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Two Worlds.

The Fourteenth Anniversary of the October Revolution.

By Hermann Remmele (Berlin).

Two economic systems, which today dominate the world, stand sharply confronting one another: the socialist economic system in the new world, in the Soviet Union, and the capitalist economic system in the old world, in the capitalist countries.

To which system belongs the future? This question is today engaging the attention of all peoples the world over.

The Soviet system prevails only in one sixth of the world —and nevertheless it already comes forward boldly and challengingly before all the world with the inexorable

question: For or against!

And here it is not a question merely of two economic systems, but of two world systems, of two systems of culture, of the ascent of the whole of the human race "out of the realm of necessity into the realm of freedom" (Friedrich Engels), on to the plane of free humanity, which will finally and irrevocably abolish all attributes of serfdom and slavery in order to become the real master of the world. "The fight for mere individual existence is ceasing. Thereby mankind, in certain sense, first passes finally from the animal world, om the animal conditions of existence, into real human conditions." (Friedrich Engels: Anti-Dühring.)

The longing and hope for the advent of Socialism, for the socialist order of society, is as old as oppression and exploitation, serfdom and slavery, wars and crimes of all sorts-in fact it has existed ever since class society existed.

For thousand of years two world systems have confronted

one another in the thoughts and aims of men: the world of class societies, with all their insane barbarities and suffering, the world of all against all-and the hoped and longed-for world of Freedom, Equality and Brotherhood for all members of the human race, the classles society—the world of Communism.

That which the millions of victims of the world rule of robbers and exploiters hoped and longed for, that which the exploited and oppressed of the whole world at all times yearned for, that which the best thinkers of humanity foretold, is today, for the first time in the history of humanity, in the Soviet Union, becoming true, becoming a reality! That for which millions and millions of men and women in all ages joyfully sacrificed themselves for, for which millions have fought and died—we today see rising before our eyes. It is today being fulfilled for the first time in the history of humanity!

To have accomplished the greatest world-historical deed of all times, that is the great pride and the greatest merit of the class which alone can accomplish this great historical work, the modern proletariat! No other class in the history of the world has ever been able to accomplish anything grander and more sublime. The modern proletariat is the

first representative of humanity freed from barbarism.

The work of Socialism in the Soviet Union is the work of the modern world proletariat, the first stage of the world

revolution!

It was the imperishable work of the founders of modern Socialism, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, to bring to birth modern, scientific Socialism. It was the Russian proletariat which, 14 years ago, under the leadership of its Bolshevist Party, under the leadership of the greatest Socialist after Engels—Lenin—converted the lifework andMarx and Engels from Science into fact. From Utopia to Science—from Science to Fact—that is the prehistory of socialism.

There is now commencing the history of Socialism itself. Socialist construction! Socialist economy! Socialism in fact! The socialist society! The socialist man! The socialist humanity!

Two worlds stand sharply confronting one another: the capitalist world and the socialist world! To which world belongs the future?

This question is today already decided!

The ruling classes in the old capitalist world can cling as much as they like to traditions, to habits, to the most modern means of power and systems of oppression, to their rights and privileges; all the means of power of the ruling classes and castes will no longer help them: Socialism is on the march! To-day, in the year 1931, one can no longer deny or simply scorn and jeer at the power, the strength and the thousandfold superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system, as our opponents were wont to do some years ago. The "mighty" ones of the capitalist world are trembling before the advance of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union. The mockery and scorn which they once so generously cast on the "phantastic Bolshevist experiment", have become a thing of the past.

The fact that the worst enemies of the working class, the enemies of the toilers of the whole world are now compelled to take the Soviet system seriously and to recognise its successes, is the result not only of the powerful advance of socialist construction. This recognition is before all enforced by the fact that the gigantic, unexampled progress of socialist economy in the Soviet Union synchronises with a terrible, hopeless crisis, with the bankruptcy of the capitalist economic system.

On the one side, gigantic progress which everyone has to admit—on the other side, crisis, bankruptcy, collapse.

Two ways-two processes of development are taking place in diametrical antagonism to one another.

In the capitalist world: decline and collapse, decay, bankruptcy and despair, millions of unemployed, misery and poverty for the masses, hunger in the midst of plenty, the million masses in need of everything and at the same time insane destruction of vast stores of food, insanity and crime wherever one looks.

In the socialist world: progress and tremendous development of industry, commerce, transport, agriculture and all branches of production. No unemployment, but a shortage of labour power. Increase of wealth for all, work and bread for all.

In the capitalist world: economic crisis such as the world never seen before, bank failures, financial collapses,

credit difficulties, inflation, chaos, panic.

In the socialist world: Increasing consolidation, investments of thousands of millions without any foreign credits or financial assistance, stability of currency, increase of the people's income.

In the capitalist world: industrial bankruptcies, closing down of whole industries, shutting of the most modern factories and works, scrapping of the most up-to-date

machines.

In the socialist world: opening of new factories, setting up of new industries, introduction of the most modern plant and the employment of the most modern machines, such as are unknown, even in the most developed capitalist countries.

In the capitalist world: agrarian crisis, decline and ruin

of the peasantry

In the socialist world: collectivisation, tremendous improvement in the conditions of the peasantry.

These are only a few comparisons:

Two worlds—two systems—two processes of development. World history has opened a new volume. The prehistory of humanity is coming to an end. The history of humanity is beginning!

THE WAR IN THE FAR EAST

The Robber-Campaign Against the Chinese Proletariat Still Goes On.

By Yobe.

Part of the business of war is the sending out of war "news" and the spreading of canards of every kind. The imperialists have an interest in hiding from the masses as long as possible the true character of the campaign of the Japanese. At first an attempt was made to maintain the fiction of a "punitive expedition". When this fiction became too obvious, there was talk of "incidents"; then even the capitalist press had to admit: "In Manchuria there is war, real war." Now, however, the talk is of "speedy conclusion of peace": "China submits", "Japan promises evacuation", this was the accompanying music provided by the European imperialist press to the uninterrupted advance of Japanese imperialism; to the ever recurring bombardment of Chinese towns by Japanese aircraft; to the continued Japanese war campaign in Manchuria. The imperialists hoped that Japanese imperialism would be sensible enough to save at least the outer prestige of the League of Nations and would content itself for the time being with the exceedingly humiliating conditions which the League Council, in its decision, laid down as the prerequisite for the "evacuation" of Manchuria, and which only a treacherous government, such as the Kuomintang government could accept. Then the Powers could peacefully negotiate over the further division of China.

Japanese imperialism, however, knows very well that with the other imperialist rivals it is only a question of increasing the share which they themselves hope to obtain of the Chinese booty; that M. Briand, who in his official declarations pretends to be so peace-loving, speaks with Mr. Yoshisawa (the Japanese representative in the League of Nations) in quite another tone when once they are behind closed doors; that France in particular would by no means be sorry if the Manchurian question were to remain open till the 16th November—far beyond the time fixed for the Laval—Hoover conversations—and thus give her the opportunity to play the Japanese card against America.

Japanese imperialism, for the moment, is precious little interested in the prestige of the League of Nations, and still less in the "solemn obligations" of the Kellogg Pact. On the contrary, the news from Japan shows that the military clique, is prepared for a regular and not very short war, and is again employing the methods used in 1905 and 1914 for "stirring up war enthusiasm" and creating a national united front. A proof of this is not only the military parades, the public prayers for the "success of Japanese arms", and the atrocity stories about the mutilation of Japanese, the slaughtering of Koreans in Manchuria, acts of provocation on the part of the Chinese, and so forth. That the Mikado once again "no longer knows any parties" but only Japanese who are prepared to die on the fields of Manchuria for the benefit of Japanese landowners, capitalists and generals; that jingoism is being stirred up in Japan far beyond the requirements of a predatory war against China, and is intended to suffice for a war against a much stronger enemy-this is to be seen from the change in the attitude of the Japanese socialists. If these gentlemen consider it necessary, "in the light of Manchurian events", to declare that the time has come to go over "from Marxism to State Socialism", if the Scheidemanns and Kautskys of the Japanese social democracy stand openly and plainly on the side of imperialism—this is the best sign that this time the Japanese clique means serious businesss, that the Japanese generals wish now to avail themselves fully of the services of the Japanese social democracy in order to crush the protest movement of the Japanese masses, which is breaking out under the leadership of the Communist Party against the imperialism of their own country, and to throt the growing strike movement in the country and the indigi. tion of the Japanese small peasants who are being sent to the

It should be remarked in passing that if various other sections of the II. International, including the German social democracy, in order to deceive their own supporters, declare: "We are plainly and definitely on the side of China", then the workers must nail down and stigmatise the social democratic two-faced policy by calling attention not only to their vpress recognition of the rights of Japanese imperialism in anchuria, but before all the attitude of the Japanese social

Rarely has the open predatory character of a war been clearer than in the invasion of Manchuria by the Japanese army. Right from the first moment, Japanese imperialism was bent on conquering and dismembering China. The attempts to magnify the Nakamura affair were nothing else but a usual imperialist provocation. The other imperialist States were prepared to join in the intervention. Even if Comrade Nishi, in his article published in the "Inprecorr" No. 50 of September 24, attempts to speak of "an increasingly aggressive attitude of China towards Japan", of "actual attacks on Japan", of a Japanese "counter-stroke" and the like, he thereby only shows his profound misunderstanding of the real background of the Japanese robber campaign, his thoroughly wrong attitude to the fundamental question of the Manchurian intervention, which represents above all a brutal and absolutely unwarranted attack by Japanese imperialism on the

Chinese working population*).

If anything was still needed to emphasise the absolute incorrectness of this attitude, this has been done by the further course of the campaign itself: Japan remains in Manchuria, and is prepared to advance still further, to continue to wage war. As an answer to the ever increasing Japanese pressure, as an answer to the mass demonstration of the working population in all the Chinese towns who are demanding revolutionary war against Japan, abolition of foreign concessions, alliance with the Soviet Union, the Kuomintang issues a special law against anti-Japanese propaganda. The Kuomintang government (and this applies both to its Canton and Nanking wings), as always, sees the enemy only in the working masses of China. It does not shrink from doubling and tripling the repressive measures against the revolutionary masses at the behest of Japan and the other imperialist States. It is unweariedly performing its executioner's work. In fact it is increasing its terror still more: the death sentence passed on Ruegg, the secretary of the Pan Pacific Trade Unions—an act of murder against which the revolutionary labour movement of all countries, leading progressive intellectuals, powerful organisations and Congresses have protested-shows once again that Chiang-Kai-shek, that the Chinese compradore-bourgeoisie, the big landowners and generals who are today all grouped round the "flag of the Kuomintang", have no intention whatever of engaging in a fight against Japan. They grovel before the Japanese and before all the imperialists. Their only concern is to be able to continue their bloody handiwork against the revolutionary movement in China; to banish the spectre of the Soviet revolution which is looming up ever more threateningly in China.

For the Chinese masses there are only two alternatives, which the recent appeal of the Chinese central Soviet

government presents them with:

"Will you allow yourselves, under the ruhe of the Kuomintang, to be enslaved by Japanese imperialism? Or will you, under the leadership of the Soviet Power, take up the irreconcilable fight against Japanese imperialism?"

The Chinese Soviet government does not merely talk, but is putting its appeal into practice. The recapture of Tungku and the most important centres in Kiangsi, the great successes of the Chinese Red Army against the new expeditions sent by Chiang-Kai-shek, show that the anti-imperialist forces in China are growing and that the Chinese Soviets are becoming an important factor.

'Japan remains in Manchuria!" Whether this declaration. which is repeatedly emphasised in various tones by the Japanese, will remain true, whether Japanese imperialism will be able to advance further, whether the dismemberment of China with the aid of the Kuomintang agents will really take place -this will depend neither on the diplomatists gathered together in Geneva nor upon Chiang-Kai-shek's clique of hangmen. The development of the Soviet revolution in Central China into an all-Chinese Soviet revolution, the revolutionary anti-imperialist war of the people under the leadership of the Soviets, backed by the complete solidarity of the international proletariat, will decide this question.

The Japanese Invasion of China and the II. International.

It is now possible to obtain a fairly clear survey of the further development of the Japanese campaign in Manchuria. Far from being able to maintain the legend of its being a mere incident or a small punitive expedition, the press of the imperialist States is now being reluctantly forced to admit that there is a war going on in Manchuria. The reports of the proletarian press regarding the brutality and cruelties of the Japanese robber-campaign are being more and more confirmed by bourgeois journalists and news agencies. following report given by an eye witness and first published in the "Vossische Zeitung" Berlin, gives some idea of the real facts of the imperialist war in the Far East. The writer states:

"On my return I visited the battle-field of Kuangchencze. Only Japanse were allowed access, but my papers and knowledge of languages helped me, so that I am the only European who has seen this horrible picture.

