

Trial of the Sabotagers in Moscow.

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The Fate of the Intervention Plans will be Decided by the International Proletariat

The Supreme Soviet Court, in the name of 150 million millions of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, will in the next few days pass judgment on the leaders of the international sabotage and espionage organisation. The men behind these saboteurs, Poincaré, Briand, Deterding, Urquhart, General Jannin and other French, English and Polish General Staff officers, worked at a safe distance where they cannot yet be reached by the sword of the revolutionary law of the proletarian State.

The Court of the Soviet Union can in the best case pronounce sentence on only a part of those responsible for the sabotage. It can only decide the fate of the saboteurs and spies of the imperialists who prepared counter-revolutionary intervention war against the Soviet Union within the frontiers of the workers State.

The fate of the intervention plans does not depend upon the Soviet Court. It does not even depend upon the working masses in the Soviet Union who stand behind it and who have for years been carrying on their peaceful policy with the greatest perseverance and in spite of all the provocations of the imperialists, in spite of all saboteurs and spies, in spite of Poincaré, Briand, Deterding und Urquhart are successfully building up Socialism. The fate of Poincaré's intervention plans will be decided outside of the frontiers of the Soviet Union, in the capitalist countries.

Hence the conspiracy of silence maintained by the openly bourgeois press of international imperialism regarding the exposure of the plans for counter-revolutionary intervention-war

against the Soviet Union, with a simultaneously extremely enhanced campaign of incitement against the workers' State. Hence also the pacifist smoke-screen of the social democratic press in the service of international imperialism, by which it is intended to cover up the exposed preparation for intervention by Poincaré, Briand, Deterding, as well as the General Staffs of France, England and Poland.

Every means, including silence, deliberate lies and pacifist smoke-screens are being employed in order to prevent the working masses of the capitalist and colonial countries from realising what the exposure of the military intervention plans as well as all the events in connection with the international policy of imperialism in the last two years have proved namely; that here it is not a case of danger of war in general, but of concrete plans of war of intervention against the Soviet Union and the concrete measures in preparation for this war.

The intervention plans have not been abandoned as a result of the exposure but only postponed. The carrying out of the counter-revolutionary intervention-war was planned for the year 1931, so that the enforced postponement of the commencement of the war only means that preparations for military operations against the Soviet Union in the year 1931 are being continued.

Messrs. Poincaré, Briand, Deterding and Urquhart may flatly and impudently deny everything, like a horse thief caught in the act, but the facts of the foreign policy of the French government, the events in Poland, Rumania and Finland, the open fascism of these States, King Carol's ascension to

the throne, the exposed military plans of the Finnish General Staff, and the increased armaments in all the States bordering the Soviet Union prove beyond all doubt that military-political and military-technical preparations to realise the intervention plans in the year 1931 were carried on at a most accelerated pace.

The central organ of the French social democracy "Populaire" may assert that "the latest great conspiracy discovered by Stalin, and in which the French General Staff as well as Poincaré are alleged to be involved, must appear ridiculous in the eyes of every sensible person"; the fact remains that the former organisers and supporters of the armies of Koltchak, Denikin and Wrangel have been caught in the act of preparing a fresh war of intervention at the cost of the international working class.

This fact is by no way altered by the circumstance that M. Leon Blum, after the exposure of the intervention plans, had nothing better to do than to write a series of articles in the "Populaire", containing no mention of the intervention plans and maintaining complete silence on Poincaré's role, but eulogising the pacifism of M. Briand who has just been exposed as the leader of intervention.

The purpose of M. Leon Blum's articles is not only to conceal from the working masses the extreme seriousness of the danger of intervention; they are also intended to confirm the thesis of the social-fascist II. International that the war danger threatens from the East.

In the same number of the "Populaire" of 18th November Leon Blum, in an article written on the occasion of the Piłsudski elections in Poland and entitled "New dangers threaten Europe!", states:

"The triumph of the sabre in Warsaw cannot fail to evoke a new outbreak of militarism in Moscow, where the government has never ceased to make use for its own home policy of all the militarist demonstrations in the border States. The oppression of the Ukrainians and White Russians by the Polish government can furnish Stalin and his General Staff with the desired pretext for helping the national minorities in Poland to set up a Soviet Republic."

All this is intended to serve to weaken the consciousness of the immediate nearness of the danger of war against the Soviet Union in the heads of the working class and the toiling and oppressed masses of the people by downright and pacifist lies. All means are being employed in order to prevent the future victims of counter-revolutionary war and the present burden-bearers of the imperialist war preparations against the

Soviet Union: the workers as well as all the exploited and oppressed of the whole capitalist and colonial world, are coming to realise that it depends upon them whether Poincaré's intervention-plan will be frustrated or whether he will succeed in kindling war against the Socialist workers' State in order to destroy the work of socialist construction in the Soviet Union.

The chief leader of the counter-revolutionary conspiratorial organisation, engineer Ramzin, said in his deposition 16th October 1930:

"By the second half of 1929 news arrived from abroad that it would be impossible to carry out the intervention in 1930, and that it was postponed till the following year."

The chief causes of this postponement were 1. the increased revolutionary activity of the working masses, 2. complications in the military situation of France in consequence of strained relations with Italy, & Germany, 3. the uncertain attitude and the conflicting interests of Germany and Poland, 4. the failure of the adventure in the Far East which proved the difficulties of a fight against the Red Army, and 5. the absence of an agreement between the chief participants in an intervention."

From this confession, which is based upon information coming from the most select inner circles of the imperialist General Staffs, it is perfectly clear that the postponement of the realisation of the interventionist plans was to a large extent due to the fear of the imperialists of a revolutionary situation, which it is true can arise as a result of the case but which in any event would be tremendously accelerated by a war.

Every honest, class-conscious worker will admit that the fate of the intervention-plans lies in the hands of the international proletariat of the capitalist countries. It depends upon the activity of the broadest proletarian masses and the broadest strata of the exploited and oppressed how far Messrs. Briand, Poincaré and Deterding will succeed, with the help of the social-democratic pacifist smoke-screens, in realising the intervention-plans at the fixed date, or whether these war-monarchs will be compelled to leave the working and peasant masses of the Soviet Union in peace in order that they may be able to continue the work of building up Socialism in the Soviet Union.

Away with the web of lies of the imperialist bourgeoisie!
Away with the pacifist smoke-screen of the social fascists!
The fate of the plans for intervention lies in your hands, proletarians of the capitalist and colonial countries!

Maxim Gorky's Appeal to the Workers and Peasants of the Capitalist Countries

Against the War — Mongers!

Moscow, 25th November 1930.

On the occasion of the trial which is commencing today of the "Industrial Party", Maxim Gorky has addressed the following appeal to the workers and peasants of all capitalist countries:

"In Moscow, before the Supreme Court of the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, the trial is being held of people who organised a counter-revolutionary conspiracy against the workers' and peasants' government.

The proletarians of all countries, and especially you, workers of France and England, must realise the meaning of this conspiracy and its importance to you, for you also will in your time have to do with such traitors as are now being tried in Moscow. These people, specialists in the technical sphere, educated lackeys of the capitalists who have been driven out of Russia, were caught red-handed; they have confessed to a whole number of the most dastardly crimes against the working class. They took advantage of the confidence of the Soviet Union in order with all means to harm the cause of the building up of the State of Equality — the socialist society of the workers. They rendered more difficult the development of industry in the Soviet Union, spoiled everything that can be spoiled, senselessly, squandered the means and forces of the working people, endeavoured

in every way to injure the growth and the development of the country and artificially to bring about a famine in the Soviet Union. All their criminal and harmful acts aimed at disorganising the work of the Soviet Government in the interest of the development of the economy of the Soviet Union; at bringing about chaos in the Soviet works and undertakings and discontent with the Soviet Government among the mass of the people, especially among the peasantry. They did all this according to an agreement with and under the leadership of those Russian capitalists who had emigrated from Russia and found refuge in Europe before all in Paris, and who wish to restore their rule over the working class and the peasantry of the Soviet Union.

Of course, the former Russian factory owners and bankers did not reckon on being able to achieve their return to Russia by means of their own resources.

The cause of the capitalists in the whole world is the same, namely, the cause of cynical exploitation of the workers and toilers. It is therefore a matter of course that the Russian capitalists found full sympathy for their criminal doings among the capitalists of France and England. Poincaré-la-guerre, Briand, Churchill, Baldwin and other servants of capital willingly gave their support to the aims of the Russian robbers and swindlers. Together with these

sabotagers who are now being tried before the Supreme Court of the Soviet Russian people in Moscow, they worked out the plan of attack on the Soviet Union, the plan of military intervention. The vilest work of destruction by the sabotagers in the Soviet Union was instigated in order to facilitate the robber-attack on the Soviet Union by the intervention armies.

The Soviet Union was to be provoked to war against the workers and peasants of Poland and Rumania, whilst the workers and peasants of France and England were to take over the alleged defence of these countries, which are already economically under the yoke of the big robber-organisations of capital.

For the capitalists, war is a profitable business; they trade in arms and enrich themselves out of the blood of the workers. The horrors of a new war do not hold them back, although they know that these horrors will surpass all those of the war of 1914-18. The capitalists have no compunction in exterminating a further 20 to 30 million workers and peasants. The cause of the capitalists is the same all over the world.

The cause of the workers and peasants is likewise the same all over world; the workers and peasants must throw off the rule of capital and free themselves from misery.

Workers! remember that during the four years of imperialist war millions of tons of metals produced and worked up by you were sunk in the sea; millions of tons of coal produced by you were uselessly burned; incalculable quantities of leather, cloth and every possible product of your labour were destroyed. Treasures were destroyed which belong to you and your children. Whilst, however, the capitalists destroyed these treasures, ruined you, exterminated millions of your fathers and blood and class brothers, they themselves grew fat and piled up gold.

Hundreds of thousands of workers build ships which are sunk, make guns, machine guns and rifles which finally serve to kill you. You also will of course kill workers and peasants who have no grudge against you, just as you have no grudge against them. And this fact renders the crime of war still more insane and more criminal. In arming the capitalists you are working against yourselves, the energy you waste on war is tantamount to suicide. They want to incite you against the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, who are showing you how well one can live and work without masters.

Every day the bourgeois press calumniates the Soviet Union, it invents every kind of stupidity and bogey story — it does this in order to awaken your mistrust towards the successes of the workers of the Soviet Union, in order to rouse your hostility to the working class of the Soviet Union.

The capitalists themselves know very well how great are the successes of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, how great are its achievements in spite of the organised sabotage activity of the capitalist hirelings. They fully realise what a danger these successes represent to world capitalism.

The capitalists know that when the workers of the Soviet Union reach their goal — and this goal is already near — you also will follow the example of the working people of the Soviet Republic. Out of greed they are seeking to arouse your hostility to the workers' and peasants' government of the Soviet Union, because Soviet Russia represents an enormous market for goods and possesses tremendous mineral wealth. Out of Union, because the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union are rapidly and unweariedly digging the grave of capitalism. The capitalists wish to send you to death in order to aid the victory of their rule, in order to enrich themselves.

In the Soviet Union even the children in the pioneer organisations know that every war, with the exception of the war of the workers against the ruling class, is an insane crime of the workers of the different countries against each other.

The people of the Soviet Union do not want war, but you must know that they are not afraid of it and that they are prepared.

You know already that twelve years ago the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union did not wish to fight against you, and almost unarmed, half-starving, clothed in rags, defeated the armies consisting of officers commanded by the most efficient generals and excellently equipped by the

capitalists of France and Eng'nd. Now the Soviet Union has a well-armed army in which every soldier knows that he is fighting for his freedom, for the freedom of the country in which he is the lawful master, in which there are no other masters than the workers and peasants. You, however, will fight for the interests which are hostile to you, for the interests of the capitalists who trade in your flesh and blood. You must realise now the astounding insanity of your passive attitude in face of that bloody game which your masters are again commencing against you — this handful of robbers which is used to living on the robbery of your arduous toil.

The capitalists are arming for a war more terrible than that of 1914-18. They wish again to annihilate millions of men, to make cripples. Do you want that? You are in a position to prevent the war: you and all people who are still able to realise the senselessness, the crime of a new All-European war can stay the arm of the adventurers. You possess all the means thereto.

