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Incendiaries.

On the Trial of the Counter-Revolutionary "Industrial Party" in the Soviet Union

The indictment against the counter-revolutionary organisation — the **Industrial Party** — which had for its purpose the preparation for intervention against the U.S.S.R., is an extremely important historical document.

It reminds the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. and of the whole world of a great class truth. It reminds them that there can be no peace between capital and labour, and that there can be no truce which is not a stage in the struggle between the classes. The defendants, Ramzin and Co. belong to the group of the so-called higher technical intelligentsia, to the group which always boasted of its culture and science, and denied all class criterions, stating that they were above all classes.

When they entered the service of the Soviet Government, the Ramzins and the Kalinikovs explained it on the grounds that they were not Communists with a class point of view. They, in their own estimation, were patriots who wished to serve their country no matter who was in power. And what did they do in reality? They came to the service of the Soviet Government as to a hostile camp, they entered it so as to interfere with the construction of the new life. They took service with the Soviet Government just as a burglar takes service in a house which he is preparing to rob. And

for what did they do all this? In order to bring back the capitalists and landowners to power, in order to restore the system which existed in Russia before the war and which led to the great world revolution.

What was there in the old life that so fascinated them? What was it that could put the bomb into their hands to blow up the new order, which lifts ever fresh millions from day to day, which is developing the creative forces of millions of people. It would be ridiculous to think that the group of Ramzins and Kalinikovs were driven to hate the new born order as a result of their privations. Of course, the Soviet Government did not and could not pay them thousands of gold roubles that the old owners paid them. But it assured them all that was necessary for life and creative work. They lived much better than anyone else in the U.S.S.R. They were provided with all conveniences for developing their scientific and technical work, such as might have aroused the envy of the technicians in all capitalist countries. In capitalist countries, the initiative of the engineers, the extent of technical imagination encounters the barriers of private ownership which often clip the wings of creative ability. In the U.S.S.R. the big engineers always have an opportunity to carry out their plans on a tremendous scale. What was it that compelled them to scheme day and night how to burn down the newly built structure of Social-

lism, how to reduce the U.S.S.R. to ashes and to fling the mass of the people once more into the whirlpool of war?

Before the revolution, the companies and trusts were always developed in Russia as in other countries by the efforts of the highest layer of the technical intelligentsia, who were the real managers of industry. The Morosovs and the Konovalovs were the owners. But the business was carried out by this small and firmly welded clique of the representatives of high technique. They married the daughters of the capitalists, and from their big salaries they bought stocks and shares in capitalist undertakings. With all their energy they supported the ruling class and kept the mass of people in poverty.

poverty. But the role of the high technical intelligentsia ended with the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Soviet Government has a high opinion of science, the Soviet Government gave the technical intelligentsia the fullest possibility to influence affairs by their technical advice, and by their technical knowledge, but it did not allow them to guide the development of industry, because it is only possible to direct this development if the leaders stand firmly for the interest of the working class, keeping in view all its requirements and taking the interests of the proletariat as the fundamental criterion.

The highest technical intelligentsia understood perfectly well that they would be listened to only to the extent that they assisted to construct the national economy in the interests of the proletariat, only to the extent that they helped to build up Socialism. But the construction of Socialism does not only mean the building of new factories, the digging of new mines, the construction of tremendous new railroads. The construction of Socialism means the rousing of new masses, who are taking the leadership of industry into their own hands more firmly everyday. In the U.S.S.R. there are thousands of workers managing factories. There are thousands of workers in the technical universities who are studying natural science, mathematics and technics, and in a few years there will be a new army of engineers and technicians who are real proletarians born and bred.

The gentlemen of high technique understood that they are not only digging the grave of the class which they used to serve, with which they are connected by ties of blood, but they are helping to destroy that monopoly of science which made it possible for them not only to live well but to feel themselves to be the rulers. This is what drove the Ramzins, the Kalinikovs, the Larichevs to undertake the adventurous course which, according to their calculations, was bound to bring about the collapse of the Soviet Government, but in reality led to the complete collapse of their intrigues. These fragments of declining capitalism, hating the "lower orders" were smart enough to understand that under normal conditions they would not find in the U.S.S.R. those forces which would desire to destroy the building which had been erected by the combined forces of the mass of the people during the course of 13 years. They understood that the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. was assured, and that they could only hope to bring about its destruction by artificially creating crises, by frustrating the economic plans of the Soviet country, by producing a famine, with the aim of driving the backward portion of the workers and peasants into a foolish course, the course of struggling against their own interests.

But all these Ramzins and Kalinikovs, all these Larichevs understood that it was no easy task for them to deceive the Soviet Government and to carry out their plans. The Five-Year Plan of the Soviet Government was undertaken in defiance of their advice, in defiance of all their technical „proofs“ that the Soviet plans were impossible. As far as it was a question of direct technical sabotage or of the poor plans drawn up by them, the working class has learned sufficient, has obtained enough knowledge to see through their plans. And so it happened in practice. Although the schemes of the Ramzins, the Kalinikovs and the Larichevs have caused much damage to the U.S.S.R., they have been thwarted by the vigilance of the workers, the vigilance of the Soviet technicians, and the activity of the Soviet economists. Therefore, their last hope was for intervention. And it is exactly on this point that the crimes of these people against the mass of the people stand out most clearly, and no writer of fiction

could have thought out a viler specimen of class cupidity and class baseness.

class baseness.

For three years the Russian workers and peasants were facing death in the war in the interests of the tsar, the capitalists and the landowners. Millions of them are rotting under the ground. Millions of children were robbed of their parents. With the help of the revolution, the proletariat and the peasants broke through the fatal ring of war, but for another three years the blood of the people had still to be shed. People died of hunger because the Entente and the white guards had seized the land, the grain districts, and destroyed the fuel bases. Millions of workers and peasants fought on the front of civil war, they were destroyed by typhus, they were slaughtered by the Entente with the help of the landowners and the capitalists but again the toilers of the land of the Soviets broke through the cordon of fire. And for ten years in succession, brick by brick, they built up the old factories, they restored the old mines, they learned how to build and how to manage. Their success was tremendous, and they went to the assistance of the village so as to help to wrest the peasants from the darkness of the middle ages. All that has been created by the labour of the proletariat and the peasants during these 13 years, all this was possible only because the proletariat guaranteed to the country independence and peace. One would think that any person who, as a thinking being, had lived through the history of Russia since 1914, and had gone through all the horrors of war and lived to see the mighty picture of the development of a construction such as has never been seen before in any part of the world, would not be capable of setting fire to the newly erected towns. Dergins and the Kalinikovs were striving to the

On the Threshold of the Fourteenth Year.

By D. Manuilsky.

(Conclusion) III.

Since 1928 we Communists have spoken of the revolutionary upsurge of the masses. The Brandlerists of all countries denied this upsurge. Chambelland "predicted" for example that in France there would not be a revolutionary upsurge before 30 years. The Trotskyists brood spoke for years of a defeat of the Chinese revolution. Today the bourgeoisie, rendered anxious by the spreading political crisis in Central Europe, speak of the approaching revolution. We Communists speak today, in October 1930, of acceleration of the tempo of the revolutionary upsurge.

Why do we put the question of the accelerated tempo of the revolutionary upsurge? Because there is taking place today throughout the world a fierce fight between capital and labour over the most urgent vital interests of the proletariat. Because the working class, under the most difficult conditions, which are connected with unemployment, is at present fighting for every inch of ground against the attempts of capital to reduce wages, to prolong the working day, to increase exploitation, to abolish social insurance where it still exists, to deliver over the millions of unemployed and their dependents to death by starvation. Just as in the time of the imperialist war, the proletariat is now breaking through the civil peace, proclaimed by the social and trade union bureaucracy in view of the "national misfortune". The triple alliance of the State, the employers, and the social fascists is opposing more than ever the striking workers and throttling their movement by compulsory arbitration. At the present time the elements looking for the transformation of the economic strikes into political strikes are, as is shewn by the magnificent political strike movement against the social insurance law in France, considerably more numerous than at the commencement of the upsurge. In view of the crisis, the importance of every economic strike is quite different from what it was two years ago. One should not assume that if in France the number of strikes has increased and in Germany decreased that this means an interval in the revolutionary upsurge, that Germany has remained behind and has been overtaken by France. Such a conclusion would be absolutely contrary to the actual facts. In addition to the strikes we have other indications of accelerated tempo of the revolutionary upsurge. Under present conditions the strike of the 100,000 wool workers in England was of no less importance than the celebrated strike of the miners in 1926.

The importance of the Berlin metal workers strike lies in the fact that, no less than the elections in Germany, it signifies the revolutionisation not only of the Berlin metal workers but also of the whole of the German working class; it is a sign of the collapse of the buttresses of socialism, of the reformist trade unions and the turning of the working masses to Communism and to the Red Trade Union position. The strike of the Berlin metal workers has shown in Germany an end is being put to the unpunished loyalty of strikes by the reformists. Thirdly, it has refuted the opportunist lie about the impossibility of economic fights on the part of the proletariat in a period of crisis. Such strikes are a sign of the accelerated inner upsurge and are of far greater importance than a number of economic strikes in year 1928, i. e. at the beginning of the revolutionary upsurge. If the workers in spite of the existence of an enormous army of unemployed, under conditions in which production is restricted, when the employers are making use of the strike in order to purge the factories of revolutionary elements, workers in spite of the threatening hunger and deprivation and in spite of the terror of the employers nevertheless enter the fight, then a strike under such conditions is a political event, showing the depth of the revolutionisation of the masses. Only an out and out philistine who measures the dynamics of the revolutionary class struggle by dead figures can overlook the political importance of a strike.

One of the most important features of the upsurge is the movement of the unemployed. The fact that the American Communist Party, which has only 10,000 members, was able on the 6th of March to lead a quarter of million workers

onto the street, that in Budapest the demonstration on 1st September which was organised by the social democracy as a peaceful gathering developed under the influence of the Communists participating in it into a fight with the police which lasted 24 hours, to barricade fights and dozens of victims, that today in the capitalist world there is not a single centre of industry where there is not a movement of the unemployed developing in the form of mass demonstrations and meetings with demands of the government and municipalities, goes to show that the pace of the revolutionisation of the masses far exceeds that of 1928 and 1929. And the movement of the unemployed which is to be expected this winter and in 1931 will, according to every indication, exceed by far the tempo of the movement in 1930. Another remarkable feature of the movement of the unemployed is that it developed not only in the countries with "Constitutions" but also in the countries of the white terror. It broke through the barriers of the fascist dictatorship in Spain, Italy and other countries of unbridled bloody suppression.

A third feature are the elections. The 4,600,000 workers' votes which the Communist Party of Germany received under the slogan of a Soviet Germany are not only of significance as indicating the tempo of the revolutionisation of the German workers. They are the barometer indicating the great change which is taking place on an international scale in the mood and outlook of the broad masses. If today the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries were to prescribe elections, we should everywhere be able to record an increase of the Communist vote. The Communists would not everywhere poll millions of votes. The figures relating to growth depend upon the importance of the Party. There is no doubt that the working masses, even under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie which excludes every possibility of free election, would demonstrate their growing confidence in the Communist Party.*

This is the reason for the unexampledly cynical election terror which is at present raging in Poland. In Poland all the lists of the Workers and Peasants Bloc in the Western Ukraine and Western White Russia, where at the last election thousands of votes were cast for this bloc, have been annulled. It is only by means of falsification, confiscating the ballot boxes containing the voting papers of revolutionary workers, arresting all those who have signed the election lists of the Workers and Peasants Bloc that the Polish fascists are able to obtain a Sejm which will be subservient to their will. And if under these conditions 40,000 to 50,000 signatures were obtained for the election lists of the workers' and peasants' bloc, it is a clear proof that in Poland this bloc would have achieved a no less brilliant victory than the Communist Party of Germany.

