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The Socialist Transformation of the Soviet Village in the Light of Marxist-Leninist Theory

By J. Stalin.

The following is the text of the speech delivered by Comrade Stalin at the Congress of the Marxist Agrarian Research, on 27th December 1929. Ed.

The fundamental fact of our social-economic life at the present juncture, a fact attracting general attention, is the vast growth of the collectivisation movement. It is the characteristic feature of the present collectivisation movement that not only separate groups of the rural poor are forming the collective farms, as has been the case hitherto, but the masses of the middle peasantry. This means that the collectivisation movement is changing from a movement among small groups and strata of the working peasantry into a movement embracing millions and millions of the main mass of the peasantry. Here we find, inter alia, the explanation of an enormously important fact that the collectivisation movement, which has assumed the character of a mighty and ever-growing anti-kulak avalanche, is sweeping the resistance of the kulak from its path, breaking the kulak power, and clearing the road for the progress of socialist reconstruction in the village.

But although our pride in the practical successes in the building up of socialism is justified, the same cannot be said of the success of our theoretical work in the sphere of economy in general and of agriculture in particular. We must acknowledge that in theoretic thought we have not kept pace with our practical success, that there exists a certain gap between our practical success and the development of the theoretic idea. But it is necessary that our theoretical work not only keeps pace with the practical, but precedes it, and supplies the weapons for the practical attainment of the victory of socialism.

I shall not deal at any length here with the importance of theory. We are aware that a theory, when it is a real theory, gives those putting it into practice the power of orientation, clarity of perspective, faith in their work, confidence in the victory of our cause. All this is and must be of enormous importance for the cause of our socialist reconstruction. It is unfortunate that precisely in this sphere, the sphere of the theoretical working out of questions concerning our economy, we are beginning to lag behind. How can we otherwise explain the fact that on questions of our economy, in our social

political life, various bourgeois and petty bourgeois theories are still current? How can we explain why these theories and this theorising have not yet been rejected as they should be? How can we explain why a number of fundamental assertions of Marxist-Leninist political economy, representing the most effectual antidote to bourgeois and petty bourgeois theories, are beginning to be forgotten, are not popularised in our press, and for some reason are not placed in the foreground? Is it so difficult to grasp that without an irreconcilable struggle, on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory, against the bourgeois theories, the complete victory over the class enemy cannot be won?

The new methods of actual practice are calling into being new methods of dealing with the economic problems of the transition period. The questions of the N.E.P., of the classes, of the tempo of reconstruction, of alliance, of Party policy, are being tackled in a new manner. If we are not to fall behind actual practice, we must now proceed to tackle all these problems from the standpoint of the new situation. Otherwise it is impossible to overcome the bourgeois theories confusing the heads of our practical workers, and otherwise these theories, which possess the tenacity of prejudices, cannot be exterminated. It is only by combating the bourgeois prejudices in the field of theory that the positions of Marxism-Leninism can be securely established.

Permit me to characterise at least one of these bourgeois prejudices masquerading under the name theories, and to demonstrate its inadequacy in the light of some of the knotty problems of our reconstruction.

1. The "Balance" Theory.

The so-called theory of the "balance" among the sectors of our national economy is still current among communists. This theory has of course nothing in common with Marxism. Despite this, it is propagated by a number of Right comrades. On the basis of this theory it is assumed that we have in the first place a socialist sector — this is a kind of box — and besides this a non-socialist or, if you like, a capitalist sector, another box. These two boxes lie in different spheres and glide peacefully forward, without concerning themselves about one another. Geometry has taught us that parallel lines do not meet. But the authors of this remarkable theory believe that their parallel lines will meet some day, and that the result will be socialism. This theory omits to observe that there are classes standing behind these so-called "boxes", and that the boxes are being kept in motion by a desperate class struggle, a life and death struggle, a struggle on the principle of "who leads whom?"

