the Communists make the greatest progress when they unflinchingly put forward revolutionary demands and aims.

The fact that the Communist Party has become the leading Party in Berlin, Halle, Düsseldorf-West, and Lower Rhine is of decisive importance. In a number of other electoral areas, such as Düsseldorf-East, Upper Silesia, Cologne-Aachen, we have outstripped the social democratic party. In the big towns on the Rhine and on the Ruhr we have with few exceptions beaten the social democrats. In many of these huge industrial towns the Communist gain amounted to 70 to 100 per cent.

Also in many other big towns we have topped the poll, as for instance in Berlin, where the Communist vote increased from 611,317 at the last Reichstag elections to 738,986, whilst the social democratic vote fell from 816,196 to 737,821. The Communist Party topped the poll in all working class districts in Berlin, before all in Wedding, Friedrichshain, Neukölln and Zentrum. It was only in the fashionable West End districts that the social democrats were able to poll a larger vote than the Communists. The more bourgeois the districts are the greater the advantage of the social democrats. Nothing can show more plainly than the election result in Berlin, that the social democracy has ceased to be the Party of the workers, and that it is rapidly becoming a bourgeois party. Its social-fascist ideology is the expression of the change in its class basis.

A detailed examination of the election result shows that our Party has made the greatest progress in those places in which it prepared and organised the fight of the workers in spite of all resistance and difficulties. This is the case without exception. This fact proves that unhesitating advocacy of our revolutionary principles and our revolutionary tactics guarantees the greatest advance to the Party.

The Party must more than ever become the leader of the proletariat and of the oppressed strata of the population. It must organise the economic struggles of the proletariat in the big economic crisis and under the hard blows of the employers' offensive. In order to fulfil these tasks better than hitherto, the Party must build up a real, organisational apparatus for its trade union work, must create in every factory a firmly organised group of the revolutionary trade union opposition, and convert the shops stewards and the red factory councils into fighting organs of the proletarian class.

The election struggle has further taught us that the arm of the Party is still too short in order to embrace all the revolutionary masses and in order to transform the revolutionary energy into a powerful striking force against capitalism. The Party must therefore carry out a large-scale recruiting work in order to double its membership. It must devote particular attention to winning young workers and the working women, who are acquiring ever increasing importance in the class struggle of the proletariat, which is now threatened by the offensive of the employers and the fascists, to set up a broad anti-fascist fighting front on the basis of the united front of all class-conscious workers. For this purpose it must especially conduct extensive work among the social democratic and Christian workers. More than hitherto it must work in the proletarian mass organisations in order to convert these into powerful weapons in the offensive front of the Communist Party.

The programme of the national and social emancipation of Germany, which was enthusiastically supported by all our brother parties abroad, played a great role in mobilising the masses in the election campaign. The workers of Germany have recognised that the Communist Party is the only party which knows a way out of the misery of the capitalist crisis and Young plan slavery, which if followed without hesitation and vacillation will bring to the German proletariat the support of the proletariat of other countries. The workers of all countries can draw from the election campaign in Germany the lesson, that the fight for the Soviet Power arouses the enthusiasm of the working masses and tremendously accelerates the Communist advance.

Telegram of Greeting from the E.C.C.I. to the C.C. of the C.P.G.

Moscow, 18th September 1930.

On the occasion of the election victory of the C.P.G. on 14th September the Executive Committee of the Communist International has sent the following telegram to the Central Committee of the Party:

"The Executive Committee of the Comintern sends its brotherly greetings to the C.P. of Germany, which in the Reichstag elections rallied over 4½ million proletarians round its flag and delivered a severe blow to social democracy. The victory of the C.P.G. is of the greater importance in view of the fact that it was won on the basis of a completely elaborated programme of proletarian revolution and under the slogan of the fight for a Soviet Germany. Your victory is the only real victory in this election, for it was achieved on the basis of the proletarian class struggle.

The great success of the fascists is a success of deception (achieved with the aid of radical phrases) of the masses who are turning away from the parties of the big bourgeoisie. The success of the Centre is only a temporary one, for it is based on the attempt to organise class collaboration, on denial of the class struggle. The C.P.G. must continue with all energy the fight against social democracy, which is still followed by considerable strata of the working class. The C.P.G. must completely expose the national socialists and the party of the Centre and fight to win over the workers who still follow them. It must increase the work among the unemployed, devote greater attention to work among the agricultural workers and fight indefatigably in order to win the majority of the working class in the factories and workshops.

The political crisis in Germany is ripening rapidly. The front of the classes is becoming more and more clear. The role of the C.P.G. is growing tremendously as the deciding factor in the class struggle. We cherish the firm conviction that the Party will concentrate its revolutionary proletarian forces upon the broadest development of the economic and political fight and organisationally consolidate the successes achieved.

Forward in the fight for Soviet Germany!"

Declaration of the Communist Fraction in the Silesian Diet against German and Polish Chauvinism.

The following declaration was submitted by the Communist Fraction, comprising both Poles and Germans, to the Silesian Diet.

Chauvinistic demonstrations of the League for the Defence of the Western Frontier recently took place in Katowitz, allegedly in reply to the nationalist speeches of Minister Treviranus. The Polish and German Communists of Upper Silesia submit their revolutionary standpoint in this matter to the German and Polish proletariat.

The chauvinistic agitation which has been recently kindled in the two countries, is closely connected with the profound capitalist crisis in Germany and Poland and the imperialist war preparations against the Soviet Union.

The bourgeoisie of all countries consider the overthrow of the workers' and peasants' rule in the Soviet Union as the decisive precondition for overcoming the capitalist crisis in Poland, the stronghold of imperialism against the Soviet Union.

The belligerent speeches of Treviranus mean nothing else but the demand for the satisfaction of the imperialist greed of Germany in order to include it in the anti-Soviet block. This chauvinistic agitation is nothing else but a manoeuvre of the new German imperialism.

In the German East provinces the greatest misery prevails. The purchasing power of the broad masses is declining as a result of unemployment, wage cuts and tax impositions. An agrarian crisis is spreading in the German East provinces, hitting hardest the small peasants and agricultural workers,

whilst the junkers and big landowners receive presents of millions of marks from the Brüning government.

The situation in Poland is in no way different. The inner contradictions of the capitalist system have led not only to an economic crisis but to complete political bankruptcy. Tremendous unemployment, high prices and tax impositions, and a declining purchasing power have thrown the million masses of the population into deepest misery.

The economic crisis of Polish capitalism has already developed into a crisis of the fascist dictatorship. The possibility of broad revolutionary movements is becoming more and more dangerous to the Polish bourgeoisie.

The Polish chauvinists, by replying to Treviranus' belligerent speeches with chauvinistic incitement, are only attempting to divert the attention of the masses from the revolutionary struggle. Thus the chauvinists in Katowitz demand, among other things, the expulsion of German proletarians working in Polish Upper Silesia. On the other hand, the social democrats and the Centre people in the German districts are demanding the expulsion of Polish workers.

We, Polish Communists from the Polish and German districts, call upon all toilers, to oppose unanimously the nationalist incitement on both sides of the frontier. Against the chauvinistic ravings of the militarists and of the bourgeois agents we proclaim the brotherly unity of the Polish and German workers in the struggle against the Polish and German capital and for the defence of the Soviet Union. Just as we, German Communists, are opposing in German-Upper-Silesia the expulsion of Polish workers, so we Polish Communists are fighting against the reprisals against the German workers in Polish Upper Silesia.

We, German Communists are fighting against Treviranus just as we Polish Communists fight against Pilsudski and his regime.

In the imperialist war Upper Silesia will become one of the most important bases from which an attack against the Soviet Union will be launched, and at the same time it will be the main workshop for the manufacture of war material.

Our common work will convert Upper Silesia into a stronghold for the defence of the only fatherland of the workers of the whole world. It will transform the imperialist war against the Soviet Union into a civil war against the Polish and German bourgeoisie.

We Communists do not recognise any annexation of territory against the will of the toilers. We Communists are fighting for the right of self-determination, but we declare, that a settlement of the question as to which country Upper Silesia should belong is only possible after capitalism has been overthrown in Poland and Germany and has been replaced by the Soviet Power in both countries.

We are forming the united front of the Polish and German workers for the defence of the Soviet Union and for the overthrow of the capitalist rule.

Recent Manoeuvres of the Filipino Misleaders.

H. G. (New York).

Emiliano Aguinaldo, who treated in his title as leader of the insurgent forces against American imperialism when Wall Street first landed in the Philippines, for a fat pension, is now coming to the United States to plead for "independence". This, indeed, is a new role for Aguinaldo. For many years Aguinaldo differed sharply with the petty-bourgeois politicians because they were too vociferous in asking for independence from the United States. Then, too, the old chronic bribe-taker supported the swashbuckling General Leonard Wood when he was Governor-General of the islands. Aguinaldo will accompany Manuel Quezon, speaker of the Philippine Senate. To all appearances these are strange bed-fellows. But the nationalist movement in the Philippines during the past five or six years has undergone fundamental changes. The Filipino bourgeois has now become the most vicious enemy of the demand for independence. Aguinaldo, who always stood for "cooperation" with American imperialism, has not moved toward the Filipino politicians of the stripe of Quezon, Osmeña, Gil and Osias. Rather, these misleaders, sensing the closer

connection of their class interests with American imperialism, have completely gone over to the camp of finance-capital and are now manoeuvring to betray the independence movement in the most convenient and thorough manner.

The Philippine question has assumed an important stage in American politics. It is closely intertwined with the war preparations, the tariff, and the struggle for new world markets and sources of raw materials.

At the London Naval Conference Stimson broached the question of the "neutralisation" of the Philippines. The proposition was sharply rejected by Japan who recognised in this manoeuvre a hypocritical argument to lessen the war preparations of Japanese imperialism, while American imperialism could strengthen its armaments. Meanwhile, Cavite and Guam, two important naval bases involving the war strategy of U.S. imperialism in the Pacific, are being "modernised" for war.

As colonial possessions of American capitalism, the Philippines have been given tariff-free entry into the American markets, mainly, of course, because American capitalism requires the raw materials produced in the islands. This has conflicted with the interests of the rich beet sugar corporations in the United States as well as the large dairy industries, who find that Filipino coconut oil competes with butter fat. Still, the still larger soap corporations require the cheap entry of coconut oil, an essential raw product.

Several American army generals have pointed out that at all costs the Philippines must be held as a point for penetration into the China, Manchuria, and even the Soviet Union. In 1918 it was from Manila, Philippines that troops were shipped to Archangel. With Wall Street's covetous eye still riveted on the Chinese Eastern Railway, the Philippines are the closest point of contact.

This was the situation early in 1930 when the United States Senate opened its **Hearings** to consider the question of the future status of the Philippines. The Filipino leaders who appeared before the Senate did not argue for independence. They proclaimed their loyalty to American imperialism. What they asked for was a "determination of the status of the islands", to facilitate the investment of American capitalism from which they could profit. Ludwell Denny, in his book "American Conquers Great Britain" aptly points out that the Filipino bourgeoisie desire large scale American investment above all else, provided they can share in the profits.

The Senate Hearings were dropped very abruptly on orders from Hoover and Stimson. Nor did the Filipino bourgeois politicians object. They work very smoothly with Hoover and his imperialist agents.