It was terrible. Here not only "police measures" have been carried out, as is always alleged; here war, real war, with all that it implies, is being waged. One does not always need two equal opponents in order to conduct a war. Here also there are not two equal opponents. But apart from this nothing else is lacking. I approached nearer expecting to see corpses before me. Two Japanese soldiers stood with fixed bayonets. Suddenly something moved. It was wounded Chinese soldiers, without legs, with bullet wounds in the stomach and bayonet wounds in the breast. They had already been lying there for 36 hours, without bandages, without water, only with blankets over them to protect them from the sun, close to one another and strictly guarded. When one of them groaned or moved one of the sentries either gave him a kick or dealt him a blow with the butt of his rifle. "Peaceful entry to Manchuria!"

The military hospitals are crowded with wounded. Even the Japanese have now more killed and wounded than they care to admit. Nearly all the killed and wounded had bullet wounds in the abdomen or breast. The Japanese now dominate the whole district here."

("Vossische Zeitung", October 20, 1931.)

That is the situation in Manchuria. China, which has been torn and rent by the Kuomintang hangmen, is delivered over to the horrors of the robber-campaign of the Japanese under the patronage of the League of Nations, but not solely owing to the fault of its government, the Nanking clique of Chiang Kai-shek. It is now seen that the role of the Kuomintang government after the commencement of the Japanese intervention, was far more despicable than appeared at the first moment. The Japanese representative in the League of Nations informed his government that he had ascertained beyond doubt that the Kuomintang government had applied to other imperialist States with a request for armed intervention, which request however had been rejected. This means, that at the time of the hysterical antiimperialist declamations, whilst the spontaneous anti-Japanese demonstrations of the people were being broken up by the Kuomintang authorities in order, allegedly, to avoid an aggravation of the situation and a military intervention under the pretext of defending foreign interests—that at this very same time the Kuomintang people not only gave assurances that military intervention would be tolerated, but even requested the acceleration and immediate carrying out of this intervention.

It is perfectly obvious that the American, English and French military aid called for by Chiang-Kai-shek and Sze was intended to be employed not against Japan, but against the Chinese people, against the Chinese revolutionary move-

^{*)} Editorial Note: The "Inprecorr" regrets having given space in its columns to the incorrect presentation of the tuation by Comrade Nishi. But the "Pravda" article published in the following issue, as well as a number of articles published since, clearly show that the "Inprecorr" sharply rejects and condemns any cloaking of the imperialist character of the Japanese attack and any attempt to excuse the Japanese robber campaign by referring to the murder of Nakamura or "China's aggressiveness", as did Comrade Nishi.

ment. After the revelation of the real background of Nanking's appeal to the League of Nations there cannot remain the least doubt how closely the revolutionary war against Japanese imperialism must be linked up with the ruthless combating of the Kuomintang hangmen, and how right the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China is when in its appeal it issues the slogan of fight against Japanese imperialism in the same breath as the slogan of the destruction of the counter-revolutionary Kuomintang clique.

But such a clear and indubitable fact as the outbreak of an imperialist war in Manchuria has also served to expose another alleged "enemy" of imperialism and capitalism. The social democrats of the various countries, the miserable "opponents of war" in the Second International, are now compelled to come out in their true colours. Faced with the war in the Far East, Emile Vandervelde discards sentiment

and writes in the strain of a real politician:

"But brief as was our sojourn, or rather our journey, through the Far East last year, it was sufficient to convince us for all time that when Chinese matters are concerned, one must not be content with proposing solutions in the form of general or simple formulae, taking no account of past history, such, for example, as the rights of nationalities, or the right of the people to selfdetermination.

And how obligingly, out of the inexhaustible social-fascist arsenal, he supplies the Japanese robber-generals with the argument that they are the "bearers of culture":

"True, it might be thought that those who, at the cost of millions, had constructed the network of railways which covers Manchuria had done a great work and that this conferred certain rights upon them in spite of everything.

No, one cannot simply protest against Japanese imperialism, the Socialist International can only "do all that lies within its power to cast light upon events which, if not today, at any rate in the near future, will be a grave menace

to the peace of the world".

Therefore Vandervelde and his friends in the other socialist parties give the League of Nations valuable tips as to how an advantage can be derived from the Manchurian turmoil which could provide a common platform for all the imperialist States. The "Populaire" is very much concerned why this time the Soviet Union is left out of the game. And other social democratic organs put the question more bluntly:

"Must one not assume that the Japanese and the Soviets, free to fight later, are agreed today as regards Manchuria?"

asks the chairman of the II. International in his article in the official Press Service published by this International (from which the former quotations are also taken). This can only be meant as a hint to the imperialists to unite if possible, not only at the cost of the Chinese toilers, but also at the cost of the Soviet Union, for the absurdity of a "Japanese-Soviet agreement" is obvious. But M. Vandervelde's provocative calumny against the Soviet Union becomes quite clear when viewed in the light of the fact that white-guardist troops, under Japanese patronage, have again commenced their activity against the Soviet Union in Manchuria. The imperialists rapidly adopt the social imperialist suggestions when it is a question of proceeding against the Socialist State.

The European and American proletariat must, together with the Japanese and Chinese proletarians, redouble their

efforts in order to thwart the imperialist plans.

Appeal of the Central Chinese Soviet Government against the Robber Campaign of Japanese Imperialism.

The Japanese imperialist troops stationed in Manchuria, during the night of 18th September, occupied Mukden, Changchun, Yüngkow, and the towns on the Southern Manchurian and Mukden-Antung railway line. They bombarded the arsenal, the north quarter, the houses in Mukden, the public buildings of the occupied towns and the most important strategic points; they disalmed the Chinese troops, and killed and wounded hundreds of the Chinese population and soldiers. The Japanese troops are continuing their advance on the province of Kirin, on the districts through which the Kirin-Changehun and Peking-Mukden railway lines pass, and have already occupied the towns of Kirin, Jaidj and Chen-Ming. Japanese marines landed on the coast of Tsingtau, Yingtai, Tientsien, Ch wangtao and Fulutau. The Chinese North Eastern fleet v. surrounded by Japanese warships. Chinese gun-boats at the mouth of the Ya-Lu-Kiang river have been destroyed by the gun fire of the Japanese fleet. Japanese troops have arrived from Korea and troops are being mobilised in Japan itself. The present goal of the Japanese advance is Northern Manchuría, Eastern Mongolia and the provinces of Chili and Shantung.

This aggressive action of the Japanese imperialist troops was long planned and prepared by the Japanese government. The Chinese Soviet government previously repeatedly declared that the imperialist robber States would never abandon their endeavours finally to colonise China and divide it among themselves, until the working masses drove the imperialist robbers out of the country and shattered the Kuomintang government of the Chinese bourgeoisie and landowners, who capitulate to the imperialists. The present measures of occupation and oppression on the part of the Japanese government are the continuation of its aggressive imperialist policy towards China which commenced already with the Sino-Japanese and the Japan-Russian wars, with the dictated treaty containing the notorious 21 points, and with the Tsinan blood bath. The precursors of the new imperialist advance by Japan, of the present occupation of Manchuria and the future attacks on Inner Mongolia and North China, were the pogroms in Wan Bau Schan and the massacres in Korea in general, the bloody events in Tsingtau and the affair of Captain Nakamura. The "counter-measures" of the treacherous Kuomintang government consist in concealing from the masses the enormous importance of these events, keeping the masses calm and peaceful, and thus patiently to await the complete enslavement of the Chinese people by imperialism.

The intentions of the Japanese imperialists are perfectly obvious. With the occupation of Manchuria they aim at consolidating their rule in Manchuria and Mongolia, bringing the Chinese people still more under the yoke of their exploitation and oppression, in order to increase their own profits and thereby overcome the economic crisis in their own country, and beyond this to prepare the imperialist war for hegemony in the Far East and the war against the Soviet Union. The present events are a warning signal for the world proletariat; they are the harbingers of a second world war, of a war against the Soviet Union! As a result of recent events the oppressed and exploited masses of China are more and more coming to realise that the fight against the robber campaigns of the imperialists against China is inseparably connected with the fight against imperialist war, with the defence of the

Soviet Union.

That the action of the Japanese imperialists has assumed such an open and unrestrained form is solely because the reactionary Kuomintang government, ever since its existence, has continually grovelled in the most shameful manner before world imperialism; because, as for instance in the negotiations on the occasion of the various bloody attacks of the imperialists in Nanking, Hankow, Tsinan and more recently in Wan Bau Schan, it has sold the interests of the Chinese people. The Nanking government has always endeavoured to suppress the revolutionary mass movement against Japanese imperialism. Thus the occupation of Manchuria can take place with the toleration of Nanking government; in fact it is a result of its treasonable foreign policy!

The Chinese Soviet Government declares before all the

oppressed and exploited masses of China:

Just as it did on the occasion of the bloody attack of the Japanese troops in Tsinan, so also this time the Kuomintang government is betraying the interests of the people of Manchuria, Mongolia and North China to the Japanese imperialists and leading the whole of China further on the way of colonisation.

Oppressed masses of China!

Do not place your hopes in the Kuomintang governme taking any steps against the Japanese imperialists! They wish to force the revolutionary masses to their knees before imperialism! They will go begging to the robbers for peace; they will order their own troops to allow themselves to be peacefully disarmed by the Japanese troops, in order thereby to prove to the Japanese government their shameful capitulation!

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Do not cherish any illusions that the various military cliques of the Kuomintang will conclude peace among themselves and unite against the Japanese attack! They will ke to outdo one another in their betrayal of the interests the people, and thus smooth the way for Japanese

ımperialism.

Do not give any credence to the lying phrases of a "cooperation of all classes for the common fight against the outer enemy". The capitalists have already made use of this opportunity in order to put forward their slogan of "increased output of the workers".

Do not have any confidence in the League of Nations or the Kellogg Pact preventing the acts of robbery of Japanese imperialism! These are the institutions of the imperialist

robbers themselves!

Only the oppressed Chinese people themselves can, in the common fight together with all exploited classes and peoples of the world, overthrow the rule of world imperialism and bring their robber-plans to naught!

The exploited masses of China must recognise:

Whilst the various military cliques of the Kuomintang, the bourgeoisie and the landowners, together with the imperialist Powers, are forging their plans how best to exploit and oppress the Chinese masses, and are themselves prepared to sacrifice the interests of national independence to the imperialists (the occupation of Manchuria is an example of this), the Chinese Soviet government which is leading the masses for the carrying out of the agrarian revolution and for the anti-imperialist fight, is striving with all its forces for national emancipation, for the overthrow of the rule of all imperialists in China!

In the Soviet districts the positions of power and the privileges of all the imperialists have been consistently and ruthlessly abolished. The fight of the broadest masses against imperialism is promoted and protected by the Soviets.

Already for a year the Kuomintang troops, accompanied by the aircraft and gunboats of the imperialists, have been conducting a campaign against the Soviets, against the revolutionary workers and peasants and their red army. They wish to smash to pieces the only anti-imperialist Power, the Soviet government. Therefore the reactionary Kuomintang government, immediately after the Japanese occupation of Manchuria, declared: "The Red Bands must be exterminated root and branch". They realise that without the "extermination of the Reds" the broad mass fight against Japanese imperialism cannot be crushed, and as a result Japanese imperialism cannot be appeased.

But the broad masses of the workers and peasants and all the oppressed and exploited sections of the population have in these years, in the midst of the agrarian revolution and of the anti-imperialist fight, demonstrated their inflexible determination and their unvanquishable power. The Soviet Power of the workers, peasants and poor population has been set 'up in districts in the provinces of Hunan, Hupeh, Honan, Kwantung. Anhwei etc. The continual Kiangsi, Fukien. victories of the Red workers and peasants army and the defeat and demoralisation of the Kuomintang troops evoke a real panic mood in the Nanking government. All this is a first sten on the way to the final victory over imperialism and the rule of the Kuomintang. The robber-attack of the Japanese imperialists can only increase the indignation of the revolutionary masses and extend the anti-imperialist fight. No pacification manoeuvres and measures of suppression by the Kuomintang can in any way alter this. The dockworkers on the quave in Shanghai where the Japanese ships are berthed, protest by a strike: the Chinese students leave the Jananese Tung-Wen-school: the defence detachment of the Mukden mine-thrower factory has fallen in the fight against the Japanese occupation troops.