The typical feature of this new change among the masses is the organisational growth of the Communist Parties in a number of countries. This applies not only to Germany, Poland and China but to such countries in which fascism thought that it had succeeded by the most brutal white terror in annihilating the Communist movement. It is precisely from these countries that there come encouraging reports on the revival of the work and the growth of the illegal organisations of the Communist Party. The workers eagerly devour Communist literature. One leaflet passes through dozens of hands. It is not the Communist Party that seeks supporters but the workers who seek the Party. Supporters of the Communist Party appear unexpectedly in the most remote districts. Organisations and groups arise spontaneously. Repressive measures no longer serve to intimidate. Voluntary workers who are unknown to the Party organisations take up Communist

* Of course there are exceptions. As a result of the absolutely incapable leadership of the Norwegian Communist Party, at the last town council elections, in spite of the crisis, the Party lost votes. It must be said, however, that the town council elections, at which minor questions of municipal politics dominate, do not always correctly reflect the feelings of the masses.

agitation work. This change, it is true, does not yet bear the character of a general phenomenon. In the countries which are only now entering the crisis, such as France, the "gaps" are not yet filled. These countries are still more or less under the influence of the atmosphere created by stabilisation. We are only at the commencement of the change which is making itself felt. In the next few months the results of this change will be greater.

Finally, in characterising the tempo of the upsurge, one must also take into consideration the events in China. A year ago the Chinese revolution had at its disposal only a few partisan detachments, of which only the detachments of Chude and Maotsedung in any way resembled a military, disciplined section of the Red Army. In November 1930, the Chinese Red Army according to foreign press reports, numbered over 360,000 men, of whom 110,000 form well armed, firmly disciplined fighting units. The army consists up to 80 per cent not of professional soldiers, but of revolutionary peasants. 5 to 6 per cent of the members of this army are Communists. The moral and political force of this army lies in the fact that the mercenary troops of the Chinese militarists are not able to withstand it. Cases where these mercenary troops refuse to fight against the Red Army and go over to its side are quite common. Chiang-Kai-shek's attempt to deliver a blow to the Red Army with the aid of the picked third division, ended in a brigade of this division going over in a body to the Reds. The fight against the Red Army is rendered more difficult for the militarists by reason of the fact that in China, where railways are lacking, the attitude of the population is a decisive factor in the war and the Chinese peasant population are on the side of the Red Army. Is it surprising that the English press adopts a very sceptical attitude to Chiang-Kai-shek's new attempt to defeat the Red Army by employing against them his best troops?

In addition to the Red Army, there are operating in China badly armed and insufficiently military trained partisan detachments, numbering altogether 3½ to 4 million men. The territory which is under Soviet rule embraces 200 districts with a population of 30 million. Do not these facts prove the correctness of the prognosis of the C.P.S.U. and of the Comintern regarding the inevitability of the extension and strengthening of the revolutionary movement? Is it necessary in order to illustrate the correct analysis of the Comintern to point to the growth of the national revolutionary movement in the other colonies, to the revolt developing in Indo-China, to the growth of the spontaneous peasant movement, which in the European countries finds vent in peasant rebellions against the high taxes, to the heroic fight of the Ukrainian peasants against the big landowners and the Polish occupation?

The accelerated tempo of the revolutionary upsurge is a fact. But the acceleration is not taking place everywhere equally.

IV.

The inequality in the growth of the revolutionary upsurge in the various capitalist countries is determined by the inequality in the development of the world economic crisis, and this again renders it incumbent upon the Comintern to differentiate the tasks of the C.I. Sections in the various countries. We have entered the phase of the world crisis at a time when the political and organisational levels of the Comintern Sections differ. The crisis has not abolished these differences. It has only created a favourable situation for overcoming the existing inequality in the political and organisational development of the various sections of the Comintern. But in spite of this inequality all Sections of the Comintern undoubtedly have a number of common tasks.

Before all, the Communist Parties, without exception, must in their agitation and propaganda among the masses deal with the question of the revolutionary way out of the present crisis, just as from 1914 to 1918 the Communists put the question of the revolutionary way out of the imperialist war. The sole revolutionary way out of the present crisis can only be the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Marxist-Leninist world Party knows of no other way out. The treatment of the question of the revolutionary way out of the crisis must not, however, have an abstract propagandist character. It must be linked up with the every-day fight of the working class. Proceeding from the elementary requirements and tasks of the proletariat, the Communist Parties must lead the working masses to the fight against the dictatorship of the proletariat. The economic fight and

unemployment still remain the chief link which the Communists of all countries must grasp in order to defend and extend the achievements of the proletariat, in order to mobilise the masses for the overthrow of capitalism, to penetrate deeper into the masses and to establish a firm organisational basis in the masses. We cannot waste our time on the riddle whether as a result of the present world crisis the decisive fight of the working class will break out in the near future in a number of capitalist countries. We know very well, however, that the Communist Parties will emerge from this crisis different from what they entered it. They must thoroughly shake the position of the social democrats and the reformist trade unions within the working class; they must emerge as bigger mass organisations. In the countries with strong Communist organisations they must group round them powerful red trade unions, and in those countries where the Communist Parties have not yet become mass organisations of the working class they must in the first place create a revolutionary trade union mass opposition.

They must, if they wish to avoid the sad experiences of the C.P. of Finland during the last fascist upheaval, organise a broad network of factory nuclei which will enable them to maintain themselves in illegality in the period of fascist counter-revolutionary persecution, as for instance like the Polish C.P., without losing revolutionary contact with the masses. The daily leadership by the Party organisations must become a concrete leadership of the mass fights of the working class in accordance with their needs. "General slogans and general instructions no longer suffice today. It does not suffice to recommend the tactics of the united front in capturing the working masses by the Communist Parties; one must show how these tactics are to be carried out in every concrete case. Commonplaces over the necessity of mobilising the masses on the basis of partial demands today no longer suffice. Today one must indicate concretely how this is to be done in order not to fall into opportunism or into stereotyped "Left" declamations. The whole work of the Comintern in the past year was connected with the concrete treatment of these questions. The work of the Communist Parties must be reorganised in this sense.

In going over now to some of the fundamental tasks of the chief Sections of the Comintern, we must make special reference to four countries in which the revolutionary movement is of decisive importance for the entire international proletariat. We have in mind Germany, Poland, China and India.

The C.P. of Germany arose in the fire of the civil war. It has achieved a tremendous political work in combating deviations in its ranks, and it is faced more immediately than any other Section of the Comintern with the task of capturing the majority of the working masses. And this means that the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of a Socialist Germany, so far as tempo is concerned, confronts the C.P. of Germany differently from what it does the other Sections of the Comintern. This means, further, that the task of independent leadership of the economic struggles is different from what it was a year or two years ago. The 400,000 votes which the C.P. of Germany polled at the last election impose a great responsibility upon it. In the economic struggle of the German proletariat, the Communists are not only an opposition which criticises and exposes the reformist trade union bureaucracy, but a staff which is conducting the struggle according to its plan. The development of economic fights of the unemployed is the most elementary pre-condition not only to maintaining and consolidating, also extending the influence of the C.P.G. over the working masses. At the same time, the economic fight of the proletariat in the situation of political crisis represents a number of peculiarities as tremendously facilitate the transformation of the economic strike into a political mass strike. And a real political mass strike in Germany would mean is perfectly clear to everybody. The independent leadership of economic fights of the proletariat by the Communists presumes, however, firm organisational steps for creating independently organised trade union movement. The experiences of the C.P.G. during the strike of the Berlin workers must serve as a sign-post to the Communist Parties in all other branches of industry.

The Communist Party of Poland is faced with arduous tasks. It must do away with that very dangerous

affairs in which the movement of the proletariat lags behind the movement of the peasants; it must take note of the very insignificant role played by the C. P. of the West Ukraine in the spontaneous movement of the peasants in the West Ukraine; it must link up the peasant movement in the border districts with the movement of the Polish proletariat. For the C. P. of Poland the question of winning the native Polish peasantry for the cause of the revolutionary proletariat is particularly urgent. In addition, it must be specially emphasised in regard to Germany and Poland that the events which are developing there at a whirlwind pace render it necessary that these Parties exercise the greatest vigilance and adopt such organisational measures as will secure them against being taken by surprise, and enable our parties to place themselves at the head of the revolutionary masses. The fascist experiments and adventures must find the Communist Parties completely ready.

The Communist Party of China furnishes us with the example of a plebeian solution of the tasks of the democratic revolution in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. The revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and of the peasantry in China will differ essentially from the democratic dictatorship which the Bolsheviks planned during the revolution of 1905/6.

In the first place the development of the Chinese revolution collides with the whole system of world imperialism. A victorious revolution of the Chinese workers and peasants would shake the world system of imperialism to its very foundations. That is why the difficulties of the Chinese revolution are so great. This is the reason why the victorious advance of the Chinese Red Army against the industrial centres of China has been held up near Changsha. Secondly, the Chinese revolution is developing at the time of the existence of the Soviet Union, the land of the proletarian dictatorship and of the successful building up of Socialism. The third peculiarity is that the Chinese Revolution, even before the final victory of the workers and peasants in the whole of China, has a Red Army at its disposal, holds possession of a considerable district in which it has set up a Soviet system of the workers and peasants power, in the government of which the Communists form the majority. This circumstance enables the proletariat to realise not only the ideological but also the State hegemony over the peasantry. The result of all these conditions is that the revolutionary democratic dictatorship in China will be faced with the necessity of confiscating the factories belonging to foreign and Chinese capitalists. The existence of socialist elements will form the specific peculiarity of the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the transition from capitalism to socialism, will have to pass through considerably more intermediate stages than the October Revolution; but the time it will require to ripen into the socialist revolution will, however, be considerably shorter than the time fixed by the Bolsheviks for the democratic dictatorship in 1905.

The Chinese Communist Party, which is passing through a period of strict illegality and which in numerous struggles has had its baptism of fire, by its experience, by its glorious fight for the Soviets in China, is showing to the young Communist movements of all colonial and semi-colonial countries the way to fight for the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat. The Communist Party is furnishing a living example of the revolutionary democratic dictatorship in the Soviet districts, and is now rousing millions of Chinese workers and peasants to the fight for the social and national emancipation of China. It is endeavouring to link up the military fight with the Labour movement in the industrial centres of China.

In India the past year was characterised in the first place by the increased differentiation within the national revolutionary movement, the commencing disappointment of the students and of the petty bourgeoisie as a result of Gandhi's tactics of passive resistance, and the revival of the terrorist activity of various revolutionary groups. The process of this differentiation is reflected in the fierce struggle between the Communists and the Left national reformists for the leadership of the working class. Secondly, the present stage of the Indian revolution, in addition to the strikes in the past year, is characterised by the rising wave of peasant actions. In Bengal, in the province of Bombay, in the central province and in the United Provinces the peasants are refusing to pay

taxes, are taking possession of the woods and grazing lands belonging to the English and are offering tenacious resistance to the English troops and police. In a whole number of localities the peasants, driven to despair, have driven out the profiteers and extortioners. At the same time the North West Province is the scene of the revolt of the "Red Shirts". The Communist organisations of the big towns, which are not yet welded together in a united party, are conducting the fight for the hegemony of the proletariat in the national revolutionary movement, to free this movement, and before all the working masses from the hegemony of the National Congress, to free the young trade unions of India from the influence of the "Left" national reformists and — as a precondition to the successful solution of this task — are also fighting for the creation of a Communist Party of India.

What prospects does the 14th year of the October Revolution open up?