You especially, workers of France and England, must demand of your governments that the Russian emigrants and capitalists who wish to bargain away the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union to your capitalists, be driven out.

This demand must be dictated not only by your class-consciousness, the solidarity of the proletariat of all countries, but also by the necessity of self-defence against people with whom you have no common interests, who bribe your masters and Ministers with promises, divide with them the booty of the robber campaign after a fresh human slaughter has been provoked which will destroy millions of people of your class.

Wives, mothers, sisters and sweethearts must protest against such a slaughter of human beings; and also those intellectuals, "humanists", who not so long ago raised objection to the punishment of counter-revolutionaries — without knowing how abominable was their crime — must join in this protest.

POLITICS

The Financial Policy of the Brüning Government.

By Th. Neubauer (Berlin).

The Brüning Cabinet, which on the 18th of October was saved by the 142 votes of the social democracy from the vote of non-confidence moved by the Communist fraction, has made use of the last few weeks in order to prepare for a fresh attack on the working population, which the Chancellor announced already in his programmatic declaration on 16th of October. After hurried discussion lasting only two weeks, the new budget for 1931 and the laws connected with it for "financial reform" were accepted in the Reichsrat by the representatives of the provincial governments. In the next few weeks these laws will be submitted to the Reichstag.

The acceptance of the Reichs budget for 1931 by the Reichsrat on 20th November was unanimous. The governments of the provinces in which the social democrats have the leadership (Prussia, Anhalt etc.) and the provincial governments with national socialist Ministers (Thuringia, Brunswick) agreed to the fresh robbery of the working population. Brüning can rely upon his lackeys, the national fascists as the Right support, and the social democrats as the Left support of his system.

With this vote in the Reichsrat both the national socialists and the social democrats expressed their solidarity with the new and unheard-of cutting down of social policy which the Brüning Cabinet intend to carry out by the budget and financial Bills. All grants from the Reich to the unemployment insurance fund have been struck out of the budget of the Reichs Ministry of Labour. In the current year these grants amounted to about 574 million marks. This sum is to be "saved" at the cost of the unemployed and the workers in the factories. For the Reichs Institute for Unemployment Insurance, which in the future will have to carry on without any grants from the Reich must either further increase the contributions payable by the workers and employees, which at present amount to 6½ per cent of their wages, or reduce the unemployment benefit, or perhaps adopt both courses.

This shameful measure, however, met with the approval of the national and social fascists.

In addition, further sums are to be struck out of the social budget of the Reich, as for instance the grants to the incapacity insurance fund are to be reduced by 57 million; the sum granted the miners' insurance fund by 69 millions; the sum granted to the war victims by 80 millions, etc. Even the already greatly reduced sums granted for maternity benefit etc. are to be still further cut down.

A drastic cutting down of social expenditure is to be carried out not only in the Reich but also in the provinces and municipalities. For this purpose the payment over by the Reich to the provinces and municipalities of taxation revenue has been reduced by 500 million marks; as at the same time the revenue derived by the provinces and municipalities from local taxation and enterprises has greatly declined as a result of the crisis, one can reckon on a cutting down of social policy on a scale hitherto unknown even in Germany. In order in any case to enforce a reduction of social expenditure, the Reichs government, in connection with the budget, has submitted a "Bill for the reduction of expenditure", prohibiting new expenditure which might ensue owing to the growing misery of the masses, and at the same time aiming at rendering permanent the enforced cutting down of social policy. This measure, which is a direct provocation of the working masses, has met with the approval of the national socialist and the social democratic Ministers.

The cutting down of expenditure for social purposes is all the more provocative as at the same time a military budget is being submitted which represents a record in the armament policy of Germany. There is no reduction of the sums granted the Reichswehr and the Navy, so that these two services will again receive 700 million marks. In connection with the naval budget there has been issued a new ship-building programme providing for the building of armoured cruisers B., C. and D., which will swallow up something like 500 million marks. The expenditure on the airfleet and the police has not been reduced by a single mark. In spite of all talk about this year being a "year of emergency", a "year of economy", and in face of the tremendous cutting down of the social services, the armaments of the bourgeoisie are not only being maintained but even increased.

The unemployed and the old age pensioners can starve, the pregnant mother can perish, but we shall build armoured cruisers.

A second part of the new financial programme of the Brüning government affects the building of houses and rent. The public means (from the house rent tax) hitherto employed for the building of houses is to be reduced by 50 per cent and the sum thereby "saved", namely 400 millions, is given as a present to the possessing class, i. e. is to be applied in reducing the tax on land and businesses. The building of houses will thereby be so greatly reduced, that the housing misery of the masses is bound to increase enormously. At the same time, however, the Tenants' Protection is to be abolished by stages, with the result that the house owners will have the possibility of squeezing further profits out of the working masses.

The third part of the Brüning programme provides for a new and drastic increase of the burden of taxation borne by the masses. The measure, hitherto only in force for a year, under which the civil servants and officials have to yield up 6 per cent of their salaries as an "emergency sacrifice", is to be converted into a permanent reduction of their salaries, whereby about 400 millions will be "saved". The Bachelors' tax, which was likewise only in force for a year, is to be converted into a permanent tax which will yield 135 millions annually. In addition the tax on tobacco is being increased in order to yield an extra 167 millions, whereby the total revenue yielded by this tax is to be increased to 1,500 millions.

As against these tremendously heavy impositions on the masses there are a number of handsome presents to the possessing class. The big agrarians, the industrial capitalists, the wholesale traders, the banks and stock exchange capitalists, the houseowners are all to receive generous gifts. The workers are plundered in order that the exploiters can enrich themselves. This is what is called "placing German economy and finances on a sound basis".

That the Brüning government can contemplate such a fresh

and shameful attack on the working population is thanks to the votes of the 142 social democratic Reichstag deputies which on the 18th of October secured the rejection of the Communist vote of no-confidence. The social democracy therefore bears full responsibility for this new attack on the working population. It will also depend entirely on the social democracy whether Brüning will obtain a majority for his anti-working class programme. After all that has occurred since 18th October it is already certain that the social democrats will secure the Brüning government a majority for any attack no matter how shameful, on the vital interests of the working class. But the national socialists are no less responsible than the social democratic lackeys of the Brüning government. They are carrying on an infamous double game, in that they promise the suffering masses everything but at the same time, in every decisive situation — on the vote on the repudiation of the Young Plan as well as at present on the vote in the Reichstag —, they support the policy of the Brüning government against the working population.

In the next few months the working masses of Germany will be confronted by severe struggles. They must conduct these struggles in the clear consciousness that the fight against Brüning and his hunger-policy must at the same time be a fight against the national and social fascist supporters of the Brüning Cabinet.

The Results of the Elections in Poland.

By J. Len ski (Warsaw).

The elections held by the Pilsudski government were intended to help the fascist dictatorship to straighten out the home front and to hasten the war against the land of the proletarian dictatorship and of socialist construction. Pilsudski wished, by securing a considerable majority for the Sanacja (government bloc), to create a "simplified" Sejm entirely subordinate to the government and which at the same time should serve as a "democratic" cover for the fascist dictatorship.

It is quite understandable that the falsified arithmetic which does not in any way reflect the true relation of forces shows a "victory" for the Sanacja. Out of 444 seats the government has obtained 248, representing a hundred per cent increase compared with the year 1928. But more than half of the mandates were "won" by the government already before the elections by the simple process of annulling a whole number of lists, and by various manipulations which secured the supremacy of the government lists. In some districts the Sanacja has defeated all its rivals. A factor which greatly helped it was the open ballot, enforced by the heavily armed police and the Strelec, the hired bands who terrorised the population. The lack of any proper check on the counting of votes further enabled the Sanacja to歪曲 the election results. But the plan of the government, according to which it was to obtain a two-thirds majority, was not realised. At the same time the National Democrats obtained 65 seats as compared with the 37 it formerly had. These facts clearly indicate the shrinking of the basis of the Sanacja among the great masses of the small and middle bourgeoisie who are ruined by the economic crisis and are dissatisfied with the economic policy of the government, which hands over the financial reserves to the big capitalists. On the other hand, the big bourgeoisie, without distinction of nationalities, voted for the government. "Big industry marches with the government", declared the German Herr Geisenheimer, the director of the mineowners' union in Upper Silesia.

The B.B.S. (party of the government socialists), in spite of the enormous sums of money at its disposal and the fact that it had every support from the police, suffered a complete defeat and did not obtain one seat (in the previous Sejm had four seats).

The anti-fascist bloc with the Communist Party at the head achieved considerable successes. In judging these successes one must bear in mind the conditions under which they were achieved and at the cost of what sacrifices they were obtained.

Thousands of revolutionary workers and peasants were thrown into prison and thousands were attacked by the police and the Strelec bandits. Enormous fines were imposed upon thousands of peasants for participating in anti-fascist meetings. The system of punitive expeditions was extended

to Poland proper and to White Russia. All anti-fascist election literature was confiscated. All the national lists and more than 40 local lists were declared invalid. In several districts the representatives of the anti-fascist bloc who handed in the lists to the returning officers were arrested. Some weeks before the elections active Communist workers were arrested wholesale, and a regular pogrom was carried out against all revolutionary organisations. On the election day hundred of revolutionary workers were attacked and wounded at the polling booths. Not only whole families, but the inhabitants of whole houses who were suspected of being Communists were struck off the lists.

In spite of everything, however, fascism did not succeed in isolating the Communist Party from the broad masses of the proletariat and of the exploited peasantry. The fact alone that 116 lists of the anti-fascist bloc, containing 40,000 signatures, were handed in, as compared with 88 in 1928, meant a defeat for fascism. The five seats which were gained at the cost of so much sacrifice, among them being a seat gained by the revolutionary peasantry, give some idea of the heroic work but not of the actual influence of our Party. One can hardly compare the present votes polled by the anti-fascist bloc with those polled in 1928. We have complete details of the result of the elections in four industrial districts. In **Lodz** the list of the Workers' and Peasants' Unity received 54,000 votes and gained 2 seats (6000 votes more than in 1928), whilst the P.P.S. hardly received 25,000 votes (48,000 less than in 1928) and did not obtain a seat. A few days before the elections, a conference of representatives of the election committees and of the anti-fascist committees of three was held in **Lodz** and was attended by 230 workers representing 37 works and factories.

In **Warsaw**, where the list of the Workers' and Peasants' Unity polled 42,000 votes (20,000 less than in 1928) and obtained one seat, the whole of the Centro-Left hardly polled 32,000 votes. In **Bedzin** the anti-fascist bloc polled 26,000 votes and obtained one seat, and in **Upper Silesia** the antifascist bloc received 25,000 votes (more than the P.P.S.). The number of invalid votes is not known.

Thus in the four most important workers districts the Communists have surpassed the social fascists, whose basis among the proletariat is becoming continually narrower.

Our Party, which has displayed a tremendous fighting capacity, emerges from the elections more united than before. The Communist Party of Poland has succeeded in consolidating the revolutionary alliance of the workers, peasants and oppressed nationalities; in bringing the programme of the revolutionary solution of the crisis to the broad masses of toilers, and connecting it with their every day struggles. It has succeeded in mobilising the masses for the defence of the Soviet Union and strengthening the feeling of solidarity with the revolutionary German proletariat.

The whole **Centre-Left** have lost nearly half of their seats. Instead of the former 160 seats they obtained only 82. The greatest loss has been sustained by the P.P.S., which now has only 24 seats as compared with 55 formerly, and the **Wyzwolenie**, which formerly had 40 seats and now has only 15. The overwhelming number of the Centre Left seats has been won away from them by the Sanacja.

The indignation among the rank and file and the confusion among the leaders are evidence of the **progressive disintegration** of social fascism. Pilsudski's election strategy has accelerated this progress; and that again is a defeat for the fascist dictatorship.

The elections have served to dispel the democratic illusions and the belief in the efficacy of the ballot paper.

The Communist Party of Poland now has great possibilities in the fight for winning the majority of the working class and the masses of the exploited peasantry. The constant, persistent and correct application of the tactics of the united front from below will render it easier for the Party to win not only thousands but millions for the proletarian revolution.

While driving home to the working masses the lessons of the fascist elections, we must win them through the every day fights for the revolutionary way out of the crisis; we must organise them for the immediate fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat and mobilise them for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship in Poland, for the armed insurrection of the workers, peasants and soldiers.

