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CONTENTS

| | | | |
|---|------|--|------|
| Bela Kun: The Trial Is Ended—the Danger of Intervention is Growing | 1203 | The Labour Movement! | |
| Germany | | William Rust: The Fight of the British Miners | 1212 |
| Ernst Thälmann: We are Leading the People to Victory Over the Fascist Dictatorship | 1206 | Against Imperialist War | |
| Politics | | J. B.: The Fight for the Pipe Line from Mosul | 1213 |
| Raul: The Revolt in Spain | 1208 | Hands off the Soviet Union | |
| J. Bratkovsky: Fascist Poland Preparing to Attack the Soviet Union | 1208 | Against Anti-Soviet Propaganda by British Officials . . | 1214 |
| China | | Trade Union Movement | |
| The Situation in the Soviet Districts in South West Kiangsi | 1209 | Open Letter of the P.P.T.U.S. to the Indian Proletariat | 1215 |
| The White Terror | | The Peasant Movement | |
| R.: The Death Sentences on Revolutionary Soldiers and the Ferment in the Greek Army | 1210 | J. Harrer: The Second Meeting of the European Peasants Committee and its Decisions | 1217 |
| Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union | | In the International | |
| V. Kulbyshv: The Results of the Two Years of the Five-Year-Plan | 1211 | Draft Platform of Action of the C.P. of India | 1218 |
| | | Proletarian Mass Organisations | |
| | | Healthy Symptoms in the League Against Imperialism | 1223 |
| | | Proletarian Women's Movement | |
| | | The Struggle of the Proletarian Women against Intervention and for the Defence of the Soviet Union . . | 1224 |

To the Humanitarians.

By Maxim Gorky.

The "International Association of Democratic Writers" has, through the person of its General Secretary, Lucien Quinet, done me the honour of asking me to contribute to the literary organ of the Association. The aim of the Association is "to bring together democratic writers". Among the members of its presidium are Romain Rolland and Upton Sinclair, people for whom I have the very greatest respect. But the presidium also includes Professor Albert Einstein, while among the members of the Committee is Heinrich Mann. These two men, along with many other humanitarians recently signed a Protest issued by the German "League for Human Rights" against the execution of forty eight criminals, organisers of famine in the Soviet Union.

I am thoroughly convinced that among human rights there does not figure the right to commit crime, especially not to commit crimes against the working people. The indescribable baseness of the actions of those forty eight criminals is well known to me; I know that their acts were more criminal and dirty than the deeds of the meat packing firms of Chicago described by Upton Sinclair in his work "The Jungle". The organisers of famine aroused the righteous indignation of the working people against whom their vile conspiracy was directed; and they were executed on the unanimous demand of the workers. I regard this execution as perfectly justified.

This is a judgment pronounced by the people, which is living and working under difficult conditions, which is depriving itself of everything and not sparing its strength, but bravely and successfully striving to build up the workers State, which is free not only from robbers and parasites, but also from people whose humanitarianism at bottom, only serves as a cloak for robbery and parasitism.

It is obvious that my attitude to the execution of the 48 criminals differs from the attitude of the "League for Human Rights". And as Messrs. Einstein and Mann share the attitude of the "League", any "approchement" between us is impossible. For this reason I decline to contribute to the organ of the "International Association of Democratic Writers".

During the last three years I have received other invitations to contribute to the organs of democratic "humanitarians". I have not replied to these invitations and will now attempt to make up for my impoliteness. I address my answer to Romain Rolland, Upton Sinclair, Bernard Shaw and H. G. Wells, whose names are mentioned in the letter from M. Lucien Quinet and to whose opinions I am not indifferent. I think I must explain to them my attitude to the intellectuals who have chosen humanitarianism as their profession.

After the 9th January 1905, the European humanitarians,

outraged by the mass murder of workers in the streets of Petersburg, gave to Nicolaus Romanov the title of the bloody, which he had already fully earned before this crime. But they did not protest against the French bankers who, by supplying the bloody Tsar with money, helped him to exterminate some thousands of the best Russian people by means of the gallows and dungeons. There was plenty of time in which to make such a protest, for the Tsar's terror lasted for three years. In the year 1910 I, together with Wilhelm Ostwald, Richard Dehmel, Oran Eden and Upton Sinclair, took part in organising the international intellectuals. This organisation, too, set itself the aim of bringing together the European humanitarians. In the year 1914, Wilhelm Ostwald and Richard Dehmel were among the first to put their signatures to the blood-thirsty manifesto against England. In the same year a considerable part of the Russian writers and scholars—all of them humanitarians—drew up and published a disgusting screed against the Germans, but not against the fact of the war itself. This was done precisely by those intellectuals who today, no matter whether they live in Berlin or Paris, calumniate in a mediocre and stupid manner the workers' and peasants' power in the Soviet Union, poison the minds of the European humanitarians with thy lies, and preach the idea of intervention against the Soviet Union, that is, they endeavour, to convince the public the necessity of a new world war. This time these people, who once protested so indignantly against "German atrocities", wish to see German and all other possible "atrocities" in that country which was their fatherland, and against that people which they considered to be their "fellow countrymen".

In consider it necessary to say that I never signed any protest against German or any other war-atrocities. I know that war itself is absolutely bestial and I know that in war people who have no grudge against each other kill one another because they are compelled to do so in self-defence. I know that wars are organised by the capitalists in order to bolster up that Order which renders the daily bestialities of "peace-time" something "normal", in order to enrich themselves and not in the interest of the nation. The nation is the working people: its economic interests are international. I know that capitalism is an infectious disease of the nations. I deny the right to existence of an order which renders wars between the capitalists inevitably necessary: wars which are conducted with the forces of the working people and in which the working people are slaughtered. Against war, against this monstrous, vile and idiotic business, the defenders of human rights raise no protest. The humanitarians did not support the proposal for complete and general disarmament submitted by Comrade Litvinov on behalf of the Soviet Government to the League of Nations.

In the year 1918 the French, English and Americans, after the defeat of Germany, organised a predatory attack on Russia which had been devastated by war, in order to convert Russia into their colony and to plunder it as they have plundered Germany. The humanitarians took no notice of this fact which for "cultural" Europe constituted a return of the times of Cortez and Pizarro.

The "defenders of human rights" were deaf when the French General Franchet D'Espèret declared to his soldiers in Odessa:

"The Russians are barbarians and scoundrels! Do not fuss about them, just shoot them, beginning with the peasants and ending with the highest authorities!"

But this horrible howl of a savage was heard by those Russian humanitarians who were on his side at that time and who are ready now to help any idiot who is capable, on the orders of the capitalists, of shooting down, and slaughtering the working people of the Soviet Union.

The Humanitarians are strange people, are they not? The events in India, China, Africa and Palestine do not rouse their indignation in the least; they are not rendered indignant by what is happening at home; they are indifferent in face of the growth of the zoological instincts of nationalism, of anti-semitism, of hatred of the foreigners; they are indifferent in face of those dramas and tragedies which take place almost daily in the old blood-stained buildings of the bourgeois States. They do not attempt to protest against the sinister machinations of Monsieur Raymond Poincaré, who is bringing France almost to ruin and who is now eagerly planning a fresh murder of workers and peasants. It does not say much

for the reason and for the health of the bourgeois States if their fate is in the hands of such mediocre creatures as Poincaré.

Yes, in the present world there is everywhere plenty of work for humanitarians. We could call the attention of the head of the Catholic Church to the fact that the preaching of a crusade in the 20th century is at the best the whim of a misanthrope; and the preaching of such a campaign has nothing whatever to do with the "interests of culture", regarding which the humanitarians are so very eloquent. We could ask the father of the Catholic Church: whether he was pleased with the position in which he and the Churches under him found themselves in the years 1914/18, when the Christians were slaughtering each other in thousands?

But in the whole world the humanitarians and the defenders of human rights are only interested in things which occur in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

It is exceedingly strange that they, the cultured and educated people, consider it quite in place to believe the fable that is dished up that in the Soviet Union there exists the dictatorship of a single person, while it is obvious that there the dictatorship is exercised by the concentrated energy of the working and peasant masses numbering many millions, the energy which has been organised by the genius of Vladimir Lenin and the mental power of his followers and friends. The aim of this dictatorship is to educate the whole mass of the people in the Soviet Union in the consciousness of their right to create new forms and relations of cultural life, to build up a socialist society where all are equal. This aim has not been set by the "arbitrary will of fanatics and barbarians", as is asserted by these people who are forced by hate to become ignoramuses and cretins. This aim has been set by the will of history; it indubitably proves that individualism as the basis of the development of culture has outlived its time. It force resorted to for the sake of the development of the human mind? Yes, there was never a moment in which it was not used for the sake of achieving this aim. Culture is the act of force organised by the reason against men's primitive instincts. In the schools of Europe children are punished precisely in order to convert them into docile servants of the family and of society, into such preservers of "cultural traditions" as their parents. I strongly recommend the pedagogues of Europe to punish children for giving expression to the property instinct, but on the other hand to arouse in the children the consciousness of their right to chastise the parents for their passion for accumulating money by means of robbery which has been legalised by these same parents.

Among the masses of the workers of the Soviet Union, traitors and spies in the pay of the former "masters of the country", who wish to restore their property rights, are at work. It is only natural that the workers and peasants power crushes its enemies like a louse. These former masters are supported by the capitalists of Europe and by their parasites. They support them in the hope of gratifying their own frantic and unreasonable greed. The workers and peasants of the Soviet Union are successfully building up their State while exposed to the savage hatred of the bourgeoisie of the whole world, of a class which is already degenerate, which has consumed its energy, which is incapable of creating anything in the world of culture, which acts only by reason of the law of inertia.

What does this class of degenerates want? They want still to sit on the backs of others for a while, to live from the work of others. For a while. They do not themselves reckon on a long existence. One of their most docile henchmen, Gustav Hervé, when he sought to entice the German capitalists to "draw nearer" to the French capitalists, openly divulged the modest intentions of his masters. He wrote in his paper "Victoire":

"Germany would sever its connections with Moscow and, together with Poland, form a barrier against Russian Bolshevism and take part in all economic measures for the defence of civilisation against Communist barbarism. The collapse of Bolshevism in Russia, the restoration of a capitalist regime in Russia means — and this must not be forgotten — 20, 30, 40 and 50 years of assured work for American and European industry."

Thus we see, the capitalists do not want much: not less than 20, not more than 50 years of their usual undisturbed

satiety, of their colourless, unbridled irresponsible lives. And now they are arming in order to secure a "life of well-being", to send again millions of their workers, peasants and colonial slaves to the fight against a country with a population numbering 150 millions and an army in which every soldier is fully conscious of what he is fighting for. During its whole history the bourgeoisie has never revealed its inhumanity in such an open, cynical and contemptible form.

What is it all about? Why has the bourgeoisie, especially in the last two years, shamelessly and cynically revealed its inhuman nature? A clear answer to this question is given by the former Conservative member of Parliament Arthur Hopkinson, in the English periodical "Empire Review". He writes with "engaging candour":

"What I specially wish to point out for the edification of the reader is, that it is stupid to make out as if the Five-Year-Plan has not succeeded. It is a fact that in many spheres the Plan has already been exceeded. I am trying with all my powers to warn the reader against the error which can call forth the assumption that the Five-Year-Plan will suffer failure, for in reality it has already achieved that far-reaching success which renders it a danger to the whole civilised world."

Hopkinson points with terror to the prospects of the conversion of the Soviet Union into a State independent of world capitalism. Foaming at the mouth, he calls for a war against the Soviet Union. He concludes his article with the following emphatic warning:

"Sickle and Hammer can in the future mean to Europe that which the Crescent meant in the past. It

may be true that he that takes up the sword shall perish by the sword'.

But the history of the next 50 years will show that he who has not taken up the sword will die a more shameful death."

This old die-hard is cleverer than Gustave Hervé. He does not speak of the "Barbarism of Communism" for he obviously realises that Communism and barbarism are incompatible. He does not shout like the other idiots about the "decline of culture" which is being annihilated by Communism. His wolf's howl is called forth by the fear that the Soviet Union can become a State independent of world capitalism.

This, you humanitarians, is what is rousing the fear of the property owners, and this is the cause of the hatred against the cause of the calumnies against the workers and peasants power, against its people, whose tremendous energy is bringing in the epoch of a new renaissance embracing the whole of humanity. Messrs. Humanitarians, allow me to put to you a naive question:

Why do you not protest against a State order which permits a quantitatively insignificant and morally degenerate minority to dispose of the lives of the majority, to poison them with their vices, to keep them in poverty and ignorance, to drive millions to mutual slaughter on the battle-fields to squander enormous quantities of metals and other mineral treasures on armaments, treasures which should belong to the working people and secure their future?

Is it not apparent to you that this senseless order is a hindrance to the growth of universal human culture of which you platonically dream?

The Trial Is Ended — the Danger of Intervention is Growing.

By Bela Kun.

I.

The trial of the sabotage, espionage and traitor organisation, the trial of the Industrial Party is at an end. The proletarian State, which is conscious of its unvanquishable power, has spared the lives of the five counter-revolutionaries, who had been condemned to death. The expression of "repentance" of the representatives of the bourgeois intelligentsia, the sins of the former ruling classes of Tsarist Russia which were continued in the Soviet Union, have faded into insignificance in face of the enthusiastic work and the triumph of the masses who are building up Socialism.

In the trial of the leaders of the sabotage organisation of the Industrial Party, there were revealed three of the main driving forces of capitalist restoration of capitalism, military dictatorship and intervention, and which aimed at slaughtering the advance-guard of the proletariat not only in the Soviet Union but on an international scale. These forces are: 1. the representatives of very small sections of the bourgeois intelligentsia, of the town petty bourgeoisie and of the kulaks who are being liquidated as a class, namely the Industrial Party and its brother organisation, "The Party of the Working Peasants" (Kendratiev, Chayanov), as well as their Menshevik allies (Gromann, Sachanov, Basarov); 2. the remnants of the former ruling classes in Russia (the big landowners and the big capitalists) living in emigration, headed by the Paris Trade and Industrial Committee (Torgprom), various monarchist organisations, among which is the group of the "Democratic Republic", the Milukov people, the social revolutionaries (Kerensky), and the emigré groups of the Mensheviks (Abramovitch, Dan); 3. French imperialism as the leader of international imperialism on the European Continent, the political and military organiser of the war bloc of Poland and Rumania as well as the States of the Little Entente and the Baltic countries, supported by the socialist fascist II. International.

The first group of the driving forces of the counter-revolution, just as the second group, is no longer an indepen-

dent force. The source of power of these two groups is international imperialism, before all French imperialism. Those "actual privileges", to use Lenin's expression, which the Russian bourgeoisie was able to retain for some time after the revolution, the "money", realisable capital etc., has for the greater part slipped from their hands in the course of the revolution. The inner connections of the Russian bourgeoisie became almost completely disorganised in the course of the revolution. From the confessions of all the leaders of the Industrial Party it is quite clear that the counter-revolutionary sabotage organisation was driven to the path of intervention, of preparatory espionage and treason, precisely owing to the lack of a social basis in the Soviet Union itself. It was not owing to the growth of its attractive power for the masses, but on the contrary, its growing isolation even from the masses of the engineers that caused the "Union of Engineers' organisation", on the instructions of Poincaré and the French General Staff, to convert itself into a "political party", the Industrial Party.

The second group of driving forces of the counter-revolution, the remnants of the former leading classes now living in emigration together with the menshevik and social revolutionary followers, are still more lacking the support of any living social forces.

The first and second groups of driving forces of intervention had that which according to Lenin constitutes in the first place the force of every defeated bourgeoisie: "the force of international capital, the strength and firmness of the international connections with the bourgeoisie".

The victorious building up of Socialism in the Soviet Union -- and this is one of the most important lessons of the trial -- is seriously threatened by only one counter-revolutionary force: by the armed power of international imperialism which is now, under the leadership of France, organising intervention in the States bordering the Soviet Union, from the gulf of Finland to the mouth of the Danube.

II.

The trial compelled Poincaré to resort to more complicated methods of lying in face of those facts which were already brought to light at the open proceedings at the trial regarding the preparatory work for intervention and the direct and indirect role of Poincaré in this work. Poincaré, the most aggressive representative of bellicose imperialism, was compelled to defend himself in face of the facts which were revealed by the accused and the witnesses. He declared in his defence that he had already in 1920 drawn the lesson from the fate of the counter-revolutionary war of Koltchak and Denikin and from the fate of the French and English intervention. He stated that already in 1920 he was personally opposed to the recognition of Wrangel by the French government and opposed to his being supported by the French government in the fight against the Soviet government.

The facts, however, cannot be got rid of by complicated methods of lying any more than they can by the method of simple lying.

These facts are the following: According to the unanimous evidence of all the accused, France first fixed on the year 1928 as the date of intervention and then postponed it to the year 1930. Finally, intervention was postponed to the year 1931.

The year 1928 was preceded by Doumergue's visit to London, when a Poincaré government was in power. During this time Poincaré was engaged in stabilising the franc and securing the continental hegemony of France. Doumergue gave a powerful impulse to the Anglo-French rapprochement. The result of his visit to London was to smoothe out a whole number of differences between the two leading imperialist States, and in 1928, that is in the year for which Poincaré had fixed the intervention, the Anglo-French Entente celebrated its rebirth. This Entente was, of course, directed against the Soviet Union.

The rebirth of the Anglo-French Entente was accompanied by a number of naval and military conventions. And thus France, as a result of Poincaré's initiative, became the leader of intervention preparations against the Soviet Union.

The year 1928 did not see the realisation of intervention, but in this year the preparations for intervention received a powerful impetus.

From the winter of 1928 onwards the preparations for intervention have been systematically conducted. The Anglo-French agreement gave France a perfectly free hand to secure its military influence in the States bordering the Soviet Union while safeguarding the English influence at sea.

The year 1928 was the year of the formation of a political bloc from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea. In this year French influence was extended in all the States bordering the Soviet Union, and the military conventions with Poland and Rumania assumed a more definite shape. In this year Pilsudski visited Rumania and the Rumanian general staff officers visited Warsaw. In this year the military co-operation between Poland and the Baltic States was further consolidated. In this year General Le Rond again began to pay visits to Warsaw and Bucharest and General Charay visited the Baltic States. In this year the French military attaché visited Latvia and Estonia and in the same year the visit of the chief of the Polish General Staff created a general sensation in France.

From the confessions it is equally clear that in this year the "Union of engineers' organisations" was taken over completely by the Jean-Pierre Commission of the French General Staff and by their Moscow representatives, MM. K. and R. In this year the Industrial Party began to turn its activity in a military direction, and, together with it the Kondratiev-Chayanov group and the group of the Menschevist remnants under the leadership of Gromann.

In the year 1928, shortly after the stabilisation of the French currency, French capital granted to Rumania a loan of 72 million dollars for the purpose of increasing its armaments.

In the year 1929, under the leadership of France, there was undertaken the provocative attempt on the Chinese-Eastern Railway which ended in a victory for the peaceful police of the Soviet Union and with a miserable bankruptcy of international imperialism.