The Soviet government expresses its revolutionary sorrow and sympathy for these victims of the mass fight against Japanese imperialism. It believes that the development of this fight will stir up the broadest masses of the oppressed und exploited. The workers will link up the fight against apanese imperialism with the fight for the overthrow of the Kuomintang rule, for the setting up of the Soviet power; they will rally round the fighting banner of the Soviet

government.

The Japanese imperialists must be called upon immediately to withdraw their troops from Manchuria, and the whole of the Japanese military sea, land, and air forces from

China; to give back without compensation the Southern Manchurian railway, and the Japanese concessions in Port Arthur and Dairen. All the privileges of the Japanese imperialists, all unequal treaties which the counter-revolutionary Chinese governments have concluded with them, must be annulled.

Only thus can the basis of the Japanese imperialist attack

on China be completely destroyed.

The Chinese Soviet Government, supported by the whole of the oppressed and exploited population of China, will not recognise any treacherous treaties and secret agreements concluded by the Kuomintang government with the Japanese imperialists as a result of the occupation of Manchuria.

The Chinese Soviet Government further points out that it is necessary that the working population of China, in this fight against the Kuomintang rule, against all treacherous and capitulatory views, and groupings, against all imperialists, unite with all classes oppressed, and exploited by world imperialism, with the colonial and semi-colonial neonles, and especially with the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union

and Japan.

In the Soviet districts of China, the broadest revolutionary working, and peasant masses, led by the Chinese Soviet Government stand in the midst of the fight against the Kuomintang militarists who are supported and led by the imperialists. This fight is at the same time an anti-imperialist fight for the emancination of the people. The brutal action of Japanese imperialism in Manchuria is also directed against the advancing Soviet Revolution in China, and also aims at setting up and consolidating the direct rule of Japan in North China for the purpose of fighting against the Chinese revolution.

Workers and peasants of oppressed China!
Will you allow vourselves, under the rule of the Kuomintang, to be enslaved by Japanese imperialism? Or will you, under the leadership of the Soviet Power, take up the

irreconcilable fight against Japanese imperialism?

The increased revolutionary fights just as the barbarous rule of the imperialists and the Kuomintang, are forcing you on to the nath of the Soviet revolution. Unite for the common fight in the territories of the Kuomintang rule! Workers, down tools! Peasants. revolt! Students, school children, strike! Small shopkeeners, close your shops! Soldiers, mutinv! Wage a common fight against imperialism, for the overthrow of the Kuomintang reaction, the lackeys of imperialism! Take part in the revolutionary civil war! Extend the front of the fight for emancipation!

Thus the Soviet revolution becomes the only force for putting an end to the acts of violence of Japanese imperialism, for finally crushing the position of power of imperialism in

China!

Away with the forceful occupation of Manchuria by Japanese imperialism!

Withdrawal of all Japanese troops from Manchuria, and he whole of China!

Abolition of all unequal treaties!

No recognition of the imperialist loans to the Kuomintang government!

Away with the imperialist forces from China!

Confiscation of all property of the imperialists in China!

Defence of the Soviet Union against the imperialist attacks!

Fight against the attack of the imperialists and the Kuomintang on the Chinese Soviet districts and the Red Army!

Fight against the second imperialist world war!

Confiscation of the land of the big landowners; introduction of the 8-hour day; shattering of all Kuomintang groupings, the lackevs of the imperialist robber States!

Long live the Chinese Soviet revolution!

The Central Workers and Peasants Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Soviet Republic.

September 20, 1931.

Notice.

We shall publish in the next few days a Special Number containing the Reports of the representatives of the Communist Parties at the Prague Conference on Unemployment.

An Appeal of the C.C. of the C.P. of Poland.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland has issued an appeal in which, after describing in detail the robber-invasion of Manchuria by Japanese imperialism states:

Why are the Polish bourgeoisie, and with them the bourgeoisie of other countries, accelerating their preparations for war, following Japan's invasion of Manchuria? Because they see in Manchuria and in Poland the fronts in the same fight.

This must be understood by every worker, by every peasant and every soldier if he does not wish to become a tool in the hands of the class enemy.

Capitalist Japan, just like capitalist Poland, is shaken by a profound crisis of decaying capitalism. In Japan, just as in Poland, a million unemployed are starving and many millions of poor and middle peasants are throttled by the screw oft taxation and usurious interest. In Japan, just as in Poland, the revolutionary struggle of the workers and peasants for work and bread, for land, freedom and power is growing.

The Japanese bourgeoisie has attacked China in order to find a way out of the crisis by the conquest of new territory and new markets, to consolidate its shattered rule and to stifle the revolutionary movement in Japan.

It is the same reasons which induce the Polish bourgeoisie to organise war.

But Japanese imperialism invades China not only for the purpose of robbing; its aim is to smash the **Chinese revolution**. In the fight against the Chinese revolution the international bourgeoisie find that the Chinese generals no longer suffice. Therefore, the robber attack of Japan upon China is at the same time an intervention of the imperialists against the Chinese workers' and peasants' revolution.

The Chinese generals call to the imperialist League of Nations for aid against the Japanese invasion; but the Chinese masses are engaged in a life and death struggle against the imperialist occupation and their own bourgeoisie. The Chinese toiling masses appeal to the workers of the world to assist them in this fight.

The emancipation struggle of the Chinese masses is also our struggle. Their fighting front against the bourgeoisie, against the fascist dictatorship, against the imperialist occupation, is also our fight against Polish imperialism in Ukrainia and Western White Russia; is our fight against imperialism and for the defence of the Soviet Union.

The fighting front of the toiling masses must be set up against the leaders of the P.P.S. and of those peasant parties which, as the agents of the class enemy, oppose the toiling masses in their struggle.

Workers, Comrades!

Demonstrate, together with the toiling masses of the whole world, our fighting solidarity with the toilers of China against Japanese and international imperialism and against the bloody terrorist regime of the Chinese Pilsudski: Chiang-Kai-shek!

Demonstrate together with the toiling masses of the whole world our unshakable will to defend the Soviet Union, the fatherland of the international proletariat!

Long live the Chinese revolution! Down with the bloody dictatorship of Chiang-Kai-shek: Long live free and independent workers' and peasants' China!

Long live the Soviet Union, the country of socialist construction!

Down with the fascist dictatorship of Pilsudski! Down with the government of unemployment, starvation, terror and war! Down with the occupation of the Ukraine and Western White Russia! Long live the right to self-determination of the oppressed nations up to separation!

Long live the workers' and peasants' government and the dictatorship of the proletariat!

POLITICS

Grandi's Visit to Berlin.

By Th. Neubauer (Berlin).

The Italian Foreign Minister, Dino Grandi, has come to Berlin in return for the visit which Brüning and Curtius paid to Rome in August last. At that time the German Chancellor invited the dictator of Italy himself to Berlin. But Mussolini, although he formally accepted the invitation, preferred to send his assistant. He said, and quite rightly, that the German working class, and especially red Berlin, is "not yet so far" as to receive the chief of Italian fascism with cries of "Evivva". Therefore Berlin had to rest content with the visit of Signor Grandi.

Even the capitalist press maintained a somewhat reserved attitude. Everybody is not so corrupt as Hitler that it is possible to pass over the fate of 500,000 Germans in South Tyrol who are oppressed and robbed by Mussolini in the most incredible manner. It has not yet been forgotten that it was the representative of Mussolini, Senator Scialoja, who at the customs union negotiations at the Hague, employed far sharper language against Germany than Paris has ever used.

In circles of the German trust bourgeoisie there is great annoyance that Italy, without paying the least regard to the precarious situation of German commercial policy, has increased by 15 per cent the customs duties on a long series of German goods. The representations made by the German representatives in Rome have not availed anything. Nor will Grandi's visit bring about any alteration. The German bourgeoisie will have to learn that in the policy of Mussolini's "sacro egoismo" it is nothing more than a card which the dictator of Italy intends to play as often as he wishes. In fact the object of Grandi's visit is to prevent another of the imperialist rivals from getting possession of this card.

The foreign policy of Italian fascism is mainly determined by its attitude to French imperialism. With France Mussolini's Italy has always been "on a war footing". The enormous fortifications on both sides of the Italian-French frontier, the competition in land, naval and air armaments, the failure of the repeated attempts to arrive at an "understanding" regarding naval armaments—all this shows the bitter rivalry of these two imperialist States. This armament competition has placed enormous burdens on the working population of France, but it has well-nigh ruined the working people of Italy. But to-day Mussolini sees that Italy, ruined by a corrupt system (only recently Mussolini had to send his own brother Arnaldo into political exile for having accepted bribes) is getting out of breath in this armament race. The economic crisis, which has drawn the country ever deeper into its vortex, has also caused the dictator to become considerably more modest, and to talk about peace where he was wont to sound the war-horn.

The reduction of the salaries of the civil servants by 12 per cent at one stroke, the cutting down of wages (in some cases by 50 per cent) the cutting down of unemployment benefit, (a miserable 1,25 Lira, or 3 pence a day)—all this has tremendously increased the revolutionary ferment in the ranks of the working class

The fascist dictatorship in Italy is to-day already seriously threatened and has to carry on a fight against revolution. It is hardly necessary to point out that this inner situation no longer allows Italian fascism to rattle the sabre too loudly.

Since the Spring of this year, fascist Italy has seen itself constantly forced back by French imperialism; it has lost its influence in Hungary, which was decisive for the Italian Balkan policy; it has seen how French finance capital has acquired a dominatig position in Vienna; it now fears that a closer connection of France with Germany will place Italy in a position of dangerous isolation. Therefore Grandi did everything while in Berlin in order to render more firm the connections with Rome.

The Franco-German "Economic understanding", vague as

The Franco-German "Economic understanding", vague as its prospects still are to-day, has called forth the greatest uneasiness in Rome. If French imperialism should by this means obtain a firm position in Germany, then there will remain nothing else for Italian fascism to do but likewise to make its peace with Paris. This would mean that it will have to abandon Tunis, the Adriatic Sea, as well as its claims in Asia Minor, and the position of Italy as a European Power. It is perfectly obvious that such a capitulation would not fail to

have an effect on the followers of fascism who have been

simply crammed with nationalist phrases.

Herr Brüning, we do not doubt for a moment, listened with the greatest attention to Signor Grandi. But Grandi was unable to bring any tangible support to the German bourgeoisie, which believes itself to be already on the verge of revolution. Grandi will probably have told Herr Brüning in confidence how seriously Italian fascism has been affected by the crisis, and Brüning will have confessed to Signor Grandi, that his chief concern is how to be able to get over this winter without a Communist revolution. Thus the two gentlemen will have found at least one point on which they are in entire agreement, namely, the fight against Communism and the proletarian

Then, however, so we read in the official communqué, they declare that they had discussed "in a perfectly open and friendly manner", that they have been able to record "considerable agreement in judging the situation and the necessities arising from it", and end up with the assurance that they see no other way out of their miserable situation than a systematic cooperation of the two nations.

Times are now bad for fascism, both for the 100 per cent

and for the 90 per cent!

The Result of the Negotiations between France and the United States in Washington.

By J. Berlioz (Paris).

The negotiations between France and the United States in Washington have come to an end. The Washington conversations will be just as little able as those of Paris, London and Berlin to stay the decline of the old capitalist world. The Washington conversations have revealed more sharply than the preceding conferences the antagonisms dividing the imperialist powers.

Already before Laval's departure for Washington, President Hoover's invitation to him had called forth great uneasiness in Britain. The "Saturday Review" expressed this uneasiness by warning the public opinion of Britain against the "conspiracy" of the creditors. Accompanied by these curses, Laval crossed the Altantic. On his arrival, however, the commercial traveller of France was given a very bad reception. Laval, on his part, declared immediately on his arrival that France would agree to reduce its military budget only in return for a regular alliance between France and the United States. Thereupon Senator Borah gave the answer

Elections Results in England.

London, October 28, 1931.

The results of the election so far show an astonishing swing to the "National Government". The National Government has won 260 seats out of the first 282 results declared, whereas only 22 seats have been held by Labour. In this first batch of results, practically every Labour ex-Cabinet minister has been defeated: Arthur Henderson, the late Foreign Secretary, has been defeated in Burnley, J. R. Clynes, the late Home Secretary, has been defeated in Manchester, A. V. Alexander, late First Lord of the Admiralty, Tom Shaw, late Minister for War, Greenwood, late Minister for Health, Arthur Morrison, late Minister for Transport, Margaret Bondfield, late Minister for Labour—all these are no longer members of Parliament. Among other defeated candidates is Sir Oswald Mosley, the fascist leader, who has been defeated in Stoke-on-Trent.