The American Elections.

By A. BOSSE (New York).

The recent countrywide elections in the U.S. saw the smashing defeat of the **Republican Party**, and particularly of its figure-head **Hoover**, even though he was not a candidate. In a blind, inarticulate, but emphatic protest the masses of the workers, farmers and petty-bourgeois generally declared that they wanted no more of the "prosperity" of the party of Mellon and Hoover. Their protest was unavailing, merely a change from Tweedle-dum to Tweedle-dee. The coalition of Democrats and Hoover. Their protest was unavailing merely a change control both houses of Congress — unless the most reactionary elements who control both parties form a bloc, as they now talk of doing.

The overwhelming Republican defeat was the result of the following circumstances. steel production at 47 per cent of capacity, automobile production at 20—25 per cent of capacity, a 20 per cent decline in freight loadings, 9 million workers unemployed, the expropriation of millions of petty bourgeois in the stock market crashes, the banishment of millions of the farm population from the land — in short, the severe economic crisis and mass unemployment. This while dividends for the first $\frac{1}{4}$ of the year grew 50 per cent over 1929. The tariff, prohibition, tax refunds, the depredations of the utilities and other trusts, etc. were factors, but primarily the workers voted with their bellies, the farmers with their mortgages, and the urban petty-bourgeoisie with their depleted savings accounts.

The press of various shades agreed in calling the voting a "revolution" (N.Y. Times, N.Y. Telegram, Nov 5). Hoover's promise in 1928 had been to provide "a car in every garage", and "a chicken in every pot". But by election day in 1930, the situation had become so obvious that the Republican leader in the House, **Longworth**, could say before elections,

"In the industrial sections the Republican vote will be reduced due to unemployment."

National elections in the U.S. for some years past have been characterised by the absence of great issues upon which there were vital differences. Since the emergence of inneralist-capitalism, which dealt its death knell to the petty bourgeoisie as an organised political power, the former has come to dominate both big parties, with the latter insignificant minorities in the two parties. This is typified by the fact that the president and the majority of his cabinet are millionaires; that most of the new ambassadors are millionaires (Morrow—Mexico, Guggenheim—Cuba, Willys-Knight—Poland, Dawes—England, etc.) that wealthy bankers and industrialists are openly taking over leadership in both parties (Raskob, head of General Motors, now chairman of the Democratic Party etc.) and in Congress.

The key to elections in America is that the struggle, to the extent there really is one is across, not between the two parties. Vital issues that arise are fought by big business in both parties against the petty bourgeoisie in both, although the latter are represented directly only by small groups of "progressive" Republicans and Democrats. Other issues are a matter of division of the spoils, of tempo rather than of principle. On such 100-per-cent "big-business" issues as mergers, tax refunds and reductions, war debts and reparations, world court and League of Nations, armament conferences, labour injunctions and other questions of anti-radicalism, the two parties are a unit.

Concrete evidence of this may be seen from the courses of the elections. In **Illinois** both Senatorial candidates were against the world court, for prohibition, and for the high tariff. In **Texas** the Republicans took over the programme of the Democratic candidate who was defeated in the primaries. In **Nebraska**, **Pennsylvania**, and **Wisconsin**, reactionaries in both parties openly combined against the progressive candidates, etc.

The numerical results of the elections are as follows:

	Before Election	After Election
Senate—		
Republicans*	56	48
Democrats	39	47
Farmer-Labour	1	1
House—		
Republicans*	269	217
Democrats	165	217
Farmer-Labour	1	1

* Insurgent Republicans included.

The **Insurgent Republicans**, of whom there are perhaps a dozen in the House and half a dozen in the Senate, will probably vote with the Democrats, unless the Republicans buy them off first with important committee positions. But the new Congress will not convene for 13 months (until Dec. 1931).

The **Democrats** wiped out the Republican successes in the "solid South" regaining most of it. They swept a number of normally solid Republican states, where Hoover had merely to endorse a candidate to ensure his defeat. Many arch-reactionaries were defeated. A number of liberals were elected for opposing Hoover's gang on the tariff (Costigan in Colorado, Hull in Tennessee), on the power trust (La Follette in Wisconsin, Pinchot in Pennsylvania, Norris in Nebraska, etc.).

The **election campaign of the C.P.**, while still weak, got better results than recent ones, due to a great extent to the objective situation. Its programme demanded unemployment and social insurance, with the \$ 4 billions voted for armaments to be used for this purpose, against wage cuts, speedup, worsening of conditions; against the attacks upon the foreign-born, the Negroes, the unions, etc.; mobilisation against the danger of war upon the U.S.S.R.; for farm relief; etc. By the week before voting day, the Party got 245 local and national candidates on the ballot in 25 states, after having gathered 170,000 signatures of endorsement. Of these candidates, 37 were Negroes and 26 women.

The terror against the Party was great. In Oregon the entire state ratification convention was arrested and all the alien workers held for deportation. In other states it was ruled off the ballot on charges of "Red plot" and dynamiting. Everywhere many of the signatures collected were confiscated or rejected, and the bosses and patriotic societies tried to coerce or bribe the workers into withdrawing or refusing their signatures. Yet millions of leaflets were distributed, 140,000 copies of the congressional platform sold, as well as much other literature and newspapers.

The results of the Party's campaign are not yet known in full, but on the basis of known results it is expected that its vote will be more than double the 48,000 received by Foster in 1928. In **New York City** the Party received 16,000, as against 9,000 two years ago and 5,800 last year. In **Philadelphia** the vote was tripled (1,745 versus 557), in half a dozen mining towns in Pennsylvania 390 as against 92, in three New England textile towns 1272 compared with 314 in 1928, in a couple of Tennessee counties 580 as against 111 in the whole state previously, etc. In a dozen and a half cities and towns the vote this year was 23,000 as against 10,000 in 1928. Many thousands of alien workers, Negroes, others disqualified by property and residential requirements, or terrorised and otherwise prevented from voting would have voted for the Communist ticket had they been able to. The organisational weaknesses of the Party campaign also contributed to the failure to bring out its full strength in the elections.

The **Socialist Party** was endorsed by the capitalist press in many parts of the country, notably in New York. There their outstanding candidate was a writer for the N.Y. Telegram and Nation, Heywood Broun, a Broadway boozier, who advertised in the reactionary Republican N.Y. Herald Tribune that he was not a Communist. Another candidate, Norman Thomas, was endorsed by the Times, Herald Tribune, World, etc. These fellows carefully omitted mention of their socialist affiliations on their posters. A Texas socialist candidate, stated he was opposed to giving the Negroes the franchise "for at least 50 years". On this issue the Jewish "Forwards" joined the lynching campaign against the Negroes as "rapists".

The results of the elections cannot be outlined precisely, but some of the intentions of the victorious Democrats are already known. Three days after the elections the leaders of the Democratic Party announced they would not follow obstructive tactics or try to embarrass Hoover, that "nothing is further from the minds (of the Democrats) than a general revision of the tariff", that "business should not be frightened".

The C.P. will lead the struggle of the workers against the attacks of the employers — the fight against the bits of charity and clubbings in place of unemployed relief, against wage cuts, against lynchings and police repressions, for organisation into unemployed Councils and into the revolutionary industrial unions of the T.U.U.L., for the building up of the C.P. and its press, against the S.P. and the rest of the bourgeois reformists and politicians, and for the defence of the U.S.S.R. and Soviet China.

AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

A New Strategical Move by Poland.

By Nemo.

The new Polish corridor railway running from Bromberg via Tuchel to Czersk has been formally opened, high Polish government and foreign military representatives being present at the ceremony. The plan of Polish imperialism to establish direct railway connection between Upper Silesia and the naval port of Gdynia and running only through Polish territory has been hereby brought considerably nearer realisation. Following the numerous strategical railways constructed in the Polish corridor there is now completed the connection hitherto lacking, between Bromberg and Gdynia.

In view of the increased endeavours of the German bourgeoisie to bring about a revision of the peace treaties, which shall include the handing back to Germany of the corridor together with Danzig, the new railway line acquires first class political and strategic importance.

By the opening of the Upper Silesia and Gdynia railway line, which means a shortening by six hours of the time hitherto required for the journey, the position of power of Polish imperialism as against Germany is considerably strengthened, both economically and politically. The new railway line unites the Corridor and Upper Silesia closer to Poland and leads the traffic from the Danzig hinterland to the Polish port of Gdynia. At the same time there is created the basis for a march on Germany running along the whole of the German-Polish frontier.

The railway line, which has been under construction for a number of years, would not have been completed at such an accelerated pace if Polish imperialism had not obtained the financial support of a French financial consortium under the leadership of the well-known armament firm of Schneider-Creuzot and the bank des Pays-Bas. Under a Franco-Polish agreement it is precisely the Northern portion of the new railway connection running through the Corridor which comes into the direct possession of the firm of Schneider-Creuzot. Following the appointment of the French General Le Rond, the notorious organiser of all the anti-Soviet military alliances as President of the Gdynia dockyard, the appearance of Schneider-Creuzot in the Corridor means a further concentration of the military power of French imperialism on the coast of the Baltic.

While it cannot be denied that the new Polish railway is a move against Germany, it is obvious however that it is mainly directed against the Soviet Union. Even today the Polish bourgeoisie remembers with terror the summer of 1920, when the Danzig and German workers held up the transport of French war material intended to be used in the fight against the Red Army. With the aid of the new railway connection, the cost of building which runs to 300 million Zloty, the Polish bourgeoisie hopes to have an unhindered conveyance of munitions and troops. Symptomatic of the feverish war-preparations of Polish imperialism against the Soviet Union is also the fact that simultaneously with the construction of the Upper Silesian-Gdynia railway, three strategic railways running to the Soviet frontier were built in South Poland.

In addition to the construction of strategic railways in the Corridor district, Polish imperialism has completely adapted the railway system of the free State of Danzig to its war plans. All the railways and lines of traffic in the free State of Danzig have been handed over to the possession of Polish imperialism, which has completely militarised them. The management of the Polish railway employs only members of the yellow Polish railway workers' union and dismisses all railway men who cannot speak Polish. The railway workers of Polish nationality, even if they belong to the Danzig Free State, have to serve in the Polish army, and are compelled to take part in the military manoeuvres outside the time of their military service.

Hands off the Soviet-Union

Trial of the Sabotagers in Moscow.

First Day of the Proceedings — Great Demonstration of the Moscow Workers.

Moscow, 25th November 1930.

The trial of the counter-revolutionary engineers of the "Industrial Party" commenced at 3 o'clock this afternoon in the main hall of the Moscow Trade Union House.

The trial is perfectly public. The hall was crowded with workers and delegates from the works and factories.

At the press tables there were seated, besides the representatives of the press of the Soviet Union and of the foreign Communist newspapers, numerous representatives of the foreign bourgeois press, above all of German and American newspapers.

The president, **Vishinsky**, announced the composition of the Court. In addition to himself the Court consists of **Antonov-Saratovsky**, Member of the Supreme Court, and the workers **Lvov** (from the "Amo" automobile factory) and **Kuprianov** (from the Red Putilov Works).

To the question whether they have any objection to raise regarding the composition of the Court, the accused said they have no objections. With the exception of **Kuprianov** and **Sitnik**, however, they refused to avail themselves of defending Counsel.

The Indictment was then read out. Charges are brought against eight Engineers and Professors: **Ramzin**, **Kalinikov**, **Barichev**, **Tschernovsky**, **Fyedetov**, **Kuprianov**, **Otchkin** and **Sitnik**.

On the basis of their own confessions they are charged with systematically undermining the economic life of the country, artificially creating crisis and famine, espionage in the service of foreign big Powers, attempting to undermine the Red Army, preparing acts of sabotage in the Electrical and in the War industry.

The whole activity of the accused was directed towards preparing the ground for the military intervention of the imperialists, for which purpose they established connections with the governments and General Staffs of France, England and Poland.

At 3 o'clock the whole town was the scene of powerful demonstrations of the working masses. Huge demonstrations marched from the works and factories to the centre of the town. During the reading of the Indictment tremendous masses marched uninterruptedly past the Trade Union House.

After the conclusion of the reading of the Indictment the accused were called up singly for cross-examination. Each of the accused was asked whether he was familiar with the contents of the Indictment; whether he pleaded guilty to the accusations contained in it; and whether he was prepared to give evidence. They all replied in the affirmative.