In fact, in order to give the Filipino masses a foretaste of what imperialism has in store for them, Hoover appointed Nicholas Roosevelt Vice-Governor. Roosevelt was an editor on the *New York Times*, and had made a long study of the British and Dutch colonial systems. He wrote several books in which he approved these systems enthusiastically and advised Wall Street to stop dallying with the Filipinos and give them a taste of a more blood and iron policy. "Keep their heads empty and their bellies full, and get them to work" was the gist of his book. American imperialism, he argued, under no circumstances could grant independence to the Philippines as this would disturb the equilibrium of the other colonial countries which were already in the throes of armed uprisings.

In the Philippines class lines are sharpening on the independence question. The Filipino bourgeois politicians have been able thus far to cover their betrayals with phrases and cautiously fighting for ultimate independence. But their base is being torn aside rapidly. The revolutionary working class and peasant organisations are increasing their mass influence. Repressive measures against them have already been taken by Dwight Davis, Governor-General, with the support of the Filipino bourgeoisie. These organisations and their leaders have been denied all mail rights, and their leaders are constantly hounded by the political police in the islands.

Aguinaldo, who ordered the assassination of Andreas Bonifacio nearly thirty years ago, because Bonifacio, a working class leader insisted on an unrelenting battle against American invaders, is now showing Wall Street that he is worthy of his hire. His trip to Washington with Quezon is an attempt to arouse the flagging interest of the masses in the hypocritical phrases of the Filipino misleaders.

Corruption Scandal and Ministerial Crisis in Austria.

By Guido Zamis (Vienna).

Herr Schuster, the Minister for Trade, who was regarded as the agent of Rothschild in the government, has handed in his resignation. This action is connected with the fierce attacks by the Vice-Chancellor Vaugoin on the present Chairman of the Federal Railways, Herr Banhaus, whereby confidential proceedings in the Ministerial Council have been revealed to the public by Herr Vaugoin.

While the Minister for Trade endeavoured to defend the chairman of the Federal Railways, Banhaus, against the accusations brought against him and sharply protested against Vaugoin's protégé, Herr Strafella of Graz, occupying a leading position on the Federal Railways, Vaugoin replied by making a sharp attack on Schuster. Almost all the newspapers speak of a general crisis of the government, as Schober is said to have expressed his solidarity with Schuster. Schober's organ, the "Wiener Neuesten Nachrichten", even threatens that if it should come to a crisis in the Cabinet, it will also involve the person of the Reich Chancellor. This would probably lead to serious financial complications which would find expression in the withdrawal of foreign capital, with the result that the stability of the currency might be affected. Owing to this article the "Wiener Neuesten Nachrichten" was confiscated by the Public Prosecutor and criminal proceedings commenced against the chief editor. The social democratic "Abend" has also been confiscated. The occasion for the confiscation of the "Abend" was an article dealing with the disastrous unemployment, and declaring that already one third of the unemployed are not receiving any unemployment benefit or other support, that is to say, tens of thousands of proletarians are doomed to starve. The background of this ministerial crisis is illuminated by the big libel action brought by Herr Strafella, the Manager of the Graz tramways, against the "Arbeiterzeitung", which action has just been concluded before the Vienna District Court.

When Herr Strafella, backed by the Vice Chancellor Vaugoin and Herr Rintelen, the governor of Styria, applied for the post of General Manager of the State Railways, the "Arbeiterzeitung" declared that he did this solely in order to obtain control of certain secret funds for political purposes. The trial ended in a verdict for the plaintiff, as the "Arbeiterzeitung" was unable to prove that Strafella had any connection with secret funds.

Much more important are the facts regarding the management of the railways by the former Chairman Herr Gunther, which were mentioned at the trial and which constitute striking example of the depredations committed by private capital under the guise of "commercialising" the state institutions.

In connection with the so-called restoration of Austrian finances the State Railways, which had a big deficit, were "commercialised", i. e., were converted into an independent economic body and handed over to the administration of private capitalists. This "commercialisation" was so carried out that, while there remained to the State all the liabilities, as for instance, the great number of pensions for old employees, the obligation to take up dear foreign loans for the purpose of further development, as well as a guarantee against any deficit on the current working of the railways, the newly formed company, "Oesterreichische Bundesbahnen", received the whole of the valuable railway property. The coal magnate Herr Gunther became chairman of the whole concern.

When he resigned last year, it was said of him, as he was not permitted according to the law to receive any salary, that he had fulfilled his office with unselfish, patriotic devotion. Like the big corruptionists Bosel in Vienna and Sklarek and Barmat in Berlin, he knew how to keep on very good terms with the social democrats.

A Committee of Investigation set up by the Ministerial Council elicited the following facts which throw an interesting light on the "unselfish, patriotic devotion" of Herr Gunther:

The Federal Railways had three secret banking accounts; one with the Post Office savings bank, into which the Austrian Travel Bureau paid and which was at the disposal of the General Secretariat of the Austrian Federal Railways; one with the Bodenkreditanstalt, into which paid sums representing price rebates in connection with coal deliveries, of which the chairman knew nothing and which account was in the hands of the General Manager; and then a "coal account" with the

firm of Kux, Bloch & Co., representing payments made by various coal contractors. Thus we have secret, more secret and a most secret accounts.

The first account is not of great importance. The second had payments amounting to 328,262 Austrian shillings, and the third even 480,020 shillings.

The payments into the accounts were made as follows: the coal firms granted the Federal Railways a price rebate, but the latter paid the full price on the basis of false invoices. The difference went into one of the before mentioned funds, which were kept secret, not only in order that the Head Government Accountancy Office should not be able to keep a check on their application, but, as was admitted in the report of the Committee of Investigation, "in order to be able to make special grants, which, in view of the large sums involved, should not come to the knowledge of the staff". That is to say, in order that the railway workers, who for the greater part earn only a 180 shillings a month, should not demand a few shillings increase. On the other hand, however, the very select Jockey club received 375,000 shillings. General Director **Maschat** received the sum of 80,000 shillings on the occasion of his resignation. What had become of a trifle of 26,000 shillings could not be definitely ascertained. Other directors and members of the Board received, 30,000, 20,000 or 10,000 shillings each. In addition, there were various other perquisites. When President Günther celebrated his sixtieth birthday he received a nice little present of 57,000 shillings.

It is interesting to note that the sum of 1,500 shillings was paid to a civil engineer, an alleged expert on electro-technics, in order that he might launch a press campaign against the electrification of the railways. The coal delivery firms paid sums into the various secret accounts only in order to prevent the electrification of the railways. And in fact, by means of such renumeration, proof was furnished that precisely in Austria, a country which has an abundance of water power, electrification of the railways would be unprofitable; it was therefore abandoned some years ago.

But the social democrats, who like to pose as fighters of corruption, also had a hand in this business. The social democratic trade union bureaucracy, which maintained close relations with Günther and his directors, induced the locomotive drivers to work overtime far in excess of the regulations. When, as a result of overwork of the staff, accidents became frequent, the railway management did nothing, as it was only interested in ruthlessly cutting down the staff. Later on the locomotive drivers demanded at least increased pay on account of extra work. At the negotiations it was finally agreed that the locomotive drivers union should receive in settlement of this claim the sum of 630,000 shillings for the erection of a convalescent home. The social democrats were fully aware that this sum represented the price paid them for their policy of class collaboration and for preventing any fight on the part of the railway workers.

Thus this action for libel exposed, in addition to many other acts of corruption, the "tips" with which big capital rewards the government officials and the social fascists who attempt to conceal its robbery of the toiling population.

THE BALKANS

Before the Overthrow of the Maniu Government in Rumania.

By M. Schmidt.

The foreign bourgeois press prophesied a short time ago that the return of King Carol would mean the triumph of law and order and the consolidation of the bourgeois regime in Rumania. During the three months since the adventurerist arrival of Carol in Rumania "the consolidated" regime has already beaten its own record in regard to arrests of workers and "pacifying" of the peasants who are being plunged into poverty by usurers and tax-gatherers. But even the cleverest heads of Rumanian fascism will scarcely see in these barbarous trophies a sign of the growing consolidation of bourgeois Rumania.

The inner situation of Rumania still remains exceedingly strained. The hopes of "gaining the confidence" of foreign

capital have not been fulfilled. Even Carol's scandalous popularity in America and England has been of no avail. The crisis is shaking the country and the foundation of the bourgeois parties by aggravating the contradiction within the leading cliques. A little while ago the English Commercial Attaché in Bucharest gave an annihilating characterisation of the regime and the economic situation in Rumania in his periodical economic report. The budget deficit has reached 5,000 million Lei. Current expenses are met by loans from the National Bank. The deficit of the railways alone amounts to a 1,000 million Lei. In order to make up the deficit on the railways, 9 million dollars had to be taken from the stabilisation loan. In the government offices and on the railways there are to be seen the signs of collapse. The military Attaché arrives at the conclusion that the mistrust of the foreign bankers in the solvency of Rumania is thoroughly justified. A proof of this lack of faith in a "consolidated" Rumanian regime is the failure of the negotiations for an agrarian loan recently conducted in Paris and in Berlin by representatives of the Maniu government. The disappointed National Zaranists thereupon put forward a project for a compulsory domestic loan, but they have not yet been able to decide on its carrying out as even a partial expropriation of the savings of the Kulaks, which are not deposited at the banks but hoarded at home in a stocking, would have very disagreeable results for the regime.

The situation of the peasantry, which even Rumanian Ministers paint in the blackest colours not only in the Rumanian but also in the foreign press, is exceedingly bad in spite of the good harvest this year. There is no market for wheat and maize. The harvest passes in the hands of the tax-gatherers and usurers for an old song. Rumanian statistics are compelled to admit that the indebtedness of the peasantry is increasing disastrously. At the Central Co-operative Bank alone the debts of the peasants amount to 5,500 million Lei. The debts are growing like an avalanche, thanks to the usurious interest, which normally is never less than 18 per cent, and often reaches 40 to 50 per cent. The poverty of the peasants is expressed in such a characteristic phenomenon as the depreciation of the value of the land. Four or five years ago a hectare of arable land cost on an average 70—80,000 Lei; today the price has fallen to 12—14,000 Lei. The disastrous fall in the value of land means at the same time an incredibly rapid proletarianisation of the Rumanian peasantry. The kulaks and the bankers are succeeding to possession of the land from which they have driven the peasants.

There is no doubt that the fascisation of the National Zaranist Party was accelerated by the general economic crisis. The summoning of Carol to the throne proved the bankruptcy of the National Zaranists in face of the economic crisis. Carol's coup failed to maintain the falling prestige of the Party among the ruling circles of the Rumanian bourgeoisie and military. The main supports of the National Zaranists, the kulaks, became shaky. Already two or three weeks after Carol's return the conviction began to gain ground among the leaders of the National Zaranists that Maniu will not be able to retain the reigns of government.

In August last, i. e. two months after Carol's return, the municipal elections were held in Bucharest. Only 30 per cent of the electors went to the poll; and in two districts the Liberals received just as many votes as the National Zaranists. The petty bourgeoisie is plainly expressing its disappointment with the National Zaranists. What ordinary voter is interested in the election, when policy is determined by the rival fascist cliques gathered round the king's court.