It is not difficult to comprehend that this theory has nothing in common with Leninism. It is not difficult to comprehend that this theory pursues the objective aim of defending the individual peasant farm, of furnishing the kulak elements with a "new" theoretical weapon in their struggle against the collective farms, and of discrediting the positions of the collective farms. And yet this theory is still current in our press. It cannot be said that it is being seriously combated by our theoreticians, much less annihilatingly refuted. This inadequacy can only be explained by the backwardness of our theoretical thought.

And yet all that would have been necessary was to apply to the treasury of Marxism, to bring forth the theory of reproduction, to oppose this to the theory of the balance of the sectors — and there would have been no atom left of the latter theory. For the Marxist theory of reproduction teaches that the present state of society cannot develop without accumulating from year to year, and an accumulation is impossible unless reproduction expands from year to year. This is clear and comprehensible. Our great centralised socialist industry is developing on the basis of the Marxist theory of reproduction, for its dimensions increase from year to year; it is accumulating, and striding forward with Seven League boots. But our national economy does not consist of our large industry alone. On the contrary, the small peasant farm still predominates in our national economy. Can we then maintain that our small peasant farms are developing on the principle of increased reproduction? No, we cannot maintain this. Our small peasant agriculture not only fails to increase its reproduction

yearly, but has not even always the possibility of rearing a single reproduction. Is it then possible for our socialist industry to continue to accelerate its speed of development, when it relies for support on such an agricultural basis as that of the system of small peasant farms, incapable of increasing reproduction, and yet representing the preponderant force in our national economy? No, by no means. Can the Soviet power and the work of socialist reconstruction depend for support for a more or less lengthy period on two different bases: on the basis of the greatest and most concentrated socialised industry, and on the basis of the most backward, scattered small peasant farms, with their commodity economy. No, this is impossible. This would be bound to end sooner or later with complete collapse of the whole national economy. What is the remedy? The remedy lies in enlarging the agricultural units, in rendering agriculture capable of accumulation of increased reproduction, and in thus reorganising the agricultural basis of national economy. But how are the peasant farms to be combined to form larger units?

There are two ways: the capitalist way, in which the agricultural units are enlarged by grafting capitalism upon them, and which leads to the impoverishment of the peasantry and to the development of capitalist undertakings in agriculture. We have rejected this way, for it is incompatible with Soviet economies.

There is a second way: the socialist way, in which agriculture is developed in the collective undertaking and Soviet farm. This way leads to the combination of the small peasant farms in large collective ones, technically and scientifically equipped, and results in the expulsion of capitalist elements from agriculture.

We are taking this second way. Either one or the other! Either back to capitalism or forward to socialism. There is no third way and there cannot be one. The "balance" theory represents an attempt to find a third way, and its assumption that this third (non-existent) way may be reckoned with renders the theory Utopian and anti-Marxist. All that is needful is to confront this theory of the "balance" of the sectors by Marx' theory of reproduction, and the "balance" collapses. Why do our Marxist agrarian researchers not do this? Who is benefitted by this propagation of the ridiculous theory of "balance" in our press, whilst the Marxist theory of reproduction hides its light under a bushel.

2. The Theory of the "Automatic Development" of the Building up of Socialism.

We now come to a second prejudice of political economy, to a second theory of the bourgeois type. I refer to the theory of the "automatic development" of socialist construction. This theory has nothing in common with Marxism, but is none the less being zealously propagated by our Comrades in the Right camp. The authors of this theory assert approximately: Capitalism once existed in this country, industry developed on the capitalist basis, and the village followed the capitalist town spontaneously and automatically, and assumed the image of the capitalist town. Since this was the case under capitalism, why should the same not follow under Soviet economies, why should the village, the petty bourgeois farm, not automatically follow the socialist town, and become transformed of itself in the image of the socialist city? On this reasoning the authors of this theory conclude that the village could of itself follow the socialist town. Hence the question arises: Is it worth while for us to exert ourselves organising Soviet farms and collective agricultural undertakings; is it worth while disputing, when in any case the village may follow the socialist town? Here we have another theory the objective aim of which is to furnish fresh weapons to the capitalist elements in the village in their struggle against the collective organisations. The anti-Marxist character of this theory is beyond all doubt. Is it not extremely strange that our theoreticians are not taking the trouble to extirpate this peculiar theory, which is causing so much confusion in the minds of our practical workers on the collective farms?