The Communist Party had put forward candidates in 26 constituencies. So far the results have been declard in only 14 of these constituencies. The Communist Party vote in these 14 constituencies amounts to 37,132. This compares with a total vote at the last election of 60,632 in 25 constituencies. The best result so far for the Communist Party has been obtained in Dundee, where Robert Stewart, who came out of prison only on Saturday, obtained 10,245 votes. In the 1929 election he polled only 6,160. J. H. Thomas has been returned at the poll for Derby as National Labour candidate. Other results will be announced in the course of the day.

that peace is unthinkable without a revision of the Treaties Versailles and Trianon.

Up to the present it is possible to record the following practical results of the negotiations in Washington:

1. French imperialism deliberately excluded from the discussion any examination of the question of disarmament and security. The document drawn up by Laval, Maginot and Weygand and defended by Boncour in "Le Journal" and by Briand at Geneva, the July Memorandum, still remains

the evangel of the Paris government. The hegemony of the worst war-monger in Europe remains undisturbed. Laval

"The French army is the army of order. It will not be dismissed. At the moment at which disorder has reached its highest point one does not dismiss the gendarmes and take away their rifles.'

The Washington Conference was to give an answer to the Hoover moratorium. The answer given is the worst which one can imagine for the workers of Germany and France: the negotiations which are to commence after July 1st. 1932, will be carried on within the limits of the Young Plan. In other words, the instrument of enslavement which condemns the workers of Germany, and by its direct countereffect the toilers of other countries, to frightful misery this instrument of oppression will serve as a pattern for the authors of the new Plan.

3. The two governments confirm their determination

energetically to maintain the gold currency. An agreement has already been arrived at between the Banque de France and the Federal Reserve Bank of the U.S.A. relating to the dollar holdings of the Banque de France. The two governments declare that "no action touching the mutual interests of the two countries shall be undertaken without previous consultation". This agreement was preceded by a vigorous offensive on the part of France in the shape of mass withdrawals of gold from the United States. If the bank rate in the United States is raised to 4 per cent, as is contemplated, the economic life of the United States, in which there are already

11 million unemployed, will be very severely hit.

The privileged position of French militarism remains unchallenged France remains the armed gendarme of Europe and - as the events in Manchuria show, - the armed gendarme of the whole world. The French proletarians will still be forced to bear the crushing burden of the military

The reparation plan which it is intended to impose upon the German proletariat will be based on the Young Plan. This means that it will condemn millions to starvation and bring in its train a general offensive against the workers' wages in all countries.

Finally, it should be pointed out that the two governments have endeavoured to set up a united front against the economy of the Soviet Union, which is a spectre haunting both of them. The declaration of France and of the United States, therefore, is a declaration of war on the proletariat and on the Soviet Union.

THE BALKANS

The Government Crisis in Bulgaria.

By W. Kolarov.

As a result of the victory of the "People's Bloc" at the elections which took place in Bulgaria on June 21st, the "People's Government", headed by Malinov, came into power. This government is beard on the activity of the contract of the c This government is based on the coalition of four parties: The Democratic Party, the Farmers' League, the National-Liberal Party and the Radical Party. The leading role in the government is played by the Democratic Party, which is connected with some groups of big capital, and its main support is the Farmers' League. The broken down social democratic party is "formally" in opposition, but as a matter of fact it supports the government.

Before three months were passed, a crisis broke out in the governing "People's Bloc". Malinov's resignation and the taking over of the post of Prime Minister by his close associate Mushanov, without doubt signalised strained realitions within the government coalition as a result of the antagonisms between the kulaks, represented by the Farmers' League, and the town bourgeoisie, whose interests are championed by the other parties represented in the bloc. The antagonisms were revealed in connection with the questions of the grain monopoly, of grain prices, the fight against the cartels etc. But the government crisis acquires far profounder importance in view of the constantly increasing agrarian crisis, the unavoidable bankruptcy of the "big reforms" which were announced by the "People's" Government, and the unavoidable acceleration of the revolutionisation of the masses.

The first "great reform"—the law providing for the purchase of grain by the State and the selling of the same to the consumers at increased prices—has already suffered bankruptey. The State, which has not sufficient means at its disposal and is faced with the prospect of a big budget deficit, already refuses to buy grain, and the peasants who sell grain find themselves once again in the hands of the speculators and banks.

The second "big reform"—the law to combat industrial cartels,-was doomed right from the outset to be a complete failure. The big cartels, in which foreign capital has large shares, are not subjected to any control.

The third "great reform" is to be the conversion of the debts of the peasants to private people. This reform is still only a project. But even the carrying out of this project will not

save the peasantry from ruin.

The new government's entry into office coincided with the further aggravation of the agrarian crisis. The price of grain has fallen to a mere fraction of what it was last year. On the corn exchange in Varna a double cental of corn is offered at 140 Leva. The big firms purchase tobacco from the peasants at ruinously low prices. In addition, there is the prohibition of the transport of a number of agricultural products through Yugoslavia. The peasants are crushed under the weight of indebtedness.

The results of the three months' activity of the new government have sufficed to dispel the illusions of the peasant masses that the new government would abolish the economic crisis and render them effective aid. Whilst the Malinov government rendered more rigorous the extraordinary measures against the revolutionary workers' and peasants' movement and threatened to dissolve the workers' party and the independent trade unions, the new government has gone much farther. It has caused strikers, unemployed, peasants and their wives and children to be shot down for the sake of the "prestige" of the government

As a result, the revolutionisation of the masses increased and a militant spirit arose among the workers and peasants. A wave of strikes swept the towns. The peasants displayed extraordinary unanimity, tenacity and heroism, with the result that strikes usually proved successful. The broadest sections of the peasantry began to be disappointed with the Farmers' League, in which already serious signs of disintegration are making their appearance. Thus for instance, a few days ago a local organisation of the Farmers' League in one of the villages burnt the orange-coloured flag of the League and went over in a body to the Workers' Party. This is not an isolated occurrence.

The independent trade unions and the Workers' Party are growing rapidly as a result of the revolutionary upsurge. In the course of the last few months the number of members of the red trade unions has increased from 3 000 to 10 000 and the membership of the Workers' Party has increased from 4.000 to 16.000. In spite of systematic confiscations, the revolutionary workers' press has greatly increased its circulation among the masses.

The whole of the bourgeoisie, including also the social democracy, is observing with anxious concern the growth of Communism in the country. They are particularly disturbed by the successes of Bolshevism in the village. The deepening of the world economic crisis and the tremendous successes of socialist construction in the Soviet Union are increasing their fears for the coming winter, particularly in connection with the bankruptcy of the "big reforms" of the "People's" government.

In such a fateful moment the bourgeoisie requires to concentrate all its forces and to restore the capitalist united front. Malinov is to be the central figure of the coming national government which shall comprise the parties of the Democratic Sgovor and of the "People's bloc" and also the social fascists. The "People's" government of Mushanov will not last very

long. It will be bound to show with increasing clearness its

character as a government of preparation for the open fascist dictatorship, for the coming Malinov "national" government. But the fact of the speedy reformation of the government of the "People's bloc" at the moment when it had not by a long way exhausted its programme of "big reforms", is a symptom of the instability prevailing in the camp of the bourgeoisie.

All these circumstances promote the growth of the pre-

requisites of the revolutionary crisis in Bulgaria.

GERMANY

The Economic Advisory Council of the Brüning Government.

By W. Keller (Berlin).

The second Bruning government has included in its Programme as one of the most important points, the setting up of an Economic Advisory Council. This Economic Advisory Council is a repetition of that "Central Working Union" between the government, the employers and the trade unions which in 1918 took over and solved the task of putting capitalism, which had collapsed under the blows of the revolution, on its feet again, and abolishing the achievements of the working class. Capitalist economy is again nearing col-lapse, and once again is to be preserved from death at the expense of the working masses. These are the tasks of the Economic Advisory Council of the Bruning government.

On October 21, Reichs President Hindenburg, on the proposal of the Reich government, appointed the Economic Advisory Council. The composition of this Council reveals the united front against the workers from the social democrats to the national opposition. The reactionary trade unions are represented in the Economic Advisory Council by Eggert and Grassmann of the reformist "free" trade unions, by Suhr from the "free" employees' unions, and by the chairman of the Christian and Hirsch-Duncker trade unions. In all, the Economic Advisory Council has 25 members, 19 of whom are representatives of heavy industry, bank capital and big agrarians, whilst six are representatives of the reactionary trade unions.

Even the "Vorwärts", the staunchest advocate of this class collaboration, is somewhat dismaved in face of this composition of the Council. It writes: "That so many members of the 'national Opposition' are on the Council is not very promising.' The social democratic workers, who are now exceedingly bitter on account of the recent campaign of bloody terror by the "National Opposition" in Brunswick, which resulted in 3 workers killed and 70 seriously wounded, and the prohibition for eight weeks of the social democratic newspaper, will give a fitting reply to the "Vorwärts" and the treacherous trade union leaders for their united front with this same "national

The omnipotence of the reformist trade unions which existed in 1918 has long since become a thing of the past. Today, the German working class has an iron Bolshevik Party and a Red Trade Union Opposition. Eggert and Grassmann cannot claim to speak even in the name of the members of their own unions. Large sections of the reformist trade unions are in opposition to their leaders and do not think of carrying out the decisions of their bureaucrats. And that is the deciding point and the nightmare of the bourgeoisie: whether the decisions which the Economic Advisory Council adopts will be carried out by the workers. The bourgeoisie requires in its Economic Advisory Council men who possess the confidence of Hindenburg and Brüning and at the same time the confidence of the working class. Such men can no more exist than cold fire or dry water. That is the snag on which the Economic Advisory Council is bound to be caught. The capitalists are also quite aware of this and are filled with profound scepticism. Thus the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung", the organ of heavy industry, wrote on October 20th regarding this

question:
"When one comes to consider that the measures which must be included in the future economic programme, are bound to come into conflict with the mass agitation hitherto conducted by the trade unions, then one is justified in being sceptical whether all the trade union leaders, even if they should inwardly agree to the necessary conditions, will have the courage to acknowledge

them openly."

The decisions of the Economic Advisory Council which "are bound to come into conflict with the mass agitation" nean a further general reduction of the standard of living of the toiling masses. All the burdens of the capitalist crisis are to be shifted entirely on to the working population. The wage agreements are to be "more elastic". The programme is clear, and the trade union leaders are prepared to carry it out at the expense of the working class, which in the last few months has sunk into poverty with most amazing rapidity. The official figures prove this. They do not reveal the misery of the five million unemployed along with their dependants, but only the situation of the workers who are still in employment. According to the official figures of the Health Insurance Office, in the second quarter of 1931 over half of the insured, that is abouth 8 million employed workers, earned less than 100 Marks a month; 2½ million of these 8 million have a monthly income of only 50 Marks; that is an income below the present rates of relief paid to the unemployed. In the second quarter of 1930, 36.2 per cent of all insured persons still earned 36 Marks a week, whilst in the second quarter of 1931 only 309 per cent earned such "high" wages. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that in Germany food prices are much higher than in most of the European countries.

According to the data of the Official Institute for Business Research, the income of the workers and employees in Germany declined by 1.250 million marks in the second quarter of 1931 as compared with the second quarter of 1930. These are the official figures which present a terrible picture of the mass misery in Germany. The social democrats offer their services in order to reduce still further the standard of living of the terribly impoverished working class. The income of the 50 per cent and more of German factory workers who are earning less than 100 marks a month is less than the amount of relief granted to a married unemployed worker before the Emergency Orders were issued. And in spite of these appallingly low wages, the employers in all branches of industry are terminating the wage agreements and are attacking wages all along the line. It is the task of the Economic Advisory Council to lay down the forms and methods

of these new wage cuts.

The German working class, under the leadership of the C.P.G. and the R.T.U.O., will set up the united front to resist these monstrous plans and to go over to the counter-attack.

Big Struggles Approaching in Germany.

Berlin, October 27.

The German employers have given notice to end wage agreements affecting nearly 3 million workers. These agreements expire on October 31. It is intended to put through drastic wage cuts. The situation is most tense in the metal industry. 800,000 metal workers in Germany are facing cuts averaging 15 per cent. The decisive district for the metal industry is Berlin and the neighbourhood, where 230,000 metal workers are employed. Sixty-three Committees of Action have been elected at the instance of the red Metal Workers Union in Berlin to organise a strike against cuts.