The tremendous advance of socialist construction in the Soviet Union is occurring at the same time as the revolutionary upsurge of the international Labour movement, which is developing as a result of the growth and accentuation of the world economic crisis. Secondly, the revolutionary upsurge in the capitalist countries is accompanied by the development of political crises in Central Europe, the development of the political crisis in China and India into a revolutionary situation. Thirdly, the Communist Parties, in connection with the decay of the social democracy and of the reformist trade unions (the full effects of which will only be felt in the next few years), are freeing themselves from the dead "stabilisation phase" of their development, are considerably extending their influence over the working masses and are already growing organisationally by the influx of social democratic and revolutionary non-party workers. Fourthly, the Sections of the C. I. even the numerically small Sections, which have been politically steeled in the fight against opportunist deviations, have achieved a number of successes in the leadership of the class struggles of the workers, in the Bolshevik application of the united front tactics, which prove that they are becoming Communist mass parties.

The end of the year 1930 and the year 1931 will be marked by the further development of the world crisis, which accentuates and deepens the general post-war crisis of capitalism. The period of capitalist stabilisation is past and will never return. Should capitalism succeed in emerging from the present periodic crisis of over-production, it will only do so at the cost of many wounds. The capitalist world is entering a phase of wars and revolutionary upheavals. The 14th year brings with it a further shaking of capitalism, which among other countries will also include the two most important — the United States and Great Britain. And this lightens the tasks confronting the Chinese and the approaching Indian revolution; it opens up broad prospects for the movement of the revolutionary masses in Central Europe. This will lead to the growth of the political crisis in a number of other capitalist countries. The capitalist world is only at the beginning of the gigantic events of the Third Period.

CHINA

International Solidarity with the Chinese Soviet Revolution.

Proclamation of the C.C. of the C.P. of China to the Workers of the World.

Dear Comrades,

Workers, peasants, soldiers, sailors of all countries!

The English, Japanese, American, French, German and other imperialist robbers are protecting the bourgeoisie and the landlords' counter-revolution in China, they are striving to crush the new revolutionary wave, to stamp out the Chinese Soviets. The international bourgeois press is full of wild stories of the "horrors" of the peasants movement in China, of the Red terror of the partisans, of the "brutalities" in the Soviet districts, etc. This is all absolutely false, and is merely a repetition of the old slanders about Bolshevik "brutalities".

in the Russian revolution. It is done to justify their own crimes and to deceive the working masses.

The imperialists are utilising Chinese reaction to set up a brutal terror against the revolutionary workers and peasants of China; in big cities like **Shanghai**, **Wuchan**, **Canton**, almost everyday there are masses of arrests and executions, heads are cut off in the streets, women and children are killed for distributing proclamations, for taking part in demonstrations; the rule of the Kuomintang is the rule of a new inquisition. In 1930 alone, 58,000 people have been executed.

The imperialists are carrying on a bloody war against the workers and peasants, against the Red Army and the Soviet Government in China. French airplanes have bombed Soviet **Lunchow**, the Japanese imperialists have twice driven back the Reds from Da-ye, the British, French, Japanese and American artillery, warships and airplanes are operating against the Red Army in Chang-sha and Shasi. A tremendous amount of rifles, guns, machine guns, tanks, airplanes, gas and other weapons are being imported into China from England, America, Germany, Japan, Czechoslovakia and Sweden. German, British and Japanese military specialists, scouts, missionaries and social-fascist leaders like **Vandervelde** are being sent there to support the executioners of the Kuomintang. The imperialists of all countries, while carrying on a fierce struggle among themselves for domination over China, are united in the general fight against the workers' and peasants' revolution.

The imperialists are attempting to unite the Chinese generals and executioners for the struggle against the Soviets.

Chiang-Kai shek has received money and assistance from the imperialists to prepare 10 well armed divisions against the Soviet districts. The imperialists have concentrated their armed forces near **Hankow** to the extent of dozens of European divisions. There are 23 foreign cruisers stationed in the Yang-tse-kiang for the purpose of dealing out brutal punishment under the pretence of "saving civilisation".

The Chinese workers and peasants look on this "civilisation" as shameless inhuman robbery, as imperialist slavery, which props up the oppression of the landlords and usurers. This civilisation means the destruction of millions of people, ruin, slavish conditions of labour, unending war, death from starvation and similar calamities.

The workers and peasants of China have replied to the arbitrary violence of the imperialists and to the terrible oppression of the bourgeoisie and landlords by forming Soviets in 200 counties in Southern and Central China, by forming a Red Army 300,000 strong, by the advance of 3-4 million armed peasants with the support of 30 million farmers. They are building up a new life, they are equalising the distribution of land among the peasants and the soldiers of the Red Army, they are destroying the contracts of slavery and debts to usurers, introducing the 8-hour day, making special laws to defend the interests of the workers, men, women and youths, and are giving women their rights. They are building up their own cultural organisations, organising schools, developing the trade union movement, improving the conditions of life of the workers and the masses of the peasants.

On December 11, the 3rd anniversary of the Canton commune, the first congress of Soviets in China will be opened at which the workers', peasants' and soldiers' deputies will set up a provisional central revolutionary Soviet government in order to lay down a line for developing the revolutionary struggle still further, for the final overthrow of imperialist domination and its servant — the bourgeois-landlord government — for complete national independence, for the unity of the country and for the victory of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasants of all China.

The successes of the Red Army and the Soviets in China in organising a firm revolutionary government will serve as an encouraging example for the oppressed peoples of all colonies. They will be a great factor for bringing nearer the collapse of imperialism and the victory of the proletarian revolution throughout the world.

The world bourgeoisie, tightly held in the clutches of the economic crisis, do not wish to lose the tremendous Chinese market, and cannot tolerate the successes of socialist construction in the USSR.

Comrades! There are only two sides to the barricades. On one side are the proletariat of the whole world, the oppressed toilers of the colonies, the USSR, and Soviet China.

On the other side are the world bourgeoisie, the landlords, fascists, who are responsible for the world economic crisis and unemployment. The victory of the revolution in China and the victory of the USSR, is a victory for the proletariat of the world. Our fight is your fight.

Workers, peasants, soldiers and sailors! Not a cent, a single soldier must be sent for imperialist slaughter and intervention against the USSR, and the Chinese Soviets.

Reply to the imperialist interventionists by forming anti-fighting committees "Hands off the Chinese Soviets!" Refuse by mass demonstrations against loading and despatching armaments and soldiers to China! Demand the recall of foreign soldiers from China! Fight against war on the Chinese workers and peasants! Don't allow soldiers or arms to be sent!

Hands off the USSR, and the Chinese Soviets!

Down with imperialist war and intervention against the USSR, and the Chinese Soviets!

Long live the socialist revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasants of China!

Long live the world proletarian revolution!

Long live the Communist International — the leader of the world revolution!

October 12, 1930.

Central Committee CP. China.

Mass Demonstrations in Shanghai in Support of the Chinese Soviets.

The Chinese Workers Correspondence No. 26 of October 17th 1930 gives the following report:

October 10, the anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Republic and the national day of the Chinese bourgeoisie, was celebrated to some extent this year by the Kuomintang government. Whilst the ruling class maintained an outward appearance of confidence and cheerfulness, as the Red troops have for the time being given up the attempt to recapture Changsha (the capital of Hunan), in reality they were exceedingly nervous in view of the existing situation. Many important strategic points in Hupeh and Kiangsi have recently been captured by the Red Armies, and Nanchang, the capital of Kiangsi, and Kiukiang, an important port near it, will, it is expected, shortly fall into the hands of the Communists. Although Chiang-Kai-shek boasts that the civil war is at an "end" and that he will now devote himself to exterminating the "Communist bandits", the conflict between the Mukden war lord Chang Hsueh-Liang and the Nanking government is growing, and the orders of the Nanking government are completely disregarded by Chang Hsueh-Liang's people. Political circles here recognise that it will be absolutely impossible to avoid a new civil war. On the other hand, it is by no means certain that the loyal troops under the command of Chiang-Kai-shek will be able to defeat the Red forces. Further, the strikes and the revolutionary movement of the working masses in Shanghai are increasing daily, especially the movement in support of the Chinese Soviets.

That the masses held demonstrations on National Day in support of the Chinese Soviets is something quite new. The labouring masses in Shanghai and other parts of China regarded it as the business of the ruling class to celebrate National Day, whilst they used the occasion in order to demonstrate in support of the Chinese Soviets. Whilst all the government organs were busy with their preparations for the celebration of National Day, the Shanghai working class were actively carrying on propaganda and agitation regarding the Soviet movement and holding meetings opposing the rule of the Kuomintang and in support of the Soviets. Prior to October 10, thousands of coloured leaflets were distributed in the streets of Shanghai and revolutionary slogans were written on the walls. Some of the slogans read as follows: Help with the Kuomintang! Support the Soviets! Oppose the imperialists' attacks on the Red Army! Take part in the demonstrations in support of the Soviets! Strike in support of the Soviets!

On October 10, the working masses of Shanghai held demonstrations in support of the Soviets. In the East, in the industrial town, where the factories and working class were

situated, the workers marched in demonstrations from the factories. At the Sheng Sing Seventh Cotton Mill Factory, as soon as the whistle blew at closing time, the workers, mostly women, marched out in a body from the mill and proceeded to the Kungdah Second Cotton Mill, where they were immediately joined by the workers of this mill. The crowd now numbered about 6000. At a given signal the workers immediately formed themselves into a demonstration, shouting the slogans: "Support the Soviet Power! Support the Red Armies! Ready for armed uprising for the overthrow of the Kuomintang! Oppose the attacks on the Red Army by the imperialists and the Kuomintang! Support the National Soviet Congress! Support the "Red Flag", the workers' Daily!" At the same time thousands of coloured leaflets were scattered among the crowd. The procession then marched eastwards. When they arrived at the Ewo cotton mill, the demonstrators were joined by over 3000 workers who were waiting outside the mill gates and who at once joined in shouting the slogans and distributing handbills. The effect of the uniting shouting was terrific. The procession then marched northward. Three of the demonstrators were arrested by the police.

A similar demonstration was held in the Nanking Road, the most busy thoroughfare in Shanghai. All the adjoining streets were simply covered with coloured handbills. Preparatory demonstrations were held on the 8th and 9th of October when the workers demonstrated in the French concession, in Southern Shanghai, Chapei, Pootung etc.

Let us see how the Kuomintang celebrated their National Day! On the eve of October 10, the followers of the Kuomintang actually held their long-prepared lantern procession. But just as this procession of nationalist demonstrators was marching gayly through a fashionable thoroughfare, a maroon was exploded as a signal, and hundreds of workers immediately converged on the spot from all directions. They at once administered severe blows to all those taking part in this nationalist procession of the Kuomintang and tore the lanterns to pieces. At the same time such slogans as "Down with the Kuomintang! Support the Soviets!" were shouted and a vast number of leaflets distributed. The Chinese police, scared to death, hid themselves in the side-turnings and alleys, while the supporters of the Kuomintang beat a hasty retreat.

At 10 in the morning of the so-called National Day, the Kuomintang held its "mass" celebration meeting at the public sports ground. There were present less than 3000 persons, consisting for the most part of government officials, members of the Kuomintang, leaders of the yellow trade unions and a few students who were forced to attend by the education authorities. Not a single worker was to be seen. Nevertheless all the adjoining streets were full of police and troops in order to prevent the workers from giving any trouble. It is said that the Kuomintang are very much concerned about the growing movement among of the workers and their enthusiastic support of the Soviet regime as expressed at their demonstrations.

POLITICS

The Swindle Regarding Price Reductions in Germany.

By Th. Neubauer (Berlin).

The Brüning government's much advertised action to reduce prices can be summed up as follows:

1. It has forced up the price of wheat in Germany to over 140 per cent above world market price, and then caused the bakers to reduce the price of the resultingly dear bread by 8 per cent (for the time being this applies only to Berlin) and thereby given the bakers "good reason" for demanding a 10 per cent or more reduction of the wages of their employees.

2. It allowed the iron and steel industry, by means of cartels and protective tariffs, to force up the price of iron to 50 and 60 per cent above the world market price; it then got the iron and steel industrialists to grant a ridiculous price reduction of about 3 per cent, in return for which it has

(through Stegerwald's arbitration award) permitted them to reduce the wages of their workers engaged on piece work by 30 per cent!