In the year 1929, not only the Comintern but also far-seeing politicians of the bourgeoisie, Poincaré among them,

foresaw a fresh accentuation of the post-war crisis of capitalism, a shaking of the stabilisation.

It is true, the intervention was postponed thanks to the success of the Five-Year Plan, but the aggravation of the crisis of capitalism and the victory of the Five-Year Plan caused a forcing of the preparations for intervention. The year 1929 saw the speeding up of the concrete military preparations on the part of the Industrial Party and its brother organisations in the Soviet Union under the guidance of MM. K. and R. At the same time the French General Le Rond and Franchet d'Espèret carried through the following military-technical operations in the Western Border States of the Soviet Union:

Strengthening of the Polish naval base of Gdynia, construction of a strategic railway line between Gdynia and Upper Silesia, in the financing of which the French armament firm of Schneider-Creuzot played the leading part; construction of a whole number of chemical factories for military purposes in Poland; increase of the output capacity of armament factories and strengthening of the "security triangle" (the triangle of fortresses, Radom—Przemysl—Tarnow); erection of branches of the Skoda works in Poland, and finally, the reorganisation of the Rumanian army.

In the military-political sphere the most important event is the final strengthening of the military influence of France in Latvia, Estonia and Finland, as well as the realisation of the closest connection between the two largest armament undertakings: between the French Schneider-Creuzot factory and the Czechoslovakian Skoda works.

At the same time we see: diplomatic endeavours on the part of France, aiming at a German-Polish rapprochement in order to strengthen Polish influence in the Baltic States; conclusion of an agreement with Denmark regarding the straits; attempts to make use of the Scandinavian bloc in the interest of French imperialism; attempts to organise points of support for French influence in Turkey.

The year 1930, the second date decided on for intervention, brought an aggravation of the economic crisis of capitalism, including a crisis of French capitalism, and in this year the preparations for intervention were advanced from the stage of diplomatic and military preparations to the stage of preparing the mind of the general public. This year was the year of anti-Soviet campaigns under French leadership, the year of the Papal crusade, of the chase after the allegedly missing General Kutepov, of the Bessedovsky campaign, of Loucher's journeys in order to prepare for Carol's ascent to the throne of Rumania, of the organising of the East-European agrarian bloc in Bukharest and Budapest, and finally the campaign against Soviet "dumping".

That which Ramzin and his colleagues confessed to the Soviet Court is only a pale, and incomplete reflection of that which the government circles and the General Staff of French imperialism have carried out since 1927 in preparation for the war of intervention in 1930.

Against the lies of Poincaré the stock exchange figures speak an eloquent language showing how business circles estimated the prospect of an intervention in the year 1931. At the very time when the crisis of world capitalism caused the shares of the soundest capitalist undertakings to fall ten to twenty points (in the period from July to October 1930), the shares of the three largest armament concerns of the world constantly rose. In the period from 1st July 1930 to 7th October 1930 the shares of Vickers & Co. rose from 6.6 to 7.5 Pound Sterling, the shares of the Hotchkiss firm rose from 1980 to 1994 Francs, and the shares of the Schneider-Creuzot works from 1934 to 1945 francs.

Millions and millions are rendered unemployed as a result of closing down of works: the strongholds of imperialism, the banks are shaking. Banks are collapsing, but the shares of the armament concerns are rising. They are rising because the output of the war industry is being increased at a feverish rate for the purpose of war of intervention against the Soviet Union.

In the French Chamber it was charged against Tardieu that his announcements regarding prosperity were a pure swindle. The French big bourgeoisie is calling for Poincaré, who stabilised the French currency in order to be able to accelerate the preparations for intervention. Poincaré, if not elsewhere, shall at least in the war industry secure high profits for French capital at the cost of the blood of the proletariat and of the poor of the Soviet Union.

At Geneva, where French imperialism hardly allows any trace of disarmament, the pacifist Lord Robert Cecil, the Legate of the English Labour Government, against the motion Count Bernstorff that the Disarmament Conference should be convened in the year 1931, proposed that it should not meet until 1932.

The rise in the quotations of the shares of the armament firms of Vickers, Hotchkiss and Schneider-Creusot shows that the confessions at the trial according to which the intervention planned for 1930 was postponed to 1931, is based on exact information. It is based on information coming from the best informed circles of French imperialism. **Poincaré and Co. have fixed 1931 as the year of war.**

The system of the **Versailles Peace** upon which French post-war capitalism was based is already **shaken**, the forces which are keeping this system of imperialist peace under fire, can only be paralysed at least for a time, if they are offered the prospect of a redistribution of the world by intervention against the Soviet Union.

The world crisis of capitalist economy is increasing. The capitalist solution of the world crisis of capitalism can only take place at the cost of the working class, **and the preservation to the crushing of the working class is intervention against the Soviet Union.** In a number of countries, including France, the economic crisis is developing into a political crisis. Fascism can bring a temporary salvation of capitalism only if the Soviet Union, this stronghold of the revolutionary movement of the international working class, is shattered.

War was an urgent necessity for capitalism already in 1928, when at the beginning of the third period the crisis first began to develop. In 1930 it became still more urgent, when with the development of the crisis Stalin pronounced the historic words: "We are entering the period of Socialism!", when the hope that socialist construction could be prevented by means of the inner forces of counter-revolution without immediate military intervention disappeared. For capitalism it is still more urgent that war be commenced in 1931, when the general offensive against the standard of living of the working class has only resulted in an increase of the output and extension of the market of the armament industry.

That which the spies and diversion agents of Poincaré stated at the trial has been confirmed a hundredfold by all the events of the world economic crisis and world politics.

III.

The trial has shown the working class of all countries how the tactics of **class against class** must be employed in world politics. The preparation of intervention and of counter-revolutionary class war have proceeded according to the following tactics: **In the Soviet Union Poincaré and his colleagues formed the united front of the remnants of the urban and rural bourgeoisie, from Paltchinsky to Ramzin, including Konratjew, Gromann and Suchanov, with the help of the Torgprom, the Miljukovs, Kerenskys and Dans. In the Western Border States, from Finland via Poland and Rumania, the whole forces of the bourgeoisie have been set in motion in order to bring about the victory of fascism.**

In the countries behind the Border States, **French influence placed itself behind every fascist formation in order to secure the unhindered transport of intervention troops.** The attempt at a Franco-German rapprochement on a fascist basis is a classical proof of this.

The **Panal crusade** aimed at stirring up the petty bourgeois clerical masses to take their place in the armed class front. The **anti-Soviet agrarian bloc**, again, aimed at drawing the rich and middle peasantry into this class front. For the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie of the oppressed nations the bait was Briand's slogan of "United States of Europe".

Last but not least, the **II. International** also came forward in the interest of creating an international united class front of the bourgeoisie in order to secure the success of intervention. It was precisely at this juncture that it issued its infamous "Manifesto to the Workers of Russia", which under the slogan of "saving the Revolution" called upon the workers of the Soviet Union to liquidate the proletarian dictatorship and clear the path for capitalist restoration.

Miljukov did not at all exaggerate when he assured the Konratjew Ministerial candidate Yurovsky, that the leaders of the French socialists would support the war of intervention. The French socialists have no need to cite the "theoretical"

authority of Kautsky to justify their support of imperialist intervention. Their own past, their support of the notorious Paul Boncour law, which renders the whole nation liable for military service, give them a sufficient justification, when they wish to enrol the working class in that international class front of the bourgeoisie which is being organised by Poincaré against the international proletariat and its fatherland, the Soviet Union.

The social democracy of the other countries are also engaged in creating pacifist smoke-screens in order to conceal the preparations for intervention, or they repeat again and again that war threatens from the East, from the side of the Bolsheviks. Many of them even openly proclaim that intervention against the Soviet Union is the "sacred duty" of humanity.

IV.

From the revelations at the trial and from a comparison of the events of world policy, and in particular of French policy, since 1927 the international proletariat must immediately draw the following chief lessons:

1. The inner relations of the class forces of the Soviet Union - thanks to the general line of the C. P. S. U. together with the successes of socialist construction - **are a final security against any inner counter-revolutionary efforts.**

2. **The danger which threatens the building up of Socialism, and at the same time the standard of living, the daily bread of the international working class, is the danger of intervention.** The main seat of this danger is France. Its outposts are: Poland, Rumania, the Baltic States and the States of the Little Entente (Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia).

3. The concrete, tangible revelation of the preparation for a war of intervention against the Soviet Union during the course of the trial has not done away with the danger of war or intervention against the Soviet Union. The accentuation of the crisis of capitalism, the development of the economic crisis into a political crisis only **increases** the danger of intervention, only accelerates its tempo. The intervention fixed for 1931 **can be postponed only by the revolutionary will and the revolutionary action of the international proletariat.**

4. **French imperialism** has already brought about the broadest class front on an international scale in preparation for intervention. The formation of the international class front of the proletariat, which shall include the broadest masses of the peasantry and of the petty bourgeoisie, against the driving forces of intervention - **from the international financial oligarchy to the II. International** - in the first place against the organisers of this front, against French imperialism, is necessary. In every country the fight must be waged by the working class against their own imperialism - fight against the centre of imperialism - French imperialism! **The trial is ended. The danger of intervention is growing.** The proletariat of the Soviet Union, through the mouth of its leader and the leader of the international proletariat, Comrade Stalin, already at the XVI Party Congress gave the reply to the intervention plans:

"Our policy is the policy of peace and the development of trade relations with all countries. The result of this policy is the improvement of our relations with a number of countries and the conclusion of a number of trade agreements, of agreements for technical aid etc. A further result is our joining in the Kellogg Pact with Poland, Rumania, Lithuania etc., the signing of the Protocol on the prolongation of the treaty of neutrality and friendship with Turkey.

And the final result of this policy is the fact that we have succeeded in keeping the peace and that we have not allowed ourselves to be involved in any conflict by our foes, in spite of the many provocative actions and the adventurous assaults of the war mongers. We shall continue to pursue this policy of peace to the utmost of our power and with all the means at our disposal. We do not want one hand's breadth of foreign soil, but we shall not yield one inch of land to anyone."

Behind these words there stands the power of 150 million toilers, there stands the determined revolutionary proletariat will to build up Socialism.

The matter now rests with the workers and poor peasants of the capitalist and colonial countries, with the Communist Parties of the whole world.

Germany

We are Leading the People to Victory Over the Fascist Dictatorship.

By Ernst Thälmann.

Under the above title the Berlin "Rote Fahne" of December 12 published a long article by Comrade Thälmann, of which the following is an abridgment.

The capitalist system and capitalist economy is in a crisis of such dimensions that even bourgeois apologists are no longer able to conceal its seriousness. Even the official "Institut für Konjunkturforschung" has to admit that the present business set-back in the whole world, as well as in Germany, is of a seriousness almost unprecedented in modern economic development. Nowhere are there to be seen any signs of a speedy improvement of the economic situation. It is estimated that the number of unemployed in Germany will amount to 4½ million in the approaching winter months. The deficit in the finances of the Reich, the provinces and the municipalities is estimated by the "Konjunktur-Institut" at 700 million marks for the second half of the financial year 1930.

At what a pace and on what a scale this tremendous crisis of capitalism is bringing disaster, hunger and unbearable misery to the broad masses it is hardly necessary to describe in detail. Already today, even according to bourgeois estimates, at least one-sixth of the workers and employees are excluded from the process of production. The sufferings of the unemployed, the misery in all the workers' homes, the under-nourishment of the children, the desperate plight of the old folk, the unendurable exploitation of the working women and of the youth — all these are facts which convert the lives of the overwhelming majority of the population into one long torture. The scourge of misery falls on the backs of the proletariat, of the suffering middle classes and of the working rural population.

But the unemployed who have run out of benefit, the suffering middle class who have been deprived of the means of existence by monopoly capitalism, the small peasants who are harassed by the tax collector and court bailiff — they all want to live. There is a ferment in the masses; there is an increasing will to fight for another social order than the barbarism of capitalism with its accompanying disasters. The whip of hunger wielded by the exploiters is causing the people to think. The anger of the masses towards their tormentors, their hatred against a system which annihilates millions with unbounded cruelty in order to save the profits of a small insignificant minority, and in addition the deadly enmity, out of which sooner or later there must arise the emancipating act of the millions against this system — all this is the reverse side of the capitalist decline.

Parliamentarism, bourgeois democracy is finally bankrupt. The Reichstag, brutally gagged by the Brüning government, has by voting for the emergency orders signed its own death warrant. In nearly all the important big towns of Germany the town councils have been almost replaced by the purely dictatorial rule of State commissioners. In the Berlin town council the whole fraction of the strongest party of the Berlin population was removed from the council chamber by the police. The example of the Finnish Lappo fascists is enthusiastically followed by the social democratic Berlin Police. The attempts of the social democracy to deny that the bourgeoisie is setting up the fascist dictatorship by bloodless means, their attempts to screen the Brüning government, and thereby to weaken the fighting will of the proletarian masses to overthrow the fascist dictatorship, and to confuse the working class, are a no less anti-working class and for the proletariat a no less dangerous support of fascism than the direct Parliamentary and extra-Parliamentary lackey-service of social fascism for the fascist policy and the fascist rule of the German bourgeoisie.

That which the capitalist class in Germany has developed in regard to its methods of rule is the inevitable crowning of

a process of development the driving forces of which are the crisis of the capitalist system, the severe shaking of the bourgeois order and of the capitalist economy. A year ago the process found visible expression in the offensive of the bourgeoisie led by the former President of the Reichsbank, Schacht against the Hermann Müller government of the coalition. The kick with which the bourgeoisie three months later cleared the social democrats out of the Reich government was the continuation. The bourgeoisie proceeded immediately to exercise its dictatorship over the people without making use of their social fascist lackeys as go-betweens. The semi-fascist Brüning government, which took the place of the Hermann Müller government, continued from the first day of its regime to pursue the path the fascist dictatorship via new fascist methods of rule.

Today the Brüning government itself has become a government of fascist dictatorship in its commencing stage. For the question of a fascist dictatorship is for the Marxists not a question of persons, not the problem that a Mussolini or Hitler must take over the helm, but rather a question of the class role of a regime.

The social democracy, in their efforts to make the Brüning government acceptable to the masses as the "lesser evil," point out that the proletarian movement has not been rendered illegal and wonders how the fascist dictatorship can rule in Germany although the Communist Party is still legal. The social democratic party of Germany thereby only betray how painful to them is the legal existence of the Communists and reveal at the same time their unbounded historical ignorance. In the history of the twelve years since the end of the war it is only in rare cases that the fascist rule in any country commenced with the complete crushing of the Labor movement.

The task of the fascist dictatorship, the aim of this dictatorship in the interest of the capitalist system to crush the revolutionary proletariat can be only the result of the fascist rule in the event of it maintaining itself successfully against the proletariat and succeeding in solving its tasks. That the Brüning government, with its social fascist assistants has set itself this task of suppressing the proletariat and its party, is obvious to every thinking worker in view of the terror which is assuming sharper forms every day. When the social democratic party of Germany venture today to enumerate all the "liberties" which the working class and the Communist Party are supposed to enjoy in Germany, while at the very same time the truncheons of the social democratic police-guards are used against starving unemployed, when the shots of the police pistols are heard and the search-lights on the police patrol waggons create an atmosphere of civil war in whole districts of the town, while the social democratic chief of police Grzesiński in Berlin and the social democratic Schömlender in Hamburg prohibit demonstrations, the social democratic party deliberately mock the workers with such "arguments".

It is quite true that the fascist dictatorship has not assumed a firm and fixed form which is not subject to any further development. That which we have in Germany today is the commencing stage of a fascist dictatorship which will be followed, if the bourgeoisie have their way, by further steps on the basis of the extra-Parliamentary development of the reactionary class forces, naturally not on the basis of any Parliamentary votes. How far the national socialists will make use of the method of the bloodless coup d'état of legal assumption of power depends upon the general development of the crisis and the sharpening of class relations. Of course a military putsch as a supplementary method is by no means out of the question. In any event it is clear that the fascist terror would with the further development of the fascist dictatorship assume much more cruel and brutal forms. But

is equally clear that these dangers cannot be averted by denying the commencing stage of the fascist dictatorship. Those who today seek to lull the masses of the workers, to minimise the seriousness of the situation, to prevent the clear recognition of fascism as the chief enemy, those who make it to the workers that to support the Brüning government means to avert fascism, are themselves helping to promote the development of the fascist dictatorship to its highest and cruellest stages.

The present role of the social democratic party of Germany is that of auxiliary police to fascism. This applies to its police presidents, to the actions of Severing or Grzesinsky, but also no less to the social fascist arbitrators and strike breakers, to the social fascist trade union bureaucracy, who help the fascist dictatorship to put through wage cuts and assist in sabotaging the defensive fight of the proletariat.

The social democratic party of Germany have not only prepared the way for fascism but are also today a faithful buttress of the fascist dictatorship. They vie with the national socialists for the preference in maintaining, defending and developing the fascist dictatorship. Over and beyond its own fascist role the social democracy is becoming a lever for the development of the extra-Parliamentary fascist mass organisations. The treacherous policy of the social democratic party is driving hundred and thousands of disappointed employees and members of the middle class, nay even backward members of the working class, into the national socialist net.

A further chapter is the shattering of all the labour organisations by social fascism, the conversion of the trade unions into strike-breaking organisations, as in the case of the strike of the Berlin metal workers, or the recent strike of the tramway workers in Chemnitz. The trade union policy of social fascism is attempting to force the German trade unions on to the path of Mussolini's syndicates, on to the path of auxiliary organisations of the fascist dictatorship.

Today the social democracy, inside and outside of Parliament, and before all with the aid of the Prussian government and all their functionaries in the capitalist State apparatus, unreservedly supports the Brüning government of the fascist dictatorship: it tries to excuse this unscrupulous treachery with the "statesmenlike" declaration that it is thereby preventing the national socialists from entering the Reichs government. This also is a barefaced swindle. In reality, by aiding the Brüning government, the social democracy renders it possible for the national socialists to pose as being independent of the system of the fascist dictatorship, of which Hitler and Göbbels are in truth its most important extra-Parliamentary supports.

The "fight" between the social democracy and the national socialists is seriously meant only insofar as it is a competitive struggle for soft jobs in the capitalist State apparatus. For the rest, the Hitler party and the social democratic party of Germany play into each others hands.

The policy of the national socialists has undergone manifold changes since the Reichstag election. First there began the great race for ministerial seats. The language of the national socialists became tame and moderate as befitting a "government party". In foreign policy Hitler, in his various interviews to foreign press representatives, abandoned all his previous nationalist phrases about shattering the Young Plan, fight against Versailles etc.

The Nazi party came forward as the reliable party prepared to carry out the Young Plan and meriting the confidence of the victor countries. There followed the shameful attempts of the national socialists to win the favour of the foreign imperialists, the correspondence between Hitler and the French chauvinist Hervé regarding a Franco-German military alliance against the Soviet Union. In those weeks the Nazi Party became at least according to its own account, a gentle, well-behaved set of lambs.