These replies caused visible excitement in the court room. The first of the accused to be heard was

Professor Ramzin

who spoke slowly and calmly with the voice of a practised speaker. Contrary to current rumours that the accused had withdrawn the statements they had made to the judge at the preliminary enquiry, Ramzin fully confirmed his former statements and considerably added to them. He first described the conditions under which the Engineers came to take up counter-revolutionary activity. The old leading Engineers lost their privileged positions as a result of the revolution and were convinced that the Soviet Power could not last and expected the return of capitalism. The old capitalists and

owners of factories who had fled abroad maintained constant connection with them and sent money, but without any obligation being attached to it. With the commencement of socialist construction in the Soviet Union the hopes of a degeneration of the Soviet Power disappeared. The difficulties which arose in connection with the work of socialist construction, and the inner fight in the Communist Party awoke fresh hopes of the possibility of the overthrow of the Soviet Government. News came from abroad of an approaching intervention, whereupon the engineers endeavoured to make sure of good positions for themselves after the overthrow of the Soviet Power. Out of two groups of reactionary minded engineers in the mining and transport industry, there arose the cadre of what later became the Industrial Party. The central committee numbered 40 to 60 members; the total number of members amounted to about 2,000.

With the development of the organisation a uniform political platform was worked out. It was decided that the State form of the bourgeois regime should be a bourgeois republic. In regard to the economic policy it was intended that the enlarged and new undertakings should be converted into joint stock companies. The capital value which had been added to the socialised factories should be employed in compensating the big landowners.

Ramzin described in detail the philosophical basis of their plans: citing Plato, they demanded the rule of the engineers with a more developed capitalist society. His further statements show that in actual fact the saboteurs' policy was not based on philosophy, but on French imperialism and its vassals. The head of the new government was to be not an engineer, but the chairman of the Industrial and Trade Committee **Denissov**. The party of the engineers was devoid of a social basis, and therefore sought to establish connections with another reactionary secret party, that of **Chayanov**, which was supported by the big peasants.

The following exposition of the development of the tactics of sabotage work shows how closely connected this was with the military plans of the imperialists. The first period is characterised by the disturbing of those branches of industry producing articles of mass consumption. In the period of reconstruction, sabotage work was concentrated on the metal industry. As the time for intervention approached chief attention was concentrated on war industry, power industry and transport.

Ramzin then described in detail the content of the personal conversation he had in Paris in October 1928 with members of the Industrial and Trade Committee. This portion of his statements, as compared with his former statements, causes the figure of **Briand**, along with **Poincaré**, to come much more into the foreground. At that time there already existed close connections with the French General Staff. There took place personal conversations with Colonels **Joinville** and **Richard**. It was intended that General **Lukomsky**, the former chief of the General Staff of **Dennikin**, should be the leader of the military intervention. The chairman of the Special Commission of the General Staffs of France, England and Poland was General **Janin**, the former official representative of the French Government with Admiral **Koltchak**.

Ramzin's detailed statements on the role of leading personalities of the French government, including **Poincaré**, **Briand**, **Loucheur** and the General Staff, caused a great sensation among the public, as did also his statement regarding the role of the French government in forwarding large sums of money.

The Court was then adjourned until the following day, 26th November.

M. Poincaré's Game of Hide and Seek.

By Karl Radek.

I.

Our press has already given a political estimate of Poincaré's articles, this programme of war against Germany and intervention against the Soviet Union. Ours newspapers have published these articles in full in order to convince the masses of the people that our accusations against influential French imperialist circles that they are preparing for intervention are not based solely on the statements of Russians who took part in the conspiracy, but that they are also confirmed by the insane agitation which is being conducted by such an influential representative of the French bourgeoisie as Poincaré. The French bourgeois press, which describes our accusations as pure inventions does not venture, however, to publish the Indictment drawn up by the Public Prosecutor of the Soviet Union. It realises very well that it would then be impossible to speak of "inventions".

II.

Poincaré's first article appeared before the publication of the indictment, before the exposure of the preparations for intervention by French imperialist circles. The article was an essential part of the political preparations for intervention. Therefore, in this article Poincaré threw aside all reserve. He openly characterised the Soviet Government as "fanatical bandits" who cannot be persuaded to return to the bosom of Poincaré's civilisation, and whom one can only annihilate. He accused the Soviet Government of war-preparation and every sin under the sun in order to arouse in the French petty bourgeois the feeling that an end must be put to these people.

In the meantime the indictment drawn up by the Public Prosecutor of the Soviet Union against the participants in the Poincaré conspiracy appeared. M. Poincaré was caught red-handed and his article became a *corpus delicti* against him. Poincaré therefore decided to cover up his tracks, and in another article on "Europe's Fever" he no longer called for a crusade against the Soviet Union but declared with an air of injured innocence: Look at these people, these Bolsheviks, how they accuse a perfectly innocent man, a strict vegetarian, who God knows would not hurt a fly. He only requested M. Briand to bring influence to bear through diplomatic channels on Comrade Krylenko in order that this terrible man shall confine himself to arresting Russian white-guardists and not besmirch the name of the French peace-maker.

M. Poincaré forgot that we are "fanatical bandits", that we are attempting by propaganda and dumping to undermine the foundations of the present civilisation, to defend which is the business of every French rentier. He has even forgotten that we are preparing for war, to combat which is the duty of every member of the League of Nations. He has forgiven us all this and only demands that we leave him in peace. But it is precisely this change of tone which betrays M. Poincaré, for M. Poincaré is not the man who without reason converts hate, if not into friendliness nevertheless into pity. This highwayman knows how to attack; if he beats a retreat it is only because he is afraid of fresh exposures.

III.

Poincaré's attacks upon the social system which is developing in the Soviet Union are so pitiable and constitute such a mass of contradictions that our press did not even consider it necessary when publishing Poincaré's articles to answer them. Poincaré asserts that our industry is declining, that our agriculture is falling into neglect. What logically follows from this? Bolshevism is dying; one need only wait till it disappears. Capitalism is victorious — raise a shout of victory! This would be the conclusion according to simple human logic. But with M. Poincaré it is the other way about. "The Bolshevik plague threatens Europe; the way must be barred to it."

Since when have dying systems possessed a devastating power? Every year thousands of foreigners visit the Soviet Union. The representatives of a great number of States, a whole number of correspondents of foreign newspapers are living in Moscow. They hate us and are endeavouring in their reports and articles to say only the worst things about

us in order to frighten the workers of other countries. The bourgeois journalists and writers who wish to give impartial reports on the great progress of the Soviet State and of the people of the Soviet Union go under in a sea of lies and calumny. And in spite of this the attractive power of the Soviet Union is growing. For it is impossible to conceal from the masses of the people of the world the fact that we have overcome the destruction caused by the war; that we who are subjected to a financial boycott by the whole of the capitalist world are going ahead and are industrialising our country with our own forces. It is impossible to hide from the masses that we are approaching the solution of an unprecedented task: the socialist transformation of agriculture; that we have overcome unemployment, whilst in the capitalist countries it is spreading more and more.

When Poincaré writes about the danger of war which threatens from the side of the Soviet Union he is only indulging in contemptible lies. For the land of great socialist construction cannot but be the land of peace.

The clearest example of the lack of talent of the anti-Soviet "publicist" M. Poincaré is furnished by the nonsense he writes about "compulsory labour" in the Soviet Union. Poincaré knows what profound an impression the overcoming of unemployment in the Soviet Union is making in the whole world. One can say that in regard to the material conditions of the workers of the Soviet Union it suffices if one compares the conditions of living of our proletariat before the war and at the present time. For everybody knows that the broad masses now live much better than they did before the war. But the workers in the West must say to themselves: "We are feeding the parasites, and 20 million workers in the capitalist countries are unemployed." Therein lies the power of our propaganda — in the convincing power of facts!

In order to weaken the effect of these facts, M. Poincaré fetches out of the archives the idea, with the help of which the bourgeoisie have hitherto been able most successfully to deceive the mass of the people: the idea of liberty! From the fact that we demand from every citizen who declares that he is unemployed that he undertakes the work which we give him, Poincaré draws the conclusion that in the Soviet Union there exists "compulsory labour". It is not necessary to prove that "compulsory labour" in the Soviet Union is a pure invention on the part of M. Poincaré.

To conclude from the fact that in the Soviet Union there are a certain number of declassed elements who prefer to draw State benefit without working whilst they at the same time engage in speculation, and that we are not prepared to support these elements — to draw from these facts the conclusion that "compulsory labour" has been introduced in the Soviet Union is just as logical as to deduce from the fact that stealing is punished, that here everybody is a thief.

We do not wish to say that Socialism absolutely rejects compulsory labour. When it appears necessary recourse may be had to it. If M. Poincaré wants to frighten the European workers with talk about compulsory labour in the Soviet Union, then every unemployed worker will say to him: "The capitalist system forces millions to starve, compels millions to steal, not to mention the fact that it compels millions to work for the profits of the capitalists." As a representative of the imperialist class, M. Poincaré should be the last to venture to talk about freedom of labour. In France there are more than a million foreign workers: Poles, Italians, Czechs, Greeks; they are recruited by people belonging to the same class as Poincaré. These workers travel with their families to France. They do not receive a proper pass; they are compelled to work for a miserable pittance, to live in wretched hovels; to work without the miserable "protection of labour" which has been gained by the French workers. Woe to them if any of them ventures to demand improvement of his position! They are expelled with their wives and children as "undesirable aliens", and conveyed across the frontier. As they have no money with which to return to their home they go back to France in order to have the chance of earning a crust of bread. Only recently the French police organised a regular round-up of these white slaves.

French imperialism. M. Poincaré had better deliver them a lecture on the benefits of Western civilisation, which is based upon "personal liberty".

Of course M. Poincaré, who sent millions of French workers and peasants into the war and ordered the shooting of thousands who tried to save themselves from his "civilisation", has set up his slogan of "Liberty", because, of the three slogans of the young French bourgeoisie: "Liberty, Fraternity, Equality", only the first still retains a certain attractive power for the petty-bourgeois masses. Instead of the Fraternity which Poincaré's predecessors promised, we see a wild imperialist nationalism which bathed the world in blood and is preparing a new war. Out of the "Equality" of the small producers at the end of the 18th century there have grown the trusts, which grind millions of slaves under their iron heel. But for millions this "Liberty" is only the liberty to starve and die.

IV.

M. Poincaré possesses no gift as a writer, although he is a very gifted organiser of mass-murder. But justice demands that we recognise that the lack of talent displayed in his attacks on the Soviet Union is not to be wholly attributed to his personal capacities. Since the thirteen years' existence of the Soviet Union the bourgeois world, which publishes thousands of books against us, has not brought forward a single talented, not a single brilliant idea. The capitalist world has not a single creative idea which it could set up against the idea for which we are fighting.

Poincaré is endeavouring to diagnose the fever which is shaking the capitalist world. To what conclusion does he come? The economic and political federation of capitalist Europe. Is it to be a federation of equal nations? No, M. Poincaré wishes to establish this federation on the basis of the peace of Versailles, i. e. that a part of the members of the federation planned by him wear fetters. Is this federation to abolish the exploitation of one class by another, to do away with classes altogether? No, it is to be set up in order to rescue capitalism. What sort of an ideal is that? Does Poincaré intend to secure peace for Europe? No, he is endeavouring to arm European capitalism for the war against America and the Soviet Union. Poincaré-la-guerre is the idol of French imperialism, for it is just as devoid of ideas and destitute of any creative spirit as this barren man who has but one idea, who knows only one way out of the cul de sac in which capitalism finds itself: to cause the throat of the enemy of yesterday to be cut by the enemy of tomorrow.

Despised and hated world! Execrable and hateful is its prophet!

If the Enemy Does not Surrender — Destroy Him.

By Maxim Gorky.