There can be no doubt that the leading rôle played by the socialist state towards the small peasant village is of great and inestimable value. Upon this basis industry performs its task of reorganising agriculture. But does this factor suffice

to cause the small peasant village to follow of itself the socialist reconstruction of the town? No, it does not suffice. Under capitalism the village followed the town spontaneously, for the reason that capitalist economy in the town and the commodity economy of the small peasant belong essentially to the same type of economy. It need not be said that the small peasant system of economy is not yet a capitalist economy. But fundamentally it belongs to the same type of economy as the capitalist, for it is founded on the private ownership of the means of production. Lenin was right a thousand times when he referred, in his marginal observations on Comrade Bukharin's "Economy of the transformation period", to the "commodity capitalist tendency of the peasantry" as opposed to the "socialist tendency of the proletariat". (Lenin's emphasis. J. St.) This is the explanation of why "small production generates, daily and hourly, elementarily and on a mass scale, capitalism and the bourgeoisie" (Lenin).

Can it be asserted that small peasant commodity economy represents fundamentally the same type of economy as the socialist production of the town? It is obvious that this cannot be asserted without breaking with Marxism. Otherwise Lenin would not have said that "so long as we live in a small peasant country, capitalism has a firmer economic basis in Russia than communism". In order that the small peasant village should follow the socialist town, it is necessary above all that socialist large scale economics should be transferred to the village, in the form of Soviet farms and collective undertakings, and form the basis of socialism which will then lead forward the main masses of the peasantry, under the guidance of the socialist town.

The matter is clear. The theory of the "automatic development" of socialist reconstruction is an anti-Marxist theory. The socialist town must lead the small peasant village, introducing Soviet farms and collective undertakings, and reorganising the village on a new socialist foundation. It is remarkable that the anti-Marxist theory of "automatic development" into socialist reconstruction has not yet been relegated to its proper place by our agrarian theoreticians.

3. The Theory of the "tenacity" of the Individual Small Peasant Farm.

Now to the third prejudice in political economy, the theory of the "tenacity" of small peasant economy. The objections raised by bourgeois political economy against Marx's well known thesis on the advantages of large-scale undertakings over small, which these economists consider to apply to industry only, and not to agriculture, are well known. Social democratic theoreticians of the stamp of David and Herz, when defending this theory, have sought to "base" their arguments on the fact that the small peasant is enduring and patient, that he is ready to bear every deprivation in defence of his plot of ground, and that in the struggle against large-scale agricultural undertakings the small peasant farmer evinces the utmost tenacity. It is not difficult to grasp that such a "tenacity" is worse than any irresolution. It is not difficult to grasp that this anti-Marxist theory pursues one sole aim: to eulogise and strengthen the capitalist order. It is precisely because this theory pursues this aim that it has been so easy for the Marxists to shatter it. This is not what concerns us at present, but the fact that our actual practice, our reality, is supplying us with fresh arguments against this theory; but our theoreticians, strangely enough, either will not or cannot make use of this new weapon against the enemies of the working class. I refer to our practical experience gained in the abolition of the private ownership of land, in the nationalisation of the soil, in the practical liberation of the small peasant from his slavish attachment to his patch of soil, by which we have facilitated for him the transition to the paths of collectivism.