The alleged price reductions are only intended to serve as a plausible but untenable "reason" for reducing wages. As a matter of fact, in every case where prices have been reduced somewhat it will only mean increased profits for the capitalists as a result of further wage cuts.

It is probably known that, thanks to the formation of cartels and the high protective tariffs, the cost of living of the working masses of Germany has been increased by 100 to 200 per cent. The Brüning government, however, which makes out as if it wished to reduce prices, has not reduced the import duty on a single article, but on the other hand has tremendously increased the duties on a whole number of commodities. Thus for instance, the import duty on **wheat** has been increased to 250 Marks per ton, whilst on the world market a ton of wheat can be purchased for a 100 marks! The Brüning government, in spite of its solemn announcements, has not taken any compulsory measures against the forcing up of prices by the cartels.

In every case where there has been an actual reduction of prices this has occurred not as a result of the government and its price-reducing policy, but in spite of it.

The reduction in the price of **coal** for example, which the Reichs Chancellor claimed as a success for his policy, took place because English coal, in spite of the import duty, is offered in Hamburg at 5 Marks and in Saxony at 3 Marks per ton cheaper than German coal, so that German industry and also municipal gas and electricity works were to an increasing extent purchasing English coal in preference to German coal. The German coal barons, however, reduced the price of coal by 6 per cent only after the government had promised to support their demand for a wage cut of 15 per cent!

The **iron** industrialists, who reduced prices by 3 per cent, in return for a 30 per cent. wage cut, declare that it is absolutely impossible for them to reduce prices further, and that they "must not be disturbed by price-reduction actions".

The reduction of prices in the **cement** industry was due solely to the strong outside pressure, which owing to the exorbitantly high prices demanded by the syndicate threatened to destroy the latter. The **lime** industry, which complains of a decline in sales of 60 per cent., has up to now not been able to decide on any price reductions. The trustified **table glass industry** has up to now, in cooperation with the wholesale firms, succeeded in maintaining prices. Here there is to be seen the tremendous difference between the factory price and the price charged the consumer, amounting in the present case to no less than 300 and 440 per cent. The price of table glass in Germany is about 60 per cent. above the world market price. The **Linoleum trust**, in spite of the fact that the price of its raw materials has sunk to the pre-war level and the output of the workers has increased by 100 to 130 per cent, after having increased prices "by 15 to 17 per cent.", is now reducing them by only 10 per cent., and even this reduction is being put forward as a reason for wage-cuts.

The **chemical industry**, which is among those industries which always rake in high profits, has declared that it is impossible to undertake a general reduction of prices. The same thing is declared by the **margarine industry**. These two branches of industry are offering the greatest resistance to the abolition of trade marks. In spite of all its talk, the government is doing nothing in order to prevent profiteering in articles of every day consumption. On the contrary, it causes traders who sell at lower prices to be severely punished. In the last few days a whole number of tobacconists were sentenced for selling cigarettes below the current prices.

This survey, which could be lengthened indefinitely, shows that all the talk of the government about reducing the prices is only intended to deceive the public. In actual fact the government has done nothing in order to enforce a serious reduction of the prices charged by the cartels. In this policy the government is supported by the **National Economic Council**, which has elaborated the question of price reductions in a number of expert reports, in which the social democratic representatives such as Eggert, Naphthal, Cohen-Reuss agreed

that with the exception of carpets, the government shall not be recommended to intervene with compulsory measures.

Whilst the Brüning Cabinet is not doing anything against the high prices charged by the monopolists and cartels, and whilst it has completely excluded foreign agrarian products from the German home market by means of phantastically high protective tariffs, import prohibitions and other measures, and artificially maintains prices by huge State purchases in order to bolster up the market (over 600,000 tons of rye are rotting in the government's store-houses), it is endeavouring to deceive the public by means of a divertive manoeuvre. It has issued an appeal to the masses of consumers inciting them to fight against the bakers, butchers, dairymen and shopkeepers. The whole bourgeois and social democratic press is joining in this cry.

We pronounce this government to be innocent of any serious intention really to reduce prices. We rather accuse the Brüning government of undertaking its action to "reduce prices" solely in order to have a pretext for its wage-cutting policy.

The price of labour power, wages, is the only thing which the Brüning Cabinet is really determined to reduce. Everything else is a swindle, a manoeuvre in order to deceive the masses. Therefore, it must be the task of the working class to conduct a fierce fight against the least reduction of wages, in the clear consciousness that this must be a political fight against the starvation government and its national and social fascist lackeys.

The Crime of R. 101.

By R. Bishop (London)

A Cabinet Committee of the first Labour Government decided, in May 1924, that two new airships should be built, each nearly twice as big as any previous vessel of this sort. A Cabinet Minister of the second Labour Government received the report, on October 5, 1929, that the second of these two ships, R. 101, was ready to fly. Exactly a year later this airship lay burnt out at Allone, near Beauvais. Fifty-four men had been sent out in her to fly to India; forty-seven of these died at Allone.

This disaster was not so great, in the money value of vessel and cargo, as most of the unnumbered disasters of the sea; nor were the deaths more numerous than those normally occurring in any fortnight's operations of the British mine-fields. But it caught the imagination of the capitalist world because of the greatness of the hopes that were put to the test of fortune in this flight; because of the scale of the gamble, and its dramatic quality; and because the disaster seemed to almost all outside Britain, and to many in Britain, a clear sign of the decay that is corroding the imperial power of Britain, a clear omen of the disaster to which is doomed British imperial policy—now becoming equally a gamble in the dark against head winds.

And this airship disaster has interest for the revolutionary working class, quite apart from our indignation at lives thrown away, it shows with what criminal eagerness the Labour government presses forward the policy of British imperialism, "the linking of the Empire" and also shows to what a pitch of disregard for risk the Labour Government has been driven, by its need for a demonstration of courage and Imperial achievement, its need for a success somewhere, anywhere, to relieve for a few days or weeks the dark record of increasing crisis.

The court of Enquiry into the disaster has adjourned for 3 weeks at the time of writing. But so much revealing evidence has been given that it is difficult to choose which of the technical aspects can most usefully be dealt with in this article. To prove the callous rashness with which the Labour Government sent this vessel out on its last flight, we need only look at one or two of the many points in regard to which the airship was experimental, untried, and—judged by any normal engineering standard—unsafe.

The engines of R. 101 were of a type never before used in an airship. They ran on a fuel never before used in an airship. Their designers experienced constant trouble. Three experimental types were built in succession; the second of these, the "Tornado Mark II", was to give 650 h.p. for

3,100 lbs. weight dry; but it vibrated itself to pieces. How serious were the difficulties on this side may be seen from the fact that the third type, the "Tornado Mark III", weighed 4,700 lbs. and gave only 585 h.p. The makers of the engines had to increase the weight per horse-power from 5 lbs. to 8 lbs.—a big jump!

These heavier engines were never given a full-speed test, in the airship, without some accident happening. An engine failed during the only high-speed test attempted. Another failed in the last test flight before the trip to India. Another worked badly between 8 and 11 p.m. on the trip itself.

The gas-bags were of a material never previously used in Britain; they were fixed in the vessel by a novel method; an inspector reported that they fouled sharp projections in the framework and "there are now many holes in them" (letter of F. McWade, read in Court of Inquiry on November 7, 1930). He reported to the Air Ministry that padding these projections was unsatisfactory; the Air Ministry wrote back that it was necessary to see the projections were properly padded (letter of Major Bishop, read same day).

The designer of the vessel reckoned that the gas-bags might be leaking at such a rate that the vessel would lose "4 to 5 tons lift in 12 hours" (Col. Richmond's minute read game day). But the only major alteration ever made in the matter of R. 101's gas bags was an alteration (made with a view to the trip to India) which increased the size of the bags, gave less clearance between them and the framework, and increased the number of "points of fouling" where holes might be made.

Defects almost as serious as these have been revealed in most of the important parts of this enormous and complicated piece of machinery. They were not remedied; remedies were tried (as for example the padding of the gas-bags) but no one will ever know if they were effective to any extent.

R. 101 was originally 724 feet long and of 5,000,000 cubic feet capacity. For the flight to India she was increased to 777 feet in length and a capacity of 5,500,000 cubic feet.

No model tests were ever undertaken to see if the fins and rudders considered capable of controlling the 724 feet vessel could control effectively the enlarged vessel, 10 per cent bigger.

The only possible conclusion from the facts known as to the vessel's stability is that it was a criminal risk to fly such a ship within 2,000 feet or more of the ground during "heavy weather". It was particularly risky when the vessel was carrying 20 tons or more of fuel and passengers, because in such a case the available emergency ballast represents a smaller total proportion of the gross weight of the ship, and has less effect than it does when the vessel has less fuel aboard and less gas in the bags. It was even more risky to try to conserve gas by flying with the nose pitched down—as was done according to a well-informed correspondent, Major C. C. Turner of the "Daily Telegraph".

All these risks had to be taken if the flight to India was to be carried through.

That flight had to be carried through, while the Imperial Conference was sitting, for Imperial reasons. Lord Thomson, Secretary of State for Air, agreed to official minutes and signed memoranda in which he advised a slow, cautious and progressive testing of the airship. But in another minute he had written: "I must insist on the programme of the India flight being adhered to, as I have made my plans accordingly."

It is obvious that the first of these, advising caution, was a formal document only. The second was an order that had to be obeyed. Squadron-Leader Booth, commander of R. 101 (the other Labour Government airship) said that the existence of the Imperial Conference "biased the judgment" of the officers in charge. How much more likely to "bias the judgment" was the "I insist" of Lord Thomson. His Majesty's Secretary of State for Air,—and the man who boasted that the first telegram of congratulations he received after being made a Lord was one from Mussolini.

"I have made my plans." But it was not as an individual that Thomson planned. It was the plan of the Labour Government. They knew that the Imperial Conference could not be reached, yet, a dramatic and successful result. They wanted

great burst of "popular enthusiasm"—newspaper-created—to cover the ending of the Conference. The risks, the need for longer tests, did not matter.

The responsibility of the "Socialists" for this disaster is complete and inescapable.

INDIA

The Despatch of the Government of India.

By William Rust (London).

The Despatch of the Government of India is a renewed declaration of British Imperialism's policy of dictatorship and ruthless oppression. But the Viceroy, acting under the instructions of Downing Street, has not gone to the bother of preparing this exceedingly lengthy, and in many respects, cunningly worded document, merely in order to dot the 'i's and cross the 't's of the Simon Commission's Report.

This Despatch is a very significant document in the involved and complicated intrigue, now going on. It is intended to be the bridge over which the National Congress shall pass over into the imperialist camp and there find a permanent resting place.

There is, however, very little difference between the Despatch and the Commission's Report. Both aim at strengthening the British dictatorship.

In the Despatch the Government of India submit their views "on the further progress which might now be made towards the development of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire".

The Despatch reaches a conclusion in favour of a "unitary Government" (containing elected and non-elected members) on the grounds that the chief problem at present is to coordinate the development of the Legislature and the Executive.

Put in other words, the problem now is What, if any, of the powers now vested in the Viceroy can be transferred to the Legislative Assembly, India's "Parliament"?

At present the Assembly may neither discuss nor vote upon the following "reserved" subjects: Government loans; expenditure on religious, political or military objects; expenditure already fixed by law; salaries and pensions of Government officials.

Only by permission of the Viceroy may it discuss the discipline or behaviour of H. M. forces or relations with other countries.

Further, if the Assembly refuses to pass any Bill the Viceroy may enforce it by his own ordinance, and he may at any time suspend the Assembly's sittings.

The Viceroy wants to frame a constitution which will abolish the all too obvious limitations of the present Legislative Assembly and provide for a Government which will have no more power but more prestige. Therefore the members of the Government: "Must be able over the widest field that circumstances permit to frame policy in accordance with the views of their supporters."