The energy of the advanced ranks of the workers and peasants has been organised by the teachings of Marx and Lenin to lead the masses of toiling people in the Soviet Union to a goal which can be expressed in four simple words: **create a new world**. In the Soviet Union, even the Pioneers, the children, understand that to create a new world, to set up new conditions of life, it is necessary:

To make it impossible for individuals to amass riches which are always squeezed out of the sweat and blood of the workers and peasants; to abolish the division of people into classes, to abolish every possibility of the exploitation of the creative energy and the labour of the majority by a minority; to expose the poisonous lies of religious and national prejudices, which disunite people, making them hostile and incomprehensible to each other; to cleanse the lives of the workers from the savage and filthy habits of life which have been forced on them by centuries of slavery; to destroy everything which, by hindering the growth of the consciousness of their community of interests among the working people, allows the capitalists to organise wholesale slaughter to drive millions of workers to fight against each other, to wars which have always one single purpose: to strengthen the predatory rights of the capitalists, to increase their senseless passion for profits and for power over the workers.

In the long run, this means to set up conditions for all to reach the heights which have been attained with a useless

expenditure of energy only by exceptional, so-called "great men."

Is this fantastical dreaming, romancing? No, it is reality. It is the enemies of the workers and peasants who describe this mass movement for the building of a new world as fantastic romancing, people who, as a "Russian woman" recently wrote to me, form a "thin stratum of educated and European thinkers", and who, as she writes, are convinced that "intelligence belongs to the few, and cannot be found among the masses." Culture is the creation of a few highly gifted people.

In these words, the "Russian woman" crudely but correctly expressed the whole philosophy and poverty of bourgeois ideology, expressed everything that bourgeois philosophy can bring forward in opposition to the spiritual renaissance of the proletarian masses. The spiritual renaissance of the proletariat throughout the world is an indisputable fact. The working class of the Soviet Union, marching ahead of the proletarians of all countries, well confirms this new reality. It has set itself a grandiose task, and is successfully carrying it out by concentrated energy. The difficulties of fulfilment are enormous, but where there's a will there's a way. Ten years ago, the working class, almost without arms, bootless, ragged, hungry, drove out of their country the well armed white armies of the European capitalists, drove out the troops of the interventionists.

For thirteen years, working for the construction of their own government with a small number of honest and loyal specialists, intermingled with a mass of the vilest traitors, who compromise not only their comrades but science itself, working in an atmosphere of the hate of the world bourgeoisie, and the sneers of the "advanced bourgeois technicians" who maliciously point to all the small mistakes, shortcomings, defects, working under conditions the difficulties of which they themselves have no clear idea, — — in these hellish conditions the working class has developed an absolutely stupendous concentration of genuine revolutionary and miraculous energy.

Only the heroic courage of the workers and of the Party which expresses the mind of the revolutionary masses could have made such advances under these unfavourable conditions, such as, for example, increasing industry by 25 per cent in 1929—30 instead of the 22 per cent stipulated in the plan, cultivating 36 million hectares in the collective farms instead of 20 millions! In addition to all this, while expending their energy on the construction of industry, while guiding the re-organisation of the villages, the working class and the peasants are continually producing from among their ranks hundreds of talented administrators, shock brigadiers, worker correspondents, writers, inventors, and new intellectual forces in general.

Within the country, the cunning foe is organising against us a shortage of food, the kulaks are terrorising the collectivised peasants by murders, incendiarism, by all kinds of crimes, against us are aligned all who have outlived their historical age, and this gives us the right to consider that we are still in the midst of a civil war. Hence, the natural conclusion to be drawn is, if the enemy does not surrender, destroy him.

From abroad, European capital is fighting against the creative work of the Soviet Union. It has also outlived its age and is doomed to destruction. But it still wishes and still has the power to resist the inevitable. It has connections with all those traitors who are carrying on their work of destruction within the Union, and who are shameless enough to assist the predatory intentions of the capitalists.

Poincaré, one of the organisers of the European slaughter of 1914—18, with the nickname "Poincaré la guerre", the man who almost lost the war for the capitalists of France, the former socialist Briand, the famous drunkard Lord Birkenhead who recently died, and other faithful lackeys of capital are preparing a robber attack on the Soviet Union, with the blessing of the head of the Christian church.

We are living under conditions of unceasing war against the whole bourgeois world. This compels the working class to make real preparations for self-defence, in defence of their historic role, in defence of all that they have created for themselves or for the enlightenment of the proletariat of all countries during the course of thirteen years of heroic, self-sacrificing work on the construction of the new world.

The working class and the peasants must arm themselves, remembering that the power of the Red Army was able victoriously to brave the onslaught of world capitalism without

arms, hungry, ragged, bootless and led by their comrades who were not well acquainted with the stratagems of war. We have now a Red Army, an army of warriors, each of whom understands what he will fight for. And if, absolutely panic stricken in their terror of the inevitable future, the capitalists of Europe nevertheless dare to send against us their workers and peasants, it is necessary to deal them such a blow that it will be the death blow which will cast capitalism into the grave that has been dug for it by history.

Settling Accounts with the Interventionists.

"Citizens of South Russia! Give the allied soldiers a good reception, they come to you as friends. They come to you to establish order, liberty and security . . ." (From the appeal of Bertello, French general of the invading forces in 1918-19 in South Ukraine and the Crimea.)

"The Russians are barbarians and scoundrels! Do not fuss about them, just shoot them, beginning with the peasants and ending with the highest authorities! I take all responsibility . . ." (From the speech of the commander of the Near East armies of the Entente, French marshall Franchet d'Esperet to the French officers in Odessa.)

The pending trial of the wreckers and spies discovered by the G.P.U. will take place regardless of the fury of the bourgeois and social fascist press of imperialist France which is trying to cover all traces of the steps taken by the adventurous groups which are trying to organise another intervention and are leading the activities of the saboteurs, spies and dynamiters in the Soviet Union as shown in the testimony of Ramzin & Co. The judges in this trial will be the workers of the Soviet Union and the millions of the proletarians all over the world.

The trial of the Industrial Party coincides with the XII. anniversary of the day France started the first intervention in the South of Ukraine and in Crimea. In the light of this bloody act the danger threatening the workers of the Soviet Union if the monstrous plots of the French General Staff and directors were to come off, becomes particularly outstanding.

The French occupation lasted about 6 months, from the middle of November 1918 to the middle of May 1919, when it was stopped by a victorious campaign of the Red Army and the revolt of the French Black Sea fleet. But what was done during those six months over-shadows by far the colonial terror in Indo-China, Morocco and the other African colonies.

A commission in aid of the victims of intervention has been in operation in the Ukraine several years gathering information on the brutalities of the invaders and summing up the damages done by them. All of it is summed up in a "Black Book" which contains facts that make one's blood freeze.

There were 17 military organisations functioning in Odessa all at once: several French, a Polish, Rumanian, a Denikin organisation, a special naval gang and others. The worst one was that of the French commanding staff located on Ekaterinenskaya Ploschad, No. 7.

According to the records of the Odessa morgue, corpses were brought there daily, most of them with open wounds. The fact that there was no blood on the soft membranes indicates that the victims were tortured before death.

A bomb exploded at the Odessa station under a car containing French zouaves. Jumping out of the car and finding no one near it the zouaves threw themselves on the railways shops where they shot a fireman by the name of Gorbatuk who happened to pass by and stabbed to death a cleaner by the name of Prishak. Both bodies were ordered by the French commander to be hanged on the bridge for pedestrians. A sign was put over them with the inscription: "for the edification of the bolsheviks".

On the night of March 2nd, 1919, 11 persons were brought to Ekaterinenskaya Ploschad, No. 7, suspected of revolutionary agitation among French soldiers and sailors. All of them were put to the first degree where they were brutally tortured. The higher French officers with their ladies were present. Late at night all prisoners were put on a lorry and sent under control of French officers and white guards supposedly to prison. Reaching the cemetery the lorries stopped, an order was given to extinguish the lights and all prisoners were shot.

The president of the Revolutionary Committee of Odessa, Comrade Lastochkin, was dispatched on a barge and thrown

into a hole full of water. There he was kept for two weeks. Just before the evacuation of Odessa they pierced his eyes, tied a heavy stone to his neck and threw him into the sea.

The number of people shot and hung in Odessa cannot be counted. Workers going to work from the suburbs found everyday mutilated bodies on their way. The whole shooting ground is covered with an infinite number of unknown graves.

In Feodosia the white guards in partnership with the French made an attack on the prison where they killed 46 political prisoners suspected of bolshevism.

But all this is child's play compared with the Kherson Inquisition. When retreating from Kherson, the occupation forces herded together 2,000 working men, women and children in the port and locked them up in the warehouse. They were kept there 24 hours without food or water. Then they opened fire from the boats and the warehouse were burned down.

If anyone tried to escape when the walls and the roof began to break down, machine-guns were used against them.

The Kherson Vestnik described the picture the next day after the evacuation as follows:

"The firemen arrived when the logs that fell from the roof were all burning in heaps. For about two hours they were pulling out the pieces of burned flesh and bones from under the debris. No one has ever resorted to such hellish brutalities as the foreign hangmen who have just withdrawn from Kherson."

A workman by the name of Volgin writes:

"Two young workers taken as ransom in Alesleek were hanged on telephone poles in front of many onlookers. They were pulled up on a rope. It was an awful sight to see their faces distorted in mortal agony, to see the stretching of their necks and their blood rushing into their veins. Two people who argued with the officer about something were shot also before the eyes of all. They fell covered with blood, throwing out their hands and feet and gasping for breath."

A worker on the boat, Scherbakov, tells the following story of the life in Kherson during the occupation:

"The allies proved regular bandits, far more brutal than the Petlura gang. The city was dead. Rarely did anyone venture out of doors. Those who did had their clothes stripped off and were beaten to unconsciousness. Shots were heard all day long, someone was always being shot. As night approached one could hear shouts rending the air, the shouts of violated women and beaten children . . . Dead bodies with blue swollen faces were hung on the telephone and lamp posts. Their tongues were protruding. The corpses decomposed in the air and the deadly stench filled the town."

The net results of the first intervention: 38,436 killed and tortured to death, 61,189 workers and peasants wounded, crippled and disabled. The commission in aid of the victims of intervention received 237,277 claims from people who have been robbed and ruined by the invaders.

Such was the vengeance of the French bourgeoisie for the crushing resistance of the proletariat and the toiling peasants to the attempts to restore capitalism in Russia. Such is the account the French invaders must settle, an account which will be thrown into their face together with the other crimes committed against the U.S.S.R. when proletarian justice will call them and their counter-revolutionary flunkies and accomplices to account.

The Anniversary of the First French Intervention.

November 15 was the XII Anniversary of the commencement of the first intervention by French imperialists against the Soviet Republic. During the night of the 15-16 November, a French squadron with Serbian and Greek soldiers on board and also French colonial detachments, steamed out of the Dardanelles into the Black Sea en route for Odessa. Together with the troops of the interventionists, the Russian manufacturers and the die-hard landowners and all the priests and the saboteurs of the present day, the Ramzins and the Larichevs, were striving to gather together in Russia.

Regiment after regiment disembarked at Odessa, Sebastopol and Novorossisk, to the sound of the church bells rung in welcome by the bourgeoisie and their S. R. and Menshevik

brothers. Further South in the Caucasus and Turkestan, the English interventionists threw themselves against the proletarian revolution, their greedy eyes fixed on Soviet oil and other riches.

The first intervention in South Russia lasted for half a year. The gold hunters from the Parisian general staff during this period had time to plunder a number of Southern towns and a small coast belt for 50—80 kilometres into the country. They shot hundreds of revolutionaries behind the walls of their barracks for carrying on agitational work among the occupation troops. But they could not carry out the orders of Clemenceau to restore capitalism. They encountered the heroic resistance of the Red Army, supported by partisan detachments of peasants. The inglorious end of this adventure was crowned by a mutiny in the French Black Sea fleet, commenced by **Marty** and completed by the naval squadron stationed in the Sebastopol roads. On May 23rd, 1919, the French intervention faded out. The generals and admirals left the Soviet country in disgrace, trembling before their own soldiers and sailors, and accompanied by the general curses of the population.

The lessons of the first intervention must be specially studied by the workers at present when the plot of the saboteurs has exposed the danger of new interventions against the USSR.