That which a few months ago was a sensation is now accepted without any special comment. The National Zaranists and Liberals, through French mediation, concluded an agreement—a sort of truce—in order to survey their new positions. Vintilă Brătianu, who obtained an audience of the king, resigned his position as chairman of the Liberal Party in order that his followers might without hindrance regroup their forces and carry on the fight for the defence of their monopolist position in Rumania. The same Liberals are considering the question of abandoning the boycott of Parliament, which was called forth by the National Zaranists sending their representatives to the Regency Council. The decisive factor is not Parliament, but the negotiations behind the scenes as to who shall take the place of Maniu who has compromised himself too much. Three weeks ago the opinion prevailed that Tătulescu, the Rumanian Ambassador in London, would be the successor of Maniu, as he had the reputation of being a "Non-Party" politi-

ian who was in close contact with the Liberals and maintained correct relations with the present government. But this did not come about as the parties taking part in the negotiations—the court, the national Zaranists and the Liberals—were unable to agree on the composition of the new government.

The Maniu government, compromised by its two years of office and incapable of serving the fascist regime and the Rumanian dynasty as a signboard, is approaching its end. The lines dividing the Liberals from the National Zaranists are disappearing so far as regards the administration of the country and the exploitation of the masses of the population. This also serves, among other things, to simplify the task of uniting the two rival groups of the Rumanian bourgeoisie.

The years of banishment have taught King Carol caution, and he is therefore chary of linking his fate with any of the fascist cliques. He is following the instructions of the French and promoting the union between the National Zaranists and Liberals and at the same time adopting measures for reducing the number of active generals, thereby removing the followers of Brătianu from the army. The press is calling for the dissolution of Parliament and the proclamation of the fascist dictatorship, maintaining that Carol's chances abroad are far higher than that of any Parliamentary Cabinet would be. As a matter of fact, any Rumanian government—either with or without a Parliament—would be a fascist government, and the going over to an open dictatorship reflects not so much the fight of the rival fascist cliques among themselves as the complete impossibility, in face of the increasing economic collapse of the country, to govern by "normal methods".

CHINA

The New Kuomintang Government in North China and the Advance of the Red Army in the South.

By Chie Hua.

While in the present situation of profound economic crisis China is facing complete bankruptcy, the political disruption, which already finds expression in the violent wars of the generals, is increasing to such an extent that already two counter-revolutionary governments are facing each other. Yen Si Shan, the Kuomintang general in North China, in alliance with the Northern generals Feng Yu Hsien and Chiang-Hsiu Liang and with the Kwangsi clique of Li Dsunsen, supported by the "reorganisationists of the Kuomintang" such as Wang-Chin-wei and his consorts, and with all the old Right Kuomintang, under the leadership of Hsie-ti, formed in Peiping on the 9th of September last a new government, also under the flag of the Kuomintang, as opposed to the Nanking government. Yen Si Shan has taken the post of President of the Council of State.

This action only serves to reveal the disintegration of the Kuomintang. It is true, in Nanking in 1927, when the counter-revolutionary Nanking government was formed and the militarists who a short while previously had been enemies of the Kuomintang one after the other changed their flag and now suddenly became "faithful comrades" in the Kuomintang, a great shout was raised over the "final victory" and the "union of China", but the masses of the people in China have been convinced of the contrary by these two years of uninterrupted wars of the generals. The beautiful dream of the "unity of China" is now completely destroyed and Chiang-Kai-shek's "wars for the unity of China" have resulted in two governments existing in China. How can the renegades of the C.P., the Right liquidators of the type of Chen-Du Hsia, who are blind to the facts or pretend to be blind, and even justify the war for the "union of China", now maintain their assertions as to the "relative stabilisation of the ruling power of the bourgeoisie"?

It is necessary to subject to closer examination the composition of the inner forces of the Northern block. Yen Si-Shan's spheres of power are the provinces of Shansi and Chihli, while Peiping, the capital town of North China is also in his hands. It goes without saying that the one whose

military position is the strongest, also takes over the political and military leadership. In order to defend the provinces of Shansi and Honan against Chiang-Kai-shek, Feng Yu Hsien has to conclude an alliance with his neighbour Yen Si-Shan, for without him he cannot secure his rear. Chang Hsueh-liang, the governor of Manchuria, who on account of the geographical situation of his sphere of power has to offer his hand to Yen and Feng who are opposed to Chiang Kai-shek, and who, in addition, is still the strongest support of Japanese imperialism in China, is a secret encourager of the anti-Nanking power. Behind his apparent neutrality there is concealed his support of Yen and Feng. It is true, he is not openly taking part in the anti-Nanking action, but as a matter of fact he secretly offered military aid to Feng and Yen. When, in August last Yen's troops were driven out of Tsinan, the capital of Shantung, by Chiang-Kai-shek, Chang-Hsueh-liang immediately endeavoured to come to his aid by sending his troops to Peiping. The mutiny of Chang-Hsueh-liang's troops, which was planned to take place in August, but was liquidated by him beforehand, and was instigated by Chiang-kai-shek, shows still more clearly on whose side Chang Hsueh-liang stands.

The Kwangsi clique and the general of the "Reorganisationists", Chang-Fa-kwei, who are maintaining their power in Kwangsi and are not in a position to extend it to Kwantung, have also had to line up in the front against Chiang-Kai-shek. Wang-Chin-wei, who had maintained closest connection with the English MacDonald government, has, under their instructions and supported by his military satellite Chang-Fa-kwei, created the block with the Kwangsi clique of Li-Dsun-sen, in the hope of capturing Kwantung as a basis of power. The failure of this plan caused him to join the Northern generals. Even the old Right wing of the Kuomintang, the friends of Japanese imperialism—at one time the greatest opponents of Wang Chin-wei,—have been drawn into the Northern government as the flag-bearer of the Kuomintang.

One can clearly see from the inner composition of the Peiping government and the people behind it that it is under the protection of Japanese and English imperialism; but the leadership is for the greater part in the hands of Japanese imperialism. As a result of the increasing antagonism of interests of the three rival big Powers, America, England and Japan, there long existed the possibility of the rise of three different governments: one in Nanking representing American interests, one in Peiping representing Japanese interests, and one in Canton representing English interests. Owing to the fact that the Kwangsi group and the "Reorganisationists" in spite of united action, were unable to make an advance on Canton, this Anglo-Japanese fighting block against America, formed out of necessity, finds its expression in the motley Northern government.

Now, when two governments are facing each other, Chiang-Kai-shek will increase his cry for the overthrow of Peiping and the union of China, while Yen will again announce that "the final defeat of the treacherous Chiang-Kai-shek is to be expected in the next month or so". But the facts will prove the contrary, for the governments will face each other in the fight just as the imperialists. As a result of the formation of the Northern government, the militarists can attempt to reduce their financial difficulties by negotiating for loans with the imperialists under the name of the government and by customs revenues. As the financing of war operations will now be rendered easier, the war of the generals will be prolonged and intensified. An armistice will not last for long, because, on the one hand, the generals on both sides desire constantly to extend their sphere of power in order to increase their income and, on the other hand, the demand of the imperialists for markets will further intensify the fight for spheres of power.

In the event of the Peiping government suffering a military defeat, Japanese imperialism would not tolerate the power of Chiang-Kai-shek, who represents American imperialism, over North China. It would rather, by direct military force, enforce a temporary armistice and in the meantime pile up the armed forces against Chiang-Kai-shek. A victory of the Peiping government, on the other hand, would not render possible the establishment of a central government of Yen Si-Shan over the whole of China. For American imperialism would not allow its Japanese rival to have the

hegemony, nor would English imperialism put up with the Northern government, which mainly represents Japanese imperialism. At the same time the large landowners and the bourgeoisie of South China would also oppose the Northern government.

The Peiping block itself, which was formed only for the purpose of the united fighting front against the Nanking government, cannot be a firm alliance. The "Reorganisationists", who represent English interests, will, on the one hand, not always remain in alliance with Japanese imperialism, while on the other hand, those leaders who adhere to the standpoint of national reformism, will not collaborate for long with the Northern generals.

The irreconcilable antagonisms between the different governments and the inevitable contradictions among the various cliques and tendencies within the different governments are a permanent cause of wars of the generals, which are becoming ever more complicated and fierce. The war between the militarists and the two governments is the expression of the bankruptcy of all forms of the rule of the bourgeoisie up till now and the disintegration of the ruling class.

The millions of workers and peasants who, owing to the economic and political confusion, are more and more exposed to hunger, unemployment, starvation wages and extortionate taxation, and the soldiers, who are not receiving any pay and are used as cannon fodder, all see only one way out of the profound misery—the Soviet revolution. The agrarian revolution in the open country is flaring up; the town workers are rising against their exploiters. The Red army is advancing from the villages to the big towns and concentrating its forces in the Yangtse valley. The besieging of the harbour towns of Shasi and Hukow on the Yangtse and the occupation of the industrial town of Poyang in Kiangsi, witness to the advance of the Red Army. The signal coming from the village of a fresh upsurge of the revolution, is arousing the workers in the industrial centres, is reaching the whole of China and announcing the rising wave of the Chinese revolution.

HANDS OFF THE SOVIET UNION

New Attack upon the Chinese-Eastern Railway.

Moscow, 21st September 1930.

Reports from Harbin state that on the 12th September a band of armed white-guardists occupied the station of Triašin on the western line of the Chinese Eastern railway. The band was led by the notorious white-guardist, major Sarayev. The white-guardists demanded of the Chinese commander that the member of the band who had been arrested by the Chinese authorities should be released, and threatened to derail the passenger train in the event of their demand not being complied with.

The fact that the white-guardist bands could with impunity occupy a station on the Chinese Eastern railway and threaten to interrupt traffic, is a fresh proof that the Chinese authorities do not intend to and are incapable of conducting the fight against the white-guardist bands.

On the 18th of September it was further reported from Harbin that in Manchuria cases have been increasing of late in which white-guardists have committed every kind of violent act against Soviet citizens residing there, without the Chinese police interfering in any way. On the contrary, the Chinese authorities, without any cause whatever, carried out house searches and arrested Soviet citizens, in which actions the white guardists in the service of the Chinese police played a prominent part.

After white-guardists had held up a train on the Chinese Eastern railway for nine hours the management of the Chinese Eastern Railway declares that it was only after long delay that the Chinese authorities sent troops to the spot where the white-guardists occupied the track. After a special train had been placed ready to convey the troops, four hours passed before the train departed.

The increasingly frequent attacks by white-guardists on

the Western section of the Chinese Eastern Railway are connected with the presence in Harbin of the white-guardist general Dietrich, who is engaged in forming fresh bands. On the 16th September there was held in Harbin, under the chairmanship of Dietrich, a meeting of all the White-Russian emigrant groups. "Harbin Nitzi-Nitzi", the Japanese organ in Harbin, writes as follows regarding the white guardist raids:

"Partisans occupied a part of the Western section of the railway, which is of international importance, and committed robbery in order to supply themselves with stores for the winter. Responsibility for the protection of the railway lies completely with the Chinese authorities, to whom the Chinese Eastern Railway pays large sums for the protection of the line. Unfortunately, the Chinese authorities, in spite of the large sums and military forces they have at their disposal, are unable to carry out this task. The Chinese authorities must guarantee the undisturbed traffic on the Chinese Eastern Railway."

The General Consul of the Soviet Union at Harbin, Comrade Melnikov, sent a Note to the Chinese authorities in which he declared that the anti-Soviet activity of the white-guardist organisations remains unpunished. The white-guardists in the service of the Chinese police, many of whom are also in the service of the Chinese government, had a considerable share in the raids. An active role is also played by the white-guardist newspaper appearing in Manchuria, which support the white guardist bands. Comrade Melnikov states that the Chabarovsky protocol has not been fulfilled by the Chinese; he calls attention to the seriousness of the situation and demands immediate and energetic measures in order to carry out the Chabarovsky protocol and to liquidate the activities of the white-guardists.