No sooner had it become apparent, however, that the time for the Hitler party to take over the government had not yet come, that today other fractions in the camp of German fascism under the leadership of the Centre are maintaining power and on their part are setting up and exercising the fascist dictatorship, than a sudden change ensued in the policy of the national socialists. The unreserved defence of capitalism against the workers, as was clearly revealed on the occasion of Hitler's banquet in the Hamburg millionaires' club,

had to give place to the former "anti-capitalist" demagogy; the complete betrayal of the national fight for freedom of the German people is now again to be hidden behind nationalist phrases.

All this, however, only serves to veil that active extra-parliamentary, mercenary services which the Hitler bands are actually rendering the fascist dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie to the best of their power and in competition with the social democracy. The wave of fascist terror is rising again; the bloody attacks of the national socialists on revolutionary workers are again increasing. Hardly a day passes without somewhere in Germany a proletarian falling victim to the bullets and knives of the fascist counter-revolution. Needless to say the working class should not fail to give a reply to the organised murder and the open civil-war measures of fascism.

If today the national socialists are not participating in the Reichs government, it is only due to the fact that at present German fascism is split into well-defined fractional camps. On the one side there is the Brüning bloc, which is endeavouring to realise the fascist dictatorship whilst utilising to the full and at the same time discrediting the social democracy. On the other side there is the Hugenberg-Hitler bloc, which wishes completely to oust the social democracy from all the higher and lower positions in the State apparatus and replace them by national socialists.

The question, when the present stage of the fascist dictatorship, in which the Centre, catholic clericalism plays the leading role, will be replaced by the Hitler-Hugenberg bloc, and whether this change will take the form of a Reichswehr dictatorship under Major General von Hammerstein or the former Reichswehr Minister Gessler, can at present not be decided.

All the above-mentioned forms of the fascist dictatorship are within the bounds of possibility. For the fascist dictatorship is not a form of government, but a State form of the capitalist class rule, in the frame of which all kinds of government variations are possible.

With the beginning of the fascist dictatorship in Germany the war-danger has increased enormously. A new period of armament, adventure and war policy of German imperialism has set in. On the one side new conflicts between the imperialist powers are threatening in a sharper form than hitherto; on the other hand there is increasing as the chief danger of war the anti-Bolshevist intervention front, which is completed by the rule of fascism in Germany. The incitement against the Soviet Union, the lies regarding Soviet "dumping" on the world market, the solidarity of the national socialists, the bourgeoisie and the social democratic party with the condemned saboteurs and counter-revolutionaries on the occasion of the Moscow trial—all this shows how joyfully fascist Germany would welcome the campaign of world imperialism against the country of the proletarian dictatorship.

The Communist Party calls the masses of the German people to the fight against the dictatorship. Whilst in all other parties crisis and disintegration prevail the C.P. of Germany was never so united as at present. Even comrades who in the past combated the Party from the standpoint of the conciliators have today taken their place in the revolutionary activity of the Party and on the class line of our policy. The unexampled inner firmness of the Communist Party is only a reflection of the gathering of the proletarian class forces for the united front in the camp of the revolution.

Under the sub-title: "The needs of the hour", Comrade Thälmann's article concludes with an appeal to all workers, to all proletarians, to set up the proletarian united front against the fascist dictatorship. All Communists are called upon to stand indefatigably at their posts and to fulfil their duty as agitators of the revolutionary class struggle among the masses. The social democratic workers, the proletarians in the Reichsbanner, and the young proletarians in the ranks of the socialist working youth are summoned to the common fight against fascism. Comrade Thälmann appeals to the Christian workers not to allow themselves to be misused as props of the fascist dictatorship, and to break with the Centre. Before all the Communist Party appeals to the "anti-capitalist minded workers in the camp of national socialism", the misguided workers and employees, petty officials and members

of the middle class who are taken in by the deceitful phrases and promises of Hitler and Göbbels.

The article then points to the weapon of the political mass strike as the most effective weapon of the working class in the struggle against fascism in the present period and to the leading role of the C.P.G. in the fight for freedom of the millions of toilers in Germany.

Owing to the concluding portion of this article the number of the "Rote Fahne" in which it appeared was confiscated. Commenting on this arbitrary act the "Rote Fahne" wrote:

"That is such a challenge to and provocation of the working class that a storm of protest must reply to this act of class justice and fascism. It is characteristic that such a senseless and provocative confiscation can take place at the very moment in which Herr Göbbels is allowed to serve up in his Nazi paper phrases about 'smoking out the Republik', 'heads rolling' and similar open terrorist threats without the organs of justice or the police authorities thinking of disturbing him."

POLITICS

The Revolt in Spain.

By Raoul (Madrid).

Comrade Raoul's article, although written before the recent sharpening of the situation in Spain, gives a striking picture of the political background of the insurrection.

Ed.

Paris, 16th December 1930.

The rigorous censorship which the Spanish Government has imposed on all news going abroad is still being strictly exercised. It is impossible to get into direct communication with Madrid. According to news from the frontier, general strikes have again broken out in **Bilbao, Santander and Seville**. In **Cádiz**, where the regiments recalled from Morocco are being disembarked in all haste, it came to collisions between troops who are loyal to the government and republicans. The general strike in the big towns of Spain indicates that the Spanish workers have decided to wage a serious struggle.

The military revolt in **Jaca**, the defeat of which the Spanish government describes as the "final crushing of the insurrection", seems to be only an episode in a larger action. Meanwhile, according to reports from Lisbon, the revolt of the airmen at the **Cuatro Vientos** aerodrome near **Madrid** is at an end. The leaders of the republican airmen, **Mañor Franco** and **General Llano** have fled in an aeroplane to Portugal.

The execution of **Mañor Galan**, an infantry officer, and **Captain Fernandez**, an artillery officer, both of whom took a leading part in the revolt in **Jaca**, has tremendously increased the excitement of the whole of the working population of Spain.

The government is making feverish efforts to remain master of the situation. In **Madrid** 7,000 men have been organised in a citizens' guard. A detachment of the civil guard has been ordered to Spain from Morocco. It is rumoured that troops of the Foreign Legion are being sent from Africa to Spain.

The Communist Party of Spain is endeavouring to acquire the hegemony of the republican movement under the slogans, "For the democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants!", "For a workers' and peasants' government!" It is calling for a political mass strike in the whole of Spain.

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Nobody can now deny the existence of a revolutionary situation in Spain. The capitalist power, which wished to placate public opinion by announcing the coming into power of a government of peace and concord, is now revealing its true features. The dictatorship of General Berenguer is not a wit better than that of Primo de Rivera.

The Spanish big bourgeoisie, Spanish finance capital, has no confidence in the Left bourgeoisie, which stands for the republic, and is demanding of General Berenguer a policy of the "iron hand". Berenguer is quite ready on his part to accede to this request. Thus in the last few months, when the wave of strikes and the revolutionary pressure of the masses terrified the Spanish capitalists, Berenguer hastened to resort

to exceedingly drastic measures, which were quite uncalled for solely in order to prove to the bourgeoisie that he, according to his opinion, was capable of successfully suppressing a revolutionary movement.

In the face of these dangers the republican bourgeoisie vacillates ridiculously between the Left and the Right. On the one hand it would like to make use of the organised power of the workers, on the other hand, on the least occasion, swings over to the Right. The same irresolution is reflected in the preparation of the anti-monarchist movement. Social anarchists, republicans and the military fractions of those who are discontented with the caste privileges prevailing in the army, unanimously confess that the employment of the force of the working class in the attack against the existing regime entails great dangers for them. Anarchists and socialists who have concluded compromises with the republicans and are prepared to extricate the bourgeois rule from the crisis, are throttling the revolutionary enthusiasm of the proletariat, and betraying its actions and endeavouring to place themselves at the head of the movement in order to be able to curb it.

The proletariat of Spain is the only force which is prepared to fight against the Berenguer Government and against the capitalist power. In all parts of Spain workers and peasants are rising against capitalist exploitation, against misery and oppression. Since the great strike in **Seville** there has been no strike movement without a political content—a fact which always characterises the big revolutionary fights of the proletariat.

A whole number of strikes followed one another: The strike in **Luego, Santiago, Granada, Malaga, Victoria, Saragossa**, the magnificent strike movement in **Bilbao** (which was followed by the splendid mobilisation of the women), the strike of the building workers in **Barcelona**, the fight in **Badajoz** and the latest general strike in **Madrid and Barcelona**—all these are undeniable proofs of the tension in the ranks of the Spanish Proletariat.

The causes which led to the general strike in **Madrid** are the following: As a result of the collapse of a building in the course of erection four workers were killed. The proletariat of **Madrid**, which wished by attending the funeral to express its protest against the criminal negligence of the employers and the authorities, came out in imposing masses on the streets. The workers wished to march in the funeral procession past the government buildings. When, against the desire of the authorities, they tried to force a passage, the police attacked the unarmed masses with sabres and revolvers. Two killed and a number of seriously wounded were the result of this collision. As an answer to this crime the workers compelled the trade unions to call a 48-hour general strike, and among other things demanded that the officer commanding the police, who had caused the bloodshed, should be removed from his post.

The trade union leaders, afraid that this movement might spread over the whole country, issued a proclamation in which they called upon the workers not to follow "outside elements" who wished to extend the strike into a movement embracing the whole country.

As is to be seen, all the efforts of the social fascists only serve to damp down the movement, to stifle the energy of the proletariat which is now breaking through the social fascist and anarchist hindrances. In spite of this they were unable successfully to resist the will of the workers of **Barcelona** who were determined to express their solidarity with the workers of **Madrid**, and thus they were compelled to call a general strike also in **Barcelona**. This movement was likewise accompanied by street fights, collisions with the police and with the traditional treachery of the anarcho-sindicalist leaders.

Against whom are the brutal police measures directed? Against the best functionaries of the Communist Party. The government fully realises that our action is the only one which constitutes a real danger to the capitalist power; therefore the prisons are being filled with communists.

The Spanish Labour movement is still lacking in clearness of aim and unity in developing its forces. Our Party, however, is increasing in strength precisely as a result of the fights; its influence is increasing every day in all parts of Spain. The active and persistent fight of our comrades is demonstrating to the Spanish working class that only the Communist Party is successfully defending the revolutionary interests of the Spanish workers and peasants.

Fascist Poland Preparing to Attack the Soviet Union.

By J. Bratkovsky (Warsaw).

The trial of the Industrial Party in Moscow has clearly exposed the feverish preparations being made by international imperialism to attack the Soviet Union. In these conspiracies against the Soviet Union, Poland is taking the most active part.

Fascist Poland, whose frontiers for hundreds of miles border on the Soviet Union, constitutes the armoured front of international capital, the terrain for organising the forces of counter-revolution. Therefore, there has been no trial of counter-revolutionaries and saboteurs in which it has not conspired that the second division of the Polish General Staff has had a hand in the game. It suffices to call to mind the Rakhyt trial, in which not only the Polish General Staff but also a number of well known Polish capitalists (Dworanzyk) were involved, as well as the trial which recently took place of the counter-revolutionary organisation known as the "Emancipation of the Ukrainians", which was supported both morally and materially by the Polish Consulate at Kharkov.

Fascist Poland is feverishly arming. Whilst economic life is declining, whilst the number of officially registered unemployed increases from week to week, the factories producing war material are working at full pressure, are constantly introducing new technical improvements. The strategic railway lines intended to be used in the war against the Soviet Union (the railway connecting Zaglebie with Gdynia, and from there linking up with the railway traversing Poland from West to East, new railway lines in Western Ukraine and Western White Russia etc.) are being built at an accelerated pace; streets and bridges are being built or improved and the Pinsk swamp is being drained. The war alliances directed against the Soviet Union are being continually extended. It is sufficient to mention the visit to Bukarest of Piskor the chief of the Polish General Staff, who was accompanied by a number of military experts, as well as Pilsudski's intended visit to France. The question of war against the Soviet Union in which the Polish bourgeoisie sees a way out of the ever growing crisis, is the dominating fact determining the whole policy of the ruling fascist camp. The elections to the Polish Sejm, the aim of which was to crush the revolutionary camp and secure the hegemony of the Sanacja in the camp of the bourgeoisie, were one of the stages of the war-preparations. The present Sejm, which possesses a safe majority of disciplined supporters of Pilsudski, is a war Sejm against the Soviet Union.

The further sharpening of the fascist regime, of which the election terror was an expression, is also expressed in the changes in the government. The new Cabinet, the official head of which is Colonel Slawek, glaringly reflects the process of militarisation of the entire state apparatus. While in the first Pilsudski government after the May putsch in 1926 there were two military officers and eleven civilians, while the number of militarists in the Switalski Cabinet in the year 1929 increased to six and the number of civilians fell to eight, the present Slawek-Pilsudski Government consists of nine militarists (four generals and five officers) and six civilians.

Polish fascism, which in every district is systematically organising war against the Soviet Union, is devoting special attention to those districts which are of special importance in the event of war. The punitive expeditions in the Ukraine, as well as the increased terrorist measures in White Russia, all aimed at destroying the revolutionary camp, terrorising the workers and peasants, and thereby clearing the ground for intervention against the Soviet Union by international capital.

The fascists have not, however, succeeded in destroying the revolutionary movement of the masses. The fighting demonstrations of the Ukrainian peasants in Debeslavice are clear proof that the hatred of the Ukrainian working masses against the Polish occupation has only been enhanced by the bloody punitive expeditions; that their fighting determination to cast off the yoke of the occupation, to win self-determination and to unite with the Soviet Union cannot be broken.

Based on the common hatred against the revolutionary movement and against the Soviet Union, the process of the concourse of the Ukrainian bourgeoisie with Polish fascism is taking place at an ever increasing pace; but this does not do away with the competition between the Polish and the Ukrainian bourgeoisie, which is further intensified by the severe crisis.

Never before has the West Ukrainian bourgeoisie so

openly declared and insisted that the Polish-Ukrainian disputes must be liquidated in order that a common front may be set up against the Soviet Union. The "Dilo", the leading organ of the West Ukrainian bourgeoisie, recently wrote:

"It is our duty to remind our people again and again of the indubitable fact that the question of Ukrainian state supremacy on the Dnieper is the immediate question. Therefore, the Ukrainian parliamentary representatives must as spokesmen of the All-Ukrainian national ideology help by their attitude to actualise the fight for emancipation of our brothers on the other side of the Zbrucz."

The "Dilo", by designating it as the first task of the representatives of the Ukrainian bourgeoisie in the Sejm to rouse their "brothers on the other side of the Zbrucz" i. e., the kulaks and all counter-revolutionary forces in the U. S. S. R., clearly emphasises its acquiescence in the Polish domination of the Western Ukraine.

"The Ukrainian population in Poland pays taxes, supplies recruits, recognises the validity of the judgments of the Polish courts, submits to all the Polish laws, and thus renders to the Polish state all that is due to it from its citizens."

Thus on the day following the verdict of the Polish Supreme Court which confirmed the death sentence on the saboteur Bida, the Ukrainian bourgeoisie solemnly declared in the columns of the "Dilo" that they recognise the validity of the judgments of the Polish courts, grovelled before the Polish occupiers and offered them their services as leaders and organisers of the anti-Soviet forces in Poland.

At the same time the Ukrainian bourgeoisie abandoned all claim to the West Ukrainian districts which are under the yoke of Polish fascism and expressed their full recognition of the eastern frontiers of Poland.

In addition to the Ukrainian, White Russian, Jewish and German social fascists, Pilsudski's social fascist allies (the P. P. S.) are also active in the front against the Soviet Union. On the occasion of the trial of the Industrial Party, the social-fascist press, headed by the "Robotnik", commenced an increased campaign against the Soviet Union and defended the old engineers as innocent victims of the Five-Year Plan. Social fascism will stop at nothing when it is a question of creating among the masses the preconditions for the attack of international imperialism on the Soviet Union, the socialist fatherland of the toilers of the world.

Against the intervention, against the increased preparations of Polish fascism for war on the Soviet Union there is opposed only one force—the Proletariat and the revolutionary peasantry with the Communist Party of Poland at the head. The proletariat of the Soviet Union, which is defending the grandiose work of building up Socialism, has a sure and inflexible ally in the working masses of Poland, the Ukraine and Western White Russia.

CHINA

The Situation in the Soviet Districts in South West Kiangsi.

In Southwest Kiangsi, the territory under Soviet rule embraces more than 30 districts. Besides the Soviet governments set up in the various districts, a regional Soviet government has been set up for the whole of South West Kiangsi. In this vast area there are no less than 4 million workers and peasants organised under the Soviets, and the number of those who are armed amounts to over a million. The armed organisations embrace the pioneers, the youth vanguards, the red guard detachments (armed with spears) and the red guard troops (armed with native rifles). They all receive regular military training. There exist special detachments for transport, for relief, for the suppression of reaction for special services, for propaganda etc.

Many women also serve in these special detachments. They declare that the revolutionary work must not be left entirely to the men, and that those women who do not take a hand in this revolutionary work are useless creatures. The women have on their own initiative taken over the task of washing and repairing the clothes of the Red soldiers. It is

therefore not surprising that Lo Ti Ping, the chairman of the Kiangsi Provincial Government, telegraphed to Chiang Kai shek: "Even all the three year old children and old people of 80 have been sovietised!"

The Soviet government does not interfere with the business of the small traders, provided they obey the law and orders of the Soviet government and do not carry on any espionage work for the Kuomintang. When the red troops purchase goods from the small traders they pay for them at the current prices, either with cash or with notes from the Tungko bank established by the Soviet government. As the notes of the Soviet government are eagerly accepted by all the people in the Soviet districts, they are also accepted without hesitation by the traders. All the oppressively heavy duties imposed by the Kuomintang have been abolished by the Soviets, and there is only one progressive tax. The Red Army only confiscates the land of the big landowners and the property of those who take part in counter-revolutionary activity.

The peasant masses who had to suffer greatly at the hands of the Kuomintang troops, have won many advantages and privileges as a result of the Soviet regime. Land and houses are assured to them; in the Soviet districts the price of rice is only one ninth what it is in the other districts. The poor peasants are ready to fight to the last for the Soviet regime. In various Soviet districts many Lenin schools, workers' and peasants' training classes, military schools, nursing training centres etc have been established. At the Lenin schools all text books deal with questions connected with the workers, peasants and soldiers, and also with problems of Marxism and Leninism. Most of the peasants were formerly illiterate people; now they are able to write letters and slogans, and deliver long and able speeches at meetings. On revolutionary occasions modern revolutionary dramas are performed before spectators numbering thousands. The peasants no longer believe in Buddha, and all the idols are either burnt or smashed. All the temples formerly devoted to the worship of idols and ancestors have been converted into the headquarters of the Soviet governments. Portraits of Marx and Lenin are to be seen hanging on the walls in the Soviet government offices and in the schools.