The first attempts of the imperialists to crush the October Revolution was smashed by the force and enthusiasm of the Red Army and the Active Solidarity of the Proletariat in other Countries. During these 12 years, the defensive powers of the USSR have grown tremendously, and are continuing to grow owing to the general growth of its economic power and technique. While preserving the noble traditions of its past victories, the Red Army is increasing its strength and self-reliance for the inevitable wars with imperialist interventionists which are threatening, by closely allying itself with the broad masses of workers and the toiling peasants. To strengthen these contacts with the Red Army by thousands of new indissoluble links — this is what teaches us the lesson of the first intervention and the exposure of the criminal plot of the saboteurs and of the imperialist general staffs.

They have Made a Mistake in Their Calculations.

By E. Paschukanis (Moscow).

The interventionists have been caught red handed. All their work, concealed in the secret chambers of the general staffs and the ministries has suddenly come to light. The indictment in the case of the "Industrial Party" throws a searching light on the despicable campaign of the inspirers of a new world war. At a time when the diplomats and the ministers in numberless conferences were talking of their love of peace, behind the scenes they were making preparations for a robber attack on the USSR. "The chief negotiations for the organisation of intervention were carried on in France with Briand and in England with Churchill" (From the confession of **Ramzin**). "Poincaré recently summoned Tretyakov and Riabushinski, and gave them audience as representatives of the Torgprom. He told them to give instructions to the Soviet engineer organisations to prepare the ground for intervention" (confession of **Sitton**). "Poincaré promised complete support by intervention, and considered that in 1930—31 we may expect complete success for intervention" (same confession).

Yes, they are all familiar faces. Poincaré-la-guerre, one of the most active inspirers of the imperialist slaughter of 1914—18, the methodical Briand, the author of Pan-Europe, and another familiar face—General Jeannin—former military emissary under Kolchak, a specialist in strangling the Russian workers and peasants. He was entrusted with the direct technical preparation of the matter. "A special commission was formed in the French general staff to prepare intervention against the USSR, and General Jeannin was at the head of this commission" (Ramzin's confession).

How nice and convenient! On the one hand, diplomatic relations, "the principle of strict non-interference in the internal affairs of another country", and even more—hypocritical shouts about propaganda which they accused the USSR of carrying on, in this way interfering in the internal affairs of other states, and on the other hand, a little "business" commission:

General Jeannin, the gallant colonels Juanville and Richard, the representatives of the war offices of other "interested" powers, and finally the heir-in-chief of Wrangel—General Lukomski, who was to undertake the role of the military leader of intervention. And at the same time, an expeditionary force of Russian white emigrants was being formed and prepared at the expense of the French government.

The Jeannin commission coolly discussed plans to drive to the slaughter the Rumanian and Polish peasants against the hated U.S.S.R. This was because, although "the chief leader of the intervention must be France", nevertheless its "direct fulfillment was planned with the help of the military forces of Poland and Rumania, with the participation of the Baltic States". The plan was thought out to its finest details: how to force the U.S.S.R. to declare war, what provocation to undertake to bring about military actions.

"The intervention was to have commenced by the advance of Rumania. Under a pretext, for instance, of a border incident, followed by a formal declaration of war by Poland and an attack by the border States" (confession of Ramzin). There was, however, another alternative plan: it was pointed out that Poland, by openly seizing Lithuania, would cause an international conflict, into which the U.S.S.R. would have to be drawn". The interventionists were ready to use any means to drag the Soviet Union into war. For this purpose they carried on a long series of provocations, attacks on the consulate in China, the murder of Voikov in Warsaw. These were all links in the same infamous plan. The main task of the interventionists was to make the U.S.S.R. appear to be the attacking party. Then of course, the League of Nations and the Kellogg Pact would have come on the scene, and it would have been possible to fool the middle class population of Europe and the backward sections of the workers, it would have been easier for the social-fascists to slander the U.S.S.R. Now, in view of these exposures, it must be clear to everyone how tremendously important was the firm and consistent policy of peace carried on by the U.S.S.R., and how it frustrated the plans of the enemies of the proletariat.

The interventionists did not dream of hiding their real aims. "Both France and Poland were reckoning on the possibility of the future exploitation of the internal riches of Russia. France in the form of various concessions and Poland counting on disposing of its goods in Russia" (confession of Fyedotov). The saboteurs of the "Industrial Party" and their foreign leaders were following the noble footsteps of their white guard predecessors. They had already begun to sell their "beloved fatherland" wholesale and retail.

"Charnovsky informed me of an extremely important secret note from Ramzin that when he was in Paris and during the negotiations with the French general staff and the Torgprom, he had to agree in the name of the S.I.O. (the alliance of engineering organisations) to those concessions to the interventionists which had been previously promised by the Torgprom on behalf of Russia. France claims the payment of debts, both the tsar's debts and the war debts, in full, and extensive concessions for working the mineral riches of Russia. England claims the oil fields of the Caucasus. Poland demands Kiev and part of Western Ukraine" (confession of Fyedotov).

"The commission (of General Jeannin) decided that France will carry on the provision of military supplies and armaments for the interventionist armies" (confession of Kalinikov).

This decision, which satisfied the appetite of French heavy industry, "disappointed" England.

"After the decision of Jeannin's commission", Kalinikov informs us, "England became somewhat less interested in intervention, because its chief economic interest had fallen through—to give its industry the chance to make profit out of the supply of armaments for the interventionist armies".

Now everything has come to the surface, all the vileness and the filth of the capitalist murderers, who were already counting over their profits from the bloody business they had planned.

"The negotiations for the organisation of intervention was made difficult by the appetites of the various participants", we read from Ramzin's confession. The antagonistic interests of the capitalist powers are not so easily reconciled. The date for intervention had to be put off again and again.

"In 1928 it became known that the complications in the political situation abroad, chiefly owing to the double dealing policy of Germany, which was bargaining with both sides for its support, and also the position taken up by Lithuania with regard

to Poland, made it unsuitable at that time to make an open attack on the Soviet Union" (confession of Laritchev). The date of the intervention was postponed till 1930. The gentlemen of the intervention grumbled and complained. The growing power of the Soviet Union, the successful fulfillment of the Five-Year Plan, the firm peace policy which was carried on by the Soviet Government, upset all their plans. They began to put pressure on the saboteurs of the "Industrial Party", they demanded that they should transfer their energies to military espionage and diversional acts. Finally, they decided to use their bayonets on the U.S.S.R.

"The conflict on the Chinese Eastern Railway, which broke out in the summer of 1929, was a diversional movement of the French and British general staffs, on the one hand, in order to discover our mobilisation powers and the fighting qualities of the Red Army, and on the other hand to discover the attitude of the population in general to the question of war possibilities and the degree of firmness of the Soviet Government, and its influence on the worker and peasant masses at a time of internal and external difficulties" (confession of Laritchev). They wanted to "discover" and they discovered! . . . the might of the Red Army, its high fighting qualities, the enthusiasm and solidity of the broad masses of workers around the Soviet Government and the Communist Party. This is what was shown by the Far Eastern adventure of the interventionists on the Chinese Eastern Railway. They made their attempt and failed, to such an extent that they had to postpone intervention for still another year.

"During the second half of 1929, we began to receive news from abroad that intervention would be impossible in 1930, and had been postponed till the next year. The chief causes for this postponement were: 1) the increase of the revolutionary activity of the proletarian masses. 2) The complication of the military situation of France in view of strained relations with Italy. 3) The position of Germany had not been made clear, and was contradictory to the interests of Poland. 4) The failure of the Far Eastern adventure, which showed the difficulty of a fight with the Red Army. 5) The absence of agreement between the chief parties of the interventionists" (confession of Ramzin).

Your plans have failed, gentlemen of the intervention! Your foul work has come to nought. Now, in addition, it has been shown up to all the world, and all your plans have come into broad daylight. All your crimes will be exposed, your agencies in the U.S.S.R. will be mercilessly stamped out. The revolutionary activity of the proletarian masses hindered you? Rest assured that it will continue in the future. You were checked by the might of the Red Army?—we will strengthen it by all means. You were driven to helpless rage by our firm and unwavering policy of peace?—we will continue it in spite of all your provocations. The socialist economy of the U.S.S.R. is developing, in spite of the shameful work of your hireling saboteurs. The economic crisis is following at your heels, the crisis which has already completely broken up some countries such as Poland.

A Young Plan for the Workers of the U.S.S.R.

The confession of the saboteur Fyedotov in the charge sheet for the trial of the "Industrial Party" gives an idea of the compensation which had been negotiated for by the imperialist circles of France from the "Torgprom" and the Ramzins in payment for the intervention against the U.S.S.R. "In the negotiations with the French general staff and the Torgprom", says Fyedotov, "Ramzin, in the name of the C.I.O. agreed to those concessions which had been promised previously by the Torgprom at the expense of Russia. France claims the payment of Tsarist debts and war debts in gold roubles and extensive concessions for the exploitation of the mineral wealth of Russia."

Two documents from the history of previous interventions give a clear picture of the extensive bandit plans of the French stock dealers and bankers. The first of these documents is the draft of an agreement between the French Foreign Minister Pichon and Petlura's directorate at the beginning of 1919. The French interventionists who at that time had occupied the Ukraine, were hesitating which was the most profitable line for them to take — the restoration of the "united and indivisible" or an orientation on the Ukrainian traitors. During these hesitations, Pichon offered to Petlura

and Vinnichenko the following conditions for the official recognition of the directorate by France.

1. France to receive a concession for fifty years for all the Ukrainian railroads.
2. The Ukraine undertakes to pay her share of the debts of the Tsarist and the provisional government.
3. The payment of interest on the debts is guaranteed by that portion of the income of the railroads which the Ukrainian government is entitled to.
4. The directorate undertakes within one year to organise an army 300,000 strong against the Bolsheviks.
5. The whole of the financial, commercial, industrial and military policy of the Ukraine to be carried on under the direct control of representatives of the French government.

It was not the fault of the French imperialists that this agreement was not carried into effect. The Red Army put an end to these negotiations in a most unceremonious manner, and chased both the partners from the occupied districts of the Ukraine.

A year after the collapse of Petlura and the defeat of Deninikin, Wrangel appeared on the scene. At that time, the French Stock Exchange had two hopes, the advance of the Poles and the white guard Baron. The government of France was so assured of victory that it agreed officially to recognise his government in exchange for the following "compensation".

Wrangel undertook:

1. To recognise all the debts of Tsarist Russia and of all Russian cities with regard to France with priority and payment of interest on the interest.

2. France to convert all Russian debts into a new 6 per cent debt to be paid off in the course of 35 years.

3. The payment of interest and yearly redemption to be guaranteed: a) by handing over to France all the railroads of European Russia for a definite period; b) France to receive the right to collect import duties and harbour dues in all the ports of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov; c) grain surpluses from the Ukraine and the Kuban district to be put at the disposal of France for a certain number of years, pre-war exports being taken as the basis; d) three-quarters of the output of oil and gasoline to be at the disposal of France for a definite period, the pre-war output being as the basis; e) one quarter of the coal obtained in the Don Basin to be handed over for a certain number of years. This period to be separately agreed on. The money obtained by the export of raw material to be paid to cover interest on Russian debts.

"In the Russian Ministries of Finance, commerce and manufactures", concludes the agreement with Wrangel, "in future there shall be formed an official French financial and commercial office, whose rights will be fixed by a special agreement".

This is the price which the fugitive factory owners of the Torgprom and the Ramzins agreed to pay to France for the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. Even the Young Plan, which condemns the toiling population of Germany to 58 years of poverty and slavery, is child's play compared with the convict chains that were prepared for the working class of the U.S.S.R. by the white emigrants, the saboteurs and their French employers.

The grasping imagination of the Parisian usurers pictures to itself a dazzling prospect of increased colonial expansion. In addition to Germany which is bending under the yoke of the predatory Young Plan, in addition to the vassalage of the countries of the Danube and the Balkans and Poland, one-sixth of the earth's surface occupied by the U.S.S.R. must come under the domination of French capitalism. From the banks of the Rhine to Vladivostock — this was the gigantic Senegal which was to feed the appetites of the French planters, to give them a guarantee of an easy life for decades, to supply French industry with cheap grain, oil, coal and other materials.

All these plans and calculations raise the spirits of the French bourgeoisie and the Parisian general staff, who are occupied feverishly in rigging the market on the question of forcing the preparations for a "march on Moscow".