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The "Pravda" writes:

The white-guardists, as usual, express the spirit of their imperialist masters. In Paris, the white-guardist emigrants held a parade at the grave of the unknown warrior; in Manchuria they follow the directions of their foreign pay masters and of those circles of the Chinese administration who were the immediate organisers of the adventure in connection with the Chinese Eastern Railway last year. In the frontier districts, bands are organised which openly prepare armed raids on Soviet territory. They wait for a favourable moment for large operations, terrorise the population by robbery and murder, make raids on stations and portions of the track and attempt to prevent regular traffic on the railway. In Harbin, General Dietrich has been appointed commander-in-chief of the military operations against the Soviet Union. Innumerable white-guardist organisations are openly engaged in organising and equipping such bands.

The Russian white-guardists in the service of the Chinese police have especially of late increased the acts of lawlessness against Soviet citizens in Manchuria; acts of provocation, such as the publication of forged, alleged Communist leaflets in Harbin calling for a strike on the Chinese Eastern Railway, are becoming more frequent.

This contemptible provocation reveals the meaning and purpose of the white-guardist activity in Manchuria. The agents of the imperialists who are interested in destroying the normal and good neighbourly relations between the Soviet Union and China and wish to disorganise the work of the Chinese Eastern Railway, do not reckon so much upon the success of their military adventure; they are rather endeavouring to create a situation which will prevent friendly co-operation on the railway and give rise to a fresh conflict. Their undermining work, which they carry on with impunity, constitutes a real danger both to the relations between the Soviet Union and Mukden and to peace in the Far East in general. It is perfectly obvious that the Mukden authorities are doing practically nothing against the white-guardists. The role of the white-guardists in preparing and carrying out the seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway is sufficiently well known. This adventure ended very badly for those who embarked on it. It is hard to believe that the Chinese authorities desire a repetition of such an experiment. The protection and indulgence which they grant to the white-guardists, however, threatens to create a situation in which co-operation on the Chinese Eastern Railway will be no longer possible. This will only benefit the "third" parties

which are endeavouring to incite the Soviet Union and China against each other.

The Soviet-Chinese conflict last year was liquidated by the signing of the Chabarovsky Protocol. Under paragraph 4 of this protocol the Chinese authorities are directly and unequivocally pledged to disarm the white-guardist bands and to expel from the country their organisers and leaders. That which is happening on the Western line of the railway proves that this pledge is not being carried out. It is perfectly clear that the Soviet Union cannot put up with this state of affairs. The protest and the demands of the Soviet Consul at Harbin are clear. Either the Mukden authorities immediately adopt measures against the white-guardists, or the workers of the Soviet Union will know that the Chinese authorities cannot or will not secure the minimum preconditions for the maintenance and development of good neighbourly and friendly relations between the two countries.

IN THE SOVIET UNION

Repulse of a Counter-Revolutionary Attack on the Food Supply in the Soviet Union.

Moscow, 22nd September 1930.

The counter-revolutionary organisation brought to light by the State Political Administration had set itself the aim, by sabotage activity in the sphere of supplying the population with meat, fish, tinned-food and vegetables, to create a food shortage in the country and thereby to arouse the discontent of the broad masses with a view to bringing about the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Their sabotage extended consequently to the apparatus of the Commissariat of Trade. The leader of this counter-revolutionary sabotage organisation was Professor Ryansanzev, a former big landowner and major-general, and Karatgin, who before the war was chief editor of the leading paper of the Russian bourgeoisie, the "Commercial Industrial News". The members of the counter-revolutionary organisation were for the most part nobles, former officers in the Tsarist army, fish-traders, factory owners and members of the Cadet Party and of the Mensheviks. This organisation had close relations with the white-guardist emigrés and foreign capitalists, from whom they received money and instructions. This organisation, which is a branch of the sabotage organisation led by Kondratjev and Gromann, is now completely brought to light. The Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissaries of the Soviet Union have handed over the matter to a collegium of the State Political Administration for examination.

During the course of his examination the leader of the counter-revolutionary organisation, Professor Ryansanzev declared: My political conviction caused me to fight against the Soviet Power. I wished to prove that the proletariat is incapable of restoring and developing the economic life of the country. I could only do this with the aid of counter-revolutionary organisations which paralysed all measures aimed at developing the cold-storage and meat industry, in order to deprive the land of meat and call forth a food shortage and with it the possibility of changing the existing government in the sense of my political convictions, i. e. to prepare the way for the setting up of a bourgeois-democratic Republic. I arrived at the conviction that the establishment of a bourgeois-democratic Republic is possible only with the support of the capitalist States, which should invest capital in our country, as the native bourgeoisie is enfeebled and defeated. I believed that England in particular would play a great part in this. In 1924 there arrived in Moscow the representatives of the big English firm, Union Cold storage, which before the war possessed its own refrigerators in Russia and which now wanted a concession to set up a fish-curing works. Among the representatives of this firm there was a Mr. Fotherhill, whom I knew before the war. Fotherhill proposed to me that I should found a counter-revolutionary sabotage organisation which would destroy the meat and cold-storage industries and fight against the Soviet Power. For this purpose he offered me as a commencement £ 10,000. I accepted his offer and commenced to found a sabotage organisation, in which I was helped by Drosdow, the former representative of the firm in Tsarist

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The Soviet Union, with the present government. But—capitalism, against each other, contact with the Liberals and imperialism, the signing of the Chabarovsk Protocol in the negotiations of this protocol the Chinese authorities were unable to fulfil their obligations. They were unable to disarm the white-guardist bands and to expel from the country their organisers and leaders. That which is happening on the Western line of the railway proves that this pledge is not being carried out. It is perfectly clear that the Soviet Union cannot put up with this state of affairs. The protest and the demands of the Soviet Consul at Harbin are clear. Either the Mukden authorities immediately adopt measures against the white-guardists, or the workers of the Soviet Union will know that the Chinese authorities cannot or will not secure the minimum preconditions for the maintenance and development of good neighbourly and friendly relations between the two countries.

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Russia. Drosdow was at that time engaged in the Commissariat for Agriculture, where he likewise founded a sabotage organisation. Among the chief persons in this sabotage organisation were Estrin, Levandowski and Denissov, whose task it was to obtain new members in the Trade Commissariat and in the State Planning Commission as well as in the Centrosoyus and other organisations.

Karatgin stated: he joined the Ryasanzev group along with other experts in order, by hampering the activity of the cold-storage industries in the Soviet-Union, to demonstrate the necessity of having recourse to foreign capital. Ryasanzev paid him 2,500 roubel for his activity. Karatgin further stated that in the field of agriculture a systematic and deliberate sabotage activity was carried on by the counter-revolutionary organisation, and that this organisation had among its members a number of prominent experts who were drawn together by their common anti-Soviet and anti-Communist ideology. The leaders of this organisation were professors Kondratiev, Chayanov, Doyarenko, Oganowski and Makarov, all of whom worked in the agricultural commissariat. The sabotage organisation in agriculture consisted of different groups which had relations with the various State institutions in agriculture, and were thereby able to carry on their pernicious activity. Such a group was also set up in the Supreme Economic Council. In addition to Karatgin, there belonged to it Sokolovski, Odnoposow, Kafenhaus, Oganowski, Wishnevki and Lossitki. Karatgin further stated: we were all united by disbelief in the reconstruction of economy by the Soviet Power, by criticism of the tempo decided on, in the sense that it could not be attained, by denial of the utility of collectivising the land, the support of individual farming and in the first place the kulak, the necessity of maintaining private capital in our country in opposition to the production alliance with the peasantry. On these topics there took place frequent discussions among us which showed our unanimity. Our group was connected with the leaders of the sabotage organisation in the sphere of agriculture. The aim and task of the sabotage organisation was an all-round retardation of socialist construction of agriculture, which in turn was to result in slowing down the pace of industrialisation.

THE WHITE TERROR

Protest Against the Mass Butchery of Workers and Peasants in China.

(Appeal issued by the Pan-Pacific T. U. Secretariat to the Workers of the Pacific and to the Workers of the World).

In the first two days after the butchers of the Nanking Kuomintang Government reoccupied the City of Changsha which had been captured by the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Red Army in July, more than **Three Thousand Workers** were decapitated and shot in Changsha. The counter-revolutionary Kuomintang officially reports dozens of decapitations daily in the cities of Wuhan, Nanchang, Kiukiang, Nanking and Canton. The streets and highways in and around these cities are literally soaked with the blood of workers and peasants who were in the least suspected of having sympathised with the Red Armies and with the struggle for the establishment of the Soviet Power in China.

Workers of Japan, Britain, France and USA!

Dozens of warships and gunboats of the imperialist powers were engaged for whole days and nights in bombarding the City of Changsha when it was occupied by the Red Army. British and Japanese Marines then helped the Kuomintang militarist butchers hound out the best and most active workers of the city for mass decapitation. The press openly reports this, and the imperialist brigands join the Nanking butchers in their shouts of bloody triumph.

While the various militarist cliques of the Chinese counter-revolution are fighting each other in the North and South, millions of peasants are rising up in the provinces of Central and Southern China, under the leadership of the CP. of China, in an organised effort to liberate themselves from the inhuman

oppression they are suffering from the foreign imperialists and the native bloodsuckers, landowners, militarists and gentry. Twenty Red Armies with nearly 200,000 soldiers, are now occupying dozens of districts in Central and South China, and are fast approaching and occupying such important centres as Changsha, Nanchang, Kiukiang, while Nanking, the capital of the Kuomintang counter-revolution, and the very important industrial and commercial centre on the Yangtse River, the city of **Wuhan** are in panic of imminent occupation by the Workers' & Peasants' Red Armies. In the cities, the strike wave is spreading, and the workers are fast being mobilised for organised and active support of the peasant movement and of the Red Armies, in the great struggle for Peace, Land and Freedom and for a Soviet China. The First Conference of Soviet Districts of China took place in May, and there is a campaign now on for the convening of the **First All-China Soviet Congress**. In several districts, Workers' and Peasants' Soviets are actually functioning, the power of the feudal landowners the militarists and the gentry has been done away with, the eight hour day promulgated, equal rights for women established, and the power of the workers and peasants established. This movement is rapidly spreading, and as it threatens to swamp the bloody Kuomintang regime, an open alliance and united front of the imperialists with the mass butchers of Nanking has already been affected. As a result of this thousands of the best sons of the heroic Chinese proletariat are being decapitated and their heads exhibited in the public places of Hankow, Changsha, Canton, etc. British, Japanese and French gunboats are continuously engaged all along the Yangtse River in actual battles against the Red Armies, while in the cities the imperialist police and marines are working hand in hand with the Chinese police in hounding out revolutionary workers and sympathisers and handing them over by hundreds to the Kuomintang slaughterers for execution.

Workers of Britain, Japan, France, U. S. A. and of the whole world! Organise immediately demonstrations of protest and Committees of Action of "Hands off the Chinese Revolution" and of "Support to Soviet China". Prevent the sending of troops and armaments for the imperialists in China and for the Chinese counter-revolution. Intensify your work among the soldiers and marines of your respective imperialist countries. Organise a **Joint International Day of Protest** against Imperialist Intervention in China, against the bloody White Terror of the Kuomintang, and in support of the Workers' Soviets in China. All truly working class organisations in the countries of the Pacific and in the imperialist countries, the trade unions as well as political organisations must take immediate steps to organise this Protest Movement and Demonstrations. There is no time to be lost, for the streets are running with the blood of your Chinese fellow workers.