50,000 clerical workers and shop assistants in Berlin alone are also threatened with cuts averaging 10 per cent. 500,000 clerical workers etc., throughout the Reich are also threatened. A conference of railwaymen from all parts of Germany which took place in Halle on Sunday, decided to work with all means to secure a strike as an answer to all cuts. 85,000 postal workers and tens of thousands of municipal employees

are also amongst the categories threatened.

Up to the present all negotiations concerning the demands of the employers have proved fruitless. The preparations of the revolutionary trade union opposition to organise the resistance of the workers are causing uneasiness in the ranks of the bosses and, naturally, of the reformist trade union leaders.

The postal authorities yesterday issued a notice to all vorkers affected, warning them that any attempt to follow he strike slogan of the revolutionary trade union opposition

will result in instant dismissal.

It must be remembered that in all cases these are new cuts following on the heels of drastic cuts which took place earlier in the year. The coming struggles will undoubtedly be fought out with extreme bitterness.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Fight of the Agricultural Workers in Andalusia.

By Z. Spada (Our Special Correspondent).

Madrid, October 1931.

Andalusia, in which the revolutionary wave which is sweeping the whole of Spain has perhaps reached its highest point, is the province of the most important big landed estates, from which the big families of the Spanish aristocracy have for centuries squeezed enormous wealth from the half starved masses who till their soil, and are still today, under the protection of the Republican civil guards, squeezing wealth out of the masses.

Let us take as typical example Anteguerra, a locality in the province of Cordoba. It has 15,000 inhabitants, of whom 2000 work during the season as agricultural workers on the big estates. The land comprised in this district has a total area of 80,000 hectares, which is in the hands of 12 proprietors. Of these 12 proprietors, 8 have very small portions of land, whilst the far biggest share falls to 4 big landowners. The landworkers are mostly engaged on the estates, which are situated very far from the village. They have to work a ten-hour day not including the time engaged in coming to and from the estate. They earn 3 to 4 Pesetas a day, from which meagre sum the landowner deducts a portion for the food which the worker is compelled to buy from him at exorbitant prices.

This feudal method of holding and cultivating the land can no longer secure to the masses the barest minimum of existence. In the whole of the agricultural districts of Southern and Western Spain, in **Andalusia** and **Estremadura**, as well as in the province of **Toledo**, the majority of the population is unemployed and deprived of all means of subsistence.

These masses, driven to desperation, are now rising. It is here not a question of strikes in the ordinary sense of the word. It is rather a case of revolutionary demonstrations which are developing into open revolts against the big landowners and the State power. The starting point of the strikes is the violation of collective agreements by the landowners, who attempt to engage workers from other villages on lower terms. The local landworkers, who are thus robbed of their last hope of a crust of bread, occupy the big estates (Cortijos) and compel the workers to cease work. Or another case: The big landowner or big tenant farmer engages only a portion of the village workers for seasonal work, for instance the olive harvest, but at the same time demands that they work ten hours a day. Those workers who have not been engaged revolt against this long working day and demand the 8-hour day, in many places even the four-hour day in order to distribute the work among all workers.

This is the character of the present fights in Andalusia. The initative for ceasing work comes not from the employed, but on the contrary from the unemployed workers. Therefore the strikes cannot remain simply a peaceful abstention from work. It is this participation of the whole of the working population of the locality in the movement that gives it a revolutionary character. It comes to occupation of the big estates and to demonstrations in front of the mayor's office; the civil guards intervene, the workers defend themselves and the civil guards make use of their weapons—that is how these

fights usually proceed.

Such a fight is now going on at the present time in Villanueva near Cordoba, where the government has organised a whole expeditionary force, equipped with artillery and aircraft, against the landworkers, who are led by the Communists. Here also the landworkers have seized the big estates and refuse to work for the old masters and under the old conditions. There are two reasons however, why the government attaches such importance to the movement in Villanueva. Firstly, here the workers at the first collision disarmed the civil guards and equipped themselves with weapons. Secondly, these workers are under Communist leadership. The government fully realises that if the Communist Party shows the masses that it is capable of conducting successful fights in their interests, the Party will tomorrow have the majority of the Spanish proletariat behind it. Therefore, the social-democratic Republican government is employing the most unrestrained white terror in order to crush the movement in Villanueva.

The civil governor not only gave the civil guards orders to fire at once whenever any strikers gather together, but even went so far as to give permission to all "upholders of law and order", i. e., creatures of the **Duque del Infantado**, to whom the land belongs, to make use of arms in defending themselves. This monstrous decree means that workers can be shot down like game.

Thus this government is revealing its true countenance in Andalusia and wherever else the landworkers are rising against feudalism, at the very time when it is placing drafts of an agrarian reform before the Cortes. The government will thereby only drive the agricultural proletariat to adopt more drastic fighting measures, to ever broader revolutionary mass fights. The conflagration which is now raging in Andalusia and is already spreading to other provinces, is a sign of the coming big agrarian revolution which will give the land to those who till it.

INDIA

Mr. Roy's Services to Counter-revolution.

Statement by the Young Workers League, India.

Mr. Roy has now become the cynosure of all eyes due to his prosecution before the Sessions Judge of Cawnpore. He has been accused of sedition and conspiracy against "the Government established by law in India". It is incumbent on those who are in the know of Mr. Roy's activities in the international and national revolutionary movement to place before the international proletariat the facts of the case and

their Marxian interpretation.

From 1919 till the year 1928 Mr. Roy was in charge of the communist movement in India, and he was to instruct and advise young communist elements in India on behalf of the Communist International. Mr. Roy instead of giving proper advice and instruction misled the workers' representatives by wrong instructions, such as, working within the Congress, forming of provincial workers' and peasents' parties also a "National Revolutionary party" of which he had very vague notions. Later events have demonstrably shown the colossal erroneousness of the anti-Marxian policies, and also borne witness to the absurdity of his "theory of decolonisation". His policy of the Communists working within the Congress was calculated to make them a tool in the hands of the compromising and betraying bourgeoisie, who have time and again surrendered the cause of Independence. No real Marxist can ever think of the idea of a communist organisation achieving its objects by working under the guidance of bourgeois leadership. Herein Mr. Roy betrayed his lack of understanding whether conscious or otherwise of the role of the Bourgeoisie in the anti-imperialist struggle. Consequently it is no wonder that the National Independent party born out of the blooming suggestion of Mr. Roy split on the bedrock of bourgeois hypocrisy.

The combined effect of these aforesaid policies, palpably as they were opposed to Marxian theory, resulted in practice in the disorganisation of the communists, thus **hindering** the development of a centralised **Communist party** without which it would be impossible to lead the struggle to final

victory.

His theory of **decolonisation**, so much discussed by the Communist International and rejected long ago by it, has been found to be a bad prophecy as tested by the subsequent course of events in India. The tendency of Imperialist encouragement of Indian Industries has taken more the course suggested by the Communist International than that demanded by Mr. Roy's theory of decolonisation.

His activities in China in 1927 while he was a member of the executive committee of the Comintern were such as to betray the revolutionary movement in China and to strengthen the hands of world Imperalism and Chinese counter-revolution. Owing to these betrayals he was removed

from the executive committee in 1928.

The same year he left U.S.S.R. for Germany. When he went to Germany he tried his best to win the support of the Indian Communists so that he may find his way back into the Communist International. But the treachery and counter-revolutionary role of Mr. Roy had become so well-known in India and elsewhere that no communist worth his salt would support him in India or elsewhere. Later on he

allied himself with **Brandler's** group which had been expelled from the German Communist Party for its anti-proletarian activities. He also maintained contact with **Lovestone's** group in America which had been kicked out of the American Party. Thus Roy's group in alliance with the other two renegade groups of Germany and America pursued a policy which helped the activities of the Socialist (second) International which is leading the counter-revolutionary movement against the International revolutionary movement led by the Communist International.

Besides these international counter-revolutionary activites of these renegades, there seems to be some territorial division of labour amongst them in the carrying out of their anti-proletarian policies. India fell to the lot of Mr. Roy. He tried his best to carry on his anti-working class activities through his various agents here. But he was not able to produce any positive result by mere instructions from his distant head-quarters in Germany. Therefore he came to India to form his clique to fight against real working-class leadership and to assist the national bourgeoisie. To a certain extent he has temporarily succeeded in his aim by allying himself with those bourgeois agents who were responsible for splitting the Girni Kamgar Union, which was once a pure proletarin organisation with a pure working-class policy. His clique, acting under his instructions, joined hands with the bourgeois leaders like S. C. Bose, and Ruikar, and tried to divert the policy of the Trade Union Congress at its Calcutta session in 1931, from its proletarian programme which was adopted in Nagpur in 1929, — a programme which expelled the renegades Shiva Row and Joshi and others from the T.U.C. And thus objectively they tried to surrender the T.U.C. to the social reformists, (the renegades at the Nagpur Session who had formed themselves into the All-India Trade Union Federation), who are the avowed supporters of the Imperialist Second International. But thanks to the active opposition of the real working class representatives who would not allow any sort of surrender of their programme, at last Roy's followers split from the T.U.C. along with Bose and Co., and are now in reality agreed in principle (though not formally yet) with Shiva Row and Co. The purpose of this split in the T.U.C. in the last session at Calcutta was to bring about the union of the social reformists (Shiva Row and Co.) the National reformists (Bose and Co.) and Roy's group to fight against real working class leadership.

Besides these above mentioned facts which go to prove the services to world counter-revolution, one can easily see what part he is playing in the Revolutionary in India from his bail application. For example, he wired to MacDonald to his bail application. For example, he wired to MacDonald to his bail application. For example, he wired to MacDonald to his case, to Mr. MacDonald, who was the head of the Labour Imperialist Government whose regime was responsible for the most brutal white terror which India had ever

experienced.

The statement of the learned Judge of Cawnpore that Mr. Roy was "prima facie" the organisor of the Communist Party, comes as a surprise to us. As far as we know he was not the organiser of any such party. On the other hand he was, and is, in fact, a disorganiser. A man like Mr. Roy, an opportunist and a self-seeking adventurer, never can organise a Communist Party. When the party came to know the real stuff of which he was composed he was turned out of the Communist ranks as early as 1928.

Mr. Roy said that "he stressed the right of free expression because this was the crux of the whole case". This again proves how much he clings to liberal bourgeois conceptions such as, rights of free expression etc. No revolutionary can have any illusion of such rights under the present system in India. But Mr. Roy, along with his compatriots, the Indian Bourgeois leaders, who have been allying themselves with British Imperialism to bleed the Indian Masses, have a right to such a freedom for they serve in fact the existing regime.

It is a pity that in spite of such a long role of service to the cause of world-imperialism and to British Imperialism in India the prosecution should have brought a charge of sedition (!) against Mr. Roy, a charge of which, objectively, as we have shown, he is innocent. Therefore, it is still more a pity that the learned Judge of Cawnpore should have rejected his bail application. We hope that the Imperialist Government will come to a better recognition of its allies and reward Mr. Roy's services to the measure of his service to counter-revolution.

The Young Workers' League, Madras, South India.

Before the Fourteenth Anniversary of the October Revolution

Capitalist Rule - Workers' Power.

By Brand.

From the front of socialist construction there comes ever fresh news of victories which finds a lively and passionate echo in the hearts of the working masses of all capitalist countries.

2,800,000 fresh workers were employed this year in the

works and factories in Soviet Russia.

New works have commenced operations; in the first half of 1931 with a foundation capital of 500 million roubles, in the third quarter with a foundation capital of 700 million roubles.

The average wage increases amounted in the first seven months of 1931 to 11.8 per cent; in the last quarter the wages of the miners were increased by 29 per cent, those of the foundry workers by 23.5 per cent, and those of the chemical workers by 20 per cent.

Cultural progress is taking place at a rapid pace. The number of students at the high schools is now 157,000 and is to increase to 230,000. In the factory schools, instead of 400,000 as at present, 1,000,000 workers are to be given instruction. In the workers faculties, instead of 166,000, in the future 350,000 workers will be admitted. 420,000 new pupils will be admitted into the technical high schools. The staff of engineers and technicians will be doubled; the number of scientific workers will be increased by 40 per cent.

Where is the capitalist land in which at present the apparatus of production is being extended, even if only to a small extent? What capitalist would venture to open a new factory, a new coal pit, a new ore mine. Do we not see how in all countries the capitalists unite in big consortiums for no other purpose than jointly to buy up existing factories and works in order to close them down? Millions and millions have been squandered in the last few years in Germany, England, the U.S.A., and other countries, in order to destroy the existing means of production.