The proletariat of the Soviet Union have more than once shown to the interventionists the power and the whirlwind energy of their revolutionary resistance to all attempts at robbing them of the fruits of the October Revolution. Poincaré and other imperialist bandits who are cherishing a blood-thirsty dream of enslaving the workers of the U.S.S.R. can only expect the long deserved, historically inevitable lesson

AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

The Fighting in Egypt.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

During the past two weeks or so revolutionary outbreaks have been almost a daily occurrence in Egypt. The nature and character of these outbreaks are reminiscent of the fights which took place in the year 1919 and later in 1921: strikes of students, street demonstrations, bloody collisions between the military and the demonstrators, continually recurring acts of sabotage against the railways, telegraph and telephone, raids, collisions of the peasants etc. A hostile, autocratic apparatus is suppressing with an "iron hand" a movement which is participated in by the whole people—workers, fellahin, students, artisans and intelligentsia. Here and there it comes to regular "pitch battles". But the masses are stronger in the guerrilla form of fighting, in the ever recurring revolts against the State power, as they cannot put up an effective resistance to the heavily armed troops. That which was designated by the British in 1919 as "anarchy" was the result of such a little war, which was conducted with persistence and tenacity for months. Sidky Pasha, who relies upon brutal force, will not be able to achieve any permanent victory over this movement which embraces the broadest masses of the people. It must be openly confessed that Egypt is confronted with a revolution.

The example of India shows what inexhaustible reserves are possessed by a colonial revolution once it has been set going. Also in the land of the Nile the present period of fighting will not be a simple repetition of 1919, but the fights will constitute a higher stage of the emancipation movement.

British imperialism is still endeavouring for the time being to retain the mask of "neutrality". The direct collision between England and revolutionary Egypt is to be postponed so long as the native troops are still to some extent reliable.

The Wafd Party, which possesses the greatest influence over the masses and is now endeavouring, just as it did in the preparatory stage, to retain the leadership of the popular movement at all costs, is carrying on a cunning double game which in the last resort only furthers the interests of the imperialists. Towards the masses the Wafd poses as being exceedingly "revolutionary": it calls for fight, for sacrifices, and even hints at the employment of violence. At the same time it is of course anxiously endeavouring to confine the slogans to the fight for the Constitution and carefully avoids touching social questions, for it realises that the masses are not taking up the fight merely on account of the Constitution but in order to find a way out of their frightful misery.

At the same time, however, the Wafd is feverishly active behind the scenes in order to betray the fight of the masses against the imperialist-federal oppressors. It is seeking a way of approach to the imperialists and the King. The adventurer Mohammed-Mahmud, whom less than a year ago the Wafd decried as an autocrat, an enemy of the people and lackey of the British, in face of the indignation of the masses, is now adopting an oppositional tone. This Mohammed Mahmud now appears to the Wafd as a convenient medium for establishing contact with the enemy camp: a coalition with Mahmud is to render the British imperialists and King Fuad immune to the stings of Wafdist "Radicalism". In this manner the revolutionary movement is to be liquidated, its sole gains being a few Ministerial seats for the Wafd Pashas.

This is the second stage in the activity of the Wafd. The Wafd is endeavouring to delay the revolutionary outbreaks as long as possible. In the second half of October the revolutionary ferment of the masses reached such a pitch that it was bound to come to an outbreak. Now that a guerrilla war is being conducted against Sidky Pasha, the Wafd is endeavouring to call off and betray the fight as soon as possible. They do not stop at bargaining with the imperialist marionette Mahmud in order to attain this end.

In spite of the cunning tactics of the Wafd, however the fights of the masses have their own logic and development, as the events in 1919 and the July revolt in July 1930 proved. In these fights the Egyptian masses must set up a real proletarian revolutionary leadership if they do not wish to fall victims to the troops of Sidky or, to the treachery of the Wafd-Party.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Marcel Cachin.

On his 40 years of political Activity in the Service of the Working Class.

By L. F. Winow.

The hundreds and thousands of workers who in the last few years have listened with enthusiasm to the rousing speeches of Comrade Cachin which he has delivered in Moscow, Paris, Berlin and other centres of the Communist world movement, will hardly believe that this youthful fighter of the proletariat is already over sixty and is now celebrating the forty years jubilee of his political activity in the service of the French and international proletariat.

At a time when the socialist movement in France was still very weak and the bourgeois and anarchist petty bourgeois influence was still dominant among the working class, Comrade Cachin, as a twenty year old student, joined the most advanced Guesde-wing of the working class. And when at the end of the last century the bourgeois infection of the Labour movement had reached its highest point, at a time when the ministerialism of Millerand revealed the first blossoms of that policy which later led directly to social imperialism and to social fascism, Cachin was in the first ranks of the fighters against social treachery, against the participation of the socialists in the bourgeois State power. Since that time and up to quite recently he has been repeatedly thrown into the prisons of French "democracy". In spite of all persecution he pursued his fight for the realisation of Marxism and Socialism.

On the eve and at the beginning of the war the best heads of the French socialist movement were carried away by the social chauvinist wave. Even people like Guesde and Vaillant, the teachers of Cachin, could not withstand this wave. For a time Comrade Cachin was also swept away by it.

"We have shared their (Guesde's and Vaillant's) error" said Comrade Cachin, "but in my case the war has cleared away this error".

When the Russian proletariat captured power and established the Soviet Government, Comrade Cachin became one of the most enthusiastic defenders of the October Revolution. He placed himself at the head of the struggle against the first French intervention and was elected by the Left wing of social democracy as responsible editor of "Humanité" in place of Renaudel who supported the intervention.

Cachin's first visits in the country of the proletarian dictatorship aroused his enthusiasm for the proletarian revolution. By his Moscow telegram in 1919, in which he called upon the French workers to affiliate to the newly formed Communist International, he laid the foundation stone for the establishment of our French Communist Party. At the Congress of Tours Comrade Cachin succeeded in winning the great majority of the Party Congress for affiliation to the Communist International and for the formation of our French brother Party.

Since that time Comrade Cachin has been one of the most prominent, most courageous and self-sacrificing leaders of our Communist world Party. His speeches in the French Chamber of Deputies, in which he tears to pieces the calumnies of the class enemies of the Soviet Union and declares the readiness of the revolutionary working class to defend the Soviet Union with all means, are model examples of revolutionary Parliamentarism: they are translated in all languages and read by the workers in the whole world. Today, when French imperialism is organising a new war of the imperialist Powers to destroy our proletarian fatherland, the world proletariat listens particularly attentively to our Comrade Cachin.

Comrade Cachin recently said the following regarding the Russian revolution:

"To take up an idea in my twenties, with this same ever-sustaining and comforting idea to reach the age of 62; to live long enough to experience its complete realisation, that is good enough in order not to wish anything more."

His fight, his unreserved devotion to the cause of the proletariat, is one of those factors which will enable comrade Cachin to experience this satisfaction in the not too distant future in his own country as one of the leaders of Soviet France.

Agitprop

On the Immediate Tasks of the Agitprop Work of the Mid-European Sections of the Comintern.

Resolution of the Conference of the Mid-European Agitprop Departments.

We print below the resolution on „The Immediate Tasks of Agitprop Work“ which was passed at the conference of Agitprop Departments of 7 Communist Parties: Germany, France, Great Britain, Czechoslovakia, Sweden, Austria and Switzerland.

In addition to the general resolution printed in this number, the Conference adopted seven separate resolutions applying to each individual country. In one of the next issues of the *Inprecorr* we shall give a report on the results of the Conference, which will supply valuable material on the state of agitprop work in these seven Parties.

Introduction.

The VI. Congress of the Communist International which has given an analysis of the third period, exposed the social democratic nature of Right Wing opportunism, deepened the struggle on two fronts and equipped the International Communist movement with a uniform programme, has given a strong foundation to the ideological struggle of the Communist Parties and thereby strengthened their position in the struggle for the masses.

The conference states that since the VI. Congress the most important achievements of the represented Parties are as follows: the Communist press is being progressively Bolshevikised, there is considerable progress in the matter of ideological preparation of mass political campaigns, there is an increase in the number of factory papers, information on the U.S.S.R. is better organised, many volumes of Lenin's works have appeared in the most important languages, the programme of the Communist International has been published and also a Marxian library and a number of symposiums and pamphlets, and there is a quantitative and qualitative improvement in the International Lenin Courses.

At the same time the conference notes that in face of the enormous tasks now confronting the Parties there is still an incalculable number of shortcomings in the ideological work of the Communist Parties.

The splendid material available as a result of the world economic crisis and the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union is not sufficiently used, there is no adequate and efficacious struggle against fascism and social fascism, the essence of the internal struggle of the Parties on two fronts is not sufficiently elucidated before the broad non-Party masses, antimilitarist agitation is weak and abstract, political agitation is inadequately linked up with the questions of the crisis, with unemployment and with the industrial conflicts, the mass political strike slogan is not clearly enough explained to the masses, the work of the press as an organiser and propagandist is poor, there are defects in the work of the factory papers, the theoretical level of the Party organisations is low — and all these shortcomings which have numbers of times been stressed in decisions of the leading bodies of the Communist International, and the various Parties are largely due to weak agitprop work, and to the fact that the turn to the masses as far as this activity is concerned is weak.

In view of the growing world crisis, the aggravating class struggle and the rising revolutionary wave, the Agitprop work of the Communist Parties is becoming a very important factor in the struggle for the masses, for the capture of the majority of the working class and for assumption of leadership in the class struggles. The turn of all of the Communist Parties towards the masses and the placing of the question of organisational consolidation of the political influence of the Communist Parties as a central issue are indissolubly connected with increased ideological work of the Parties, with a qualitative and quantitative improvement of

the Communist press, with the organisation of a sound basis for agitation and propaganda in the workshops, with better preparation and organisation of mass campaigns, with proper ideological work during economic struggles, with proper oral and written agitation in the mass organisations, with the organisation of systematic teaching of the theories of Marxism and Leninism, and the raising of the theoretical activity of the Party.

The Conference notes that of all the Parties represented here the C.P.G. alone can record considerable success in the sphere of agitation and propaganda.

The Conference brings to the attention of the represented Parties, the tremendous practical value of the experience of the C.P.G., which was able to make good use in a capitalist country of the experience of the C.P.S.U. in the matter of agitation and propaganda. The Conference believes it necessary to study and to utilise the experience of the C.P.G. in the Parties represented at the conference.

I. The Immediate Organisational Tasks of Agitprop Work.

1. Apart from noting the general weakness of the Agitprop Departments, the Conference calls attention to the insufficiently clear understanding of the fundamental tasks of these departments on the part of some of the Parties.

There are instances when agitprop departments neglect their most important political work for the sake of tasks of minor importance, and there is a inclination on the part of some of the Party committees to keep the Agitprop departments aside from their important political duties, and to reduce their role merely to that of carrying out educational work. The conference deems it necessary to combat such tendencies as being opposed to the Bolshevik understanding of agitation and propaganda.

The Agitprop Departments, whose immediate task it is to organise all the ideological work among the masses on the basis of a systematic study of the ideological change and evolution taking place in the attitude of these masses, must become very important links of the Party apparatus, whose active participation in working out the political line of the Party is a necessary condition for their proper functioning.

2. One of the main shortcomings in agitprop work is the inadequate participation of agitprop departments in economic struggles. This shortcoming, which arises from an incorrect separation of the tasks of the Party from those of the trade unions, (to the effect that the Party conducts a political struggle and the trade unions the economic struggle), must be quickly overcome by closely linking up the agitprop departments of the Party Committees with the organs of the trade union movement, by more active co-operation in the drawing up of slogans, and in the whole of oral and written agitation necessary for the masses in time of industrial struggle, greater initiative in the organisation and improvement of agit-prop work of the leading centres of the revolutionary trade union movement.

3. Recording a qualitative improvement in the Communist Press and better control on the part of the leading Party organs, the Conference nevertheless finds this control is from inadequate, giving rise to numerous political mistakes not only in the provincial, but even in the central press. The agitprop departments responsible for the organisation of the ideological work of the Party among the masses actually take no part in the control of the press which is the most effective instrument in that sphere. Holding such state of affairs to be absolutely abnormal, which has a bad effect on the work of the press, the conference points out the necessity of arranging the closest possible connection between the work of newspaper editors and the agitprop departments and of entrusting to the latter the systematic control of the press.

leaving however the general control in the hands of the leading Party bodies.