Down with the Counter-revolutionary Kuomintang!

Away with all the imperialists from China!

Defend the Workers' & Peasants Soviets of China!

Down with the White Terror of the Kuomintang and the imperialists in China!

New Protest against the Arrest of Aladar Tamas.

Aladar Tamas, the revolutionary Hungarian writer, has been kept in prison for a long time by the Hungarian government. A number of German writers and artists have sent the following protest to the Hungarian government:

"Aladar Tamas is still being kept in prison. The under-signed German writers and artists join in the protest declarations already made and demand the immediate release of our colleague Aladar Tamas and his comrades who share his views.

We free intellectuals protest against fighters for justice and liberty being silenced in Hungary. We learn with disgust of the cruel persecution of our colleagues. We shall again and again raise our voice against it.

Liberty for our colleague Aladar Tamas and his comrades!

Ilso Berend-Groa, stage-manager; Gertrud Eysoldt, actress; Fritz G'en's'h'o'w, actor at the State theatre; Alexander Granach, actor at the State Theatre; Olga Halpern, writer; Dr. Kurt Kersten, writer; Kurt Klaiber, writer; Bertha Lask, writer; Heinrich Mann, writer; Otto Nagel, painter; Ludwig Renn, writer; Renée Stobrava, actress; Herwarth Walden, writer."

Upton Sinclair has sent a telegram to the Hungarian government in which he sharply protests against the arrest of Aladar Tamas.

AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

Yugoslavia Rattling the Sabre.

By S. Stepnjak.

The Serbian bourgeoisie has spent considerable means and exerted great efforts in order to bring the Serbian war-machine up to its present level and convert it into a reliable support in the fight against the masses of workers, peasants and oppressed nationalities, to render the army capable of realising the long cherished desire of the Pan-Serbians to obtain access to the Aegean Sea and to dominate the whole of the Adriatic, and to secure for Yugoslavia an appropriate position in the event of an imperialist war against the Soviet Union.

The first act of the dictatorship was to purge the army, to remove all the "uncertain" generals and officers. It then proceeded to set up a new Supreme Command, consisting entirely of Serbians; the number of regiments was increased, new arsenals and barracks were built, and new and large orders were placed for aircraft, tanks and munitions.

But along with the technical perfection of the army the dictatorship increased the ideological preparation for war. The whole of the state apparatus was used for this purpose. All the cultural and sport organisations were converted into appendages of the barracks. In the schools, from the lowest to the highest educational institutions, the entire curriculum is permeated with the spirit of chauvinism and militarism. The best illustration of present-day Yugoslavia is furnished by the new "Constitution" and the Military Decree supplementing it, which was published on 7th July last and which represents nothing more nor less than a new strategical plan containing the following main points:

1. For the purpose of defending the country all forces of the State will be set in motion;

2. in order to employ fully and rationally, already during peace time, all forces and means, all requisite measures shall be undertaken for mobilising the population in case of necessity;

3. the mobilisation extends to all naval and military forces, transport and traffic, finances, to agriculture and labour power;

4. for the purpose of working out the plan for organising the forces and means of the country and for control of carrying out of same, a Council of Defence will be formed;

5. all Ministers as well as the head of the General Staff will belong to the Council of Defence;

6. the Council of Defence will be provided with the most far-reaching powers.

In accordance with the Decree of 7th July, the Council of Defence proceeded to make increased war-preparations and intends, in the event of war, to mobilise not only the men, but also the women in order thereby to bring the strength of the Yugoslavian army, which in peace time numbers 95,000 men, up to two million.

But the new "Constitution" and the supplemental Decree contain a further point which will not be found in the military code of any other country: the mobilisation and declaration of war shall be formally decided by only three persons—the Prime Minister, the Minister for War and the King, but in actual fact by the King alone. The King alone has the right to determine the time at which the country is involved in war.

The military articles which have been appearing in the newspapers with increasing frequency of late and the declara-

tions of various militarists are, under the influence of France, directed against both Italy and the Soviet Union.

The dependence of the country upon the western imperialist Powers, upon London, and before all on Paris (which supplies the Serbian army with the necessary finances and weapons), on the one hand, and the intensification of the economic crisis on the other, the increased export of grain and timber from the Soviet Union, which competes with Yugoslavian exports, the radicalisation of the working masses etc., compel Belgrade more and more emphatically to hammer home to the soldiers and the officers corps that not Rome, but Moscow is the chief enemy of Yugoslavia. On the occasion of every new loan and every order placed abroad for war material Yugoslavia has to give fresh pledges regarding its participation in the anti-Soviet front. Thus, for instance, in 1927 Yugoslavia floated a loan of 50 million pounds, which was subscribed to by French and English capitalists. But only two millions was actually paid over; the loan agreement fell through when it was learned in London and Paris that a considerable part of the loan was to be used for the construction of strategic railways to Albania and to the Adriatic Sea. The imperialists once again reminded their vassals in Belgrade that in regard to Italy they must confine themselves to defensive measures and in the meantime "to await serious events of an international character".

Like all capitalist armies, however, the Yugoslavian army has one great weakness: the overwhelming majority of the population from which it draws its recruits consists of workers, working peasants and members of oppressed national minorities, who are suffering from unemployment, hunger and the police regime which is continually increasing in brutality. The masses are not interested in a war with Italy: the imposing parades and military festivals are not for them; they are against any war with Russia and at the same time they are seized with growing indignation against their own government.

THE PEASANT MOVEMENT

The Czechoslovakian Hop-Growers Demonstrate.

By L. Freund (Prague).

The international agricultural crisis which weighs so heavily upon the poor peasants is creating particular havoc in the hop-growing industry of Czechoslovakia. Hop prices, which in the year 1925/26 soared tremendously and caused the area under hop cultivation to be greatly extended, have in the meantime experienced a disastrous drop.

This tremendous price drop has placed the small hop-growers in a desperate situation, whilst at the same time the big hop-growing peasants have reduced the wages of the hop-pickers to an unheard-of low level. Whilst in former years a hop-picker received the already miserable pay of 2 to 2.20 Czechish crowns for a quarter, this year he receives only one to 1.20 Czechish crowns for the same quantity.

In addition to the hop-pickers the small hop-growing peasants are in a particularly terrible situation. Whilst the costs of production amount to 500 to 900 crowns per hundredweight (the costs of production are of course considerably greater for the small peasants than for the large landowning farmers who work with tractors), this year a hundredweight of hops fetches only 400 to 500 crowns.

It is quite understandable that in such a situation the small hop-growing peasants of Czechoslovakia are in a state of great indignation, which is further increased by the fact that the big capitalist hop-dealers in Saaz are forcing down the price. In these circumstances the Farmers' League, the organisation of the German agrarians, deemed it advisable to provide a safety valve for the pent up indignation by calling a meeting of the hop-growing peasants on Sunday 14th September at Saaz, which was attended by 4,000 hop-growers from Saaz, Podersam, Jechnic, Laun, Rakonitz and Postelberg.

From the meeting and the demonstrations which followed it, however, it is to be seen that the small hop-growers are

already exceedingly dissatisfied with the big agrarian leadership. This was to be seen already at the meeting when the big agrarians proposed that every hop-grower should reduce the area cultivated by him by 40 per cent. The leaflets issued by our small peasants' union, and which were distributed by our comrades among the small peasants attending the meeting, were read with the keenest interest. The police of course did not fail to make use of the opportunity to arrest one of our comrades on a charge of stirring up the peasants.

The indignation of the peasants was, however, still more plainly shown at the demonstration procession which was formed after the meeting. Contrary to the will of the agrarian leaders, the small hop-growers marched to the houses of some of the big hop-dealers in Saaz and broke the windows. The police were quite powerless in face of the indignant peasants.

It will be the task of the Communist Party to make plain to the small hop-growing peasants that they can obtain the measures which will really help them only by fighting in alliance with the revolutionary workers against the agrarians and the capitalist government.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

"Pilsudski's Misdeeds" and the II. International.

By K. Leski (Warsaw).

The Zörgiebel social democrats in Germany are raising a cry of murder over Pilsudski's regime in Poland. The Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of France protests against "the misdeeds of the fascist Pilsudski". The social democratic party of Holland expressed itself in the same sense at its last Party Congress. The II. International calls upon the workers of all countries to rally in defence of democracy and against the "shameful deeds of the Pilsudski government". What new crime has the dictator Pilsudski committed that the whole camp of international social fascism raises a unanimous outcry?

Right from the beginning the governments of the fascist dictator Pilsudski have always been governments of the bullet, the bayonet and the gallows. But the leaders of the P.P.S. and the whole camp of the II. International did not pillory Pilsudski's bloody regime. For Pilsudski's blows were aimed and are still aimed with ever increasing savagery against the revolutionary movement of the working and peasant masses marching under the flag of Communism, so hated by the social fascists.

The outcry is now first raised when Pilsudski (who wants to rig the elections so that he will obtain an open fascist majority in the new Sejm), has imprisoned some former P.P.S. deputies and a dozen other leaders of the Centre-Left in order to divert the hatred of the masses from himself to the deputies whom he characterised as "blockheads" and "thieves".

It is only now that the II. International stigmatises the Pilsudski terror. It records with the greatest indignation that "the government (Pilsudski's) has carried out a coup unprecedented in Parliamentary history". The same II. International did not find it a crime when Pilsudski, after dissolving the Sejm, arrested the deputies Dvortchanin, Kryntchuk, Havryluk, Wolyniec and Seniuk and the senator Chintchyn. All these were elected by the revolutionary masses of West White Russia and Western Ukraine. It was also not a crime against Parliamentarism when Pilsudski's armed police forced their way into the Sejm in order to massacre the deputies of the revolutionary workers' and peasants' block. Nor was there cause for protest when he refused to release from prison the deputy Spitzberg, who had been elected by the revolutionary workers of Lodz; condemned to a severe term of imprisonment the deputy Baczynski and caused the "immune" deputy Zarski to be arrested. They were only Communists!

The protest of the II. International was published under the title: "For a free Poland!" But for what sort of a "free Poland" have the leaders of the P.P.S., of the Wyzwolenie and of the Piast, who are now in prison, fought? For a Poland of the great landowners and of the capitalists; for "freedom"

to exploit the workers and peasants; for "freedom" to oppress the nationalities delivered over to Poland. The first bourgeois government of independent Poland, in which the leaders of the P.P.S. and of the Wyzwolenie sat, was at the same time the first government to bloody terror. The P.P.S. leader Barlicki, who is now accused under article 100 of the Tsarist penal code, was Deputy Minister of the Interior in that government which issued a decree, to which his signature was given, reintroducing in "liberated" Poland, the Tsarist penal Code, i. e. that same article 100 under which the Communists Engel, Hilner, Kniewski and Rutkowsk were condemned to death and executed.

At the head of the government which bloodily suppressed the revolutionary workers and peasants at the time of the Polish advance on Kiev, there stood the leader of the present Centre-Left P.P.S. Daszinski and Witos, the present arrested leader of the peasant party, Piast. In the year 1923, when he was Prime Minister, the same Witos, along with the likewise arrested Piast leader Klernik, bloodily suppressed the revolt of the workers and peasants in Cracow. These are fighters for a "free" Poland!