"This, in turn, implies that Parliament will be willing to define with some precision the purposes for which it would wish to exercise its constitutional right of interference with the policy of the Government of India, and that so long as the policy pursued does not menace the objects which Parliament declares its intention to safeguard, the Government of India would be at liberty to manage the affairs of India in close association with the Indian Legislature."

And what is His Majesty's Government in London going to safeguard? The various items are briefly summarised as defence, foreign relations, internal security, financial obligations, financial stability, protection of minorities, and of the rights of services recruited by the Secretary of State and the prevention of unfair economic and commercial discrimination.

All other important questions, such as safeguarding the sacred toe of the Aga Khan, and how to crawl on the belly, are left to the free and undisputed will of the handful (at present two per cent), who enjoy the right to vote.

The other main points in the Despatch are:

a) Support in principle to the proposal to separate Burma from India, but no definite decision until a discussion at the Round-Table Conference.

b) A more liberal form of Government for the N. W. Frontier province than the one proposed by Simon. This in order to attract "public support" and avoid "invidious comparisons".

c) The main problem of Government is the nature of the central executive and its relations with the Legislature. The proposals of the Simon Commission are criticised because they are not likely to produce a strong Central Government. Abolition of the provincial dyarchy is supported.

d) No conclusions are expressed on the proposal of the Simon Commission to substitute indirect for direct election. Governors should have discretion to appoint official Ministers.

e) With regard to the Upper House, emphasis is laid on the importance of having a Second Chamber so constituted "as to be able to give the executive reasonable and discriminating support".

f) Control of the Army should remain with the Government of India and not be transferred to the Imperial Authority, as proposed by Simon.

g) The exercise of the functions for the Government of India, which reside in the Crown, should be directly devolved upon the Governor General, thus giving the Government constitutional powers to act as an auty. Almost a Dominion!

After having sprinkled this meagre amount of sugar on the Simon pill, the Despatch draws the following impudent and lying conclusions:

"We have endeavoured to point the way to action that may now be taken to place upon the constitution the first, but definite, impress of Dominion status. If we read history aright, it is exactly in this way that each and all of the Dominions have attained constitutional manhood."

A constitutional manhood giving a handful the right to vote, and safeguarded by a hated step-father in London, with the help of 227,785 troops, hordes of jailers and unlimited guns, tanks and aeroplanes.

The viceroy has explained at length the real meaning of "Dominion status", and shown it to be the iron heel of imperialism with a thread of silk wrapped round it.

Undoubtedly the publication of the Despatch will be followed by renewed negotiations with the Indian National Congress.

The Indian National Congress, it must be remembered, wages its struggles in the interests of a section of the Indian capitalists, it does not fight for the workers and peasants and has, in fact repeatedly betrayed them and the entire national revolutionary struggle. Gandhi has been in constant negotiation with the Viceroy, seeking to make a cowardly compromise with British imperialism, but continually compelled to draw back before the great revolutionary mass movement.

Because of mass pressure the Congress leaders refused to participate in the Round Table Conference much to the disappointment of the capitalist press of all shades in Britain who look to the cooperation of the Congress leaders in crushing the mass revolt against British rule. Without the Indian National Congress, says the "Observer", the Conference will be only "half a round table".

Gandhi himself continued negotiations with the Viceroy, right up to September 5th and did not even make mention of independence in his terms. Dominion status is the Gandhi-Nehru goal. Dominion status is the promise of the Viceroy. This golden formula being an attractive way of describing imperialist slavery.

The Simon Commission's Report is too badly discredited to form a basis of negotiations. Therefore up pops this new document which repeats the essentials of Simon whilst at the same time gravely criticising it and tacking on at the end those magic words "dominion status". This Despatch will hasten the capitulation of the Congress leaders.

But whatever the Congress leaders may do, British Imperialism will remain in the saddle until overthrown by the revolutionary workers and peasants under the leadership of the Communist Party of India.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

Approaching Miners Struggles in Germany.

By Gustav Sobottka (Berlin).

The crisis of capitalist economy is having particularly severe effects this year in the mining industry. In the year 1929, as a result of the preceding severe winter and the fairly good business situation which still obtained in Belgium and France, it was possible to increase the output of coal and also to find a market for the same. But already in the year 1930 symptoms of crisis made their appearance. By the middle of July the output of the largest coal area in Germany, the **Ruhr** district, fell by more than 25 per cent. In the whole of Germany there was a decline in the output of hard coal from 14.4 million tons in January 1930 to 11.5 million tons in August 1930. The output of lignite showed a decline in the same period from 14 to 12.3 million tons. The result of this decline has naturally been short time work and wholesale dismissals.

The situation of the mining industry in other countries is similar to what it is in Germany. In **Poland** the production of hard coal declined from 2,812,000 tons in January to 2,270,000 tons. In **Czechoslovakia**, in the first seven months of 1930, only 8.2 million tons of hard coal were produced as compared with 9.3 million tons in the corresponding period of 1929. The production of lignite declined in the same period from 12.7 to 10.7 million tons. In **France** the output declined from 4.88 million tons in January 1930 to 4.35 million tons in July. Also in the **Sarre** district production fell by 16 per cent in the period from January to July. **England** likewise shows a constant decline since January. Output fell off from 24,150,000 tons in January to 17,225,000 tons in July. **Belgium** also has to record a decline of from 2,489,000 to 2,054,000 tons in the same period.

This severe crisis in the mining industry is causing the mineowners in all countries to launch an increased offensive against the miners. A survey of the wages of the miners shows that everywhere a reduction of real wages is taking place.

But not only that, a brutal intensification of rationalisation, of speeding up is being carried out. Thus the German mining magnates have succeeded in increasing the output per head of the miners in the **Ruhr** district from 1,562 kilogrammes in January to 1,689 kilogrammes in July 1930; in the **Wurm** district from 1,156 to 1,205; in Lower Silesia from 1,066 to 1,132 kilogrammes; and in Upper Silesia from 1,783 to 1,935 kilogrammes. This intensified rationalisation and exploitation has resulted in a great increase in the number of accidents and disasters, such as have occurred in Hausdorff, Alsdorf and Maybach.

By means of wage cuts and increased rationalisation, the mining capitalists have up to now partially succeeded in throwing the burden of the crisis onto the miners and maintaining their profits. The crisis, however, is assuming increasingly sharper forms. In Germany it is rendered particularly acute by the burdens of the Young Plan. The German mining capitalists want to cast onto the shoulders of the miners not only the burdens of the crisis, but also of the Young Plan and in addition to squeeze out still higher profits from the miners in order to be in a better position to carry out the armament policy of German imperialism.

Therefore, the mining capitalists, the Reichs-government and the social fascist trade union bureaucracy are lined up in one front against the miners and are demanding further wage cuts and lengthening of the working day. A large-scale offensive is being launched by these exploiters against the whole of the working class. Their first victims were the **Berlin metal workers**. It is now the turn of the miners. In order to render them more amenable to wage cuts a great "price reduction" swindle has been introduced. From the 1st of December the price of coal is to be reduced by 6 per cent. The mineowners have granted this concession to the government and the trade union bureaucracy on condition that on the expiration of the collective agreement, the wages of the miners are to be reduced by 10 per cent. In the **Wurm** district the collective agreement expires on the 1st of December; in the **Ruhr** district on 31st December and in **Upper Silesia** on 31st of January 1931. The agreement under which the miners are compelled to work eight hours expires at

about the same time. The introduction of the seven-hour shift is on the order of the day. Its introduction is an urgent necessity in view of the fact that there are about 100,000 unemployed miners.

Thus, the German miners are at the commencement of hard fights against wage cuts, for increased wages and for the introduction of the seven-hour shift. In all the mining areas they are preparing for these fights under the leadership of the **Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition**. The disasters which have occurred in the last month or so have greatly increased the indignation and bitterness of the miners. They are more and more coming to recognise that only by strike struggles under the leadership of the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition will it be possible to resist the employers' offensive.

The result of the fights in the German mining industry in the next few weeks and months will also be of the greatest importance to the miners of other countries. If the German mining capitalists succeed along with their confederates, the social fascist bureaucrats, in reducing the wage of the miners and forcing them to continue working an eight-hour day below bank, it will have serious results for the miners in other countries. The French, Belgian and English mineowners, supported by the action of the German mining capitalists, will likewise commence a new offensive. A new wave of wage cuts and lengthening of the working day will set in in these countries.

The miners of all countries must therefore pay the greatest attention to what is taking place at present in the German mining industry. The fight of the German miners must at once be accorded the greatest support by the miners in all countries, by organising and preparing for the fight for the realisation of their own demands, for a shorter working day and wage increases.

Appeal of the International Committee of the Miners for the Organisation of the Struggle for Wages and Bread.

To the Miners of All European Countries!

Miners! Comrades!

The crisis of world capitalism is assuming ever sharper forms. All attempts to overcome this economic crisis in the various countries by means of increased rationalisation have proved abortive. Rationalisation has only led to an enormous increase in the output of the workers and thereby to an increase in the number of unemployed. The million masses of unemployed to whom the capitalists can give neither work nor bread, are a clear indication of the fact that capitalist production and economy is shaken to its very foundations and that the time is approaching for the proletariat to abolish it.

The crisis of world capitalism assumes a particularly sharp form in the mining industry. Here rationalisation has been carried out with the most brutal means during the last few years. In the year 1929, although the number of workers had been greatly reduced, the output in all countries reached unprecedented figures. The mineowners have pocketed enormous profits. On the other hand, the miners wages have not been increased in the least. On the contrary, their real wages were reduced. Higher profits for the mining capitalists, mass graves such as in Hausdorff, Alsdorf and Maybach for the miners, that is the result of rationalisation.

Rationalisation and increased output have only led to an aggravation of the crisis in the mining industry. Every ton more of coal gained by rationalisation has resulted in the dismissal of several miners. Therefore, we see a continual increase in the army of unemployed miners in England, Germany, Poland and Czechoslovakia. The crisis is not alleviated but is growing more and more acute.

In all countries the mining capitalist are attempting to cast the burden of this crisis onto the shoulders of the miners by means of new wage-cuts, new methods of rationalisation and lengthening everywhere the working day. In England, Belgium, France, Czechoslovakia, new attacks on wages and working conditions of the miners are being undertaken.

The German mining capitalists are now at the head of the international wage slashers. The German bourgeoisie, German industrial and banking capital, along with the social democratic

trade union bureaucracy, have concluded the Young plan with the international bank magnates. Under this Young Plan the German rulers have pledged themselves to pay millions of Marks to international finance capital.

These millions are now to be squeezed out of the bones of the workers by means of increased exploitation. The German mining capitalists intend to cast not only the burden of the crisis but also the burden of the Young Plan on the shoulders of the miners. In addition, they wish to increase their profits in order to be able to prepare for the imperialist war against the Soviet Union.

In this aim the German mining capitalists, the Reichs government and the social fascist trade union bureaucracy are united. For this reason they are jointly organising the attack on the wages of the German miners.

In the Wurm districts notice has been given terminating the collective agreements on 1st December. In the Ruhr district the collective agreement expires on December 31st, and in Upper Silesia on January 31st. Everywhere the mineowners are demanding a wage cut of 10 per cent. Using as a pretext the swindle of a price reduction, the government and the social fascist bureaucrats have already agreed to a wage cut. In order to render it easier for Christian and social democratic trade union bureaucrats to deceive the workers, the wage reduction is to be dictated by means of arbitration courts and awards. The German miners are therefore faced by serious fights against wage cuts, for wages increases and the immediate introduction of the seven-hour shift. In all mining areas preparations are made for the fight.

The issue of these fights will be of decisive importance to the miners in all capitalist countries. If the wages of the German miners are reduced it will induce the French, English, Belgian, Polish and Czech mineowners to launch an offensive against the wages of their miners.