Absolute equality prevails between man and woman. Women have full right to choose as their partners in life the men they really love. Compulsory marriage is abolished. Women come to the Soviet government to demand divorce from their husbands for not taking part in the revolution. Some of the women have been elected chairmen of town Soviets. Just like the men they deliver reports at meetings, serve in the Red Army, take part in the performance of dramas etc.

This fundamental change in the mentality, belief, morality and habits of the peasantry in South West Kiangsi has taken place in such a short space of time that it appears to be nothing short of miraculous.

Most of the tiahao (local reactionary leaders) and gentry fled to Nanchang, the capital of Kiangsi, and Kinkiang and Kian. 190,000 former landlords and gentry fled to Kian. But the ring of the red forces closes ever more tightly round this city, which was finally taken by the red troops. The refugees, who formerly lived lives of ease and luxury, became increasingly impoverished; many of them were compelled to work as unskilled labourers, as water carriers, street cleaners etc, and to let their wives and daughters earn a living as prostitutes. Some of them finally decided to return to their native districts, and ask the Soviet authorities for permission to live there on condition that their property is confiscated. They have been permitted to reside in their native villages provided they observe the law of the Soviet government. A strict watch is kept over them however, in order to see that they do not cause any mischief among the masses.

After the capture of Kian by the Red Army, the tiahao and gentry who had sought refuge in this town again fled to non-Soviet districts. Tremendous demonstrations and processions celebrating the victory of the red forces were held by the working masses and peasants.

The united attack by the forces of three provinces (Kiangsi, Hunan and Hupoh) on the Red Armies has commenced, on the orders of the Nanking government. But this adventure, although it may cause hardship to the working and peasant masses, is doomed to failure, as the Red army has a firm footing in the Soviet districts and also has the support of the masses.

THE WHITE TERROR

The Death Sentences on Revolutionary Soldiers and the Ferment in the Greek Army

By R. (Athens).

The Greek press reports that the Court Martial in J. I. has condemned two communist soldiers named **Pancossis** and **Marcovitis** to death for having instigated a mutiny in military prison in Kalavaki. The soldiers **Gambatas** and **Marinos** were condemned to lifelong penal servitude. Professor **Athanasopoulos** and the printer **Tearikis** to seven years' imprisonment, and **Kordellis** to 2 years' imprisonment with hard labour.

These sentences are only the continuation of the military terror which began to rage with special fury already in the Summer of this year and are a further sign of the intensification of the fascist dictatorship under the leadership of the military laws in all the Balkan countries. Extension of capital punishment to a larger number of cases than formerly, further worsening of the disciplinary regime in the army -- all these forms of the preparations for intervention against Soviet Russia.

The Greek soldiers are starving. Their rations, according to letters from numerous soldier correspondents, consist of beans and similar things of a bad quality. Meat is served rarely, and then it is often putrid and inedible. This state of affairs is rendered still worse by the general corruption of the officers. Embezzlements of regimental funds etc. by the officers are part of the order of the day; and in order to cover up these embezzlements deductions are made from the pay of the soldiers. Medical attendance is simply scandalous. Barracks are in a terrible condition; broken down built on damp cellars etc. serve to house the soldiers. The pay of a Greek soldier is 0.25 Drachma a day; less than a farthing!

It is clear that **great discontent** prevails among the masses of soldiers and sailors. **There are innumerable instances of food being refused, but there are also occurrences which clearly reveal the character of the indignation of the soldiers and sailors against their officers and their revolutionary class consciousness.** Thus for example, only recently a battalion of the 1st Infantry regiment was dissolved owing to the unbearable exhaustion of the soldiers. Other cases are the beating up of officers in the same regiment who had led the soldiers, refusal of soldiers in March last to fire on the starving peasants in Kiem Kilbis (the peasants were afterwards locked on). In Salonica, during a collision of striking oil workers a group of sailors from the warship "Avaris" went over to the side of the workers and helped them to the gendarmerie. A workers' sport meeting in Velos, taken part in by 100 soldiers in uniform, who marched with the workers in a demonstration through the streets. At a trade union meeting the soldiers beat up the social fascists and removed the chairman.

The terror in the army is increasing in fury. Severe sentences of imprisonment are imposed on every possible occasion. Tortures are part of the order of the day. A system of espionage is organised in order to ascertain the revolutionary elements.

The terror is directed in the first place against the soldiers who come from revolutionary districts. In the night of June 20 soldiers were arrested and deported to Kalavaki because they were formerly tobacco workers, that is to say, they belonged to the advanced section of the working class. There was no evidence whatever against them.

The Communist Party and the Young Communist League of Greece are conducting a courageous and consistent fight against this state of affairs and against Greek militarism.

By means of death sentences, and severe prison sentences, the Venizelos dictatorship intends to have an obedient militaristic counter-revolutionary interventionist army. It wants to stifle every voice of protest and to destroy the brotherly sympathy which unites the soldiers with the working population of Greece and with the Union of Socialist Republics.

It is the first duty of the international proletariat and all workers to raise a storm of indignation against the judicial murders of the Jannina military court and to save the lives of the soldiers Panossis and Marcovitis.

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

The Results of the Two Years of the Five-Year Plan.

By V. Kuibyshev (Moscow).

(Communication given by the sub-President of the Council of Peoples Commissaries and the President of the State Planning Committee -- **Comrade V. Kuibyshev**, to the American Telegraphic Agency -- "Associated Press".)

The second year of the Five-Year Plan was completed by the first of October. This Five-Year Plan agitated the minds of the whole world; bitter discussions have been carried on in the press of the whole world.

Who does not remember the statements, set forth by the greatest bourgeois economists and politicians with regard to the Five-Year Plan, which they called unreal, utopian and fantastic! Who does not remember them to have declared that the outlines of the Five-Year Plan were a habitual bolshevist delirium. We have of the heard up to the present even oracles about the failure of the Five-Year Plan, about the breakdown of the widely planned scheme of reconstruction of the national economy of the Soviet Union.

The expired two years of the Five-Year Plan in action, afford sufficient material for the examination of the reality of the drafts of the Five-Year Plan, as well as for the examination of the soundness of the objections and doubts which the Five-Year Plan aroused among the representatives of the bourgeois economic science.

The two expired years showed that the tasks of the Five-Year Plan were surpassed, in the most important sections of national economy. The Five-Year Plan intended to have the production, in constant prices, amount to 29,338 million roubles for these two years together, but this sum changed, actually, into 30,456 million roubles.

The Five-Year Plan has been surpassed most of all on the field of heavy industry. Instead of 12,476 million roubles, according to the tasks of the Five-Year Plan, for these two years, the value of production is 13,764 million roubles. The Plan was surpassed in separate branches of heavy industry, during these two years, in the following way: in oil -- 28,000,000 tons were intended to be the output, but 30.6 million tons were achieved; steel -- 9.9 million tons, according to the Plan, and actually -- 10.2, rolled iron -- 7.6 million tons, according to the Plan, and actually -- 8.3, for electro-technical products the Five-Year Plan specified a production amounting in value to 588 million roubles -- the actual output however amounted in value to 781 million roubles; in the production of agricultural machinery the Plan provided that the value of the output should amount to 472 million roubles -- the figure actually reached, however, was 515 million roubles. Also in the sphere of general machine construction the Plan figures were exceeded in the course of these two years.

The Five-Year Plan was surpassed in the course of the first year already, but the achievement of the socialist industry were especially great during the second year of the Five-Year Plan; the increase of gross production in 1929-30 was 25%, thus surpassing the drafts of the Five-Year Plan by 5%. We must especially emphasise that the growth of production, in the branches of industry producing means of production was 40% last year, and so surpassed the drafts of the Plan by 16%. The relation between the execution and the drafts of the Plan, in the most important branches of industry, is the following: the output of oil surpassed the task of the Five-Year Plan, for 1929-30 -- by 17.1%; the smelting of steel surpassed the Plan by 6.7, and of rolled iron by 12%; the production of metal and engine building industry surpassed the drafts of the Plan for 1929-30 -- by 26.3%; the production of the electro-technical industry surpassed the drafts of the Plan by 39%, etc. In short, we considerably surpassed the drafts of the Five-Year Plan, in the most important branches of industry.

The rates of growth are not so great in the light industry, the development of which is held back, as it depends on the

supplies of agricultural raw materials. The development of the home raw material base will enable us considerably to surpass next year the drafts of the Five-Year Plan on the field of light industry, (food industry, cotton, etc.).

The result is that with the drafts of the Five-Year Plan for industry being surpassed, the pre-war average of industrial production was exceeded, it became twice as large. The execution of the programme for the building industry has also surpassed the drafts of the Five-Year Plan. In particular the programme of building planned by the Supreme Council of National Economy was executed during the two years of the Five-Year Plan for the sum of 4,605 million roubles, instead of 3,990 million roubles, envisaged by the Five-Year Plan. If the execution of the programme of building, during the first year of the Five-Year Plan was, in the main, on the average of the Five-Year Plan, surpassing it but slightly, the second year of the Five-Year Plan, that is 1929-30 we have greatly surpassed the task of the Plan, instead of 2,331 million roubles, suggested by the Five-Year Plan for this year, the actual execution of the building programme made 2,965 million roubles, that is 27% more than suggested by the Five-Year Plan.

Such a considerable excess of the Plan of factory building drafted by the Five-Year Plan, secures the further acceleration of the rates of industrial progress, and makes the carrying out of the slogan: "The Five-Year Plan in four years" -- by all means real. In a number of the most important branches of industry (coal, engine-building, oil etc.) -- the Five-Year Plan will be executed in three and a half years.

Our achievements on the field of rural economy proved considerably great too. The sowing areas were enlarged. From 118 hectares in 1928-29, they reached 127.7 million hectares in 1929-30. The sowing areas of the technical crops grew much higher than the drafts of the Plan: sugarbeet -- by 11.1% higher, cotton, -- by 23%, etc. The improved tillage, especially on the collective farms and Soviet farms, and the growth of the productivity in connection with this led to the output of grain in 1930 -- making 86.5 million tons, as against 71.7 million tons in 1929, or an increase by 20.6%, and the production of grain crops proved to be 32.6% higher than the draft of the Five-Year Plan. Thus the grain problem has been in the main, solved.

The greatest achievements on this field are the construction of the collective and Soviet farms.

If we take all the peasants' farms, in all the branches of rural economy (grain, technical crops, cattle breeding, fishing, forestry, hunting, etc.) -- we shall observe the following fact: by the first of October 1930 over one-fifth (21.5%) of all the peasants' farms were drawn into the collective economy. Over five million of peasants' farms gave up their individual households and incorporated into the collective farms, being convinced by practice of the advantages presented by these new forms of economy. The collective farms sowed last year 36,000,000 hectares, instead of 20.6 million hectares drafted by the Plan for the whole Five-Year Plan. And the decisive moment is that the average of the collectivisation in the basic grain producing districts -- (the North Caucasus, the Lower Volga, the Middle Volga and Ukraine) reached 43.8%, during the same term. If we add to this the growth of the Soviet State Grain Farms (Soviet farms), the sowing area of which is over 6,000,000 hectares, we shall see that the socialised sector is becoming still more important.

Due to this, the share of the socialised sector (collective and Soviet farms) in the grain production makes 50% already, this year -- against 43% intended for the last year of the Five-Year Plan.

Along with this a considerable increase of socialised cattle, draught cattle as well as dairy cattle -- has taken place. The socialised sector in 1928 made 0.9% of plough horses, in 1929 -- 1.8%, and in 1930 -- 18%; cows for the respective years made -- 0.4%, 0.9% and 7.3%. Just during the second year of the Five-Year Plan a sudden growth of the socialised sector with regard to cattle could be observed, and this feature, along with the organisation of big cattle-rearing Soviet Farms (milk cows, swine-rearing, sheep-rearing, etc.) helps to solve the problem of cattle-rearing. The problem of cattle-rearing will be solved in the same way as the grain problem, and in a short term (in year or two).

The growth of the construction of collective farms perfectly proves the correctness of the policy, carried on by the U.S.S.R. towards the peasantry. The Soviet State is firmly and safely

leading the individual poor and middle peasant's economy to the socialist form of agriculture, by means of the liquidation of the kulaks as a class, and with the help of the collective farm peasants—this staunch support of the Soviet power.

And here the most important part is played by the development and the reconstruction of the technical base of rural economy.

The value of the efficient agricultural machines increased during a year from 1,400 million roubles to 1,700 million roubles. The tractor park reached 1,022 thousand horse-power, against 560 thousand h.p. drafted by the Five-Year Plan.

The tremendous growth of industry and of agriculture lays greater demands on transport, and especially on the railway transport. According to the Five Year Plan, there had to be transported by railways, in the course of the first two years of the Plan,—350.9 million tons of goods, but actually 409.2 million tons were transported. The Five-Year Plan was surpassed, during these two years, with regard to the passenger service too; according to the Five-Year Plan—51.5 milliard passenger-kilometers were to be realised, the actual realisation was 77.1 milliard.

Already the task of the first year of the Five-Year Plan has been surpassed. But the further increase in the rates showed that transport considerably surpassed the tasks of the Plan, in the second year of the Plan, that is in 1929-30. The goods traffic of the railway transport reached 233.5 million tons in 1929-30, thus exceeding the previous year by more than by one-third, and exceeding the drafts of the Five-Year Plan by 25.6%. The passenger service gave similar results: 508.5 million people were transported during a year along the space of 47.4 milliard passenger-kilometers, while according to the Five-Year Plan 455 million passengers over 35.4 milliard passenger-kilometers were proposed for the last year of the Five-Year Plan. The task of the Five-Year Plan for 1929-30, with regard to passenger service was surpassed by 86.6 per cent. And here, in transport, as well as in industry and in the whole national economy the programme of construction is realised on a larger scale than was intended by the Five-Year Plan. There is no doubt, that the execution of this enlarged programme of construction of national economy (as compared with the outlines of the Five-Year Plan) will enable the industry and national economy of Europe and America to extend their participation in this work.

All these greatest achievements in the execution of the tasks of the Five-Year-Plan, being the result of the highest activity and working enthusiasm of the broadest working masses and first of all of the working class, enabled us to make a further serious step with regard to the improvement of the living and cultural conditions of the working people.

This improvement of the conditions of the working people was expressed first of all in the numerical growth of wage earners. The total number of wage earners reached 13,684 thousand people, in 1929-30 instead of 12,793 thousand people envisaged in the Five-Year Plan for this year. The result was that by the end of the second year of the Five-Year-Plan the problem of unemployment has been absolutely solved, unemployment does not exist any longer in the U.S.S.R. while the Five-Year Plan assumed that there would be 400,000 unemployed towards the end of the Five-Year-Plan. Now we face the task of rapidly training the qualified labour-power, the lack of which is so acutely felt by the rapidly industrialising country.

The improvement of the conditions of the working people finds its expression in the further growth in the number of workers enjoying the 7-hour working day. If by the beginning of the second year of the Five-Year-Plan 19.1% of all the workers had the 7-hour working day, by the first of October 1930, that is by the end of the second year of the Five-Year-Plan, the total number of workers having the 7-hour working day, reached 43.5% of the total number of workers, thus surpassing the task of the Five-Year-Plan by 3.5%. This secures the introduction of the 7-hour working day in all the other enterprises in a shorter term, than proposed by the Five-Year-Plan. This general improvement of the conditions of the working people has been followed by a further increase of wages. The wages increased on the average by 12.1% per worker, for two years of the Five-Year-Plan. Thus the growth of national economy, the systematically growing importance of the socialised sector in the national economy, in which it already prevails, fully secure the execution of this slogan of the millions of workers: "The

Five-Year-Plan in 4 Years", and lead from year to year to the systematic improvement of the living and cultural standards of the working class and the peasantry.

In spite of all the predictions and prophecies of the economists and politicians, who are hostile to our country in spite of the sabotaging of the embittered remnants of the old regime, the Five-Year-Plan is being executed and shall be executed, and not in five but in four years. The problem of the execution of the Five-Year-Plan in time, that is in five years does not present any difficulty to us, this has been overcome, as may be seen by the above data. Our task now is to execute the Five-Year-Plan before term, that is in four years. The above data show that we are already carrying out this task.

However, we are not quite satisfied with the rates of growth we have adopted nor with the quality of our work. Our severe self-criticism can be accounted for by this fact. Those who draw conclusions about the failure of the Five-Year Plan — basing them on this self-criticism, — make themselves look ridiculous.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Fight of the British Miners.

By William Rust (London).

He had gone to the Labour Party Executive for a guarantee that the 8-hour Act would be repealed in the first Session of Parliament under a Labour Government, and the signed undertaking was now locked up in his desk, said A. J. Cook, on May Day, 1929. This was the promise: 18 months after the return of the Labour Government came the reality, the spread-over of hours or the 90-hour fortnight. This is now in operation in the two big districts of Scotland, and S. Wales as well as smaller districts, whilst in Lancashire the 7½ hours has been introduced for a temporary period with no corresponding increases in piece-rates, and the owners are now demanding a permanent spread-over. In Durham, where the hewers worked 7½ hours since 1926 a reduction was obtained by that minority of workers who previously worked 8 hours, and the other 7½ hours districts continue on the old basis.

These terms were imposed upon the miners after the most tricky and deceitful manoeuvring on the part of the Government and the M.F.O.B. ever known in the post-war history of the British workers, and after a great strike in Scotland of 90,000 miners, which lasted over a week. This strike was remarkable for the solidarity and enthusiasm displayed by the workers and was undoubtedly the result of the tremendous activity carried on by the revolutionary United Miners of Scotland which compelled the reformist union leaders to declare the strike in order to save their own prestige amongst the miners.

But there is no permanent settlement in the mining industry. The present truce is only temporary, and the owners in the various districts are beginning already to formulate vicious demands on the miners. The operation of the Coal Mines Act is bound to increase these attacks despite the promises made by Ramsay MacDonald that the position of the industry will be improved by the operation of the marketing schemes, and that therefore the acceptance of the temporary spread-over is the forerunner of prosperity in the industry.

The Central Committee for the marketing schemes has already decided to reduce output by 10% in the next quarter, and according to the "Times Trade and Engineering Supplement", December 13th., "probably two years must elapse before material results accrue, and they are conditional upon the industry enjoying freedom from international disputes and political intervention."

In Durham for example the quota has been reduced to 70% of the output for the first six months of this year, and colliery owners claim that this will increase the production cost per ton by 1 sh 6 d.

The average monthly production in the third quarter of 1930 was only 84 percent of that of 1924, which in turn was much below the 1913 figure. Exports were 85 percent of

1924 figures, and even on this basis big stocks have been accumulated.

Throughout the world the total of unsold coal is now 70-80 million tons, and this figure alone gives some idea of the intensity of competition, especially to be seen in the acute struggle between the German and British mineowners.

Railway rates on coal in Germany have been reduced with the special object of meeting British competition. The new Polish-German Convention when ratified will admit 375,000 tons of Polish coal a month into Eastern Germany, one of Britain's best markets. Poland is also under-cutting Britain in Norway. Even if an international agreement could be secured for a temporary period, it would be on the basis of wage reductions and worsened conditions for the miners in all countries.