By means of their own governments, by participating in the bourgeois governments, by their support of Pilsudski and their continual fight against the workers' and peasants' masses, the leaders of the P.P.S., the imprisonment of whom the II. International regards as a blow against "Polish democracy", prepared the way for the victory of fascism in Poland.

"The unrestrained power of Polish militarism means the violation of the right to live of the national minorities in Poland; it means a dangerous sharpening of the relations of Poland with its neighbour States", declares the appeal of the II. International. What, however, do the facts prove?

The leaders of the Centre-Left are undisguised chauvinists and imperialists. There is no difference between them and Pilsudski. In the year 1919 the "People's government" of the P.P.S. and of the Wyzwolenie sent the Polish army against the Ukrainian masses who fought for Lemberg and their national emancipation. The same government began the offensive against Soviet White Russia and Lithuania. Thugutt, the Wyzwolenie leader, was the author of the language law which aimed at denationalising the Ukrainians and White Russians. In the present collision between German and Polish imperialism the leader of the Centre-Left form a national front with the Pilsudski camp and adopt joint chauvinistic resolutions in the common demonstrations in Posen, Bydgoszcz etc.

The war against the Soviet Union was commenced by the P.P.S.-Wyzwolenie government on the order of Pilsudski. The government of "national defence" in 1920 was headed by Daszinski and Witos, and at the same time Barlicki was the "soul" of the Council of National Defence. The Centre-Left, by granting Pilsudski armament credits, by fighting against the Communists, by inciting the working masses against the Soviet Union, is aiding Pilsudski in his preparations for a new "expedition against Kiev".

At a demonstration in Warsaw summoned by the Centre-Left on the 14th of September under the slogan "fight against the dictatorship", the P.P.S. Senator Limanowski described Pilsudski as "the greatest genius in Poland". All the efforts of the leaders of the Centre-Left aim at holding back the masses from the revolutionary fight. The demonstration which ended with the bloody intervention of the police after the meeting of the Centre-Left in Warsaw, took place against the will of the President of the meeting, who, as the central organ of the P.P.S. "Robotnik" writes, called upon all present to disperse and go home quietly. As a protest against the police massacre the workers in Warsaw carried out a one-day political strike—again against the will of the P.P.S. leaders.

In their election Manifesto the Centre-Left describe themselves as the "dam against Communism". But whoever in Poland is against Communism is for Pilsudski, for Communism is the only force which is fighting against the fascist dictatorship. The bourgeois press of every shade is also forced to admit that the political strike on the 15th of September in Warsaw, the first political strike since many years, was successful only in those factories and works in which the Communists possess decisive influence. The participation of the P.P.S. workers in this political strike shows, however, that the P.P.S. leaders are more and more losing credit in the ranks of the proletariat. The appeal of the II. International will not succeed in restoring this credit.

In the R.I.L.U.

The V. Congress of the R.I.L.U. and its International Importance

By F. Emrich (Berlin).

The V. Congress of the R.I.L.U. was held in a period of rapid development of the crisis of capitalist society. Whilst the IV. Congress predicted the approaching wave of class struggles, at the time of the V. Congress the struggle of 150,000 textile and metal workers was being waged in North France against the reactionary social insurance law. The growing world economic crisis, the series of strikes and lockouts since the IV. Congress, clearly show the bankruptcy of the Amsterdam theory of organised capitalism, of industrial peace and class collaboration. After the analysis of the world situation and the international trade union movement there were three main questions in the foreground of deliberations at the V. Congress:

1. the problem of winning the masses;
2. the organisation of the counter-offensive of the proletariat;
3. the development and consolidation of the organisations of the revolutionary trade union movement.

The Problem of Winning the Masses.

Has the R.I.L.U. to record any political and organisational achievements in the struggle for the masses since the IV. Congress? Ten years ago, in the year 1920, Amsterdam numbered 23 million members; in 1930 Amsterdam numbers only 13,800,000 members according to its report submitted to its last Stockholm Congress. In estimating the relation of forces between the R.I.L.U. and Amsterdam it must be borne in mind that in such countries as Germany, Great Britain etc. many revolutionary workers are still members of the reformist trade unions. Can one assert that the 5 million workers organised in the General German Trade Union Federation (ADGB) are behind Amsterdam? Today, after the elections to the Reichstag, nobody will believe this.

The R.I.L.U. numbers today, after ten years of its existence, 17 million fighters. In spite of this the V. Congress quite emphatically pointed out that a disparity exists between the political influence of the revolutionary trade union movement and the organisational position of the adherents of the R.I.L.U. in all countries. The Amsterdam trade union apparatus is undoubtedly still a strong bulwark of counter-revolution. In the capitalist countries the whole power of capitalism stands behind the Amsterdam apparatus. But in the countries like India and China what is Amsterdam without the energetic support of the State apparatus? The V. Congress was able to record a number of successes in the struggle for the masses, but at the same time the Congress exercised sharp self-criticism on account of a number of failures and a decline of the red trade unions in France and in Czechoslovakia.

Economic Crisis and Revolutionary Strike Strategy.

Whilst the IV. Congress decided, against the open and concealed resistance of the Rights, on the independent leadership of the economic struggles, the V. Congress dealt with the organisation of the counter-offensive. When at the IV. Congress it was stated that there existed a block between the police, the employers and the trade union apparatus against the striking workers, the Rights opposed this formulation. But the development since the IV. Congress has completely confirmed the correctness of these decisions. Amsterdam has become an open strike-breaking agency. Would it have been possible, without the decisions of the IV. Congress in regard to the independent leadership of the economic struggles, to be the initiators and leaders of the powerful strike struggles of the last years in all countries, such as in Yorkshire, Mansfield, Bombay, North France, Lodz etc. Would we have been able to lead thousands of struggles in the factories without the clear line of the IV. Congress in regard to the conduct of struggles also against the will of the reformist trade union apparatus? The revolutionary trade union movement has in the last few years broken the monopoly of

the reformist trade union apparatus in the leadership of strikes. The V. Congress drew the balance of the 2½ years of strike experience. It stated that the revolutionary trade union movement has to record great achievements in the independent organisation and leadership of struggles, from the strike in Lodz up to the wool workers' strike in Bradford. But it was also ascertained that enormous shortcomings still exist in the sphere of strike strategy and tactics.

The revolutionary trade union movement has not yet succeeded in mobilising those forces in order to transform the struggles of the workers into political struggles: class against class. Inadequate politisation of the struggles, faulty united front tactics, weak preparation, undeveloped united front organs before and during the struggles, inadequate exposure of the "Left" Amsterdam manoeuvres, insufficient organisation and consolidation of the cadres of the revolutionary trade union movement, bad connection with the unemployed—these are the main shortcomings in the economic struggles. The struggle for the every-day demands is not the aim but the means to the aim. Strike struggles in the present situation are undermining the rotten capitalist stabilisation. "The final aim of the strike struggle under capitalism is the destruction of the State apparatus, the overthrow of the State power of the capitalist class." It was Lenin who uttered these words. The V. Congress of the R.I.L.U. decided on the counter-offensive and provided the revolutionary trade union movement with the weapons in order to organise better than hitherto the future struggles into deliberately revolutionary mass actions against the capitalist State.

The R.I.L.U. for the United Front.

The delegates of the V. Congress have hardly returned to their countries and the decisions of the Congress have hardly been published, and the Amsterdammers are already spitting out venom against the "Moscowites". "Moscow wishes to split" writes the organ of the "Left" social fascists, the "Leipziger Volkszeitung" in Germany. We are used to being accused of being destroyers of the unity of the workers by the Amsterdammers who, in the interest of the capitalist system, have split the trade union movement in Rumania, France, Poland, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia etc. Have not the German social fascists expelled ten thousands of revolutionary workers from the trade unions? The V. Congress declared itself for the united front tactic, because it is one of the most important methods for capturing the masses. The United front with the social democratic and non-party masses for wages and bread, against the social insurance robbers, for the daily interests of the workers, that is the line which was successfully applied after the IV. Congress. The decisions of the V. Congress pledge the adherents of the R.I.L.U. to conduct in the factories and trade unions a persistent ideological struggle, on the basis of broadened united front, for the workers who are still under the influence of Amsterdam. Ruthless struggle against the Amsterdam trade union bureaucracy and against those adherents of the R.I.L.U. who are of the opinion that the "labour aristocrats" who are still siding with Amsterdam, cannot be won over for the revolution.

Fight Against Opportunism.

The decisions of the IV. Congress encountered the fierce opposition on the part of the Right opportunists in all countries. Many of these opportunists are today already in the ranks of the Amsterdammers. The decisions of the V. Congress will likewise encounter the resistance of all those who are opposed to an offensive tactic. The following examples from Germany will show that we have still many opportunists in our ranks. A members' meeting in the building workers' union in Pößneck (Thuringia) decided to contribute to the election fund of the Communist Party the sum of 200 marks out of the funds of the local branch. The chairman, a Communist has up to now

refused to pay out this amount. In Erfurt (Thuringia) an election appeal for the candidates of the Communist Party was passed in the local branch committee of the shoe-makers' union against the opposition of the opportunists by all against 3 votes. A motion to contribute 500 marks to the election fund of the Communist Party, was frustrated by the opportunists in the local branch committee of this union, although these people are members of the Communist Party. The efforts to draw the metal workers' union in Weimar (Thuringia) into the anti-fascist committee, were frustrated by the chairman of this local branch, who is likewise a Communist. It is of course impossible to carry out the decisions of the V. Congress with such revolutionaries. In addition to the Right dangers there exist "Left" sectarian tendencies, which are the reaction to the Right opportunist deviations. The latest discussions in the International and in particular in Germany on the relations of the R.I.L.U. to the social democratic workers have clearly shown the path which must be pursued.

Development and Organisation of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement in Western Europe.

Organisational questions played a big role at the V. Congress. A decision of enormous political and organisational importance has been adopted which means a turning point in the strategy and tactics of the R.I.L.U. in Western Europe and which is of particular importance for the further consolidation and development of the revolutionary trade union opposition in Germany and in Poland. It reads:

"The adherents of the R.I.L.U. in these countries must, in view of the insolent splitting practice of the reformist leaders and the growing antagonism between the latter and the broad masses of workers, already now, consistently, deliberately and persistently work at the organisation and development of a revolutionary trade union movement for the purpose of a better and more successful preparation and leadership of the class struggles of the proletariat."

This decision, which is the outcome of the experiences gathered in the last 2½ years, was necessary because the former organisational forms and methods of the revolutionary trade union movement in these countries proved to be inadequate in order effectively to combat the organised strike breaking of the Amsterdammers and to conduct successfully the struggles of the workers. The formation of independent organs of the revolutionary trade union opposition will, of course, take place in the process of the struggles with the class enemy. The firm organisational welding together of the adherents of the R.I.L.U. in these countries will contribute to the setting up within the reformist trade unions of a firm ideological and organisational front against the Amsterdam strike-breaking apparatus. The above-mentioned decision is without doubt the most important decision of the V. World Congress. In all countries the red trade unions and the opposition will now, following the decisions of the V. Congress, set up their organisational apparatus on the basis of the factories.

Conclusions.

The class struggle in the highly developed capitalist countries and in the colonies is becoming more and more acute. The fact that the problems of the revolutionary trade union movement in the colonies were dealt with in a report and in the discussion at the V. Congress shows the great importance which the R.I.L.U. attaches to the emancipation struggle of the colonial peoples. It is further worthy of note by the international trade union movement that the representative of the Russian trade unions declared, that now, after the Rights have been ousted from the Central Council of the Russian Trade unions, the latter will more than hitherto assist the international revolutionary trade union movement with its great experiences.