Therefore the International Committee of the Miners calls upon the miners in all countries to prepare, along with the German miners, for the fight for wage increases and shorter working hours. In order to set up a close fighting alliance of the European miners, the International Committee calls upon all miners and miners' organisations to send delegates to a Conference of miners of all European countries to be held in Essen on 20th December 1930. The Conference will deal with

1. struggle for increase of miners' wages,
2. struggle for the introduction of the 6 or 7 hour shift,
3. struggle against accidents and mining disasters.

Miners, comrades, miners' organisations!

Elect delegates to this Conference in all pits and mining areas!

Long live the struggle of the miners of all countries!

Berlin, 16th November 1930.

The International Committee of the Miners.

Coming Conflict on the English Railways.

By R. B. (London).

November 12th, marked the ending of the "truce" between the Railway Companies and Railway Unions, which has been in operation for the past two years. The following day the Companies and Union officials met in joint Conference to discuss the situation.

The companies presented their demands, which included:

6/- per week wage cut for all adult males with the present minimum wage of 40/- to be reduced to 38/-.

3/- per week wage cut for Junior males, and the female wage staff.

£10 to £15 per annum reduction for adult male salaried staff, and

3/- to 4/6 per week reduction for women clerks.

At the same time they demand drastic alterations in the conditions of service. Included under this head they demand that the standard weekly hours (whether 48 or less) are to be worked as and when the Company may require. That they are to include Sunday duty when necessary, with overtime at the rate of time-and-a-quarter to be paid only for time worked in excess of the standard weekly hours. They also demand that Sunday and night-duty be paid for at ordinary rates unless in excess of the standard weekly hours when time-and-a-quarter will be paid.

These drastic reductions in wages were put forward by the Companies "in view of the fact of the continued decline in traffic receipts". On the other hand the Union officials, representing the National Union of Railwaymen, Railway Clerks Association, and Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, have been instructed by delegate meetings of the railwaymen to put forward programmes which demand increases in wages.

In the case of the N.U.R., the programme drawn up and adopted by a special delegate meeting held in October was:

1. £3 minimum wage for adult railway workers.
2. A guaranteed week for railway shopmen with six day's annual holiday with pay.
3. Consolidation in wage rates of the existing 6/6 war bonus of shopmen.
4. All railway workers to be brought within the scope of the agreed national and local negotiating machinery.

The officials had recommended this programme with the exception of the £3 minimum, they demand £2.10 s. However, the delegates turned this down.

At a special delegate conference held on Nov. 8th and 9th, the Railway Clerks instructed the Executive to go forward for increase, whilst the Locomotive and Firemen are likewise putting forward their demands.

The rank and file railway workers are determined to press for better conditions, whilst the officials of the Unions seek to find a way out to help the companies over this "difficult period."

It is certain that the joint Conference will not come to an agreement at this stage, and the whole question will be referred to the machinery of the National Wages Board, whose services have not been invoked on any serious wage questions for more than five years — the Union officials have always been able to put across the necessary cuts.

In 1928, which was the worst post-war year, with the exception of 1926 (year of General Strike), the companies called in the union officials and reached an agreement under which all salaries and wages of railway workers of all grades were reduced — the union officials called it "voluntary" — by 2½ per cent (6 d. in the £), which represented a saving to the companies of some £3,000,000.

Last year, in November, the railway workers demanded the restoration of the 2½ per cent. This was granted in May 1930, and from this period to November 12th, a "truce" was observed. During this truce neither side were to put forward any demands. However, the Companies seized the opportunity of attack the rail workers by 1. dismissals, and 2. instituting of short-time on a large-scale for shopmen.

Thousands of workers have been dismissed during this period, and resulted in two cases, — at Bishopsgate and Kings Cross (London) goods department — in the men taking action by "working to rule" to stop dismissals. In both of these instances the men won a victory, securing the reinstatement of the dismissed men. Again in both cases the Union Officials came on to the job for the purpose of breaking the strike.

The Bishopsgate and Kings cross victories were welcomed by the railwaymen up and down the country. Resolutions of congratulations were passed at Branch and mass meetings of Railwaymen. Several of these were prominently featured in the "Daily Worker".

One can give many instances of the rising militancy of the railway workers, and it becomes ever more clear that they will put up a determined resistance to any worsening of conditions.

The Union Executives meet in the next few days to consider these demands and will issue their reply to the Companies next week. In the meantime strike-breaking organisations including the notorious Organisation for the Maintenance of Supplies formed prior to the General Strike of 1926 and a new organisation called the National Emergency Organisation are hastening preparations for coping with the Railway stoppage.

In this situation the Railwaymen's Minority Movement are pressing for united action on the part of all railway workers. At a conference held on November 1st and 2nd, a militant policy was laid down and a call made for the establishment of Committees of Action in the stations, Yards, Depots, etc., to prepare for the coming struggle.

Hands off the Soviet Union

The Hopes of the Interventionists Will Come to Naught.

Moscow, 11th November 1930.

In a leading article bearing the above title and dealing with the indictment in the matter of the counter-revolutionary sabotage organisation known as the "Industrial Party", today's "Pravda" writes:

World imperialism, whose attempts at military intervention at the time of the civil war suffered a defeat, has resorted to a new method of combating the Soviet Union. "Crusade", furious campaign under the slogan of fight against "Soviet dumping", preparation for an economic blockade—these are the new forms of fighting which are to furnish the possibility of a fresh military intervention on a broader basis. World capitalism, which has resorted to new forms of anti-Soviet fight, went over from the direct attack against the State of the proletarian dictatorship (these attacks are rendered more difficult owing to the accentuation of capitalist antagonisms and the increased revolutionary activity of the masses) to invisible, not always noticeable, but nevertheless serious economic intervention by organising acts of sabotage in order to evoke various "crises" in this or that branch of industry and thereby facilitate the possibility of military intervention. All this is closely connected with the class struggle of world capital against the Soviet Power, and there can be no talk of mere chance occurrences.

World capitalism's preparations for intervention have entered on their last phase. The documents which are being published should serve to remind the proletariat that world capitalism is on the point of embarking on anti-Soviet intervention. The indictment in the matter of the Industrial Party exposes to the proletariat of the whole world the predatory plans of world capitalism. The question of armed attack on the Soviet Union has been placed on the order of the day. As a result of the victorious proletarian revolution the Russian industrialists were driven out and beaten and deprived of their property. These industrialists are now fighting together with the French General Staff and aim at converting the Soviet Union into a colony of world capitalism, and at the same time are guiding the hands of the criminal saboteurs.

"Industrial Party", which according to their own statements represent the interests of big capitalism, played a leading part in a number of other counter-revolutionary organisations and groups in our country. This party was the organisation of the big bourgeoisie. The policy of the Industrial Party most clearly expressed the line of the class enemy within the Soviet Union.

From hampering the development of the productive forces, by which, according to the plan of the saboteurs, the socialist offensive was to be reduced to a fiasco, they went over to preparation for intervention. "In the last two years of its existence the "Industrial Party" has quite changed its original character of a counter-revolutionary sabotage organisation including only Russian citizens, and became not only a typical espionage organisation but also a typical military agency of government circles of a foreign State" (Indictment). This is no accident. Who, then, is in the dock? At the head of the sabotage centre there were the remnants of the Russian bourgeoisie, big shareholders and leaders of big capitalist undertakings, well paid spies of the capitalists, the "flower" of the technical intellectuals. We Marxists have always pointed out that the intellectuals are not to be regarded as a uniform, special class group. In the dock there stand that part of the intellectuals which has become coalesced with the capitalist clique and which formerly constituted a part of the exploiting class. They have led with them the small and bad part of the technical intellectuals, whilst the rest of the engineers have taken a more or less active part in the gigantic work of socialist construction. The saboteurs strove not only for the restoration of capitalist conditions, but also for the restoration of the old property owners. They maintained direct connection with the émigré organisations, "Trade and industrial committee" (union of the former industrialists

who have fled abroad). They received instructions from their principals, the sharks of Russian industry so well known to our workers such as Rjabushinsky (who already in 1917 threatened to throttle the revolution by famine), Morosov, Demidov, Mantashev and others. The saboteurs fought for the restoration of the capitalist order under which they participated in the exploitation of the working class. Masked with the fig-leaf of the "democratic order", the saboteurs aimed at setting up a military dictatorship. They became a military espionage agency of world capital in the Soviet Union. They intended to take up the work of demoralising the Red Army and to proceed to divertive manoeuvres. With the support of Rjabushinsky and Mantashev, aggressive French imperialism became the immediate leader of the counter-revolutionary activity. It guided the hands of the saboteurs. The facts brought to light by the investigation show that Poincaré and other cunning representatives of French imperialism were the direct leaders of the counter-revolutionary saboteurs. The saboteurs were obedient lackeys of the deadly enemies of the Soviet Union. But they made a mistake in their calculations. Their attempts to call forth an economic crisis in our country, which should give rise to discontent among the masses and prepare the ground for intervention, have proved abortive. In spite of the harmful effect which the work of the saboteurs had on the development of industrial production and supplying the population, the Soviet Union has made extraordinary progress in the sphere of socialist construction.

Industrial production has increased 25 per cent in the last year; heavy industry by nearly 40 per cent. These are the figures indicating the successes achieved by the working class in the Soviet Union — figures which have been achieved in spite of the efforts of the sabotage organisations. Even in those spheres where the saboteurs were particularly active our achievements have been really enormous. The product of electric energy has been increased by 30 per cent, the production of iron by 24 per cent and the output of coal by 16 per cent. The Leninist line which has been consistently carried out by the C. C. of the C. P. S. U. has ensured the immediate participation of the working class in the work of socialist construction. Millions of workers and toiling peasants in our country, along with the Leninist Party, are successfully building up Socialism. This was of decisive importance. The organisation of saboteurs was unable to withstand the growing activity and creative initiative of the working class.

The sabotage organisations and the inspirers of intervention have also erred in another respect. They underestimated the antagonisms of the capitalist system, which has led to an unprecedented economic crisis and demonstrates the hopeless crisis of capitalism. The successes of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, the accentuation of the class antagonisms in the camp of capitalism caused the saboteurs to postpone the date fixed for intervention. The international proletariat must draw the necessary lessons from the activity of the saboteurs. This affair has shown how real is the danger of intervention. It exposes the contemptible hypocrisy of the talk about disarmament with which the imperialist robbers are endeavouring to cloak their war-preparations against the Soviet Union. The acts of sabotage, espionage and treason of the counter-revolutionary organisations within the territory of the Soviet Union, the fable of "Soviet dumping", the economic blockade — all these are links in the chain of preparations for intervention. The international proletariat and the toiling masses must develop with special energy the fight for the defence of the Soviet Union, the fatherland of the proletariat of the whole world. The imperialist robbers, as is shown by the evidence elicited during the enquiry, three times fixed the date for intervention. Their attempts will be wrecked on the impregnable wall of international solidarity, the impregnable wall of fighters for the international proletarian revolution. As an answer to the new threatening armed intervention and the

work of saboteurs, the proletarians and the working masses in the Soviet Union will fight more persistently and energetically for the realisation of the Five-Year plan in four years and for the development of the socialist offensive. We must bear in mind that the stronger we are, the less danger is there of intervention. The liquidation of the sabotage centre as well as a whole number of its local organisations is the severest blow to the intervention plans. The affair of the sabotage organisation serves to emphasise once again the living and harmful character of the "theory" preached by the Right opportunists of the dying out of the class struggle in the present stage of socialist construction. This theory, at bottom, conceals the sabotage work, facilitates the grouping of the forces which are hostile to us, disarms the proletariat and weakens its vigilance. The hope of a retarded pace of industrialisation, the hope in the "strong individual peasants", i. e. the kulaks in agriculture, is characteristic of the activity of the saboteurs. The platform of the Right opportunists was in harmony with it. It is not a mere chance that the saboteurs had great influence on the Right elements in our Party; it is not an accident that the Right opportunists became objectively a plaything in the hands of the saboteurs, a blind tool of their sabotage work. The discovery of the conspiracy of the sabotage organisations demands from the proletariat and the working masses in the Soviet Union an increased class-conscious vigilance. The complete liquidation of the results of the sabotage activity will be an annihilating blow to the militarist plans of world imperialism. The Red Army, the armed guardian of socialist construction, rendered strong by the support of millions of proletarians, will increase still further its fighting efficiency. World capitalism will break its teeth on the iron stronghold of the land of Socialist construction. The Leninist Party, which is still firmly united round its Central Committee and is expelling from its ranks the Right and Left opportunists, the two-faced agents of the class enemy, will in spite of the danger of intervention and in spite of the machinations of the sabotage organisations, boldly and confidently lead the proletarians and working masses of the Soviet Union to new victories — to the building up of Socialism in our country and to the proletarian world revolution.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Decision of the Moscow Committee against the Secret Fractional Activity in the C.P.S.U.