4. Emphasising most decidedly that one of the first tasks of the agitprop departments consists in taking active part in the most important political activities of the Party, the conference at the same time stresses the tremendous importance and urgency of systematic organisation by the agitprop departments of Leninist propaganda, Party training and ideological training of cadres. In the Parties represented and working in the countries where there exist side by side with the Communist Parties the strongest sections of the II. International, Marxist-Leninist propaganda and the struggle against a distortion of Marxism by the social democracy is an inseparable part of the struggle for the masses, especially against the so-called "Left" Wing of the social democracy.

Under conditions of sharpening class contradictions, when the process of disillusionment of the working masses as to the policy of the social democrats inevitably quickens, when some sections of the workers begin to desert the social democracy (which by all its activities hitherto has prepared the ground necessary for successful development of nationalism among the masses) and go over to the fascists, the systematic propaganda of Marxism-Leninism among the broad masses becomes of extraordinary and vital importance.

A necessary pre-requisite for the systematic propaganda of Leninism among the broad masses is the raising of the theoretical level of the Party members and especially the proletarian elements. The conference makes it the duty of the agitprop departments to undertake the organisation of systematic work in that direction as one of the most important activities of next year.

5. One of the causes of the unsatisfactory state of agitprop work is the still lingering under-estimation of the importance of ideological work by the Parties.

In view of the inseparable connection of agitation and propaganda with organisation, the conference calls attention to the inadmissibility of contrasting organisational work to agitation and propaganda or of weakening agitation and propaganda on the ground that more emphasis is necessary on organisational work. The conference holds that one of the most essential conditions for the bringing about of a real turn to the masses, and for successful organisational consolidation of the Party is serious attention to agitprop work, the establishment of rigid control and firm leadership over this work, a systematic study and assimilation of the experience obtained in it and the subordination of its plans to the immediate tasks of the Party. The first condition of success of the desired turn is a strengthening of the agitprop apparatus of the C.C. and the local committees (especially in the large industrial centres), by electing workers as their members, a clear definition of the tasks of the agitprop departments at the present time and the correct organisation of these departments.

6. In order practically to improve the agitation and propaganda work the conference proposes the following measures:

a) The creation of an agitprop apparatus wherever none exists and its strengthening wherever it is weak, especially in the central and regional committees.

b) The assignment of a group of people with the necessary qualifications for constant work in the agitprop departments of C.C.'s and local committees for whom agitation and propaganda would be the principal work, taking for this purpose some of the students this year who have graduated from the International Lenin School and the Communist University for Western and National Minorities (at least 20 per cent).

c) The heads of agit-prop departments have to be granted the possibility of taking active part in the drawing up of political instructions of the Party (participation in the leading organs of the Party committees).

d) One of the items of agitprop work should be systematic supervision over the Party press, and control of the factory press should be allotted a place of first importance.

e) All the agitators, propagandists, writers and theoreticians should be registered, their qualifications studied and they should be systematically and expediently used for the performance of various tasks assigned to them.

f) Local agitprop apparatuses should be organised especially in industrial areas and in large factories.

g) Organisational contact of the agitprop departments with all the auxiliary mass organisations and systematic spreading of their ideological influence over them by means of the organisation of systematic conferences should be guaranteed.

h) Systematic work should be guaranteed by means of a strict division of labour and duties among the personnel and the sub-departments of the agitprop.

i) The work of the agitprop departments should be systematically controlled and checked up by the leading organs of the Party, by taking up plans of work of the sub-departments for consideration and approval or disapproval of the Secretariat or of the bureaux of the Party committees.

II. The Turning of the Work towards the Masses.

7. The turning of the work of the Party to face the masses demands that the agitational and propagandist organs should review their methods of work and reorganise them from the point of view of this turn. A decisive turn is particularly necessary in the matter of shifting the centre of gravity to work in the factories. For this purpose it is necessary to supply the big factory nuclei with a minimum of agitators and propagandists, to place at the centre of attention of the agitprop departments of the Party committees the task of supplying factories with the necessary material and literature, to have systematic control of the factory papers, to pay much more attention to what is going on in the factories in the Party press, to create a widely circulated and popular literature on all major political problems with a special view to the requirements and the intellectual development of the proletarian reader in the factory, to devote particular attention to the factories when drawing up plans for various campaigns, in the course of these campaigns and in consolidating their results.

8. The fact that it is necessary to intensify this work in the factories should not prompt our organisations to neglect agitation and propaganda among the unorganised, the unemployed, the women, youth and the peasantry. Close contact of the agitprop departments with the mass organisations of these sections of the population (unemployed committees, the women's departments, the YCL) is necessary in ideological work, and joint work should be done with them in the publication of special papers, in dealing with them in the general press and in all forms of oral agitation and propaganda.

9. The agitprop department must pay exceptional attention to the preparation and carrying out of mass political campaigns. The conference calls attention to the fact that the main shortcoming displayed in the various campaigns, was to be found in the weak organisational consolidation of their results—and the agitprop departments are no less responsible than the org. departments for that. The agitprop department must ensure, that during the campaigns, agitational work is being conducted for winning new members for the Party, for the revolutionary trade unions, the YCL and other mass organisations. The agitprop department must show initiative in the matter of preserving and consolidating mass organisational centres, which arise in the course of campaigns; such as: unity committees, committees of action, committees for the defence of the press, etc. It is the agitprop department which must first of all take steps to see that proper ideological service is given to all those who are attracted into the Party as a result of campaigns.

10. Factory newspapers are an important means of strengthening Party work in the factories and are of exceptional importance for winning over the decisive sections of the working class, for mobilising them around our slogans and our economic and political activities, and for recruiting new supporters to the revolutionary trade union movement and new members of the Party and YCL. However, the conference has to place on record a number of serious shortcomings in their work:

(a) Papers are set up outside the factory, without any participation of the factory workers themselves (Czechoslovakia, France), or papers are issued for groups of factories also divorced from the masses of the factories and having no organic connection with the latter.

The formation of genuine factory newspapers must be considered a pressing task. One of the chief duties of factory newspapers is the development of the revolutionary initiative

of the broad masses, their attraction to the idea of creating a revolutionary press in the factory to voice the utterances of all factory workers. While actively taking part in the formation of these newspapers and while being at the head of them and struggling against the penetration of hostile ideas into them, the Communist nuclei must leave the pages of the newspaper open for all revolutionary workers.

(b) A Great shortcoming of the work of factory newspapers is the fact that they are not regularly published. This must be remedied as quickly as possible. The regular appearance of factory newspapers increases their role and influence many times.

(To be concluded.)

Against the Right Danger

Declaration of Comrade Bukharin to the C.C. of the C.P.S.U.

Moscow, 20th November 1930.

"In view of the numerous resolutions and inquiries concerning my attitude to the general policy of the Party, to the decisions of the XVI. Party Congress, and to the internal Party situation, I consider it necessary to make the following statement:

"First of all, with regard to the questions of internal Party policy, I admitted my errors without reservation even before the XVI. Party Congress. These errors took the form of right-wing deviations. After the plenary session of the Central Committee in November I issued a joint statement together with Comrades Rykov and Tomski. In the 'Pravda' of the 15th December 1929 I published an article entitled, 'The Technical-Economic Revolution, the Working Class and the Engineers'. At the end of this article I enumerated the articles and documents which contained admissions of my errors. Further, in the same number of the 'Pravda' I published a second article entitled, 'The Great Reconstruction' and defending the policy of the Central Committee in a positive form.

"Secondly, I consider the best form to express solidarity with the Congress decisions to be a statement to the Congress or to the Central Committee of the Party. Unfortunately I did not make such a statement. However, immediately prior to the Party Congress I fell ill with an inflammation of the lungs and during the Congress I was on sick-leave. Immediately after the Party Congress whilst I was still on sick-leave I defended the Congress decisions in two public meetings. Unfortunately our central press was not informed about this.

"Thirdly, after my return from sick-leave on the 15th November I declared on the 16th November before the Party organisation of the nucleus of the Scientific Investigation Institute of the Supreme Economic Council that I recognised the decisions of the XVI. Party Congress in their essentials, and not only formally as a matter of Party discipline. At the meeting against the saboteurs I also defended the decisions of the Party Congress and called for a struggle against deviations. (The report was published in the newspaper, 'Sa Industrialisatzu').

"Fourthly, the logical result of this is a complete and unreserved condemnation on my part of each and every attack upon the unity of the Party, of all fractionalism, of all attempts to attack the Party leadership, of any attempt to defend other proposals than those of the Party leadership, etc. Also the recognition of the necessity of a struggle on two fronts against all deviations from the policy of the Party, against the right-wing danger as the chief danger, and against any conciliatory attitude to the deviations.

"Fifthly, I condemn decisively the bloc of the right-wingers with the 'left-wingers' Comrades Syrzov, Lominadze and Shatzkin and the fractional work of these groups. I am in agreement with the organisational measures taken by the Political Bureau, by the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission against Comrades Syrzov, Lominadze and Shatzkin

and also against Comrades Nussinov, Kavraiski and others. I also condemn decisively the anti-Party and double-faced activity of Riutin and am in agreement with the decisions taken with regard to him.

"Sixthly, as regards international policy, I declare that after the withdrawal of my erroneous statements after the November plenary session of the Central Committee, I completely share the standpoint of the leading organs of the Communist International and of the C.P. of the Soviet Union. Therefore I decisively condemn the struggle against the C.I. and the disrupters of the C.I., the fractional groupings and the refusal to accept the decisions of the C.I. as a disorganisation of the ranks of international communism playing into the hands of the dead enemies of communism, the social democrats, the bourgeois and the rich landowners. I condemn categorically both the right-wing and left-wing sectarians, their political and organisational standpoints. I consider that a persistent and logical struggle against deviations is necessary in the Sections of the C.I. chiefly against the right-wing danger, and further a struggle against all conciliatory attempts to whitewash these deviations.

"Seventhly, I condemn in particular the activity of the Lovestone group in the U.S.A. which fights against the positions of the C.I. and the C.P. of the U.S.A., which systematically opposes the C.P. of the U.S.A., fights against the latter and develops into an anti-communist, anti-proletarian group playing into the hands of the bourgeois enemies of the C.I.

"Eighthly, as regards the question of 'organised capitalism' I admit my errors which Lenin exposed in his, 'Economics of the Transformation Period' (1920). In my article, 'The Theory of Organised Economic Anarchy' I attempted to proceed from the principles of Engels and Lenin and their programmatic work (Critic of the Draft of the Erfurt Programme, Comments on the Second Draft of Plechanov's Programme, State and Revolution and others). But as far as I used formulations which went beyond the limits of the formulations of Engels and Lenin or which deviated from these formulations, I admit my errors here also. These errors were the reason for my articles in the spirit of the bourgeois theory of organised capitalism. This proved to be politically damaging and were very correctly condemned by the decisions of the plenary session of the E.C. of the C.I.

"Ninthly, when estimating the general situation of the present moment as a whole, it is necessary to record the growing intensification of the class struggle both in the Soviet Union (against the Kulaks and the saboteurs) and on a world scale (against international imperialism). The revelation of the counter-revolutionary and sabotage organisations (Ramzin and Co., and Kondratyev & Co.), who must be dealt with mercilessly with the sword of the proletarian dictatorship, prove clearly the degree of the intensification of the class struggle in the country and the degree of the war-danger threatening the proletarian dictatorship from the side of the imperialists. The counter-revolutionary saboteurs played the role of agents of international capitalism which is obviously preparing an intervention by means of an economic blockade, preparations for war and the creation of diversions in the Soviet Union. At such a time special devotion is demanded from each Party member and a maximum of discipline. Any speculation on the difficulties and the intensification of the class struggle is a crime against the Party and the working class.

"We must mobilise all our forces to repulse the class enemies and to defend the dictatorship of the proletariat. A close link to the Central Committee of the Party which is guarantee of the construction of socialism in our country by fighting all deviations from the general policy of the Party, preparedness for mobilisation, the unity of our positions, the will and action of the Party ranks and in the Communist International must be for us the absolute preliminary conditions for the victory of the proletariat under all circumstances in the coming day. The defence of the proletarian dictatorship and of the tremendous work of socialist construction—the fruit of tremendous heroic efforts on the part of the working masses and the Party—must be for us the highest law of the proletarian revolution to which everything must be subordinate.