The decisions of the V. Congress are the weapons for the annihilating struggle against the exploiters and their agents, the reactionary trade union bureaucracy. If we energetically and boldly apply these decisions in practice, then the revolutionary trade union movement will, under the leadership of the Communist International, successfully conduct the struggle against all enemies of the proletariat.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Resolution of the Polit-Secretariat of the E. C. C. I. on the Report on the II. Party Congress of the C. P. of Hungary

1. The II. Party Congress of the C. P. of Hungary is of decisive importance for the further development of this Party. The fractional disintegration in the leadership abroad led to a lowering of all authority of the Party leadership among the rank and file members, destroyed Party discipline, hampered the struggle against opportunism and weakened exceedingly the authority of the Party in the eyes of the working masses. As a result of fractional disruption the fighting capacity of the Party was paralysed and the Party was more and more isolated from the working masses which, particularly of late, showed great activity and increasing fighting determination. The II. Party Congress, by adopting all the measures, in the sense of the Open Letter of the E. C. C. I., for exterminating fraction-mongering, and welding the Party together under the leadership of the newly elected C. C. for the ruthless struggle against all attempts at reviving the fraction struggle of the two unprincipled fraction groups, created the preconditions for carrying out the fundamental tasks of the Party, and successfully conducting the struggle for capturing the majority of the working class.

The Party Congress was held in a period of rapidly intensifying industrial and agrarian crisis and the first symptoms of an approaching political crisis of the fascist dictatorship in Hungary. In this period, which is of great importance to the working class in Hungary, the Party Congress has subjected to a thorough analysis the situation in the country and laid down the tasks confronting the Party of the proletariat in view of the accentuated economic crisis and the symptoms of an approaching political crisis in Hungary. This also enhances the historical importance of the II. Party Congress of the C. P. H.

2. The rank and file of the Communist Party of Hungary conducted last year, under the leadership of the strengthened new cadres in the country, a persistent struggle against the opportunist mistakes of the Party leadership abroad, against the conspiratorial irresponsibility of the latter, and against the fractional disruption abroad. This struggle has yielded already the first successes (growth of the influence of the Party in the trade unions and other mass organisations, leadership of economic struggle and street demonstrations, extension of the Party organisations, considerable increase of members etc.). The II. Party Congress of the C. P. H. consolidated, deepened and extended to all spheres of Party work the turn in the Party line.

3. The II. Party Congress rid the political line of the Party of all elements of opportunist deviations clinging to it in many decisive questions of the policy of the Party.

These are the following in the present period: overlooking the maturing crisis of the fascist dictatorship; the illusion as to the possibilities of its democratisation; the distortion of the political line of the Party in its legal work (the so-called "double policy"). The Party Congress in its decisions gave to the C. P. H. a clear revolutionary perspective on the basis of the analysis of conditions in Hungary.

The most important features of these are: The extention of the monopolist power of financial capital and, as a result of this, the conversion of the essential agrarian economic structure of the country into a country of an agrarian-industrial type, with simultaneous maintenance of feudal remnants in agriculture. The approaching crisis of the fascist dictatorship mainly found expression in the intensification of the class struggles of the working class and its increasing turn to the Left, in the growth of the offensive character of the strike struggles, in the actions of the unemployed which rapidly follow one another, in the increasing influence of the Communist Party upon the working class, in the abandonment of social democracy by broad sections of the working class, in the growing discontent of broad masses of poor peasants and their resistance to the organs of State power, in the growth of discontent and vacillations among the city petty bourgeoisie, in the increased tendency on the part of the bour-

geoisie to concentrate all its forces and to utilise social democracy to an increased extent. The Party Congress settled accounts with the theory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and declared that the revolution in Hungary can only be a proletarian revolution, which however at the same time will have to abolish the feudal remnants and fulfil a whole number of other bourgeois-democratic tasks (separation of the Church from the State etc.). In the struggle for winning the majority of the working class the Party Congress laid down the following main tasks of the Party for the present period: a) struggle for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship of Horthy-Bethlen and its social-fascist prop, for the workers' and peasants' government; b) struggle for the seven-hour day; c) struggle for confiscation without compensation of the land and its free distribution among the agricultural workers and poor peasants; d) struggle against imperialist war and for the defence of the Soviet Union.

The Party Congress pointed to the progressive fascisation and the merging of social democracy with the fascist dictatorship, its active role in the carrying out of rationalisation, in cutting wages and in the political suppression of the working class, to the necessity of mobilising for a struggle against social fascism. On the basis of an analysis of the sharpening economic crisis the Party Congress issued a clear directive for trade union work. It settled accounts with the opportunist deviations on the part of the Party leadership in the trade union policy: both with the slogan of maintaining "unity at any cost" as well as with the ultra-Left slogan "split at any cost". It concretely formulated the tasks in the sphere of trade union work on the basis of the decisions of the IV. R. I. L. U. Congress and of the X. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. and laid stress upon the following tasks: concentrating trade union work in the factories, and for this purpose to set up committees of action and strike committees, extend the network of revolutionary functionaries in the factories, strengthen the work of the revolutionary trade union opposition, enhance the struggle for the readmittance of expelled members, connect the struggle of the unemployed with the struggle of the factory workers, struggle for State support for the unemployed.

In view of the fact that owing to the treacherous attitude of the reformist bureaucrats, in particular on the occasion of the miners strike in Salgotrjan, the greater part of rank and file has left the mineworkers' union, also in view of the fact that, as a protest against the betrayal of the reformists, the rank and file have left the unions of the textile workers, agricultural workers and chemical workers, while the working class in other branches of industry is completely unorganised, the Party Congress laid down the task of independent organisation of the revolutionary workers in these branches of industry making use thereby of those possibilities which exist for mass work in the reformist rump organisations.

The Party Congress also gave a revolutionary perspective in the agrarian question. Whilst up to now the Party adhered to the slogan of a "new land reform" as a substitute for the expropriation of the big landowners, and in the propaganda of the Party there sometimes occurred the slogan of the necessity of raising the level of productivity in agriculture and the class differentiation in the rural districts was often overlooked, the Party Congress, on the other hand, issued the slogan of expropriation and distribution of the big landed estates without compensation and considered, besides the semi-proletarian peasantry, only the lower strata of the middle peasants as allies of the proletariat in its struggle against the big landowners, against the exploitation of monopolist capital and of the rich peasantry. The whole peasantry cannot be considered as the allies of the proletariat.

In its decisions on the organisational question the Party Congress enumerated the mistakes and shortcomings which have hitherto prevailed (lack of a Bolshevik organisational basis built upon the factory nuclei, lack of fractions in the mass organisations as a basis of the Party organisations) and called the attention of the Party to the necessity of reorganising the Party on a Bolshevik basis, of penetrating into the factories, and the organisational consolidation of the Party's influence in the factories. On the basis of this analysis the Party Congress determined the tactical line of the C.P.H. and laid down a basis for successfully combating both opportunism in practice and the Left tendencies which are particularly revealed in the Young Communist League.

It is of particular importance for the further development

of the C.P.H. that fractionalism and its bearers were unanimously condemned by the Party Congress. The determined attitude of all delegates without exception against all bearers of fraction mongering abroad, the complete isolation of the representatives of both fractions at the Party Congress, confirm the correct statement contained in the Open Letter "that the fractional disruption of the Party leadership is almost exclusively limited to that portion of the C.C. living abroad. The attempts to carry this fractional disintegration into the leading cadres in the country have, fortunately, not met with any success". The bearers of fraction-mongering, who were completely isolated at the Party Congress, recognised their mistakes in their declarations and promised to carry out in the future the directives of the Open Letter on the extermination of fraction activity. It will be the task of the Party leadership to test the sincerity of these declarations in the light of practice, the more so as symptoms of fraction-mongering were revealed also after the Party Congress, and this time the attempt was even made to carry the fraction-mongering into the country.

The Polit-secretariat of the E.C.C.I. assures the C.C. of the C.P.H. of its complete support in the struggle against every attempt at a revival of fractionmongering, most sharply condemns the attempts to carry the fraction-mongering into the country, and categorically opposes any effort to discredit the C.C. out of fractional motives. Contrary to the methods of the past, the C.C., in its general political work and in the current activity, must apply the principle of far-reaching collective work and exterminate everything which could weaken this collective work of the C.C. On the basis of the experiences of fractional disruption on the part of the leadership abroad, the Polit-secretariat of the E.C.C.I. emphasised this principle and rendered it incumbent on the C.C. to apply it in a decisive manner. In accordance with the instructions contained in the Open Letter, leadership of the Party must be transferred to the country and all preconditions must be created for the complete realisation of this task.

4. Although the recent successes of the Party (greater activity among the unemployed, demonstrations against the fascist dictatorship, successful carrying out of the action on 1st of August) prove the growth of the Party, these successes must be considered inadequate in view of the sharpening of the general situation in Hungary, of the advanced radicalisation of the toiling masses, and in view of the great tasks arising therefrom for the Party and the possibilities for the development of a great mass mobilisation.

The C.C. must develop an increased initiative in regard to the organisation of the struggle against the offensive of capital and in regard to the struggle against social fascism, which is making "left" manoeuvres in view of the progressive radicalisation of the working class.

The activity of the factory nuclei is mostly confined to work in the mass organisations and agitation outside of the factories. The nuclei do not react to events in their factories and are leading a sectarian life. This is also one of the reasons why the Party, in spite of its perfectly correct attitude to social democracy, was hitherto unable to defeat it, particularly in the factories and to expose its manoeuvres in the factories.

Owing to the weakness of the Party in the factories it succeeded only to a very small extent in linking up the struggle of the unemployed with the struggles of the factory workers: passivity exists in the application of the united front tactic and the setting up of unity organs. The Party must strengthen its work in the rural districts in order to be able to place itself at the head of the growing movement of the agricultural proletariat and of the poor agricultural population. On the basis of experiences the C.C. must enhance the conspiratory measures for a far-reaching security of the cadres. The organisational position of the Party and the weakness of the Young Communist League are proofs that the question of the consolidation and the further development of the Party, the selection and training of cadres has not yet been placed in the centre of organisational work of the Party. The Open Letter of the Communist International concretely pointed out to the C.P.H. the way to extend the turn in its policy and in its mass work in accordance with the decisions of the VI. World Congress and of the X. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. in order really to become the leader of the working masses.

Ten Years of the "Rude Pravo".

By L. F. (Prague).

The central organ of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia, "Rude Pravo", is celebrating its tenth anniversary. On the 16th September 1920 the functionaries of the Prague working class, who almost unanimously followed the Left social democratic party of Czechoslovakia, went to the people's house in Hybernergasse, where "Pravo Lidu" was printed. They sent a delegation consisting of 15 workers to the editors, who were Right-wing people, and informed them that a factory council, headed by Comrade Ledén, a printing worker, would take over the control of the paper. The Rights replied to this establishment of workers' control over the central organ by taking refuge in a bourgeois printing works and issuing there a second "Pravo Lidu". Some days afterwards the present social fascist Minister for Justice, Dr. Meissner, obtained an injunction prohibiting the Left from issuing the paper under the name of "Pravo Lidu" (People's right) The Left thereupon replied with the publication of the "Rude Pravo Lidu".