Moscow, 12th November 1930.

After hearing the report on the fractional activity of Comrades Syrzov and Lominadse directed against the Party and its C. C., the Bureau of the Moscow Committee of the C. P. S. U. together with the Presidium of the Moscow Control Commission and the secretaries of the district party committees of Moscow, adopted the following decision:

The Bureau considers it to be evident that Comrade Syrzov founded a secret fraction central to which Comrades Nussinow, Kawraiski, Galperin and others, belonged; that Comrade Lominadse stood at the head of a secret fraction group to which belonged Comrades Schatzkin, Resnik and others, and that these two fractional groups concluded a bloc for the common struggle against the Party and its leadership. These groupings have existed for a long time (before, during and after the XVI. Party Congress), masking their activity by declarations of their complete agreement with the general line of the Party and the recognition of the correctness of the Party leadership. The Syrzov-Lominadse group, like all Right opportunist and Trotzkyist elements, ignored the peculiarity of the present period of the proletarian revolution as a period of enhanced socialist offensive along the whole front, of gigantic development of socialist economy, which is closely bound up with the accentuation of the class struggle and the inevitable difficulties, to overcome which the Party is exerting all its forces and mobilising the broadest proletarian masses. Comrades Syrzov, Lominadse and Schatzkin etc. carefully concealed their real anti-Party views, penetrated into leading

Party organs and in a provocative manner made use of their positions in order to organise the fraction struggle against the policy of the Party and its C. C. Comrades Syrzov and Lominadse commenced the fight against the Party at a moment when the class enemies of the proletariat mobilised all their forces for the struggle against the proletarian dictatorship and our Party, when the counter-revolutionary sabotage organisations (Industrial party, party of the toiling peasants etc.) were discovered and their direct connection with the imperialist interventionists ascertained, at a moment when the Right opportunists in the Party increased their struggle against the C. C. and ideologically more and more approach to the counter-revolutionary sabotage organisations. Under these conditions the Syrzov-Lominadse group has by its secret fraction struggle against the Party and its C. C. taken up the position of the Right opportunists and of the counter-revolutionary Trotzkyists and entered the path of undermining the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Instead of actively supporting the Party in its fight for a rapid rate of industrialisation of the country, for the socialist transformation of agriculture, for the liquidation of the kulaks as a class, the Syrzov-Lominadse group, under the mask of self-criticism, discredits these slogans and is speculating upon the difficulties. In its struggle against the Party it is repeating the Trotzkyist and Right opportunist assertions of an "inner-Party regime"; it is repeating all the shameful calumnies of the enemies of the proletariat and its henchmen against the Party leadership of the C. P. S. U. The bloc of the Right opportunist Syrzov group, which formerly proclaimed the slogan: "accumulate calmly", and its leader, the "Left" semi-Trotzkyist Lominadse, represents only another attempt on the part of the Right opportunist elements (Bukharin, Rykov, Tomsky group) to unite with the Trotzkyist and semi-Trotzkyist elements for a common struggle against the Party.

The fact that the Right and "Left" Syrzov-Lominadse group are adhering to the Right opportunist standpoint (the question of the rate of socialist construction etc.) and conducting the fight against the Party, fully exposes the alleged Left position of the semi-Trotzkyist and Trotzkyist "Left" elements and again confirms the statement that the Right danger is the main danger in the Party.

The XVI. Party Congress has called the attention of the whole Party to the new manoeuvre of the Right and other opportunist elements, which is expressed in their formal recognition of their mistakes and their formal agreement with the general line of the Party without, however, this recognition being confirmed by work and fight for the general line, which attitude in reality only represents the transition from the open fight against the Party to a concealed fight or to waiting for a more favourable moment in order to resume the attacks upon the Party. This double game is further confirmed by the fact that the leaders of the Syrzov-Lominadse fraction bloc, who have been proved guilty of anti-Party activity up to the last moment attempted to conceal their fraction activity by designating the statement regarding their anti-Party activity as calumnies and malicious talk. The fraction work of the Syrzov-Lominadse group again confirms the correctness of the warning issued by the XVI. Party Congress in regard to the new manoeuvres of the Right and "Left" opportunists and in regard to the necessity of waging a ruthless struggle against them.

The Bureau of the Moscow Committee is convinced that the C. C. and the C. C. C. will adopt against Comrades Syrzov and Lominadse the organisational measures resulting from the decisions of the XVI. Party Congress, and if necessary expel them from the ranks of the C. P. S. U. In view of the discovery of the fractional double game of the Syrzov-Lominadse group, in view of the enhanced activity of all opportunist and in particular of the Right elements (Riutin, Slepkov, Maretsky etc.), and in view of the attitude of the former leaders of the Right opposition (Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky), who have not carried out the decisions of the XVI. Party Congress regarding the active struggle for the general line of the Party, further toleration cannot be permitted. The Bureau of the Moscow Committee believes that such an attitude on the part of the members of the C. C. — Bukharin, Rykov, Tomsky, must become the object of special investigation on the part of the C. C. and of the C. C. C. The Moscow Committee of the C. P. S. U. calls upon all Bolsheviks of the Moscow Party

organisation, to rally still more closely round the Leninist C.C. and to display a still greater vigilance, ideological and organisational ruthlessness in the fight against the Right and "Left" opportunists and hypocrites as well as also against the conciliators. The Moscow Committee of the C.P.S.U. expresses the firm conviction that our Party, in spite of anti-Party and factional attacks, in spite of the attempts on the part of the petty bourgeois elements to disorganise the work of the Party and to undermine the iron unity of its ranks, will, under the leadership of its C.C., continue to march firmly and unshakably along the path of successful socialist construction, along the path of carrying out the general line of the Party.

After Wijnkoop's Capitulation.

By Gerard Vanter (Amsterdam).

Wijnkoop, the former leader of the so-called Wijnkoop group, in his declaration in the Dutch Parliament, has acknowledged his capitulation and openly stated that the Comintern has proved to have been right on all points in its justified fight against the wrong policy of the Wijnkoop group. Wijnkoop's declaration to the effect that his party has dissolved and decided that its members shall join the Dutch Section of the Comintern, was received with scornful laughter by the social democratic leaders in the Dutch Parliament. For days after this declaration leading articles in the social democratic and bourgeois press dealt with this "nauseating case of self-humiliation". The Catholic press, however, commented quite differently on the importance of this victory of Comintern policy. "De Maasbode", a big Catholic daily, which can be regarded as government organ, stated that it has great respect for an international organisation which, "at such distance from its seat, is able to impose and carry out such a discipline".

More important, however, than these utterances of the press and of the bourgeois Parliament is of course the attitude of the Party and the workers in the factories to the capitulation of the Wijnkoop group. The "Tribune", the central organ of the C.P. of Holland, at once stated that Wijnkoop's declaration is inadequate, as the nature and causes which led Wijnkoop to his wrong policy are not sufficiently explained. This is necessary, not for the sake of self-humiliation, as the social democratic press maintains, but for the enlightenment of the working class. At its meeting held on 7th October the Secretariat of the C.P. of Holland dealt thoroughly with Wijnkoop's declaration and issued a statement in the "Tribune" designating Wijnkoop's declaration as a contribution to the enlightenment of the working class on the truth that every attempt to set up a counter-organisation to the Comintern means a weakening of the fighting front and in fact a support of fascism and social fascism. For the rest, we cannot be satisfied with such an incomplete declaration. The question as to the basis of the opportunist policy remains completely unanswered, and the mere statement that Wijnkoop's policy in regard to the trade union and unemployed movement has led the workers away from Communism is quite unsatisfactory. "To put the question in this manner means to avoid a thorough self-criticism, because the tactics adopted not only objectively led in the direction of reformism but was rooted in the opportunist attitude towards the International". It is therefore necessary to exercise thorough self-criticism, and it must be regretted that Wijnkoop in his declaration did not mention his abortive attempts to represent his policy to the workers as the only correct policy of the Comintern in Holland.

"The confusion which consequently arose among the ranks of the working class, in particular among the comrades of the former Wijnkoop group, who by means of this lying assertion were kept away from the Comintern, who for five long years failed to understand the policy of the Comintern and who consequently, often unconsciously, fought against this policy, must be openly admitted in order by this means to enable these workers in particular and the working class in general to obtain a perfectly clear insight into this matter."

It is further demanded of Wijnkoop that he clearly states how far he is prepared to carry out the policy of the Com-

intern and to apply the Bolshevik method of self-criticism, not only in regard to his own deviations but also in regard to the deviations of others whom he does not support. This refers in particular to Ravenstein's attitude to the question of "penal sanction", the coöde question in Indonesia; to Ravenstein's article in which he compares "Moscow" with Papal Rome; to van Burink's attitude in the Rotterdam town council in regard to the question of the kali treaty, when van Burink failed to oppose the nationalist standpoint of the social democrats, because, allegedly, he was not sufficiently informed etc. Wijnkoop must also openly expose his wrong Indonesian policy, his sabotage of the election of the Indonesian comrade Darsono to the Dutch Parliament, as a result of which the Indonesian Communist movement was deprived of a tribune; his praise of the attitude of the Right wing leaders of the Indonesian nationalists who capitulated to the Dutch imperialists and defended a Gandhi policy of passive resistance; and further his wrong policy towards the League Against Imperialism, his wrong pacifist attitude in the Amsterdam Town Council. The declaration of the Party Secretariat states, the Party expects of Wijnkoop that he publishes a number of articles in which he explains and elaborates his declaration in Parliament.

Wijnkoop has complied with this demand and the "Tribune" has now started publishing his articles. Wijnkoop writes:

"Our group was lacking what is just the precondition for the revolutionary struggle, and that is — we have clearly realised it and openly confess it — the leadership of the Comintern.

"Therein lies the significance of the political bankruptcy as revealed in the capitulation: not has only the separate organisation been thereby liquidated, but also the different policy, every policy deviating from the Comintern."

Wijnkoop writes that the only benefit derived from the five years existence of the Wijnkoop group consists of the fact that it has served to render clear what is the outcome of every oppositional policy, be it inside or outside of the Comintern.

It has become clear:

"that such an experiment either leads to the reformism of the leaders or to the going over to the bourgeoisie; either to the abandonment of the proletarian theory and practice, to a sliding down to social fascism or to political capitulation to the Comintern, as concretely revealed by the examples of Sneevliet, van Ravenstein, Frederiks, Lisser — and myself"

Wijnkoop then enumerates the deviations and the wrong policy conducted by himself and his group. He arrives at the conclusion that the Comintern was right in all questions.

Whilst waiting for the decision of the Comintern regarding the readmission of Wijnkoop into the Party, the C.P. of Holland now has the task of widely propagating Wijnkoop's declarations at meetings, in factory wall newsmen etc. in order to draw the lessons from the political bankruptcy of the Wijnkoop group and to consolidate our fighting front against capitalism and social fascism.

Comrade Hermann Remmeli.

By Heinz Neumann (Berlin).