In Germany, already at the beginning of Autumn, we have 4½ million unemployed. In England, the number of unemployed amounts to about 3 million; in the United States they are estimated at over 10 million. Even in such a relatively "fortunate" country of capitalism as France the number of unemployed is already nearly a million and the number of short time workers 2½ million; that is to say, about 8.4 per cent of all industrial workers are unemployed and 33 per cent are on short time, and this is only the "promising" commencement of the French economic crisis. Is there in one of the five continents of the world a capitalist country of which one could say that the number of workers employed is increasing? Instead of this one must say: day after day further thousands are thrown on to the street. Must not the Soviet Union appear to be a wonderland, where not only three million fresh workers are drawn into production in one year, but in spite of this complaint is still made of the serious shortage of labour power!

In all the capitalist countries wages and salaries are being cut in the most monstrous manner. Is there a single one regarding which one could speak of wage increases? The wage-cutting campaign is going on in all the capitalist countries; and it is not difficult to imagine what the ordinary worker in these countries feels and thinks when he hears that in the Soviet Union wages have been increased 25 per cent.

In Germany we have a 130,000 people studying in the higher educational institutions. The greater part of these are facing a future of misery, for they have no prospect of obtaining positions and are doomed to join the unemployed army. All the learned and academic professions are overcrowded; thousands of doctors, writers, architects and engineers are without their daily bread. Elementary education is being cut down in such a manner that millions of children of the working population are not receiving even the most primitive education. Cutting down of the educational services is the slogan of the day in all the capitalist countries. At

the same time however, the building up of a new culture is proceeding apace in Soviet Russia. Must not all this give cause for thought?

It is devilishly dangerous for the capitalist world when the working masses begin to compare and to think about the "miracle" of Soviet Russia. For they thereby raise the question of the justification for the existence of the capitalist system. An economic and social order which is no longer able to feed its work slaves is only fit to be destroyed. Perhaps many would submit in sullen resignation to this misery if there were not Soviet Russia which shows them that there is no need for this misery, that it can be overcome by the abolition of capitalism. Thus the mere existence of Soviet Russia is a source of tremendous danger to the capitalist class.

When the German Reichs Chancellor exclaims in the Reichstag: Today there is not a single finance Minister or President of a Bank of issue in the whole world who can foresee the development a month ahead, and the Communist deputies interject: "Yes there is, in Soviet Russia" — this is a lash of a whip for the whole of the bourgeoisie. Or when the same Chancellor declares: There is no patent solution for overcoming the crisis, and the Communist interject: "Yes, there is, the abolition of capitalism! Look at Soviet Russia!", the exploiting class know quite well what an effect these comparisons have on the broad masses of the working population.

Facts are obstinate things. It is impossible to hide from the masses the collapse of capitalism, nor is it possible to conceal from them the progress of Socialism. The workers of the capitalist countries have two worlds before them, which they are able to compare. The recognition of what socialism is and what socialism is able to do, means for millions and millions the way to Communism and the revolution. If Messrs Capitalists, you wish to begin the fight against Bolshevism, it is too late! You have lost this fight! To-day the fight is for something else, for your destruction as a class!

The October Revolution and the Present Events in Britain.

By R. Page Arnot (London).

For many years the Labour leaders in England, when they heard any comparison made between Russia before the Bolshevik Revolution and Great Britain, were wont to laugh it off.

The difference, they said, between the two countries was too great for any comparison to be possible. Consequently, the methods of the working class in each country must be entirely different.

Certainly the differences between Tzarist Russia, with its backward economy and its relatively recent capitalism, and Britain, the most developed imperialist country, a country of the oldest capitalism, were very great—though it was the business of these gentlemen to make them appear greater than they really were.

Despite the differences in fundamentals, the two countries were similar. In each case a capitalist class exploiting the masses, subjugating colonial peoples; in each country the working class, organised in the process of production, destined to destroy capitalism and build Socialism through its proletarian dictatorship.

But now each month as the contrast between the land of the Soviets, building Socialism, and this old country of capitalism in crisis and decay becomes greater and greater, so at the same time the difference becomes less and less between Russia before the Bolshevik Revolution and Britain today In Autumn 1917 the toiling masses of Russia had a capitalist government headed by a Labour man, as MacDonald heads the "National" Starvation Government of Great Britain. In each case it is a government for the salvation of the country, that is, of the rule of the capitalists. The Kerensky Government gave neither land, nor bread, nor peace to the toiling masses of Russia. The MacDonald Government gives neither work nor bread, but promises starvation for the workers of Britain.

Against the Kerensky Government millions of workers demonstrated and were met by the rifles and clubs of Kerensky's police. The Communist leaders were arrested.

Against the MacDonald Government the workers are marching in such demonstrations as have never been seen before in Britain. No longer in ten thousands and twenty thousands, but in huge mass demonstrations of 100 000 and 150 000 in London, in Glasgow, Manchester, and other chief cities. The police meet the demonstrations with batons and wholesale arrests. Many Communist leaders are in prison.

In Russia in Autumn 1917 nothing that the bourgeoisie could do by oppression and starvation of the workers and peasants could get them out of the crisis. In Britain the greatest crisis of capitalism is a hundred times deeper than the bourgeoisie are willing to admit. The great world's spider of British capitalism, swollen by the tribute it sucks from every corner of the earth, is now unable to maintain a credit balance, unable to save the historic pound sterling.

In each country millions of workers awaken for the first time to political activity. Millions begin to realise that they have no choice but to starve or to rebel. In each country to stem the movement of the aroused masses, the labour and trade union leaders do their utmost to save capitalism. In Russia the old Central Executive Committee of the Congress of Soviets strove desperately against the new Congress of Soviets. against the massing of the workers together for the overthrow of capitalism. It was the same with the Executive Committees of the Pailwaymen's Union of the peasant Congress, of other working class organisations.

In Britain the Labour leaders form a sham opposition and do their utmost to divert the masses from the struggle, from mass action. The Trade Union Executives, who have made their pact with the employers for industrial peace, strive their hardest to hold the workers back.

But the spontaneous force of the masses bursts through all barriers. In Russia in 1917 the sailors of the Baltic Fleet passed over en masse to the side of the Revolution. In Britain in mid-September 1931 the sailors of the Atlantic Fleet broke all rules of capitalist discipline and by their mutiny compelled the capitalists to give back.

Thus in a whole series of actions and events England of today is steadily drawing nearer to the Russia of 1917. Deeper and deeper goes the economic crisis, harder and harder the bourgeoisie drive against the workers. More and more the workers resist. The class fronts harden.

As yet the economic crisis has not ripened into political (revolutionary) crisis; the bourgeoisie have not yet lost their grip of power and authority; the process of disillusionment of the workers with the Labour Party is not yet complete; the Communist Party is still comparatively small. But the influence of the Party is growing rapidly, its membership is increasing, the circulation of the "Daily Worker" has more than doubled in recent weeks, thousands upon thousands of workers are looking to the Communist Party for a lead in the struggle for a revolutionary way out of the crisis. The elemental force of class hatred expressed against the open traitors, MacDonald and Snowden, is not easily to be appeased by the manoeuvres of Henderson and the General Council.

Above all, the example of the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, the contrast between the Five Year Plan and capitalism that can offer nothing but starvation and misery for the workers, plays a very big part in turning the workers towards the revolutionary way out. What the thousands of workers are saying today, what the proletariat has done in Russia, that the workers can do also in Britain. And thus step by step, with a speed much greater than could have been imagined a short time ago, the British working class is moving into line with the Russian working class, as it stood in the Autumn of 1917.

The Fertiliser Factory.

By L. Shelesnow (Leningrad).

** In pre-war Russia the yield of the harvest was muclower than in other European countries. The capitalist States of Europe increased the harvest yield of their factories by enriching the soil with artificial fertilisers. In Russia, however, the soil was cultivated according to the old methods dating back generations, and bad harvests were fought with religious processions and the erection of churches. Belgium used 236 kilogrammes of mineral fertilisers for every hectare of soil, Russia however only 7 kilgrammes, i. e. only a thirtieth. Germany was able to increase the yield of its harvests three fold by using artificial fertilisers.

The revolution has changed the face of the land; millions of scattered peasant farms have combined into powerful collective farms; huge grain factories have been established, the old barbaric methods of agriculture thrown aside. The revolutionary working class of the Soviet Union has reconstructed agriculture on the basis of the newest technical achievements Machines, tractors, threshers, millions of tons of chemical fertilisers secure for agriculture in the Soviet Union a rate of growth of which the old rulers of capitalist Russia did not even venture to dream.

On the right bank of the Neva there is to be seen the new giant of Leningrad industry, the Neva-Chemical Combinate. The construction of the buildings is nearing completion. In a few months the Combinate will commence working and will supply tremendous quantities of fertilisers to the fields of the Leningrad district.

The Neva-Chemical Combinate is one of the measures adopted to develop the agriculture of the Leningrad district to such an extent that this district shall become a self-supporting district. In comparison with a number of European countries, the Leningrad district shows a very small harvest yield. In Switzerland the average yield of Winter rye per hectare is 202 centals, in Denmark 152 centals. in Germany 13.5, in the Soviet Union 8.3 centals, while the average for the Leningrad district is only 7.5 centals.

If the Leningrad district could bring its harvest yield up to the level of Germany, it would not be necessary to import grain from the other districts of the Soviet Union. If the level of Denmark would be reached, the Leningrad district could even export 300 to 400 tons of grain.

The Neva-Chemical Combinate is the basis for the application of chemistry to agriculture in the Leningrad district. It will concentrate on the production of superphosphate, the application of which to the Leningrad district will render it possible to double the harvest yield. The Leningrad district needs about 400,000 tons of superphosphate annually. The Neva-Chemical Combinate will supply 360,000 tons of superphosphate, and thereby almost completely cover the requirements of the district for artificial fertilisers.

The tremendous economic and political importance of the Neva-Chemical Combinate, for the construction of which 23 million roubles have been set aside, rendered necessary an extraordinary working tempo for its erection. In Autumn 1929, small huts for the seasonal workers were set up on the building site, and the track laid for connecting the works with the railway line running nearby.

From the beginning of Spring 1930 the construction of the Neva-Chemical Combinate proceeded at a rapid rate. In the course of 20 months, on a site which was formerly full of swamps and bushes, the buildings were constructed which are among the largest in the Soviet Union: the sulphuric acid factory, the superphosphate works and a dozen other workshops. On January 1st, 1932, the Neva-Chemical Combinate will start working.

The Combinate already now makes a powerful impression by its gigantic dimensions. Production will be completely mechanised, and more than 400 workers will be employed.

The construction technique of the Soviet Union has been enriched by extremely valuable construction methods during the period of erection of the Neva-Chemical Combinate. For the first time in the Soviet Union a sand foundation was laid to the extent of 40,000 cubic metres. As a result, no less than 150,000 roubles have been saved.

The necessary workers have been fully trained for all the departments; the engineers and technicians have been selected. A portion of the workers of the future Combinate received training in the superphosphate works in Perm.

During the construction of the Combinate the Party organisation has been consolidated. At first the Party organisation of the Neva-Chemical Combinate comprised only 32 members; as a result of the work of the best shock-brigaders the organisation has increased to 550 members. It is now possible to place the Party members in the most important positions of the Combinate, and thus secure the leading role of the Communists. The Communists of the Neva-Chemical Combinate are the organisers of Bolshevist tempo on the building job.

The Soviet Trade Unions on Socialist Construction.

Moscow, 17th October 1931.

The Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions has decided to hold the re-election of the workers councils in the time from the 25th October to the 25th November throughout the Union. In connection with the elections the Central Council has issued an appeal tho the working masses.

The appeal enumerates the successes achieved under the leadership of the Communist Party during the past few months in the work for the building up of socialism, and particularly the improvements obtained in the material and cultural situation of the workers. The new Amo works, "Stalin" and the Kharkov tractor works were just set going. In a very short time the Magnetostroj, Kusnetzkstroi, the Bernjakov and the Bobrikov combinats, the Nishni-Novgorod automobile works and other giant factories will be opened. The kulak as a class is being liquidated in the most important grain and raw material districts of the Soviet Union. The achievements of socialist construction are accompanied by a continual growth of the working class and a raising of its standard of living in town and country. During the first seven months of 1931 the average wage increase totalled 11.8%. In the last quarter of the current year wages experienced a further sharp rise, up to 23.5% in the foundry industry, of 12% in the coalmining industry (making together with the former wage increases an increase of 35.5% during the current year), and 20% in the chemical industries. Improvements were also secured in the material and cultural situation of the engineers, technicians and teachers.