The setting up of workers' control over the "Pravo Lidu" was the reply to the dictatorial action of the Rights in the Party Executive. The latter had convened the 13th Party Congress for the 25th to 28th September; at this Congress the delegates were to settle the struggle between the Rights and the Lefts. When however the Party Executive perceived that 286 of the elected delegates belonged to the Left and only 130 to the Right, it assembled on 14th and 15th September in order to postpone the Party Congress, to get new delegates elected and to expel the Communists. Shortly before, the social democratic Prime Minister Tusar had resigned and handed over the government to the old Austrian bureaucrat Cerny, in order that the latter should crush the working class. The Lefts did not quietly submit to the dictates of the Party Executive, but placed the "Pravo Lidu" under their control and held the Party Congress at the appointed date. The overwhelming majority of elected delegates appeared at the Party Congress and pronounced against the coalition policy and in favour of a policy on the lines of the III. International. The passing of the "Pravo Lidu" and of the "People's House" into the hands of the Lefts was a prelude to the historical December strike, which was the reply of the revolutionary proletariat of Czechoslovakia to the violent and bloody ousting of the Lefts from the People's House by means of the State power.

On 14th September last the "Rude Pravo" appeared as a jubilee edition in celebration of the tenth anniversary of its existence. In addition to interesting articles on the history of the Lefts and the "Rude Pravo" and letters of greeting from the C.P. of Germany and the C.P. of Switzerland, this number contains an article on the persecution of the "Rude Pravo" and its evening paper "Rudy Vecerník". In the course of the last ten years 156,668 lines were censored in these two papers. The newspaper was suppressed twice for the period of a month, and had to pay half a million Czechish crowns in fines and costs of trials. But the Czechoslovakian workers, who recently collected in a very short time the sum of 250,000 Czechish crowns, have proved that they faithfully stand by their central organ.

ECONOMICS

The German Crisis after the Elections.

By Th. Neubauer (Berlin).

The German economic crisis, as the Reichstag elections of 14th September most plainly show, has given rise to a fierce political crisis of German capitalism, and this political crisis of the German capitalist class rule is bound to become still more acute with the continuation of the economic crisis. Here lies the central problem of German politics.

The soap-bubbles of artificial optimism with which the Brüning Cabinet and its parties hoped to produce a favourable election atmosphere burst already before the election day as a result of the rough winds of the economic crisis. The production of industrial goods in August 1930, according to the figures of the Reichs-Institute for Business Research, was

20 per cent below the level of the corresponding period of last year. Production of raw iron amounted in August 1930 to 28,841 tons per working day as compared with 37,701 in August 1929; of 170 furnaces only 74 are at work; in numerous undertakings in the manufacturing industry the production capacity was utilised only up to 50 per cent and less. The inland sales market was very dull; the turnover of the big stores showed a decline of 7.8 per cent as compared with last year. The foreign trade figures likewise showed a great decline. Exports were 14 per cent below the level of last year, and the Institute for Business Research had to bewail the fact that for some time past exports have been unable to make up for the home market which German industry is lacking.

The official election swindle has, in the meantime, completely collapsed. The unemployment figures have again increased; according to trade union reports regarding conditions on the Labour market, in August 1930 22 per cent, of all trade union members were unemployed, which represents a tremendous increase compared with last year when 9 per cent of trade union members were unemployed; in addition, 14.2 per cent of trade union members were on short time as compared with 6.7 per cent last year. The Institute reckons that by the end of December unemployment will have increased to 3½ millions, which figure however does not by a long way represent the peak of the unemployment which may be expected this winter.

The promises made by the government that by its measures for providing work it would revive trade and reduce unemployment were a downright swindle; the "revival of the building market", from which so much was expected, is, as even the Centre press is forced to confess, no longer to be expected this year. The much-advertised "action to reduce prices" was a mere bluff on the part of the government; even the "Germania" has to admit "that the costs of living rather show an inclination to increase of late". The agrarian crisis, which the government right up to the elections endeavoured to stave off by bolstering up prices, has now made its appearance in a sharp price drop.

The continuation of the economic crisis means a new financial crisis for the Reich, the provinces and the municipalities. The Reichs-Institute for Business Research estimates that the revenue from taxation has declined by at least 410 to 430 million marks. This estimate is probably still far too low: the "Kölnische Zeitung" estimates the deficit in the taxation revenue at 620 million. At the same time, however, expenditure is increasing on account of the greater unemployment. The Institute for Business Research estimates this item at 225 million; it is certainly very much greater. The number of unemployed alone who are receiving no benefit from the unemployment insurance and have to depend upon poor law relief amounted at the end of August to over 500,000! Therefore, one must reckon with further tremendous deficits. The Brüning government wishes to meet these deficits by means of the new "financial reform" which it intends to submit to the Reichstag in Autumn. If however this deficit in the public finances is covered by fresh taxes, which must bring in fresh revenue to the amount of 700 to 800 million, it will only serve to aggravate the crisis still further.

The longer the economic crisis lasts the more insistent become the demands of German industry for increased protective tariffs. In the next few months the Reichstag will deal with the new increases in the customs duties which are demanded for the greater part of the German manufacturing industry, in particular for textiles, leather, footwear, metal goods, machines, automobiles etc. The effect of such customs increases, however, will only be to raise the cost of living and thereby further increase the inner political tension.

Simultaneously with the offensive against wages, which has now set in with increased fierceness after the elections, the capitalist class is demanding the further cutting down of social policy, including poor law relief and unemployment benefit. It is not necessary to point out how greatly such measures will serve to promote the revolutionising of the working masses.

Thus the prospects for German capitalism in the near future are anything but rosy. Even those circles of German finance capital which hoped to strengthen their positions of

power as a result of the growth of national fascism are now forced to admit that the Hitler party has not succeeded in holding up the advance of the proletarian class movement under the leadership of the Communist Party. The organ of the Centre party in the Rhine district, the "Kölnische Volkszeitung", states "one cannot view with sufficient seriousness the growth of the Communist vote".

The national socialist party of Hitler on the one side and the social fascist S. P. of Germany on the other side are offering their services to German finance capital to save it from Bolshevism. Whilst Hitler is insisting with the greatest possible emphasis that he is "absolutely legal" and is striving for power only on the basis of the Constitution, the social democracy, on the other hand, insists that it alone is capable of setting up a dam against Bolshevism. German finance capital has the choice of relying upon national fascism or on social fascism, now that the Brüning block, instead of the majority of 15 votes it had on the 18th July, is now in a minority of 161. Negotiations are now going on behind the scenes regarding the formation of the government. Nobody will doubt for a minute that the social fascists are prepared to make every sacrifice in order to squeeze their way into the government. But there is just as little reason to doubt that Hitler-Hügenberg will be prepared to pay the highest price for Ministerial seats.

But no matter what the composition of the coming government may be, its programme will be prescribed by finance capital. As regards its main features this programme is already well known: wage cuts, retrenchment of social services, fresh taxes for the masses, fresh customs duties and further measures of terror against the working class. The fights for which the German working class must now prepare will be harder than in the past. Already on the day following the elections the Communist Party of Germany summoned the masses of workers to further and greater efforts. The unexampled enthusiasm with which the class-conscious workers of Germany rallied together before the election under the leadership of the C. P. G. gives the guarantee that the Communist Party of Germany will successfully fulfil the new and great tasks confronting it.

PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

The Life of the Women Workers in Shanghai.

By Amao (Shanghai).

The following article, written by a woman textile worker in Shanghai, is taken from the central organ of the Communist Party of China, "The Red Flag". It is to maintain the frightful conditions described in this article that the British Labour Government sends its warships to China. Ed.

As a result of the increased offensive of the employers, who are more and more discharging male workers and employing women and children in their place, the number of women workers engaged in the light industry in the province of Kiangsu already amounts to 70 per cent of the staffs. In all the textile mills owned by native as well as foreign capitalists the adult men, and even the adult women, are being dismissed and their places taken by young girls and children. These young workers are not only cheaper objects of exploitation for the capitalists, but at the same time they are quite defenceless in face of all the tricks, chicanery and insolence of the employers and foremen.

In the textile industry the workers work twelve hours a day. The journey to and from the mill in most cases takes two hours, so that the working woman is away from home for 14 hours. As there is no break during the twelve-hour day the workers are compelled to snatch a bit of food while the

machines are running. If they do not do this quickly enough they are either fined or dismissed. The greater part of the women mill workers suffer from stomach trouble as a result of the dust with which the atmosphere is laden. The employers of course never think of doing anything to change this state of affairs. When a worker is used up, he or she is simply thrown out onto the street and another engaged. Even the time allowed to go to the lavatory is strictly limited and determined by the employer.

In many textile mills, as for instance, in the weaving department of the Lau-I-Cha textile mills, even 16 to 18 hours a day are worked. The women workers in these mills, many of whom in addition have the extra burden of washing and cooking at home caring for their little children, begin work at 3 o'clock in the morning and do not knock off until 9 o'clock at night.

This terrible misery is still further increased by the rising food prices. The price of rice, for example, has risen by 60 per cent. On the other hand, wages are being cut.

In the Sen-chiu, Tafun, Yun-an and Tun-I textile mills the night shift lasts from 12 o'clock Saturday night to midday Sunday. The next night shift begins at 3 o'clock in the afternoon and lasts until 3 o'clock the next morning. Any working woman who during these inhumanly long hours of tiring work closes her eyes for a moment is immediately fined. Thus five working women in the Tun-I mills who at 2 o'clock in the morning nodded from sheer weariness, had 20 cents deducted from their pay. When the working women thereupon gathered in the lavatories and voiced their protest the employer demanded a whole week's pay as fine.

In many mills the working women have not even the opportunity of warming up with hot water the cold boiled rice which they bring with them from home. Thus, for instance the 7,000 working women employed in the Chi-Ho textile mill have to eat cold rice. In return for their long and arduous work in the mills the women receive as highest wage 60 to 70 cents a day, and as lowest wage 10 to 20 cents per day (ten cents is worth about three halfpence at the present time). There are very few women workers, however, who earn 60 cents a day; the average wage is 30 to 40 cents a day. The measures of exploitation and oppression adopted by the employers are becoming more shameful every day. Every newly employed woman has her photo taken, thus enabling the mill owners to keep an effective black list of any workers women they wish to victimise.

As a result of the misery of the workers the mass struggles are naturally increasing daily. The employers have recognised this danger and are resorting to fresh measures of repression. Every newly employed worker must furnish a surety by the owner of a shop or business, who is held responsible in the event of a fight against the capitalists or a strike on the part of the women workers. This means that the working woman is not only in the hands of the employer, but is at the same time under the control of a petty bourgeois shopkeeper or business man.

In the silk mills the working hours are over fourteen a day. Formerly, work commenced at 6 a.m., but now 4 a.m. The children who have to prepare the cocoons for the workers work even longer than the adults. They have to work the whole day in rooms full of hot, stifling steam; they already have sad and wornout faces. The figures relating to accidents are particularly high in regard to children. Cases in which the hands or the whole body are scalded occur every day. They are often beaten by the overseers. The crying of the girls is to be heard in the mills the whole day. In a mill in Ja-pe an overseer punished a girl who had not prepared the cocoons sufficiently well by throwing the hot cocoons into her hands, thereby severely scalding them. This cruel punishment has become usual.

But the women workers of Shanghai are standing firmly under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and of the red trade unions in order, in the revolutionary fight, to abolish this rule of the exploiters. We shall follow the example of our sisters in the Soviet Union and fight shoulder to shoulder with our brothers for the establishment of the Soviet Power in China.