One of the champions of the revolutionary labour movement of Germany, one of the most Bolshevik leaders of our Party, Comrade Remmeli, is to day celebrating his fiftieth birthday. Organised in the revolutionary labour movement since his 14th year, Comrade Remmeli has spent thirty-three of the fifty years which lie behind him, in the front line of the revolutionary class struggle.

Born on November 15, 1880, in Ziegelhausen near Heidelberg, he spent the years of his childhood as a miller's son among the peasant folk in Odenwald. He attended the elementary school in Ludwigshafen on the Rhine. Already as a child he worked as bag-carrier at the station and on the Rhine ships in order to help support himself. At the age of

fourteen he was apprenticed to the trade of a metal turner. In February 1897 he joined the German Metal Workers Union and at the same time the Social Democratic Party of Germany.

When in Autumn 1918 the first signal of the German revolution reached the front, Hermann Remmeli, along with his company, returned from the trenches singing revolutionary songs. Arrived at Mannheim he was elected president of the local Workers and Soldiers Council. He flung himself into the revolutionary fight. He took over the leadership of the independent Socialist Party in Württemberg and was one of the most ardent champions of the affiliation of the Independent Socialist Party with the Communist International. At the foundation Congress of the united Communist Party of Germany, held in Berlin in December 1920, Hermann Remmeli was elected to the Central Committee, of which he has ever since been a member.

Since the Autumn of 1920 Comr. de Remmeli has been a member of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. He was a delegate to the 3rd, 5th and 6th World Congresses, and on behalf of the Communist International has executed a whole number of commissions in various foreign parties, including those in the countries of the White Terror.

One can sum up Hermann Remmeli's career, his place in the history of our Party in one sentence; he belongs to the iron Bolshevik guard under the leadership of Thälmann, who with the greatest sacrifices, hated by all enemies of the proletariat and loved by all class-conscious workers, are organising the victory of the German revolution.

ECONOMICS

Denmark Drawn in the Wake of England.

By J.S.

The effects of the economic crisis are making themselves felt even in Denmark. Under the pressure of this crisis Denmark, which is ruled by a social democratic government, is rapidly becoming a vassal State of England, which is also ruled by a social democratic government.

At a banquet delivered during his "courtesy visit" to Copenhagen recently, the Lord Mayor of London said: "Make your purchases where you sell your goods!" And this exhortation is regarded by leading circles in Denmark as a command. The government and finance capital are completely subjecting themselves to those who have in their hands the key to the largest market for Danish products.

Recently the Danish big peasants who are united in the fascist organisations of the so-called groups of twelve and the S.O.S., established direct connections with English industry. They have undertaken to cover their requirements in the way of goods as far as possible in England. True to their social imperialist policy as obedient servants of capitalism, the Danish "Labour government" are fighting with the greatest energy in order to extend the market possibilities for their agriculture in England. This circumstance has led to a considerable decline of Danish exports to Germany. As a result of the increased German import duties, Denmark's export of slaughtered cattle to Germany has declined from 270,000 to 200,000, or about 25 per cent. The doubling of the import duty on butter, for which as is known the German national socialists voted, will likewise have serious results for Danish agriculture.

The "fight" of the Danish Labour government is shown among other things by their increasing the national credits to the big capitalist exporters from 50 to 70 million crowns, while on the other hand nothing of course is done for the small peasants who are severely hit by the crisis and the price drop.

What the English think of their new vassal is shown by the report of the Copenhagen newspaper "Berlingske Tidende" on the way the subject of Danish imports was dealt with at the British Imperial Conference.

"No country was mentioned more frequently at this Conference than Denmark. The Dominion Ministers continually declared in their speeches: "We could supply goods which Denmark is sending to England, and Denmark buys very few goods from England!" It would be a mistake to question the deep impression which this argument made here. Whether we like it or not, our foreign trade is tending more and more in the direction of commodity exchange, as in the olden times. The English Foreign Ministry is successfully defending the trade agreement with Argentina, and this is a hint for Denmark. The only possibility of maintaining our exports to England lies in introducing a most favoured nation clause for British industrial products."

For the leading politicians of the British Empire it is of course not exclusively a question of economics. By means of economic pressure they have brought under their bondage another State which owing to its situation will be an important point of support in their coming war against the Soviet Union. The Danish Labour government also know what is due from them to Macdonald and the II. International. They are endeavouring, under the mask of pacifism, to develop and strengthen their fighting forces. For this purpose compulsory military service is to be done away with and a reliable army of professional soldiers set up which, by its composition as a cadre for greater masses of troops, will play an important part in war time. That social democratic policy even in small, "idyllic" Denmark has really nothing to do with disarmament, is shown by the statement of the social democratic Minister for War, Laust Rasmussen:

"How can the leaders of the Rights and the Liberals reproach me with reducing expenditure on the navy, when I intend to spend a million more for this purpose than the Liberal government expended in the year 1927/28"

PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

The Working Women in the Berlin Metal Workers' Strike.

By Hedwig Neumann (Berlin).

Low wages, unheard-of exploitation of labour power, and speeding up on the conveyor cause the health of the women metal workers to be ruined in a very short time. In most of the branches of the metal industry, especially during the years of rationalisation, men's labour has been replaced by cheaper female labour. The trade unions ever since they were founded have put forward the slogan of "equal pay for equal work", but up to now they have not taken any serious steps in order to realise this demand when concluding new collective agreements. On the contrary, at every wage settlement the difference between men's and women's wages has increased with the assistance of the reformist trade unions.

It was due to the lack of a revolutionary trade union organisation which would have aroused the working women to the fight for their demands, that the great mass of working women kept aloof from the organisation. Consequently they were for the most part docile and willing workers.

Nevertheless we can point to a number of struggles in which the working women actively opposed wage reductions and a worsening of their conditions and either practised passive resistance or downed tools in order to enforce their demands.

When the negotiations for a new wage agreement were concluded last year between the metal cartel and the trade unions, the bureaucrats informed the functionaries that their wages would be increased by 3-7 Pfennigs per hour. But this only applied to the small category of workers on time rates, while the great mass of the piece rate workers did not receive a Pfennig increase. A department of working women

of the firm of Siemens-Werner unanimously went on strike when they found that they were not to receive any wage increase. This is only one example of the fighting will of the working women. But the trade union bureaucrats only sneer at this fighting will. In their annual report on the struggles of the working women they write as follows:

"In every case the only result was that the misguided working women lost their wages for several days and also were not reinstated in the factory."

This sentence shows how the reformist trade union is "representing the interests" of the working women. This attitude of the German metal workers' union towards the fighting working women, its hostile attitude to married women working in the factories, are the reasons why only a small portion of the working women are organised in the reformist trade union.

When the Berlin metal workers went on strike on 15th October the great mass of working women were convinced that they had nothing to lose and could only win from a united struggle together with their male colleagues. Hence the factories and departments in which many working women are employed voted almost unanimously for the strike, although they were aware that they would have to conduct the struggle without receiving any strike pay.

During the struggle the working women displayed great activity. Working women who hitherto had been quite indifferent, worked splendidly in the picket lines, on the strike committees and in the relief work of the W.I.R. They came in scores to the strike leaders of the Red Trade Union Opposition and entered as members of the R.T.U.O. When it was announced at the strike meetings on October 31st that the R.T.U.O. and the C.P. of Germany were going to found a revolutionary trade union, the working women enthusiastically applauded this decision, and many of them at once entered the new union.

Thousands of working women have during the strike shown their full confidence in the R.T.U.O. Many of them still belonging to the German metal workers' union have come to realise during the strike that this union is not defending their interests. They will all enter the new revolutionary union, in which they are not merely tolerated as paying members, but in which they have the same rights as their male colleagues and in which their interests will be defended with all means. A commission of working women elected from representatives of the factories will safeguard these interests and will receive all the demands and complaints of the working women from the factories.

The Berlin women metal workers have elected strong delegations to the National Congress of Toiling Women, convened for the 22nd November in Berlin; they are convinced that this Congress will mark a further stage in the organisation of working women in the red front.

PROLETARIAN YOUTH MOVEMENT

Resolution of the Presidium of the E.C. of the Y.C.I. on the Inner-Party Situation of the C.P.S.U.

The Presidium of the E.C. of the Y.C.I. has learnt with indignation of the new attacks by the Right and "Left" opportunists on the general line of the C.P.S.U. and its Leninist leadership.

The proletariat of the Soviet Union, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, is successfully carrying out the offensive against the capitalist elements, reorganising the economy and public life on a socialist basis, driving the capitalists out of their last positions and liquidating the big peasantry as a class on the basis of complete collectivisation of agriculture. This broad offensive, carried out according to the decisions of XVI. Party Congress, arouses the growing resistance of the class enemy and all its henchmen, who are exerting all their

forces in order to check the growth of socialist society and increase the difficulties which are inevitably bound up with the socialist transformation of the country. Gangs of hired saboteurs attempted at the behest of the imperialist governments, to wreck the Five-Year Plan and to stop the food supplies to the working class centres in order to be able to throttle the Soviet Republic at the moment of intervention by the bony hand of starvation and by economic chaos.

But these dastardly plans of the white bandits were frustrated as a result of the persistent carrying out of the general line of the Bolshevik Party, by the creative energy of the toiling masses of the Soviet Union and by the iron hand of the guardian of the revolution, the G.P.U.

The imperialists, the saboteurs, the big peasants and counter-revolutionary elements, in their sinister designs against the proletarian dictatorship, have reckoned, as is now infutably proved, upon the assistance of the oppositional elements within the C.P.S.U. and mainly upon the Right opportunists of all tendencies only execute the will and aims of the class enemy within the Party and the proletariat.

At the present moment of the greatest accentuation of the class struggle, calling for the greatest unity of the proletarian and Communist forces, all the hesitating elements who are most susceptible petty bourgeois vacillations and alien influences are again revolting against the line of the Party and its leadership. The peculiar feature of the present attack on the part of the oppositional elements consists of the fact that the Right and "Left" opportunists have united in an unprincipled bloc for the common fight against the Party and are adopting hypocritical methods in this fight. While they formally recognise their former mistakes and accept the line of the Party, they have welded together their separate groups in a conspiratorial manner and are only waiting for a favourable moment in order to attack the Party openly. In particular the old "Left" slogans of Comrades Schatz, Lomtividze, Sten etc. which have been condemned by the Party, are again being fetched out of the oppositional arsenals.

These new attacks and this undermining work of the opportunists of all tendencies must be crushingly defeated the more so as they collaborate with the Right and "Left" opportunists in the international Communist movement. In the ranks of the Bolsheviks there must be no room for agents of the class enemy.

The Presidium of the E.C. of the Y.C.I. welcomes the expulsion of the exposed hypocrites and opportunists such as Rytin, Slepkov, Maretzky, Nussinov, Kavraisky and others from the Party and considers it necessary that the ideological inspirers of the Right and "Left" block should be called to account with Bolshevik severity. Comrades Rykov, Bukharin and Tomsky must put an end to their policy of tacit support of the anti-Party elements—otherwise all the necessary measures arising from the decisions of the XVI. Party Congress must be applied against them.

The Presidium of the E.C. of the Y.C.I. is convinced that the Leninist Party will also this time be able to expose and completely defeat the Right deviation which still remains the main danger in the present epoch, as well as the "Left" opportunists allied with them in a bloc, and that it will not tolerate any conciliatory attitude towards them. Under the tried leadership of the Leninist C.C., headed by Comrade Stalin, the C.P.S.U. will still more boldly and at an accelerated Bolshevik rate of economic development, lead the proletariat of the Soviet Union to the final triumph of Socialism.

In this fight Lenin's Party and the proletariat of the Soviet Union can be sure of the complete support and the active help of the Communist and revolutionary youth of the whole world.

We declare that the whole Y.C.I., and in particular the Leninist Young Communist League of the Soviet Union, will now again steadfastly carry out and defend the line of the Party and completely frustrate all attempts both of the Right and "Left" opportunists to penetrate into the ranks of the proletarian youth.