That this international agreement is extremely unlikely is shown not only by the intense political conflicts in Europe, but also by the attitude of America. "The great potential bug-bear in any arbitrary scheme for the partition of the European market is to be found across the Atlantic. Efforts to vitalise United States export trade have so far proved fruitless, mainly owing to the failure to secure reductions in railroad rates. But there still exists the vast surplus capacity in America ready at any time to flood the European pastures, if prices at this side are raised appreciably above the world level." ("Times Trade and Engineering Supplement", December 13th.)

In the coming struggles the Labour Government and the mineowners will place their chief reliance upon the weapons of arbitration, in the form of the National Industrial Board set up under the Coals Mines Act, which has already been used in order to impose the spreadover in the coalfields. The struggle during the last few weeks has centred around this spread-over which was originally strongly opposed by the leaders of the M.F.G.B., and inserted in the Coal Mines Act by decision of the House of Lords after the House of Commons had decided in favour of the 7½ hour day.

This spread-over is conditional, namely it can be imposed by the mineowners only with the approval of the M.F.G.B. and an order issued by the Board of Trade. The M.F.G.B. Conference held on November 29th turned down the spread-over, and by this decision made any application of the spread-over on December 1st definitely illegal. Only the 7½ hour day could legally operate. About that time the National Industrial Board was constituted including the six leading officials of the Miners Federation. This Board, on the same day as the M.F.G.B. Conference, took a decision in favour of the spread-over being applied to S. Wales. Thus the very officials who had voted against the spread-over in the M.F.G.B. Conference, voted for it in the Arbitration Board and in fact the President of the Conference returned to his district in S. Wales and succeeded in persuading the S. Wales Conference to accept the spread-over in that district.

Moreover, despite the fact that the Government had every legal right to resist the operation of the spread-over, it sent out telegrams advising the men and owners to come to terms, and when terms were arrived at on the basis of the spread-over, did nothing whatsoever to prevent its operation. On the contrary, MacDonald followed up these telegrams by advising the miners to make temporary agreements on the basis of the spread-over.

The subsequent Conference of the M.F.G.B. decided to refer the question of the spread-over to the districts and a final decision has yet to be made regarding the spread-over. A reference back to the districts was of course a virtual acceptance, because also at this Conference even the proposal to take a strike ballot (not strike action) on the question of supporting Scotland was rejected. This decision was followed up by the calling off of the Scottish strike by the reformist leaders. After this the Revolutionary United Miners Union was compelled to advise the men to return in order that the large number of workers under its influence should not be left isolated.

There was a tremendous opposition against the treachery of the reformists in Scotland, and the large number of **strike Committees** set up by the U.M.S., especially in **Fife**, and the great mass meetings held under its auspices following upon the announcement of the betrayal, leave no doubt as to the influence of the Red Miners Union and the exceedingly favourable possibilities for its development.

One very important and striking feature of the manoeuvres of the M.F.G.B. bureaucrats, has been that the district

officials have loyally stuck by the interests of their respective district coal-owners. Those voting against the spread-over were the districts with the 7½ hour day, who, of course, were not affected by the hours re-arrangement, and desired to increase the costs of production in the other districts, so as to benefit their coal-owners.

District was set against district, and finally Scotland left to fight alone. Nothing could more clearly demonstrate to the great masses of miners that the national apparatus of the M.F.G.B., far from being a means of achieving the national unity of the miners, is the means for breaking them up and leaving them to the mercy of the coal-owners, who through the Labour Government, and the dominating finance-capital interests, act on a national scale against the miners.

It is in this situation that a special **National Conference of the Minority Movement** was hurriedly called and held on December 14th in Sheffield. This Conference, consisting of elected delegates from the various coalfields, discussed in a practical way the national and international situation and decided upon measures necessary in order to enter the next round of the struggle with the maximum unity and organisation of the revolutionary forces amongst the miners.

AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

The Fight for the Pipe Line from Mosul.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

The question of the oil pipe-line occupies an important place in the war-preparations which are being carried on with increased intensity in the Middle East. The fight for the pipe-line has now assumed a phase which deserves attention for several reasons. In the first place the solution of the question is now being obviously forced by the Shell Group, which is at the head of the interventionist group against the Soviet Union. In the second place, in this question there is once again seen the rivalry between America and England. Thirdly, a number of British political manoeuvres, such as for instance the treaty with Iraq, the so-called White Book on British policy in Palestine, the negotiations with Ibn Saud, are more or less connected with the solution of this question.

Great Britain has the greatest interest in the solution of this question. It is generally assumed that Britain possesses only half of the shares of the joint stock company which controls the oil fields of North Iraq. It must be remembered, however, that the pipe-line is not only intended to convey to the Mediterranean the oil yielded by the Baba-Gurgur field, which is in the hands of the Iraq (formerly Turkish) petroleum company. It is true the English possess only half of the shares of this company, the rest of the shares being in the hands of French and Americans. But the pipe-line is also intended to serve the oil fields of Naftkhana, in the neighbourhood of Khanakin, which is in the hands of the purely British Anglo-Persian Company and is one of the richest petroleum reservoirs of the world.

Sir Henry Dobbs, a leading British colonial politician and former High Commissioner of Iraq, records these facts in an article which appeared in the September issue of the "Nineteenth Century and After", and emphasises the great strategical importance from the British standpoint which must be attached to the pipe-line. From the British military standpoint it appears that both projects: pipe-line and railway line are inseparably connected. Together they are to form not only the main support of any British advance against the Caucasus and Azerbaijan, but are to be of decisive importance for operations against India and Arabia and also, should occasion arise, against Turkey, Afghanistan and Persia.

On this point, moreover, the interests of France and England are identical. Neither the one nor the other imperialist power, declares Sir Henry Dobbs, can in time of war be compelled to rely for its supplies of such an important commodity from a long distance by neutral ships, or to purchase it on a free market against neutrals or enemies.

The intensive activity displayed in the last few months in speeding up the construction of the pipe-line and of the railway thus clearly shows how seriously the British and French experts regard the approach of war. A part of the oil reservoirs of the Shell Co. in Haifa, a part of the Haifa war harbour and

several important aerodromes on British and French territory have been completed.

Nevertheless, the common front against the Soviet Union by no means does away with the antagonism between the imperialist Powers themselves. According to the Franco-British oil treaty, the pipe-line is to run through French mandatory territory, a circumstance which would give French imperialism a number of immediate economic advantages, and in the event of war the superiority over England. The British government, however, does not think for a moment of keeping this treaty which was concluded in the year 1926 in San Remo.

According to England only British mandatory territory is suited for the installation of the pipe-line and only Haifa, situated on British territory, comes into question as the terminus of the pipe-line. The Iraq government, a tool of Great Britain, serves as the mouthpiece of British interests in regard to this question. All the protests of the French government (which on its part makes use of the Syrian bourgeoisie for its own interests), would have been of no avail if the American partner, the "Near East Oil Corporation", had not approached the French standpoint. Thus a compromise was arranged. The pipe-line is to be laid from Mosul to the frontier of Iraq on British territory, at which point it will bifurcate: Franco-American oil running through Syria (French mandatory territory) to Tripolis, and the British oil being conveyed through Transjordan and Palestine to Haifa.

The French were compelled to agree to this compromise, but the fight is not by any means thereby ended. British interested parties are exerting every effort in order to hinder the diversion of the French share to Tripoli. The division of the oil will undoubtedly result in a fierce competitive struggle, and the petroleum magnates are anxious on account of their profits.

In this conflict the question of "securities" plays no small role. Whilst England points out that the line would have to pass through rebel Drus and other rebellious districts if the French standpoint is accepted, and openly alludes to the experiences of the revolt against the French mandate in 1925-27, the French point to the numerous anti-British revolts in Iraq, Transjordan and Palestine, as well as to the doubtful attitude of Ibn Saud, in order to defeat the British resistance. To obtain the co-operation of the native feudal strata and the bourgeoisie in maintaining order in the countries through which the precious mineral oil is to flow, forms therefore a part of French and British imperialist policy. If either war is to be waged (against the Soviet Union), then at the same time the strategic lines and the pipe-lines must be protected against the rising wave of indignation of the oppressed fellahin and workers. This task is now to be performed not only by tanks and aeroplanes, but by the treacherous Arab landowners and compradores.

HANDS OFF THE SOVIET-UNION

Against Anti-Soviet Propaganda by British Officials.

The British Section of the League Against Imperialism has addressed the following letter to Arthur Henderson, M. P., Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

The British Section of the League Against Imperialism understands that the British Ambassador at Moscow has, on your instructions, informed the Soviet Government, with reference to the trial at present proceeding in Moscow of persons stated to have been concerned in a counter-revolutionary organisation in the Soviet Union under the name of the "Industrial Party", that in so far as the comments of the Public Prosecutor on the depositions made by the accused have been accepted officially by the Soviet Government you take exception to those passages which contain "adverse and unfounded reflections" on the late British Government and the present British Government.

I am desired by the Executive Committee of the British Section of the League Against Imperialism to recall to your memory the speech which was delivered by Mr. Langford James, the Special Crown Prosecutor, when on June 12th 1929 he opened the trial of the 33 Indian and British working class leaders at Meerut on a charge of conspiracy, to deprive the King of the sovereignty of India.

The British Section of the League Against Imperialism has always maintained that the reason why these 33 working class leaders were arrested about the same time in different towns of India and have been detained in jail for more than eighteen months, bail being refused and their trial being conducted before a Judge alone and without a jury, is because of their success in organising the workers and peasants of India against exploitation and that the charge of conspiracy has been framed because, if found guilty on that charge, sentence to transportation or imprisonment for life may be inflicted.

You may remember that at the opening of the trial the Crown Prosecutor declared that it might fairly be stated that the object of the accused was to "substitute for the Government of His Majesty the Government of Mr. Stalin." "In fact," continued the Crown Prosecutor, "it is the case for the Prosecution that these accused are Bolsheviks, that is to say, that they are at the Bolshevik ideal, and that they have designed and wished to install in India the same rule as exists in Russia."

The Crown Prosecutor's definition of Bolshevism was as follows: — "To be a Bolshevik of unimpeachable character you require certain definite qualifications to which the ordinary man does not aspire. You do not love your country, you are anti-country, you are anti-God, and you are anti-family. In fact I think it fair to say that a Bolshevik of unimpeachable character is anti-everything which the normal man considers decent."

You may also remember that the "Daily Herald" in a leading article on June 25th 1929 on the speech of the Crown Prosecutor said: —

"His opening speech was an astonishing performance. He appears to have made no reference to any alleged actions of the part of the accused. Instead, he made a political oration largely consisting of attacks on the Soviet Government."

The "Daily Herald" pointed out that the propriety of an official prosecutor speaking thus of a foreign Government to which his Majesty's Government were about to reopen friendly relations was distinctly open to question.

The Executive Committee of the British Section of the League Against Imperialism wishes me to call your attention to one marked difference between the trial of members of the "Industrial Party" in Russia and the trial of the Conspiracy Case prisoners at Meerut. The Meerut Trial is taking an abnormal and amazing course, and the defendants deny the Crown Prosecutor's allegations that they were directly instigated by foreign Power, whereas the Moscow Trial takes the normal course of a judicial trial, and the defendants themselves admit and even disclose acts of collusion with reference to the British Government and the French Government.

Seeing that the British Foreign Office feels such strong objection to the British Government being named as instigators in a trial in Moscow, my Committee desires to know whether the British Foreign Office had conveyed their apologies to the U.S.S.R. for the wild and unfounded charges made by the Crown Prosecutor in his opening speech in the Meerut trial, and if not whether it is proposed to do so.

(Signed) Reginald Bridgeman
Hon. Secretary
British Section
League Against Imperialism.

George Deviatkin and the Priest of the Order of Idiots.

By Michael Koltsov (Moscow).

Under this long title I should like to say a few words. One of the most influential personalities in the history of the human race, in my opinion, is **George Deviatkin**.

May be his name is not so popular as Confucius and Mary Pickford. But the influence of these two notables on their contemporaries was absolutely negligible compared with the infallible authority possessed by George Deviatkin among the disciples and believers who surrounded him.

George — the very name makes me tremble with humility and respect! George was a nine year old boy with knobby knees and his face thickly covered with freckles up to the very eyes. At the end of George's nose there was always a speck of moisture. But of what importance are external

appearance! All the prophets and great thinkers had a forbidding exterior.

George was preparing to enter the preparatory class of the high school. He was filled with scientific knowledge of the highest quality. And we seven-year olds greedily drank in the truths which were condescendingly vouchsafed to us by the great George.

"You hear thunder", explained George, "when they are moving the furniture in heaven. God is always moving from one house to another." You can imagine what a noise there must be when the angel furniture removers drop a piano or a flower pot of aspidistras!

"Doctors are devil!", George taught us. "With my own eyes I saw a tail on papa's doctor. They get castor oil from hell specially to torture little boys."

"The Caucasus" George informed us, "is exactly opposite China; and at the South Pole it is so hot that everybody walks about naked, boys and girls, and no one is the slightest embarrassed." But the crowning point of all the popular scientific stories of the marvels of the world was George's information of the awful Blue Jimmy.

The aforesaid Jim was not a human but a spirit. He lived in the brick works and drank the blood of chance passers by who incautiously walked out at nights. George was the only person with whom this evil spirit was on good terms, and it even obeyed George's commands.

We believed it. How could we, how dared we refuse to believe the iron logic of our freckled leader and teacher! But once, not so much gnawed by doubt as by curiosity, we school boys asked him to show us Blue Jimmy, however terrible it might be.

"All right" indifferently answered George. "As many times as you like. Tonight if you like. If only the moon does not come out, Blue Jimmy cannot bear moonlight. It gives him rheumatism."

Late in the evening we crept to the brick works. It was cold and fearful.

"In a minute we will talk to Blue Jimmy", said George carelessly. "I have a lot of things to settle with him. If only there were no moon. These spirits cannot bear the moon."

We sat on the grass by the brick works till morning. Blue Jimmy did not appear. And how could he appear when the moon was shining brightly all the time?

With chattering teeth we all crept home. And George gave us his triumphant word: "Well what did I tell you! Who was right?"

We did not answer, devastated by the infallible logic of the Great George. The moon was shining and Blue Jimmy had not appeared. That means that if there had been no moon. That proved everything! George Deviatkin's authority was for ever firmly established.

Where are you now, my freckled seer with the dew drop at the end of your nose? I lost your traces long ago. But who is this who has suddenly appeared 25 years afterwards, not in a quiet little Russian town but in the hurry and bustle of New York, in a wide brimmed black hat, with the gown of a Catholic priest covering his knobby knees?

The newsmen of the world inform us that a Jesuit priest **Edmond Walsh**, has appeared before Senator Fish's commission which is investigating the Soviet question. Moreover, he has already spoken several times in this commission.

Father Walsh gave fresh testimony after his visit to Europe, where he personally studied the wiles of the Bolsheviks.

And in reality his visit gave devastating results. The commission was astounded at the evidence of the new witness.

All America is gasping under a terrific economic financial and industrial crisis. What are the causes of this catastrophe? The holy man had discovered the cause and explained it to the commission.

"Do you want to know where the crisis came from? With God's help I have discovered this secret. I can give you an exact and unerring reply."

All was quiet in the commission. The excited ticking of the gold watch in Mr. Fish's pocket could be heard. The representative of the holy order of Jesuits was outwardly calm, but obviously was excited himself.

"The crisis was organised by no other than the Comintern and here" — Father Walsh thrust his hand into his pocket — "and here are documentary proofs."

The priest shook a little book over the heads of the excited listeners.

"Here is the proof. The report of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, published 14 months before the Wall Street crash in October. In this report it gives you all the details, how a crisis will develop in America, what it will lead to, and what will be its effects. The Bolsheviks knew in advance that we should have a Stock Exchange crash. That proves that they prepared it themselves. The business depression in the United States is the work of Communist hands." At last the Bolsheviks have been caught red-handed.

Old and stern in his monkish garbs, George Deviatkin stood before the commission, crushing all around him by the weight of his infallible logic. What can we say to confute Father Walsh? Nothing. We can only add a few words to confirm his statement.

When the outlook for American business development was being discussed in the Comintern, not everyone agreed with the estimate which appears in the official resolution. There were such gentlemen as Lovestone and Pepper who refused to believe in the coming crisis in America. Together with President Hoover, they prophesied "prosperity" in the United States. But the bloodthirsty Comintern drove out Mr. Lovestone and Mr. Pepper from its ranks as Right opportunists. As they disbelieved in the coming crisis, it gave them the right to await American prosperity in the same camp as President Hoover.

Do we need any further proof that it was the Comintern which undermined the business of the USA, with its own hands and brought about the catastrophe on the New York Stock Exchange.

Father Walsh, oh, Reverend Father Edmond of the Jesuit Order! Please inform us if you know of the fate of George Deviatkin. I beg of you not to be shy, but tell the whole truth. Even from here, far away, across the ocean, I know that quarrelsome authoritative voice. I feel the force of that iron logic, I see the dew drop at the end of your nose.

TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

Open Letter from the P. P. T. U. S. to the Indian Proletariat.

The Trade Union Congress in Bombay is taking place at a critical stage in the development of the national-emancipation and revolutionary movement of India. At this stage, the true role and nature of all class forces, both revolutionary and counter-revolutionary, stand out crystal-clear, serving as the unmistakable guides for organisation and action by the Indian proletariat, which together with the Indian peasantry constitute the main driving force of the Indian revolution, and the only two classes capable of organising and leading a consistent and uncompromising struggle against British Imperialism for the complete independence of India, and for the liberation of the working class from the yoke of capitalism.

The phenomenal extension and intensification of the revolutionary emancipation movement in India has unmasked all the counter-revolutionary elements and forces working with British Imperialism and against the Indian Revolution, both nationally and internationally.

It suffices to point to the recent sessions of the Executive of the Second International at Zurich, where the social-fascist representatives of all countries without a word of criticism approved the blood-and-iron policy of the MacDonald Government in India, and where the "left" social-fascists of the I.L.P. (Messrs. Brockwey & Co.) silently acquiesced. Like the Chinese Revolution, and the revolutionary movements in Indo-China, Indonesia, Korea, etc., so the Indian revolutionary and anti-imperialist movement has revealed to the whole world the counter-revolutionary nature and activities of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals (beginning with their open struggle against the First Workers Republic of the USSR, and ending with their open cooperation with the counter-revolutionary Kuomintang in China and with the British Imperialists in India).

It is at this stage of development of revolutionary events in India and on the occasion of the forthcoming Trade Union

Congress in Bombay that the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat once more takes the opportunity of addressing itself to the Indian working class and of expressing in the first place, the international revolutionary solidarity of the toiling masses of the Pacific with the revolutionary emancipation movement of India and with its organised vanguard — the revolutionary Trade Unions of India.