Every year the soviet activity for social and cultural purposes was on the increase. In 1931 the social insurance budget alone was 2,175 million roubles. During the holiday months no less than a million workers enjoyed the recreation homes and sanatoria which were formerly the exclusive privilege of the bourgeoisie. The food supply was rapidly improving. Unemployment had been completely abolished and millions of new workers were being drawn into industry. In the current year alone one million more women workers were drawn into industry. In the countries of capitalism the frightful scourge of unemployment was smashing down the standards of the workers. Wage reductions were being carried out all over the world, even amongst the aristocrats of labour in the United States. In addition unemployment support was being ruthlessly cut down and young workers deprived of support altogether. Whilst the reformist unions in the capitalist countries, particularly in Germany, gave no more than 10% of their budget for strikes, lock-outs, cultural activities, the Soviet Labour spent 70% of their budget for the social and cultural demands of their members.

By the 14th anniversary of the November revolution the Soviet Labour Unions would have approximately 14 million members. Opportunism had been erased from the ranks of the nions and together with the Communist Party they were tarshalling their forces for the great new tasks of the period of socialist construction. 35 million of the workers in the unions were members of 200,000 shock groups. These workers marched at the head of the proletariat in the struggle for socialism. The rest of the appeal is devoted to a description of the tasks of the Soviet Labour Unions and the necessities of the coming election campaign.

AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

Struggles for National Freedom in Europe.

By J. Brown (London).

The intensification of the world economic crisis, the increased tendency of the bourgeoisie and the landowners in the various imperialist countries to seek a way out of the crisis by means of fresh attacks on the working class and the poor peasantry, the employment of fascist methods, and the setting up of a reactionary regime of terror, are leading to a sharpening of the policy of national oppression on the part of the ruling nations towards the weak, and oppressed nations. The imperialist exploiters are endeavouring to shift the burden of the crisis in the first place on to the working people of the oppressed nations, to force them to still lower standards of living, to increase their exploitation indirectly by reducing to the lowest level the price of the raw products of their economy, and at the same time to impose heavier, and new taxes etc. on them.

This applies not only to the various African, and Asiatic peoples, to India, Indonesia, China, Indo-China, Egypt and the other colonies of British, French, Dutch, American and Japanese imperialism. The same methods are employed against the oppressed nations and national minorities in Europe itself. Hence the great aggravation of the antagonisms between the oppressed peoples and the state power of the ruling nations, and hence also the fresh national revolutionary upsurge in a number of European countries. In certain countries in which the tension has become particularly great, mass struggles on a broad scale are already

approaching.

The fresh outbreak of the revolutionary emancipation struggle in Ireland is to be attributed in the first place to the brutal oppression and exploitation of the Irish peasantry. The Irish agrarian question has been in no way solved by the fact that a part of the Irish bourgeoisie, under Cosgrove, share in the British imperialist rule in the country. On the contrary, the big estate and land owners still have no less than 80 per cent of the land in their hands, whilst two-thirds of the total agricultural population possess only 20 per cent of the land. The agrarian crisis has dealt a very heavy blow to the small peasants and the agricultural labourers. The statistics for 1930 show that the small peasants very often have to sell all their live-stock in order to pay their taxes and other liabilities. How ruthlessly the poor Irish peasant is robbed by the State, the big landowner, dealers and bankers is best seen when one comes to analyse the total sum of Irish agricultural production and its distribution. Out of 88 million pounds, only about 30 millions fall to the share of the small peasants and land workers, the rest being swallowed up by the parasites.

The Irish peasants, as well as the working population in the towns, have in the last few years been compelled to realise that it is no use hoping for any real aid from the parties represented in the Dail (Irish Parliament). The oppositional party of de Valera, "Fianna Fail" has, behind the mask of revolutionary phrases, long been following a policy of collaborating with the agents of British imperialism, with the Cosgrove Government. The official Irish Labour Party is reformist and betrays the interests of the Irish proletarians and peasants. The Irish Parliament has become in reality the tool

of British imperialism, of the English and Irish landowners. All this has impelled the Irish masses to resort to extraparliamentary struggle, to revolutionary action. The national revolutionary organisation "Saor Eire" is carrying on the traditions of James Connolly, the revolutionary labour leader, who was shot by the order of the British government after the defeat of the Easter uprising in 1916, and has met with the greatest response among the Irish masses. The Irish peasants, who have had years of experience in partisan fighting are again taking up arms. The fact that this time the task of suppressing the revolt that is flaring up in various parts of Ireland is being carried out by an "Irish government", renders the fight of the Irish revolutionaries more stubborn and also increases its bitterness.

The government on its part is adopting measures which put in the shade even the notorious repressive measures of the British. The new Free State Public Safety Act rushed through the Dail by Cosgrove provides for the setting up of military tribunals in which officers are empowered to try and sentence, if necessary to death, persons suspected of treason. The military acquires full powers to exercise unbounded terror against revolutionaries.

Twelve organisations, including the Friends of Soviet Russia, Workers Research Burea, Workers Defence Corps, and the workers' Revolutionary Party have been declared illegal on the ground that they are plotting against the State.

One of the outstanding peculiarities of the new wave of the revolutionary movement in Ireland is that the national freedom demands are closely connected with the social demands. The agents of British imperialism and of the Anglo-Irish clique of big landowners are again asserting that the "Saor Eire" prepares the way for Communism. In actual fact the Communist movement in Ireland has recently made considerable progress, and the consistent fight for the agrarian revolution and the demands of the workers, coupled with an irreconcilable revolutionary attitude towards British imperialism, has placed the Irish Communists in the front ranks of the fighters for freedom. The "Irish Question" has again been placed on the agenda of the British Empire, this time by the Irish workers and peasants against the Irish big landowners and the bourgeois-agents who are directly or indirectly in the British service.

The growing national movement among the Flemings bears for the greater part an agrarian character. The Flemish peasants are exploited in the most unbearable manner by the Belgian State and the Belgian landowners, and at the same time nationally oppressed by the Belgian chauvinists. The bloody fights in Limburg, where the Flemish peasants prevented a provocative parade of the Belgian nationalists, were an expression of the revolutionary ferment among the Flemings. The "Peasants League", which represents the interests of the peasants, is gaining more and more influence as against the fascist and semi-fascist organisations. The Belgian social democrats support the Belgian government in its policy of oppressing the Flemings, whilst the Communist Party, on the other hand, sets up the slogan of self-determination for the Flemings and also a number of agrarian demands directed in the first place against the big landowners.

An increasing revolutionary movement is to be seen also in the various provinces annexed by Rumania. The peasantry of Bessarabia is becoming so rapidly revolutionised as a result of the agrarian crisis, that leading Rumanian politicians are even saying that the whole of Bessarabia will become "Bolshevik in three months" unless "counter-measures" are not speedily adopted. These counter-measures are being generously applied in Dobruja in the shape of a regime of bloody terror, but the government has not succeeded in mastering the revolutionary ferment there. The murder of Comrade Dontchev, the leader of the Dobrujan revolutionaries, has called forth a storm of indignation and a further sharpening of the fight against the Rumanian oppressors. Also in Transylvania and Bukovina the peasants are giving ever clearer expression to their discontent with the Rumanian rule.

The question of the nationally oppressed minorities in other countries of Europe, especially in the Balkans, in Poland, Czechoslovakia, France and Spain, likewise merits close attention. Almost everywhere there are signs of new revolutionary outbreaks. The proletarians of all European countries, but especially the proletariat of the oppressing nations, must actively support the movements for national freedom which form a valuable part of their own fight for social emancipation.

The Revolt on the Island of Cyprus.

By Max Leitner.

The world crisis has seized the island of Cyprus just as it has seized other countries. The most important industries of the island are at a standstill; the asbestos and copper mines are closed, and no less than 25,000 workers are unemployed. The budget of the island shows a deficit of 75,000 pounds. The government tried to cover this deficit by extraordinary measures, and this was the immediate cause of the revolt. New taxes were to be introduced, the customs duties raised and the reserve funds of the government, which were put by for quite other purposes, were to be drawn on. The Greek members of the Legislative Council—an instrument of British imperialism -wished to oppose these measures; they resigned, and thus

the signal was given for the open fight.

The crisis had already caused the Greek workers a. peasants on the island to resort to drastic offensive measures. This defensive action, which reached serious dimensions already in April of this year, was to be throttled by falsifying the character of the defensive action, by placing at its head reactionary forces such as the clergy. On October 24th, Venizelos declared in the "Figaro" that the British government benevolently tolerated the nationalist movement led by the clergy.

The British government, however, proceeded most ruthlessly against the Communists. On the occasion of the demonstration recently held in Limassol, at which the slogan: Long live the Soviet Republic of Cyprus! was issued, 22 workers were arrested and tried immediately. Comrades Skelea and Salamonides were each sentenced to six months' imprisonment, and six other comrades were each sentenced to one month' imprisonment. Almost at the same time a well-known leader of the Communist Party of Cyprus, Comrade Vakis, was arrested and accused of having by his speeches incited the workers to revolution and against the State.

The government has by no means succeeded by these terrorist measures in damming the revolutionary wave in Cyprus. The masses are fighting with revolutionary means, and in Nicosia a crowd demonstrated before the government buildings, which were finally set on fire and burnt down. Revolutionary mass movements are also reported from Limassol and Larnaca. In Limassol the British Commissioners house was burnt down. The Greek "patriots" and the clergy are endeavouring to get the movement into their hands in order to betray it. This is proved by the Greek Prime Minister Venezilos, who is in the service of British imperialism, and who declared:

"I can only express my deepest regret at these excesses, which were certainly not desired by the leaders. But they ought to have known that when one pushes a thing too far, the moment comes when one is no longer master of the situation."

The Greek bishops and archbishops in Cyprus themselves are already speaking of the possibilities of reconciliation in order to call off the movement,

The British government has sent strong forces to Cyprus and proclaimed martial law, but the revolutionary movement cannot be destroyed thereby. The working population of Cyprus is continuing its revolutionary anti-imperialist fight against British oppression and for the independence of Cyprus. The British and the international proletariat fully support the demands of the working population of Cyprus.

THE WHITE TERROR

Rescue Comrade Ruegg!

Shanghai, October 24, 1931.

According to reports from reliable sources, the Nanking tribunal, already at the beginning of October, sentenced Comrade Ruegg, the secretary of the Pan-Pacific Trade Unions to death and his wife to imprisonment for life.

In addition we have received the following report on this

It was clear right from the day of the arrest of the Secretary of the Pan-Pacific Trade Unions and his wife and their handing over to the Nanking hangmen, that Chiang-Kai-Shek, with the approval of the imperialists, was preparing for the abominable deed against the arrested, an abominable deed calculated to deal a decisive blow to the revolutionary trade union movement in the Far East.

Of late, however, the Kuomintang, and in particular the imperialist press in China, have spread the palpable lie that the attitude towards the arrested is excellent, that norma court proceedings are taking place in the presence of various members of the Central Committee of the Kuomintang, that preparations are made for open court proceedings etc." In addition, all sorts of yarns were spread that "important documents" had been found. The provocatory origin of these documents was clear from the beginning.

This "information" had, as repeatedly pointed out by us, but one aim: to aid the confederates of Chiang Kai-Shek in their cruel treatment of the functionary of the revolutinary ade union movement, to conceal these tortures and to divert attention of the innumerable workers' organisations, prominent representatives of science and art in Europe and America, who protested against this treatment.

Even some circles in the foreign settlements in Shanghai who are familiar with the methods of "court proceedings" in the torture chambers of Chiang-Kai-Shek, expressed their apprehensions regarding the lives of the arrested. As it now transpires, their apprehensions were not unfounded. The news that the secretary of the Pan-Pacific Bureau had been sentenced to death already at the beginning of October and that his wife had been sentenced to lifelong imprisonment, has now been confirmed by the Shanghai newspaper, the "Evening Post". The Nanking rulers do not contradict this news

The fact that the defending Counsel, Mr. Fischer, who had been recognised by the Powers, only learned post factum that the court proceedings had taken place, shows the real

character of this "court".

The bestial measures of violence employed against the functionary of the revolutionary trade union movement and his sick wife have aroused great indignation even in Shanghai circles which are closely connected with the Kuomintang administers of "Justice". If the arrested have not been tortured to death before the "court sentence", as is often the practice in Kuomintang Nanking, and if the arrested are still alive, they can only be rescued by a fresh, still more powerful wave of protest throughout the whole world.

Fascist Class-Justice in Hungary.

Budapest, 22nd October 1931.