At this very moment the **Chinese workers and peasants**, under the leadership of the All-China Labour Federation, are engaged in a life and death struggle with the Chinese counter-revolution which, like the Indian bourgeoisie and feudal lords, are also in alliance with the imperialists against the working class and peasants. At this very moment, dozens of districts in Central and Southern China are occupied by the Workers' and Peasants' Red Armies; the Soviets, the Workers' and Peasants' own organs of power and government, have displaced the old rotten militarist and feudal system in these districts, and the struggle is on for the reinforcement of the existing Soviet Bases and for their extension to the whole of China. The agrarian revolution, the confiscation of the Landowners' land and its distribution among the peasantry, is an accomplished fact in the Soviet Districts; the Eight Hour Day, Workers' Control and Social and Labour Legislation are also facts; delegates are being elected by the workers and peasants throughout China to the forthcoming All-China Soviet Congress. It is in the name of these real, living and growing and unvanquishable forces of the Chinese Revolution that we are sending you our proletarian greetings and expression of international revolutionary solidarity.

At this very moment the workers and peasants of **Indo-China** are also engaged in a life and death struggle against French imperialism. Whole districts and provinces have risen in revolt against the bloody regime of the French imperialists and the native oppressors and blood-suckers. There too the revolutionary peasant masses are beginning to form Soviets, and under the leadership of the proletariat is bringing the Indo-Chinese anti-imperialist and revolutionary movement to a higher phase of development. It is in their name that we send you revolutionary greetings and expressions of solidarity. Also in the name of the **Korean**, and **Formosan** revolutionary working class fighting ceaselessly against Japanese Imperialism. Also in the name of the militant **Filipino** proletariat and peasants who under the banner of the Pan-Pacific TU Secretariat and of the RILU are carrying on the revolutionary struggle against American Imperialism and against their native bourgeoisie.

In the struggle against Imperialism, against capitalism, for the liberation and complete independence of India and for the liberation of the Indian workers and peasants from both foreign and native oppression and exploitation, two conditions are absolutely essential for success: 1) a clear-cut working class programme and policy based on the uncompromising class struggle; and 2) international proletarian solidarity and joint action by the toiling masses of the colonial and semi-colonial countries in alliance with the revolutionary proletariat of the capitalist and imperialist countries.

In regard to the first task — a clear-cut working class programme and action based on the uncompromising and consistent class struggle: — This means: — Recognising the leading role of the working class in the Indian Revolution, it is necessary to break loose the trade union and political organisations of the working class from the organisations and influence of the national bourgeoisie; the special class interests of the Indian proletariat in the revolution demand not only the recognition of the treacherous, anti-proletarian and therefore counter-revolutionary nature and role of the Indian National Congress, but especially the treacherous role and for us most dangerous "left" elements of the Congress, whose function it is to deceive and mislead the working class into serving the class interests of the bourgeoisie and to prevent independent class action by the proletariat, but also the active struggle against these our class enemies. It means that the class-conscious Indian workers must fight to the death all those labour traitors who split or attempt to split the ranks of the working class and the trade unions (Joshi, Chammu, Left Wing allied themselves with the British "Labour" imperialists and with the Amsterdam International. It means also that the Indian workers must combat and get rid of all those in their ranks who in any way oppose or hinder the carrying out of an independent class policy with independent

working class organisation and action (to remove and get rid of such traitors as Kandalkara of the revolutionary and hence Ginni Kamgar). Instead of being misled and mislead by the national bourgeoisie and national reformists in their own class interests, the Indian proletariat must, through independent class action and organisation completely isolate the national reformists from the revolutionary mass movement, and must take over complete leadership of workers' and peasants' mass movements and struggles against imperialism and the native oppressors and exploiters.

It is in the process of organised struggle for the interests of the working masses that the Trade Unions and the independent political organisations of the working class are created and strengthened. The widest masses must be mobilised for the struggle for increased wages, the Eight Hour Day, for social legislation, Unemployment insurance (solely at the cost of the State and Employers), the protection of Women and Youth Workers (Equal pay for equal work, and safeguarding the special interests of the young and female workers). The systematic development of economic struggles for the vital, daily interests of the toiling masses must be linked with the political demands and slogans and the general class demands of the working class (struggle against imperialism, complete independence, the right to organise, freedom of speech, press and assembly for the revolutionary organisations of the working class, the liberation of the working class, the liberation of the working class prisoners — Meerut — etc.). This struggle should culminate in a **General Strike** of all the workers in the most important industries and enterprises. This General Strike, if well prepared and if made the persistent slogan of the Trade Unions, will show and make felt the mighty force of the proletariat as a class force, and will be a great step forward in the development of the Indian Revolution. This struggle of the industrial proletariat and of the city toilers must be closely coordinated with the struggle of the millions of poor peasantry to carry out the agrarian revolution on the land. Only in close alliance with the peasantry, and leading the peasantry, will the Indian proletariat fulfill its historic revolutionary functions successfully.

The establishment of **Revolutionary Trade Unions** is of extreme importance. The **Ginni Kamgar** bears evidence to the fact that the establishment of Red class unions founded on the Factory and Shop Committees, meets with the support of the working masses. The necessity of their establishment becomes still more obvious in view of the fact that the overwhelming majority of the Indian proletariat are still unorganised. (The Miners are outside of any organisation, the plantation labourers and agricultural workers are unorganised, the majority of the workers in the other industries — metal and textile — are also unorganised). The Red Trade Unions must be built up on the industrial principle (One Industry — One Union), and based on the Factory or Shop Committee elected by all the workers of any given enterprise. The Red Trade Unions will affiliate with the All-Indian Trade Union Congress after it will have been purged of all extreme Right elements. In alliance with the revolutionary oppositions within the national-reformist unions, the Red trade unions should strive for the transformation of the T.U. Congress into a militant class centre independent of the national bourgeoisie and under the leadership of the revolutionary Trade Unions. All national or race prejudices which until now have been deliberately fostered by the imperialists and their agents, must be overcome and the Red Unions should unite the workers irrespective of creed or race.

A very serious problem is that of leadership and cadres. The trade unions must be systematically purged of all anti-proletarian elements and the best and most active workers from the shops and factories trained and placed at the head of the trade unions and other proletarian organisations.

It is in the spirit of international class solidarity, in the interest of the successful struggle against imperialism and the native exploiters and oppressors, that the Pan-Pacific T. U. Secretariat calls upon the workers of India and their militant trade union organisations to join up in one united revolutionary front with the millions of toilers in the other colonial and semi-colonial countries, and with the revolutionary proletariat of the capitalist and imperialist countries. To do this by declarations alone is obviously insufficient. Against our common class enemy we must

organise and fight jointly. We therefore appeal once more to you to have your trade unions join up with the Pan-Pacific U. Secretariat for joint action against imperialism and against capitalism and their agents within our own ranks. The growing danger of new imperialist war, especially the danger of an imperialist attack on the First Workers' Republic of the USSR, which in contrast to the deep world crisis of the capitalist world is actually building up socialism and improving the conditions of the working class — which is the ruling class — the need for a united proletarian front of the toilers of the Pacific is ever more urgent. Recent revelations by counter-revolutionary agents of the French and British governments show clearly that the imperialist powers are actively and constantly preparing an armed attack on Soviet Russia, the only fatherland of the international proletariat. This must be averted by a united revolutionary anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist front of the workers of the Pacific and of all countries. Only the class war can and will prevent another bloody imperialist war.

THE PEASANT MOVEMENT

The Second Meeting of the European Peasants Committee and its Decisions.

By J. Harter (Berlin).

The second meeting of the European Peasants Committee, which was elected at the European Peasants Congress in March last in Berlin, was held also in Berlin from 1st to 3rd December. The meeting was held at a time of general economic crisis, of an increasing agrarian crisis, at a time when the bourgeois agrarian reform and the measures of all bourgeois governments and organisations to solve the agrarian problem have proved a fiasco, and finally at a time of profound ferment among the peasantry, especially of the lower strata, of increased oppression and exploitation of the working peasants, of increasing fascisation of the State apparatus, chiefly in order to crush the working peasants, of growing danger of war, especially against the Soviet Union, which has provided an example of the correct solution of the agrarian question.

The conference was attended by 28 members of the Committee from the following countries: Germany, Holland, France, Ireland, Denmark, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Italy, the Baltic States, and from such countries as Hungary, Yugoslavia and Scotland, representatives from which were not present at the European Peasants Congress in spring.

The opening speech was delivered by Miglioli, the Catholic Italian peasant leader. He declared that the deliberations of the Committee must be marked by self-criticism. Since the first Congress, the European Peasants Committee has become a real power. The progress so far achieved, however, was in no way commensurate with the historical tasks confronting them. Since the Congress, the international situation, and particularly that of the working peasants, had further deteriorated: the danger of war, before all against the Soviet Union, had increased. In the name of the working peasants of Europe organised in the European Peasants Committee Miglioli raised an indignant protest against the criminal activity of the "Industrial Party" and all other enemies of the Soviet Union, and demanded their ruthless punishment. The Soviet Union had brought the world-historical, first and proper solution of the peasant and the land question, therefore all working peasants must support the fight of the Soviet Union against the enemy at home and abroad.

After Gässler (Germany) had been elected chairman, Kramer from the Bureau of the European Peasants Committee delivered the report on the organisational activity of the Committee, with special reference to the development of the Committee movement on a local, district and national scale in a number of countries, and finally on the results of the campaigns carried out against the "Green International", against the bourgeois campaign against alleged Soviet dumping, and against the danger of war.

The most important item on the agenda was the political report, delivered by Nieburg. He stated that the second meeting

of the European Peasants Committee must be the prelude to the Committee's going over from propaganda to action. In this connection the affiliated organisations and the members must develop the greatest possible activity in order to make up for the great amount of time already lost. The point of departure for mobilising the peasants is the fight for their daily interests and needs. In this fight all forms of the mass movement must be made use of. The fight for the daily demands of the peasants, under the leadership of the Peasant Committees, must be extended into a political fight. These approaching tasks, however, could only be accomplished with the greater support of the revolutionary proletariat. The most important thing, that which is necessary for the successful mass struggle of the working peasants, must be created by the peasants' movement itself. Energetic, independent leadership of the fight of the peasants must from now on occupy first place in the activity of the peasant movement.

The Committee then heard the reports of the different national committees from the affiliated countries. These reports, together with the chief report delivered by Gässler, finally formed the basis for a full and fruitful discussion, especially on all the tactical and organisational questions of the revolutionary peasants movement. This discussion was participated in by all members of the European Peasants Committee who were present, as well as by a great number of guests.

The discussion turned mainly on two points. Whether Peasant Committees should be formed in those countries in which revolutionary peasants' leagues already exist. The standpoint of the French delegation, which was opposed to the formation of Peasant Committees in such countries, was emphatically condemned by the rest of the delegates. The second point was the concrete formulation of the partial demands in the individual countries, without landing in opportunism or sectarianism. The result of the discussion was summed up by Nieburg. He ruthlessly exposed the faults and shortcomings still existing in the revolutionary peasants movement and cleared up all points on which there was vagueness and confusion. Special mention should be made of the comradely criticism mutually exercised by the various national delegations. This was something new in the peasants movement.

The meeting unanimously adopted the resolution submitted to it on the present situation and the tasks of the Peasants Committee movement, which is calculated to serve as a guiding line in the historical turn from propaganda to action.

The meeting then received with great gratification a message of greeting from the International Peasants Council in Moscow.

The question of hostile organisations naturally occupied an important place in the proceedings. On the motion of the Czechoslovakian delegation the conference adopted a comprehensive resolution against the "Green International".

As a sign of the warm solidarity of the revolutionary peasants with the fight and the constructive activity of the Soviet Union, it was unanimously decided, on the motion of the French, Polish and German delegation, to send the following telegram to the Moscow Supreme Court:

"The Second meeting of the European Peasants Committee most emphatically condemns the abominable and criminal machinations of the 'Industrial Party' together with the imperialist governments for the purpose of military invention against the first Workers' and Peasants' State. It expects from the Tribunal of the proletarian dictatorship inexorable and rigorous punishment of the traitors."

On the proposal of the Irish peasant leader O'Donnell, a peasant delegation consisting of Gässler (Germany), Nepomacki (Czechoslovakia) and Martel (France) was elected, which proceeded at once to Moscow in order personally to submit and strengthen this demand.

Finally, the conference, on the motion of the Czech delegation, raised a sharp protest against the fearful oppression of the Polish peasantry by Pilsudski Fascism, and further, on the motion of the Polish delegation, decided to address an appeal to the West Ukrainian peasants and another to the Upper-Silesian peasants of Poland who are fighting with weapons in hand. On the proposal of the Hungarian delegation an appeal was issued to the working peasants of the Balkan countries.

This very important meeting of European revolutionary peasants concluded its deliberations with the pledge to exert every effort to mobilise the revolutionary peasants and to consolidate the alliance between the workers and peasants.

In the International

Draft Platform of Action of the C.P. of India.

Part I.

Main Tasks of the Indian Revolution.

The Indian people is groaning under the yoke and the exploitation of British imperialism. Relying upon their political and economic supremacy, and squeezing billions of rupees year by year out of the miserable national income of India, the blood-thirsty imperialists have brought the toiling masses of the people to a state of famine, hopeless poverty, intolerable slavery and mass extinction as a people.

With all the power of the State in its hands, controlling the main branches of industry, railways, sea and river transport, banks and the credit system, the greater part of the land, forests and the irrigation system, British imperialism has retarded and still obstructs the economic development of our country in every way, supporting and relying upon all that is backward and reactionary in town and country.

The supremacy of British imperialism is the basis of the backwardness, poverty and endless suffering of our people. Only by the merciless and violent destruction of the political and economic supremacy of the British imperialists will the working masses of India succeed in rising to their feet, achieving their independence and creating the conditions requisite for their further development, and for the reconstruction of society in the interests of the workers and peasants, and with the purpose of developing further towards Socialism.

In the enslavement of the Indian people British imperialism relies upon the native princes, the landlords, the moneylenders and the merchants, utilising the assistance of the national bourgeoisie. The system of landownership by the landlords, native princes and moneylenders, and the relics of serfdom in the land system of India (and consequently in all India's social and political institutions) represent the main bulwark of British supremacy.

In order to destroy the slavery of the Indian people and emancipate the working class and the peasants from the poverty which is crushing them down, it is essential to win the independence of the country and to raise the banner of agrarian revolution, which would smash the system of landlordism surviving from the middle ages and would cleanse the whole of the land from all this mediaeval rubbish. An agrarian revolution, against British capitalism and landlordism must be the basis for the revolutionary emancipation of India.

Linked up as it is with the system of landlordism and usury, and terrified at the thought of a revolutionary insurrection by the toiling masses, the capitalist class has long ago betrayed the struggle for the independence of the country and the radical solution of the agrarian problem. Its present "opposition" represents merely manoeuvres with British imperialism, calculated to swindle the mass of the toilers and at the same time to secure the best possible terms of compromise with the British robbers. The assistance granted to British imperialism by the capitalist class and its political organisation, the National Congress, takes the shape at the present time of a consistent policy of compromise with British imperialism at the expense of the people; it takes the form of the disorganisation of the revolutionary struggle of the native states, the system of landlordism and the reinforced exploitation, jointly with the imperialists, of the mass of the people, of the working class in particular. **The greatest threat to the victory of the Indian revolution is the fact that great masses of our people still harbour illusions about the National Congress, and have not realised that it represents a class organisation of the capitalists working against the fundamental interests of the toiling masses of our country.**

The policy of Gandhi-ism, on which the programme of the Congress is founded, uses the cloak of vague phrases about love, meekness, modest and hardworking existence, lightening the burden on the peasantry, the national unity, the special historic mission of Hinduism, etc. But under this cloak it preaches and defends the interests of the Indian capitalists, the inevitability and wisdom of the division of society into rich and poor, eternal social inequality and exploitation. That is, it preaches the interests of the capitalist development of

India, on the bones and the sweat of the working masses of the people, in alliance with world imperialism. The National Congress betrayed and disorganised the struggle of the toilers in 1919-21. The National Congress supported the manufacturers against the workers during the textile strikes and in fact assisted in the passing of anti-labour legislation. The National Congress refused to support the fight of the railwaymen against British imperialism, suggesting that they should ask Lord Irwin and MacDonald to arbitrate. The National Congress opposed the peasantry in their struggle against the moneylenders, the big landlords and the native princes.

Jointly with the Liberals, the landlords and the manufacturers, the National Congress has produced the **anti-popular Nehru Constitution**, in which it declared the necessity of preserving the landlords, the rajahs and the moneylenders, remaining as a junior partner in the British Empire and leaving supreme authority in the hands of the British Viceroy and the Governors General.

The National Congress issued the Delhi Manifesto supporting Gandhi's eleven points, which represented the moderate programme of the Chambers of commerce and similar associations. It carried on negotiations with the Liberals in prison, trying behind the scenes to come to an understanding with the British Government, and so forth. **The National Congress, and particularly its "Left" Wing, have done and are doing all in their power to restrain the struggle of the masses within the framework of the British Imperialist Constitution and legislation.**

In this connection — world history and the lessons of the class struggle in India prove that only the leadership of the working class can ensure the fulfilment of the historic task of emancipating the Indian people, abolishing national slavery. Sweeping aside all the fetters which check national development, confiscating the land and effecting far reaching democratic reconstruction of a revolutionary character. The working class of India, organised by the industrial process itself and in the class struggle, will, under the leadership of its Communist vanguard, perform its historic task of organising the scattered masses of peasantry and town poor for struggle against British domination and landlordism.

But in order to organise the mass of the workers, in order to rally the proletariat as a distinct class force, conscious of this distinct class interests and fighting for the leadership of the national movement for emancipation; in order to bring about the revolutionary alliance of the working class and the peasantry; in order to liberate the working class, the peasantry and the town poor from the hands of national reformers and direct their revolutionary struggle towards an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution — for all these purposes the working class requires its own proletarian Communist Party.

The Communist Party of India is the party of the working class, the final aim of which is the achievement of Socialism and ultimately of complete Communism. The programme of the Communist Party of India is totally **different in principle** from the programmes and ideas of the other parties and groups, which are parties of the capitalist class and petty bourgeoisie, not excepting the national revolutionary parties. While the latter are striving for the development of capitalism in India, the Communist Party is consistently and frankly fighting for a Socialist path of development. While the national revolutionary groups are fighting for bourgeois rule and a bourgeois form of government, the CP of India is fighting for the democratic dictatorship of the working class and the peasantry, a Workers and Peasants' Soviet Government in India.

The only form of government which can safeguard the interests of the workers, peasants and toilers generally is the Soviets. The Soviets, set up in the course of the revolutionary revolt of the working masses, as insurrectionary bodies for the overthrow of British supremacy, will be the sole genuine seats of authority, elected directly in the factories, works, villages, etc., ensuring confiscation of the land and the

satisfaction of the vital needs of the mass of the people. The Soviet Government alone will be capable of ensuring to national minorities their right to self-determination, including that of complete separation, and at the same time achieving the maximum unity in the ranks of the toilers of various nationalities, engaged in common revolutionary struggle against the enemies of the Indian revolution. The Soviet Government alone will be able to effect an alliance with the world proletariat for the purpose of defending the liberty and the achievements of the Indian revolution against the attacks of world imperialism and the Indian exploiters. Only such a government will be able to make an alliance with all other Soviet States against international imperialism and for the final victory of the world revolution.

Firmly and courageously, and notwithstanding any sacrifices, the Communist Party will defeat the disorganising and treacherous work of the national reformists. It will organise the masses of workers and peasants and lead them to victory over imperialism, and take the lead in the further march towards Socialism.

Adopting these as its guiding principles, the C.P. of India advances the following main objects for the present stage of the Indian revolution.

1. The complete independence of India by the violent overthrow of British rule. The cancellation of all debts. The confiscation and nationalisation of all British factories, banks, railways, sea and river transport and plantations.

2. Establishment of a Soviet Government. The realisation of the right of national minorities to self-determination including separation. Abolition of the native states. The creation of an Indian Federal Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Republic.

3. The confiscation without compensation of all the lands, forests and other property of the landlords, ruling princes, churches, the British Government, officials and moneylenders, and handing over for use to the toiling peasantry. Cancellation of slave agreements and all the indebtedness of the peasantry to moneylenders and banks.

4. The 8-hour working day and the radical improvement of conditions of labour. Increase in wages and State maintenance for the unemployed.

The Communist Party of India will fight for these main demands, which express the interests of the mass of the people, and the achievement of which will create the conditions for and render possible further development in the direction of the building of a Socialist state of society in India. At the same time, with the object of developing the mass revolutionary struggle and revolutionary education of the mass of the toilers, the C.P. of India puts forward partial demands, the struggle for which will facilitate the mobilisation of the mass of the people in revolutionary insurrection for its emancipation.

Part II.

The Fight for Partial Demands of the Revolutionary Movement.

The C.P. of India considers that the sole and historically tested means of winning independence, carrying out the agrarian revolution and achieving democratic reconstruction, is the path of the revolutionary struggle of the widest possible mass of the people, developing into a general national armed insurrection against the British exploiters and all their allies in our country.

The propaganda of non-violence of Gandhi, Nehru and the other leaders of the National Congress is intended to prevent a general national armed insurrection of the toiling masses against British rule. By his own confession in his autobiography, Gandhi took part in the armed suppression of the rising of the Zulu peasants in Africa and assisted the British robbers in their fight against the German capitalists for the right to exploit colonial peoples. Gandhi recruited Indian peasants into the British army, and sent to their deaths hundreds of thousands of Indian workers and peasants in the interests of the British robbers. And today Gandhi tells the peasants and workers of India that they have no right to and must not revolt against their exploiters. He tells them this at the very time when the British robbers are making open war on the Indian people in the North West Province and throughout the country.

The toiling masses will understand this double game of the National Congress. The workers and peasants of India will not give up their right to smash the whole feudal and

imperialist system of exploitation, and their right to bring about the violent overthrow of British rule.

This emancipation of India cannot be achieved by a terrorist movement. The supporters of the terrorist movement of our country do not see and do not believe in the struggle of the broad masses of the people, and do not understand the connection between the agrarian revolution, the struggle of the working class and the overthrow of British domination. They try by brave and single-handed terrorist acts to achieve victory over British imperialism.

While recognising the devotion and self-sacrifice of the terrorists in the cause of the national emancipation of India, the Communist Party declares that the road to victory is not the method of individual terror but the struggle and the revolutionary armed insurrection of the widest possible masses of the working class, the peasantry, the poor of the towns and the Indian soldiers, around the banner and under the leadership of the Communist Party of India.

The most harmful and dangerous obstacle to the victory of the Indian revolution is the agitation carried on by the "Left" elements of the National Congress, led by Jawaharlal Nehru, Bose, Ginwalla and others. Under the cloak of revolutionary phraseology, they carry on the bourgeois policy of confusing and disorganising the revolutionary struggle of the masses, and help the Congress to come to an understanding with British imperialism. Particularly blackguardly and harmful is the part played by the national reformists in the labour movement, in which they try in every possible way to substitute the methods of class collaboration for the method of class struggle, doing their best to bring the workers under the influence of the ideas and the organisations of the Indian and British exploiters. The treacherous part played by the National Congress as regards the peasantry has once again shown itself in the appeal of the "Left" Congress leaders to the British Governor-General of Bengal to send troops to crush the peasant revolts at Kishoreganj. In these circumstances some of the "Left" national reformists (supporters of Roy and others), who realise that the masses are becoming disillusioned in the Congress, have cleverly put forward the advice to "win" the National Congress from within. Nominally their object is to revolutionise the Congress, in reality it is to restore the prestige of the Congress by replacing the old treacherous leaders by new leaders who are no better than the old.

The exposure of the "Left" Congress leaders, who may again undertake to set up a new party or organisation like the former League of Independence, in order once again to bamboozle the mass of the workers, is the primary task of our Party. Ruthless war on the "Left" national reformists is an essential condition if we are to isolate the latter from the workers and mass of the peasantry, and mobilise the latter under the banner of the Communist Party and the anti-imperialist agrarian revolution in India.

The Communist Party of India calls upon all the toilers to form a united front against the imperialists, the landlords, the moneylenders and the capitalists. The C.P. of India calls upon the Moslem and Indian workers and peasants not to be tricked by the cunning provocative methods of the British Government and the reactionary native exploiters, who set the toilers of different nationalities and religious beliefs against one another, and provoke conflicts between them. The C.P. of India calls upon all the toilers, including the untouchables (varnais) not to permit such disorganisation and splitting of the united revolutionary front of the oppressed, who suffer equally at the hands of their own and British exploiters.

In its struggle to win leadership of the masses, the C.P. of India calls upon its supporters to make resolute use of any legal and semi-legal opportunity for public action and mobilisation of the masses around working class slogans. On every occasion they must expose the treacherous part played by the National Congress. Against the bourgeois front of compromise established by the national reformists, they must create the united front of the toilers from below, on the basis of definite proletarian revolutionary demands and activities.

As one of the practical means of explaining to the toiling masses the exploiting and treacherous policy of the Congress leaders, the C.P. of India recommends to its supporters to make use of their activity in the trade unions, municipal councils (Calcutta, Bombay, etc.) and similar institutions.

The C.P. of India calls upon its supporters and organisations to develop mass revolutionary activities and struggle of the working class for their political and economic demands, mass refusal by the peasants to pay taxes, levies, rent, debts, particularly in districts where there are large landed estates -- thereby mobilising and preparing the mass of the toilers for revolutionary struggle against imperialism. **The C.P. of India calls upon all class-conscious workers and revolutionaries to assist in transforming individual strikes of the workers into a general political strike, as a resolute step in organising the revolutionary struggle of the mass of the people for independence, land and a Workers' and Peasants' Government under the guidance of the working class.**

A. General Demands.

In order to develop mass revolutionary struggle and the political training of the people, the C.P. of India put forward the following demands:

1. Expulsion of the British troops, abolition of the police and general armaments of the toilers.
2. Immediate liberation of all political prisoners, including those who have committed acts of individual and mass violence.
3. Unlimited freedom of speech, conscience, press, meeting, strikes and association for the toilers, and abolition of all anti-popular and anti-labour laws (Trades Dispute Act, the prohibition of picketing, the regulations for the deportation of revolutionary workers, press act, etc.).
4. The abolition of rank, caste, national and communal privileges, and the full equality of all citizens irrespective of sex, religion and race.
5. Complete separation of religion from the State, and the expulsion of the missionaries as direct agents of the imperialists, with confiscation of their property.
6. Complete separation of religion from the State, and the any time on the demand of the majority of the electors.

B. Special Workers' Demands.

In order to organise the widest masses of the working class, defend the day-to-day interests of the workers and maintain the general revolutionary struggle of the toiling masses in our country, the C.P. of India calls upon all class-conscious workers to concentrate every effort on the creation of a revolutionary trade union movement. The C.P. of India deems it essential to organise mass trade unions based on factory committees, with the leadership elected directly by the workers and consisting of advanced revolutionary workers. The trade unions must become regularly functioning mass organisations, working in the spirit of the class struggle, and all efforts must be made to expel and isolate reformists of all shades, from the open agents of British capitalism such as Joshi, Charamlal, Giri, etc., to the sham "Left" national reformists such as Bose, Rukar, Ginnwalla and other agents of the Indian bourgeoisie, who constitute a reactionary bloc for joint struggle against the revolutionary wing of the trade union movement. At the same time the C.P. of India works for the transformation of the All-India Trade Union Congress into a fighting All-India centre of the labour movement on a class basis.

I. The C.P. of India calls upon all its supporters and all class-conscious workers to help in organising factory committees in all factories, railways, docks, etc. throughout the country. In cases where owing to the victimisation of the employers or British authorities the factory committees have to work semi-legally, the C.P. advocates putting forward the demand for recognition of the factory committees as one of the principal demands in strike movements. The C.P. of India calls for the country-wide organisation of workers' defence detachments, both to defend workers' strikes and demonstrations and to take part in the general revolutionary struggle.

II. The C.P. of India calls upon all class-conscious workers to help the Party to organise the movement and the struggle of the unemployed for regular relief at the expense of the State and the employers. It calls for the country-wide organisation of unemployed councils, demonstrations and joint struggle with the workers in industry for the partial demands of the unemployed -- monthly unemployment benefit at the cost of living minimum, refusal to pay rent, free supply of fuel and food stuffs by the municipal authorities, etc.

III. Taking note of the semi-slave conditions of plantation and agricultural workers, the C.P. of India calls upon class-conscious workers to take part and assist in the organisation of trade unions of plantation and agricultural workers. The fight for complete abolition of all systems of serfdom, compulsory and contract labour, deprivation of rights and unprecedented exploitation of the agricultural proletariat is one of our main aims, linked up closely with the aim of mobilising the broad masses of peasantry to fight imperialist and feudal exploitation, under the leadership of the working class.

IV. With the object of protecting the working class from physical and moral degeneration, and also in order to raise its capacity to fight for emancipation, the C.P. of India fights for:

1. Limitation of the working day to 8-hours for adults and 6-hours for youths from 1 to 20. Introduction of the 6-hour working day in all harmful industries, including coal mining and free supply of milk and butter to the workers in these industries.
2. Complete freedom of trade unions, demonstrations, picketing and strikes.
3. Equal pay for equal work for women, youths and men.
4. Complete abolition of compulsory contract labour and systems of legal bondage of the workers.
5. A compulsory weekly rest period at full pay, and a paid annual holiday of 4 weeks for adults and 6 weeks for youths.
6. State insurance against unemployment, sickness, accidents, industrial diseases, old age, loss of working capacity, orphanage and compensation for disablement.
7. Establishment of a State minimum wage of 50 rupees a month, prohibition of the contract system and establishment by law of weekly payment of wages.
8. Prohibition of deductions from wages for any reason or purpose whatsoever (fines, bad work, etc.).
9. Introduction of properly organised factory inspection, workers elected members thereof, to supervise labour conditions in all factories employing hired labour.
10. The abolition of the system of hiring workers through jobbers, sarangs, etc.; employment and dismissal of workers to take place through labour exchanges, controlled and supervised by the trade unions. The abolition of all caste and feudal customs and regulations within the factories.

In addition, the C.P. of India supports and fights for each and every demand intended to improve the conditions of the workers (building of new houses at government or employers' expense, provision of proper lavatories, -- clean dining rooms, etc.).

The C.P. of India is definitely against the principle of arbitration and interference by capitalist arbitration courts. **It emphasises most definitely that the sole means for winning any serious concessions on the part of the exploiters is resolute class struggle by strikes and mass revolutionary activities.**

C. Peasant Demands.

I. The C.P. of India fights for the confiscation without compensation of all land and estates, forests and pastures of the native princes, landlords, moneylenders and the British Government, and the transference to peasant committees for use by the toiling masses of the peasantry. The C.P. of India fights for the complete wiping out of the mediaeval system of landholding, to cleanse the whole of the land from the rubbish of the middle ages.

II. The C.P. of India fights for the immediate confiscation of all plantations and their transference to revolutionary committees elected by the plantation workers. The allotments to which the planters assign their contract workers and also the land not in cultivation, to be handed over to the labourers and poor peasants as their property. At the same time the C.P. of India is in favour of the nationalisation of large-scale mechanically equipped plantations, and workshops connected therewith, for utilisation in the interests of the whole Indian people.

III. The C.P. of India fights for the immediate nationalisation of the whole system of irrigation, complete cancellation of indebtedness and taxes, and the transference of the control and supervision of the work of irrigation to revolutionary peasant committees elected by the working peasantry.

IV. In order to disorganise British rule and maintain revolutionary pressure against it, the C.P. of India calls upon

the peasantry and agricultural proletariat to engage in all forms of political demonstrations, and collective refusal to pay taxes and dues, or to carry out the orders and decisions of the government and its agents.

V. The C.P. of India calls for refusal to pay rent, irrigation charges or other exactions, and refusal to carry out any labour services whatsoever (bharts) for the landlords, native princes and their agents.

VI. The C.P. of India calls for refusal to pay debts and arrears to government, the landlords and the moneylenders in any form whatsoever.

VII. As a practical watchword for the campaign among the peasantry, and as a means of developing more political consciousness in the peasant movement, the C.P. of India calls for the immediate organisation of revolutionary peasant committees in order to carry on a fight to achieve all the revolutionary democratic changes required in the interests of emancipating the peasantry from the yoke of British imperialism and its feudal allies.

VIII. The C.P. of India calls for the independent organisation of the agricultural proletariat, particularly the plantation workers, and its amalgamation with the proletariat of the towns under the banner of the Communist Party, as well as its representation in the peasant committees.

The C.P. of India is firmly convinced that the complete, thoroughgoing and permanent achievement of the above-mentioned political and social changes is possible only by the overthrow of British domination and the creation of a Federal Workers' and Peasants Soviet Republic.

D. Emancipation of the Pariahs and the Slaves.

As a result of the rule of British imperialism in our country, there are still in existence millions of slaves and tens of millions of socially outcast working pariahs, who are deprived of all rights. British rule, the system of landlordism, the reactionary caste system, religious deception and all the slave and serf traditions of the past throttle the Indian people and stand in the way of its emancipation. They have led to the result that in India, in the 20th century, there are still pariahs who have no right to meet with all their fellow men, drink from common wells, study in common schools, etc.

Instead of putting an end once and for all to this shameful blot on the Indian people, Gandhi and the other Congress leaders call for the maintenance of the caste system, which is the basis and justification for the existence of the socially outcast pariahs.

Only the ruthless abolition of the caste system in its reformed, Gandhi-ist variety, only the agrarian revolution and the violent overthrow of British rule, will lead to the complete social, economic, cultural and legal emancipation of the working pariahs and slaves.

The C.P. of India calls upon all the pariahs to join in the united revolutionary front with all the workers of the country against British rule and landlordism.

The C.P. of India calls on the pariahs not to give way to the tricks of the British and reactionary agents who try to split and set one against the other the toilers of our country.

The C.P. of India fights for the complete abolition of slavery, the caste system and caste inequality in all its forms (social, cultural, etc.). The C.P. of India fights for the complete and absolute equality of the working pariahs and all the toilers of our country.

E. The Struggle for the Interests of the Town and Petty Bourgeoisie.

The C.P. of India calls upon the working small producers in the towns to support the revolutionary struggle against British domination, the landlords, the princes and the moneylenders.

The capitalist class and the National Congress, in their search for a compromise with imperialism, are betraying the interests not only of the workers and peasants but also of wide sections of the town petty bourgeoisie (artisans, street traders, etc.).

Only the complete abolition of British rule, bringing in its train the liberation of our country, the radical alteration of the whole policy of the government, and the abolition of landlordism and survivals of serfdom throughout the Indian social order, will create the conditions requisite for developing

the economic life of the town petty bourgeoisie, handicraft workers and town poor.

The C.P. of India fights for the cancellation of all the usury which has enslaved the poor people of the towns. The C.P. of India fights for the cancellation of all direct and indirect taxes, excise, and other forms of taxation of wages and small earnings, which are ruining the artisans, street traders, employees, etc. It stands for the replacement of such taxes by a progressive income-tax on the capitalists, bond holders, banks, and inheritance. The C.P. of India fights for all revolutionary measures which serve the interests of the proletariat and are intended to improve the conditions of the town poor.

F. Emancipation of the Toiling Women.

The toiling women of India are in a semi-servile condition under a double burden of the survivals of feudalism, economic, cultural and legal inequality. The toiling women have no right whatsoever to determine their fate, and in many districts are forced to drag out their existence in purdah, under the veil, and without the right not only of participating in public affairs, but even of freely and openly meeting their fellow citizens and moving through the streets.

At the same time the exploitation and working conditions of the women workers are surely unheard-of in their brutality and sweated character. The semi-slave conditions of women in India are the result of the widespread survival of relics of feudalism throughout the social order of the country and its careful preservation by British imperialism.

Noting that the present bourgeois national women's organisation, the "All-India Women's Conference" led by Sarojini Naidu, one of the leaders of the National Congress, is not carrying on a genuine struggle to emancipate women but in reality is cooperating with British imperialism, the C.P. of India calls upon the working masses of India to join the common revolutionary struggle of the toiling masses, under the leadership of the Communist Party, for the overthrow of the social order and social system which give rise to the slave conditions of Indian women.

The C.P. of India fights for the complete social, economic and legal equality of women. It fights for the complete abolition of night work for women and the prohibition of underground work for women (in the coal mines) and in all branches harmful for females.

The C.P. of India fights for leave of absence from work at full rates of wages two months before and two months after child birth, with free medical aid, and for the establishment of creches in all factories and workshops employing women, at the expense of the employers, such creches to cover small children and infants at the breast, with a special apartment for feeding. Nursing mothers to have their working day reduced to 6 hours.

G. Soldiers' Demands.

I. In the struggle for the emancipation of our country, the C.P. of India calls for the spreading of revolutionary propaganda among the soldiers and police, and the explanation of the necessity for their armed insurrection together with the toiling masses of the country, against British rule.

II. The Indian soldiers and police are socially in the main poor peasants, who have been forced to seek employment in the army by poverty, landlessness and hunger. The C.P. of India fights for the allotment of land to the soldiers equally with all the other toiling peasants. The C.P. of India calls upon its supporters to explain to the soldiers and ex-soldiers that the only means of acquiring land, abolishing indebtedness and getting work is the revolutionary overthrow of British and feudal supremacy.

III. The C.P. of India calls upon its organisations and class-conscious workers and revolutionaries to begin organising revolutionary groups among the soldiers. The aim of these groups must be to persuade and prepare the soldiers to take action in support of a general armed insurrection of the people for liberty, land and a Workers' and Peasants' Government. It is necessary to explain to the soldiers by concrete examples drawn from their daily lives (arbitrary actions by the officers, shooting down of demonstrations, workers' strikes, etc., flaccid inequality of treatment of white and Indian soldiers -- worse food, clothes, allowances, etc.) that Indian soldiers are only a

blind tool in the hands of the British robbers, who use them to maintain the national and social oppression of the toiling masses of our country.