The revolutionary peasant leader Anton Tisza and 43 other peasants and landworkers were tried on the 1st October. The charges were that they had organised revolutionary peasant conferences and prepared strikes of the landworkers. Tisza, who has already spent 4 years in fascist gaols, was sentenced to 12 months imprisonment, 5 accused to 8 months each, one accused to 6 months, one accused to 4 months, six accused to 3 months each and 28 were acquitted.

A second process against revolutionary peasants in which the accused were in part those sentenced in the former process, also resulted in a series of sentences. Comrade Solymosi, who is very ill, received one year and 3 months imprisonment as the chief accused. Tisza and Cozma (who has also served long periods in gaol) received 7 months each, whilst 5 other accused received sentences ranging from 4 to 6 months. They declared that they had come together to issue a legal peasant newspaper and to conduct legal trade union activity amongst the peasants and landworkers. Everything illegal in their movement had been smuggled in by the agent-provocateur Bentch-Borosh who had distributed fake leaflets and then caused those who had taken them to be arrested by the police.

On the 5th October all the accused in the trial of the young workers charged with having organised an unemployed workers committee had to be acquitted as nothing in the

nature of a crime could be proved against them.

On the 17th October the trial of Stefan Rostas and his fellows took place. The defence succeeded in thoroughly exposing the unsavoury role played by the agent-provocateur Josef Onas. Comrade Rostas was sentenced to 3 years hard labour, Comrade Schwarz to 2 years hard labour, two other accused to 11 months each, a fifth accused to 5 months and a final accused to 3 months imprisonment. The charge was the usual one of communist activity.

The Court of Appeal has increased a sentence of 2 years and 8 months hard labour passed on Comrade George Fries to one of 3 years and 6 months at the instance of the Public Prosecutor. Another sentence passed recently on Comrade George Schwarz of 1 year and 2 months imprisonment was

increased to 1 year and 8 months imprisonment.

Andreas and Ladislaus Hegedues and Nikolaus Kovatch ere sentenced to 3 months imprisonment each for having collected for the Hungarian section of the International Red Aid. Although all three were in prison for 4 months awaiting trial, they have not been released. Comrade Andreas Hegedues is to be tried again this time on a charge of having accused the police of being responsible for the death of Comrade Eta Geisler.

The wave of arrests, brutality and torture is still proceeding. Arrested workers are being treated to long stretches of what was known in the British Army during the war as Field Punishment No. 2 i. e. being tied up in a strained position for hours. With the aid of blows, threats and torture the police are trying to scrape together material for trials before the exceptional courts.

Fight Against Growing Lynch-Terror and Persecution of Negroes in U.S.A.!

From an Appeal of the International Labour Defence.

The shooting of Willie Peterson in the county jail at Birmingham, Ala., and the murder of John Grayford and Edward Jackson at an unemployed demonstration in Cleveland, Ohio, are the latest bloody crimes in the mounting, murderous terror of the rich white ruling-class against the oppressed Negro masses and against the entire-working class.

Peterson, an unemployed Negro miner and ex-serviceman who had been vainly trying to get into the US. government hospital for veterans to secure treatment for tuberculosis, is the latest victim of the brutal boss campaign to frame-up, murder, and terrorize Negroes, following the murder of two society women, Augusta Williams and Jennie Wood, early last August. This Negro worker was deliberately shot in jail by Dent Williams, white lawyer, brother of Augusta and Nell Williams, at a "conference attended by city and county officials and members of the families of the slain girls.

The jailing of Lowell Wakefield, southern organizer of the I.L.D., and Harry Jackson, district organizer of the Communist Party, and the furious drive to destroy every bit of genuine working-class organization, clearly show this whole campaign to have nothing whatever to do with the discovery and punishment of the real murderer of the two society women, but to be in fact a most ferocious ruling-class drive of terror to crush the rising struggles of the Negro workers and of their white working-class allies.

The murder of two unemployed Negro workers, John Grayford and Edward Jackson, by the bosses' police thugs in Cleveland at a demonstration against eviction, follows closely upon the shooting of Peterson. Four white and Negro workers were seriously wounded and scores of workers, including H. Larkin, organizational secretary of the Communist Party, are held in jail, prevented from seeing anyone. This is the latest of the many widespread murderous attacks upon the millions of starving, jobless workers, white and black. Only a short while ago the Chicago police murdered four Negro workers while they were resisting the eviction of an aged, unemployed Negro woman worker, wounding and arresting scores of white and Negro workers.

This savage capitalist terror can be met only by the united, militant mass struggle of all the oppressed and toiling masses. Realizing this, the white workers everywhere must fight in the forefront of the battle against the Jim Crow lynch system of national oppression, against the whole vile capitalist terror system, shoulder to shoulder with the doubly oppressed Negro toilers.

THE WORLD ECONOMIC **CRISIS**

Italy in the Storm of the Economic Crisis.

By E. Lorenz (Berlin).

"You will see that it will be reserved to me to make the Italian people ever greater and stronger."

Mussolini in his speech at Milan, May 25, 1930.

"The year 1932 will decide our fate for good or ill."

Mussolini in the weekly journal the "Anales", July 1931.

Italian fascism, unhampered by any parliamentary or sham democratic compromises, has more brutally than in any

other capitalist country endeavoured to shift the devastating results of the capitalist crisis on to the working masses. The salaries of civil servants and public employees have been reduced by 12 per cent. The wages of the workers have been cut in the most ruthless manner. This was proved at the Congress of the fascist agricultural workers union, which took place from 27th to 29th September last in Milan, and at which it was reported that since 1927 the wages of the landworkers had been reduced on an average by 28,5 per cent and that in the Northern districts the reductions were still greater: in the province of Emilia 38 per cent, in Milan, Cremonia and Pavia even 45 to 50 per cent! The wages of the industrial workers have been subjected to similar cuts. Thus, for instance, the "Deutsche Bergwerkszeitung" of September 3 reports that the wages of the workers employed by the Italian artificial silk concern "Snia Viscose" have, with the aid of the fascist trade unions, been reduced by 45 per cent. Only a small part of the unemployed, about 10 per cent, receive any unemployment benefit; the benefit amounts to 1.25 Lira a day (about threepence), and is only paid for 90 days, after which no further benefit is paid to the unemployed. Simultaneously with the cuts in wages and salaries the cost of living of the working masses has greatly risen. The turnover tax has been incrased from 0.25 to 1.5 per cent and later to 2.5 per cent, and yielded in the past year 3,600 million Lira, which was squeezed out of the working masses. The taxes and duties on articles of consumption have been increased, and in the past year yielded about 5,500 million Lira. In the meantime, the customs duties have again been increased. Even such a supporter of Italian fascism as the correspondent of the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" reported on October 9 last from Milan that "the limit of what the resulting again. "the limit of what the population can endure has been reached if it has not already been exceeded" and the only consolation Mussolini was able to give was that

"It is fortunate for Italy that the Italian workers and peasants are not in the habit of eating more than once a day."

The economic system of fascism, so highly praised by Mussolini's admirers abroad, is nothing else but a means of plundering the whole of the working people for the benefit of a handful of parasites. The "State capitalism" of fascist Italy, which its defenders try to explain by the phrase "supremacy of the State over economy", consists merely in the State squeezing everything it can out of the masses in order to grant huge subventions to certain industries, such as the chemical industry, heavy industry, aircraft and automobile industries, shipping etc. and also to the corrupt agrarian capitalists. As a matter of fact, a large part of Italian industry is kept going only by means of 'State finances'. The situation of Italian capitalism is, therefore, all the more threatening as the State finances are in a very shaky condition.

The "Deutsche Bergwerkszeitung" of September 19, 1931 gives a number of important facts regarding the present economic situation of Italy, from which we quote the most important:

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	18t han year 1930	1st han year 1931	Decline
Cast iron	263,389 tons	256,540 tons	2%
Steel	893,979 tons	750,050 tons	—16 %
Rolled iron products	843,164 tons	676,366 tons	— 18 %
Cement	16,768,332 double centals	14,721,367 double centals	—13 %
Hyperphosphate	7,521,725 double centals	4,421,509 double centals	-41 %
Paper	1,710,855 double centals	1,628,949 double centals	 5%
Electricity	4,931,014,000 kilowatts	4,608,613,000 kilowatts	— 5%

In the cotton industry, according to the report of the "Deutsche Bergwerkszeitung", only 164,035 workers were employed as compared with 193,040 last year, while the turnover has declined by 30 per cent. In the wool industry 68,288 persons were employed as against 76,501 in the previous year. In the motor industry the decline in the turnover amounted to more than 50 per cent. Taken altogether, therefore, this survey of the most important branches of Italian industry furnishes a very gloomy picture.

In agriculture there prevails a crisis which, if possible, is even worse than that in the other European countries. It was one of the most important aims of the fascist economic policy to increase the proportion of the food supply produced in Italy itself in order in the event of war, to be able to withstand a

blockade. For this reason, fascism organised a great "corn battle" (battaglia del grano) and succeeded for a time in increasing grain production. In the year 1929 the wheat harvest amounted to 70,795,000 double centals. The year 1930 howe brought a tremendous decline, the wheat harvest amounting only 57,375,000 double centals. Thereupon fascism made fresh desperate efforts, and it was expected that this year the harvest would yield 71,000,000 double centals. Instead however, it yielded only 67,262,000 double centals. At the same time the yield per hectare varied between 31,6 double centals on the fertile plains of the Po and 5 double centals in the hilly Calabria district; the average yield per hectare amounted to only 12.7 double centals. This means that a great portion of the wheat production is so unprofitable that it is only rendered possible by enormous State subventions and by the unbounded poverty of the land-workers. The "grain battle" has been lost. Italy's import requirements of wheat amount this year to about 12 million double centals. According to the figures of the fascist trade unions, the number of unemployed among the landworkers amounts to 200,000!

Fascist Italy has always been held up as a model by the advocates of "national autarcy". But Mussolini's efforts to achieve an autarcy have proved a complete failure. These efforts were determined by military and political considerations: in the event of war Italy should be assured of its supply of raw material and food. In the year 1926, Italy imported from abroad: 9.3 million tons of coal, 2.6 million tons of grain and maize, 1.8 million tons of timber, 3.5 million double centals of petroleum, oil, and benzine, and 8.6 million double centals of iron und steel. As a result, Italy had a very large adverse trade balance. Fascism's efforts to establish "national autarcy" ran in the direction of restricting imports, and increasing home production, and also exports. In the year 1929/30 the import surplus amounted to 6,428 million Lira, and in the year 1930,31 to 5,232 million Lira. This decline in the import surplus was only achieved by reducing imports 20 per cent, while at the same time exports also declined by 20 per cent. This shrinkage of foreign trade is still going on.

In view of the structure and situation of Italian economy, which to a great extent is kept going only by means of State subventions, the situation of the State finances is decisive for the further development. The national debts amounted at the end of the budget year 1930/31 (June 1931) to 37,029 million Lira, while the interest on this debt swallows up annually a sum of 2,695 million Lira. The budget, which in the financial year 1929/30 was still able to show a surplus of 150,7 million Lira, in the year 1930/31 showed the enormous deficit of 895,9 million Lira. And this in spite of the drastic economy measures, as for instance the cuts in the salaries of the civil servants, which alone effected a saving of 700 million Lira. The grain duty was the only source of revenue which yielded an increase (652 milion): a result of the increased duty. On the other hand, the turnover tax, in spite of the fact that it had been raised from 0.5 to 2.5 per cent, yielded 822 million Lira less than in the previous year; the revenue from the tobacco tax showed a falling off of 445 million and the remaining customs duties a decline of 216 million.

The position of Italian economy, especially however of fascist State finances, is the cause of the continual fluctuation in the rate of exchange of the Lira which set in after the collapse of the English pound. The increase in the discount rate and the restriction of stock exchange activity did not serve to pacify the public in any way, but on the contrary led to a demonstration strike of the stock exchange.

In view of this situation it is not surprising that the fascist dictatorship is becoming more and more nervous. The working people of Italy, to whom only a year ago the dictator promised "glorious times", are becoming increasingly restless as a result of the growing misery and poverty. The capitalist crisis has rendered the bankruptcy of fascism obvious to everybody who has eyes to see. Fascism, which stands on the basis of capitalist private property and represents the most brutal form of the dictatorship of the exploiting class, is quite unable to overcome the economic crisis of capitalism, but is its involved in the bankruptcy of capitalism. In April of the year the fascist dictatorship in Spain was overthrown as a result of the economic crisis — this economic crisis is now violently shaking the fascist dictatorship in Italy.