IV. The C.P. of India calls upon its supporters to organise the ex-soldiers, who have had practical proof of the swindling and exploiting character of British rule, and to build up revolutionary ex-soldiers' organisations among them and, wherever possible, fighting detachments to prepare and support the future national insurrection and agrarian movement under the leadership of the Party.

V. The C.P. of India calls upon the class-conscious workers to organise fraternisation with Indian soldiers, with the object of establishing closest friendship and explaining the solidarity of the interests of workers, peasants and soldiers in the fight for freedom and the abolition of all forms of exploitation.

H. Youth Demands.

I. The C.P. of India calls upon the revolutionary working class youth to build up the Young Communist League. The Young Communist League of India, being an illegal organisation owing to the complete lack of rights and the prevailing terror, has as its object to organise the widest possible masses of working class, peasant and revolutionary student youth around the banner of the Communist Party, doing so either directly or through the medium of auxiliary, legal and semi-legal mass organisations (youth sections in the trade unions, etc.).

II. The Y.C.L. of India as the helper of the Party has the special task of organising the working youth under the banner of Communism. The Y.C.L. of India must come forward as a political organisation which subordinates all forms of struggle and mass organisations — economic, cultural, sports, etc. — to the interests of the political struggle, namely, the overthrow of the imperialist yoke and the winning of power by the working class and the peasantry.

III. The C.P. of India calls for the country-wide organisation both of mixed and of separate workers, peasants and students' detachments, both to defend the people's demonstrations, strikes, etc., and in order to make systematic preparations for the armed struggle of the Indian people.

IV. The C.P. of India calls upon the honest revolutionary youth to help in spreading political propaganda among the soldiers and police. The C.P. of India considers that the call of the "Left" nationalists to the soldiers to leave the army and take their discharge, in accordance with Gandhi's philosophy of non-violence, is a mistake. The task of genuine revolutionaries is to persuade the soldiers, while staying in the army, to prepare and raise, when the time is ripe, the banner of armed insurrection and, shoulder to shoulder with the toiling people, overthrow British rule.

V. With the object of protecting the toiling youth against physical and cultural de-eneration, and in order to develop its revolutionary offensive for the national and social liberation of the toiling masses, the C.P. of India fights for:

- Limitation of the working day to 6 hours for youths from 16 to 20. Prohibition of employment of children under 16.
- Universal free and compulsory education up to 16 in the national language of the pupils. Free feeding, clothing and supply of text-books to children at the expense of the State. Introduction of vocational training for youths at the expense of the State and the employers.
- Paid weekly and annual (6 weeks) holiday for youths.
- State maintenance of unemployed youths at rates equivalent to the cost of living.

Conclusion.

The Communist Party of India, putting forward its programme of demands of the Indian revolution, calls upon the toiling masses to rally under the revolutionary banner of the Party, and carry on the struggle to the successful conquest of power and the establishment of the democratic dictatorship of the working class and the peasantry in the form of Soviets.

The C.P. of India declares that the successful solution of the problems facing the revolution cannot be obtained and no emancipation will open up the possibility, with the help of the international proletariat and the class offensive of the exploited masses of our country, or the revolution developing through a number of stages into a proletarian revolution, thereby creating the requisite conditions for the development

of our country on Socialist lines, avoiding the further stage of domination of the capitalist system.

In this struggle the Indian people are not alone. They have an ally in the revolutionary workers of all countries of the world. The workers of the whole world are fighting for the overthrow of international imperialism and the abolition of the whole system of capitalist exploitation, which is now going through a very profound crisis. The crisis of the feudal and capitalist system of exploitation in India is at present being combined with the world crisis, which leads to the great sharpening of all antagonisms, the approach of wars, and the rise of a new wave of revolutionary struggles.

The growing crisis is producing the growth of stubborn resistance and counter-offensive on the part of the international proletariat and the colonial peoples. The strength of the international revolution is growing. In one of the countries of the world, Soviet Russia, the working class has long ago overthrown the power of the exploiters and is successfully building up a Socialist state of society. The workers of the Soviet Union have created a firm bulwark of the international Communist movement, and are showing in practice how the world ought to be reconstructed in the interests of the workers and peasants. The Soviet Union is a reliable ally of the colonial peoples, including the toilers of India. The toiling masses of India will receive the support of the revolutionary workers of all countries, particularly of the developing Chinese revolution. The toiling masses of India will also be supported by the revolutionary workers of Great Britain, led by the British Communist Party, while the ruling Labour Party of MacDonald and the Independent Labour Party of Maxton and Brockway, who are part and parcel and agents of British imperialism, will do everything in their power to tighten and maintain the noose of slavery and poverty round the neck of the Indian people. In spite of all the devices of the imperialists and their reformist agents, the revolutionary front of the world proletariat and the colonial peoples is growing stronger and wider every day.

But to ensure the victory of the Indian revolution, there is required a Communist Party of the proletariat, the leader and organiser of the toiling masses of our country. The building of a centralised, disciplined, united mass underground Communist Party is today the chief and basic task, long overdue, of the revolutionary movement for the emancipation of our country.

The C.P. of India declares with pride that it considers itself a part of the organised world Communist movement, a Section of the Communist International. The C.P. of India calls upon all advanced workers and revolutionaries devoted to the cause of the working class to join the ranks of the Communist Party now being built, in order to fight to carry out the historic tasks of the Indian revolution. In the conditions of British supremacy and terrorism, the Communist Party can exist and develop as an underground Party, applying and utilising all forms of legal and illegal activity to develop its mass struggle, and to win the toiling masses for the fight for the democratic dictatorship of the working class and the peasantry. The Communist Party of India sets up its Party organisations and groups in all towns and in all factories and workshops throughout the country.

The Communist Party of India organises the working class and the basic masses of the peasantry under the banner of the Indian revolution. In spite of all difficulties, sacrifices and partial defeats, in spite of all the attempts of the imperialists and the Indian bourgeoisie to separate the revolutionary movement of India from the international proletariat, the Communist Party will lead the struggle of the toiling masses to the complete overthrow of British rule and of the system of landlordism and serfdom, in order thereafter, together with the world proletariat, to march forward in the struggle to set up a Socialist system of society in our country and throughout the world.

Long live the independence of India!

Long live the working class, the leader of the toiling masses!

Long live the revolutionary insurrection for independence, land, and bread!

Long live the Workers and Peasants Soviet Government!

Long live the World Revolution!

PROLETARIAN MASS ORGANISATIONS

Healthy Symptoms in the League Against Imperialism.

The "Left" social democrat Pimmen sent a letter from Amsterdam, dated 24th October, to the "League Against Imperialism" declaring that he resigns from the Executive. A year shortly after the World Congress in Frankfurt, it was necessary to expel the leader of the "Left" wing of the anti-imperialist movement, Maxton, from the British and French sections of the "League Against Imperialism". The resignation of these two members from the international organisation of the anti-imperialist struggle is the result of a healthy process being undergone by the "League Against Imperialism". Both Maxton and Pimmen cease to belong to the organisation for the reason that they have been compelled to realise that the "League Against Imperialism" does not regard as mere abstract theory the political and organisational questions of its last World Congress, corresponding to the situation in the colonies, but really and actually intends to carry out these decisions.

The "League" intends utilising the withdrawal of Maxton and Pimmen as an opportunity for an open and objective discussion, in all its Sections, of the questions of its programme, tasks at the present juncture, and its organisation. This discussion, it is anticipated, will promote the ideological clarification of the League, further the organisational extension and consolidation of its ranks, aid the further execution and consolidation of the decisions of the Frankfurt Congress, and simultaneously prepare for the next international conference of the League. We begin today by explaining to our friends and acquaintances the reasons why it became impossible for Pimmen and Maxton to remain members of the "League Against Imperialism".

The "League Against Imperialism" is a broad non-party organisation, determined and able to gather together all the forces really fighting against imperialism. The assertion that the "League Against Imperialism" is a communist organisation, a dependent tool of party policy, is a deliberate untruth, spread by the imperialists in order to enable them better to seduce the supporters of the League, especially in the colonies. The League, at the time of its founding, during the first stage of the Chinese revolution, made an attempt to obtain the cooperation of the leaders of such parties as the Kuomintang and the Mexican party of the then President Calles. This attempt failed solely owing to the treachery exercised by these leaders against the struggles for liberation in their own countries. The Left social democrats too originally took part in the League, in the anti-imperialist united front. Brockway, Lansbury, Maxton, Cook, Jones (England), Schmidt and Pimmen (Holland), Mertens (Belgium). And the result? The International forbade its members to take any part in the League. In Holland, the "Left" social democrat Schmidt, after bravely theoretically defending the standpoint of the independence of Indonesia, left the League, but remained a member of the Dutch social democratic party, which quite openly contests the independence of the Dutch East Indies. In England, the same thing has been experienced with regard to Brockway and Lansbury. The whole Independent Labour Party, headed by Maxton, failed to carry on any struggle whatever, either in the press or at meetings, for the independence of Palestine, India or Egypt, but on the contrary, it has supported and continues to support by all available means the imperialist policy of the MacDonald government. It is not the fault of the League that these regrettable experiences at the hands of the "Left" social democrats now find further confirmation.

Pimmen, in his letter of 24th October, gives a number of "reasons" for his withdrawal. The diplomatic insincerity of these is apparent at the first glance. He writes that he has been unable to bring about the convocation of the Executive; that the necessary clearing up of various organisational questions has been prevented, and that the movement of the oppressed peoples has been "hindered" (his actual word!) by

the League. In order to expose the complete insincerity of these arguments it is only necessary to cite another letter from Pimmen, written with reference to the insurrection of the oppressed Arabs in Palestine against the English imperialism represented by the MacDonald government. This letter was not addressed to the League, but to a Zionist organisation, and reads as follows:

"31st October 1929

To the Trade Union Organisation of the Railway,
Postal, and Telegraph Workers in Erez Israel.

I am in receipt of your letter No. 9 of 24th October, and have read the contents with great interest. In reply I must state that I attended the Congress of the Anti-Imperialist League in Frankfurt neither in the name of the International of the Transport Workers nor on behalf of any other organisation. **I took no part in the discussions or in the divisions on the resolutions.** I only attended the first two days of the Congress. **It need not be said that I bear no responsibility for the decisions,** and most certainly not with regard to Palestine. I learnt for the first time from your letter that the Congress drew up a Palestine resolution, and its import is still unknown to me today.

Edo Fimmen."

This letter too is written diplomatically, but one thing about it is clear: Pimmen dissociates himself from the decisions of the Frankfurt Congress; he was not in agreement with them, especially not with the standpoint of the League in the question of the Arabian struggle for emancipation. The diplomatic assertion that the import of the Frankfurt decisions and the standpoint of the League towards the national struggles of the Arabian people were "unknown" to him, is much too transparent. Besides this, his present letter contains one sentence which, though added in conclusion as if incidentally, proves the whole of the former "reasons" to be insincere. In this sentence he rejects the generally recognised analysis of the extreme aggravation of the colonial struggles of late years, and states: "I regret that the **third period** condemns the League too to decay." Pimmen, like Maxton, has pursued the tactics of delivering extremely anti-imperialist speeches at international sessions and demonstrations, in order to retain popularity in the colonies. But in his imperialist native country, Holland, he has not only refused to perform any systematic work in the national section of the League, but has thrown obstacles in the way of the development of the Dutch section, and of its co-operation with Indonesian nationalists and other groups. As late as July of this year, he made a lengthy speech at a meeting of the summer school of the English Independent Labour Party, following an address given by the "Left" social democrat Schmidt, who left the League on the orders of the Dutch social democratic party. In his speech on this occasion, on colonial questions, Pimmen did not reply to Schmidt's direct attack on the League. Under the given circumstances this speech of Pimmen's must be regarded as an advance against the organisation of the League.

Perhaps a brief period will suffice to show whither Pimmen, after leaving the "League Against Imperialism", is actually going. It is not impossible that he intends following Vandervelde to the Far East, in order to reach Amsterdam more rapidly via China and the countries of the Pacific. Of late various steps of his tend to show that his native city, and the line taken by the II. International, are growing dearer to him. In Stockholm he came forward and demanded an "active struggle" against the war danger. But in almost the same week he took part in meetings organised by the Polish nationalist socialists, and held demonstratively in the Polish seaport of Danzig, which is to serve as a base in the coming war to be waged by Poland and all the imperialists against the U.S.S.R. Whilst frequently stressing his friendship for the U.S.S.R., when in the presence of radical hearers, at a closed session of the commission of the Congress of the Transport Workers, he employed the same arguments against the U.S.S.R., as form the stock in trade of the French and other "democratic" imperialists.

The "Left" leader of the English Independent Labour Party, **Maxton**, also had to be expelled from the English national section of the "League", and politically disavowed by the Enlarged Session of the International Secretariat (decision

of 10th May 1930), for the reason that his conduct in England was diametrically opposed to the Frankfort decisions. As early as the Frankfort Congress Maxton was severely criticised. Here he encountered the just reproach that on international platforms he invariably made great anti-imperialist speeches, but at home in England he systematically evaded any real struggle against the imperialist policy of the British government. In order to save his position in the League, Maxton made a solemn declaration at the Frankfort Congress, and promised "to expose the imperialist policy of the Labour government, and to resist it determinedly", further "as chairman of the Independent Labour Party, to fight in the ranks of that party for a militant policy against imperialism, and against the representatives of moderate reformism." He failed to keep these promises. Maxton did not call upon the Independent Labour Party of which he was the leader, to take any protest action either in the case of the Egyptian Treaty, or during the Arabian rebellion in Palestine, or on the occasion of the arrest of the trade unionists and of other events in India. In spite of being repeatedly called upon to do so, Maxton did not publish in England the solemn declaration which he made at the Frankfort Congress. It is obvious that under these circumstances Maxton had to be expelled from the English section of the League, and his policy, had to be disavowed by the Secretariat. Protests have been received from some countries that the International Secretariat of the League has not taken energetic enough action against Maxton. (The International Secretariat, for formal reasons, did not wish to pass organisational decisions before the session of the Executive, and therefore confined itself to condemning Maxton politically.)

Not only in England and Holland, but in other countries, various (political, organisational, personal) questions have arisen in the League, demanding discussion and settlement. The sections and organs of the League must examine these questions, especially the personal ones, calmly, objectively, patiently, and cautiously. It must not be forgotten that in the colonies in particular many forces which are extremely valuable to us in the struggle against imperialism may easily commit errors through lack of experience, and must first be taught by hard and practical reality to gain a real conception of the savage ruthlessness, of the imperialist oppressors, which is only to be broken by force. One thing however is certain, and applies to all countries: At all costs the League must remain **consistent** in the struggle against imperialism: it must not become the playground of compromises and political manoeuvring: it must maintain closest contact with the **masses** of the oppressed countries, and adhere firmly to its **principles**. Therefore, the withdrawal of Fimmen and Maxton is to be regarded as a healthy symptom in the life of the League.

Of late attacks on the League have become increasingly frequent. At the Congress of the English Labour Party, MacDonald delivered a thundering speech against it. The organ of the French government, the "Temps" attacks the League in connection with the growing Pan-Negro movement. A public ideological discussion with some of the leaders of the Indian National Congress is absolutely necessary, and the only reason why this is postponed is that the English tyrants are themselves keeping in prison the nationalists most inclined to a compromise. Trotzky too has suddenly put in an appearance in the anti-League front, and in the October number of his Bulletin he demands the disbanding of the "League" on the ground that it carries on an "opportunist policy" in the colonies, and even co-operates with bourgeois national elements. ("The Anti-Imperialist League is a Kuomintang reserve on an international scale. The liquidation of the League is an indispensable task of revolutionary recovery.") To the members, Sections, and friends of the "League against Imperialism", these facts should give fresh impetus to the work of organisation, of securing the financial basis, of creating the "League" press, of dealing with certain concrete tactical questions (for instance the utilisation of the antagonisms among the imperialists), and most especially of programmatic adherence to principles in all these departments of work.

PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

The Struggle of the Proletarian Women against Intervention and for the Defence of the Soviet Union.

The trial of the Russian counter-revolutionaries were in the pay of French capital, must arouse the indignation of the toiling women of the whole world, for they are the enemies not only of the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, but of the whole world proletariat. Every working woman must know, that the accused counter-revolutionaries attempted, with the assistance of foreign capital under the immediate guidance of French generals and *caré-la-guerre*, to prepare intervention against the Soviet Union and thereby to plunge the whole world proletariat into indescribable misery. The toiling women of the world must know that the social fascists are the immediate helpers of the bourgeoisie in the preparations for imperialist war, that therefore the toiling women must actively fight against social fascists.

The bourgeoisie is faced by a very serious economic crisis: it is limiting production, throwing millions of men and women into the street and is seeking a way out of this crisis by means of a war, and mainly a war against the Soviet Union which would represent a big market for its commodities.

The trial has already shown how foreign capital, headed by France, attempted to prepare military intervention against the Soviet Union. The statements of the counter-revolutionary Ramzin proved that this intervention was fixed in 1930 and that a special international commission, headed by the French General Jeanin and consisting of representatives of the French, English and Poles was set up. According to the plan of this commission, the intervention was to begin with the advance of Rumania and the subsequent declaration of war by Poland on the Soviet Union. England was to support the intervention by its navy in the Black Sea and in the Baltic. The Industrial Party on its part was to organise mass strikes in the Soviet Union and to sabotage the development of industry in the Soviet Union, before all the war, chemical and electricity industry.

The statements of the accused further revealed that the chief leader of the intervention was to be France, the class of which aimed at strengthening world imperialism, the overthrow of the Soviet Power brought about by a military intervention. But the bourgeoisie has miscalculated: the Soviet Union discovered the whole criminal activity of the wreckers, and in spite of the rage of the interventionists, in spite of the counter-revolutionary sabotage work of the hirelings of French, English and Polish capital, the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union are working with unexampled enthusiasm and energy at the construction of Socialism and strengthening the defensive power of their country. Tens of thousands of the best workers and peasants have joined the Communist Party as a reply to the counter-revolutionary sabotage activity and the preparations for intervention; tens of thousands of workers are joining shock brigades and by means of socialist competition are striving to carry out the Five-Year Plan in four years.

The working women of all countries must defend the Soviet Union with all means and organise protest demonstrations against the intervention.

Not a single working woman must remain outside of the "Friends of Soviet Russia", of the anti-imperialist and anti-fascist Leagues, of the women's organisations which are fighting against war.

Inspired by the example of the working men and women of the Soviet Union, the working women of all countries must reply to the sinister designs of the bourgeoisie by a mass entry into the Communist Party and, under the banner of the Communist International, join in the fight against their oppressors, the bourgeoisie and for the defence of the Soviet Union.