What has in reality fettered, and continues to fetter, the small peasant of Western Europe to his small commodity economics? Above all and mainly the fact that he owns his piece of ground, the fact of the private ownership of land. He has saved for years in order to buy a piece of land; he has bought it, and now, comprehensibly enough, he does not want to part from it; he will endure anything, suffer the

greatest deprivations, live like a savage, in order to retain his piece of land, the basis of his individual economy. Can it be maintained that this factor will continue to exercise this effect under the conditions given by the Soviet system? No, this cannot be maintained. It cannot be maintained, for with us there is no private ownership of land. And since with us there is no private ownership of land, for this very reason there is no such slavish attachment to land among us as may be observed in the peasants of the West. And this fact is bound to facilitate the transition of the small peasant farm into the system of the collective undertaking. This is one of the reasons why the large-scale undertaking in the village, the collective farm, is able to demonstrate with such ease in Russia its advantages, as compared with the small peasant farm, under the conditions given by nationalised land. Here lies the great revolutionary importance of our agrarian laws, which have cancelled absolute rent, abolished the private ownership of land, and nationalised land. This places an argument at our disposal against those bourgeois economists who proclaim the tenacity of the small farmers in their struggle against the large-scale undertaking. Why is this new argument not sufficiently utilised by our agrarian theoreticians in their struggle against all bourgeois theories?

When carrying out the nationalisation of the land, we follow, inter alia, the theoretical assumptions given in the third volume of "Capital", in the "Theories of surplus value", and in Lenin's well-known agrarian theoretical works, which represent an extremely rich treasury of theoretical thought. I refer especially to the theory of ground rents and in particular to the theory of the absolute ground rent. It is now clear to everyone that the theoretical assertions made in these works have been brilliantly confirmed by the actual practice of our socialist reconstruction in town and country. Only it is incomprehensible why our press should be thrown open to the unscientific theories of such "Soviet" economists as Chayapov, whilst the works of genius of Marx and Engels, dealing with ground rents and the absolute ground rent, are not popularised and brought into the foreground, but lie hidden under a bushel.

You will of course recollect the care and deliberation with which Engels treats of the question of the transition of the small peasantry to the system of socialised economy, of the collective farm. In his essay on "The Peasant Question in France and Germany", Engels writes:

"We stand decisively on the side of the small peasant; we shall do everything permissible to render his lot more bearable, to facilitate his transition to the co-operative should he decide in favour of this, and even should he not yet be able to come to this decision, to make it possible for him to have a longer period for consideration on his piece of land."

We observe the circumspection with which Engels approaches the question of the transition of the individual peasant farm onto the path of collectivism. What is the explanation of a circumspection which at a first glance appears exaggerated? What was his point of departure? Obviously it was the fact of the existence of the private ownership of land, the fact that the peasant possesses his patch of soil and will not part with it easily. This is the peasant of the West. This is the peasant of the capitalist countries, in which the private ownership of land rules. It is comprehensible that here the matter must be approached carefully.

Can it be maintained that such a situation as this exists in the Soviet Union! No, this cannot be maintained. And it cannot be maintained for the reason that we have no private ownership of land chaining the peasant to his individual farm. It cannot be maintained for the reason that our land is nationalised, smoothing the way of transition from the individual peasant farm to the collective. This is one of the reasons of the comparative ease and rapidity with which the collective movement has developed among us of late. It is regrettable that up to the present our agrarian theoreticians have not yet attempted to draw a clear line showing this difference between the position of the peasantry in the Soviet Union and in the West. Work in this direction in the West would be of the utmost importance, not only for us Soviet

workers, but for the communists of all countries. It is not a matter of indifference for the proletarian revolution in the capitalist countries whether socialism will have to be built up there, from the first day of the seizure of power by the proletariat, on the foundation of the nationalisation of the land, or without this foundation.

In my latest article: "The year of the great change", I brought forward the well known arguments on the advantages of the large-scale agricultural undertaking as compared with the individual farm, referring thereby to the Soviet farms. It need not be proved that all these arguments apply equally to the collective farms as large economic units. I speak here not only of the advanced collective farms working on a mechanical and tractor basis, but at the same time of the primitive collective undertaking representing, so to speak, the manufacture period of collective economic reconstruction, and working with the accessories of the peasant farm. I refer to those primitive collective farms being formed at the present time in the fully collectivised districts, based upon the simple pooling of the peasants' means of production.

Let us take for instance the collective undertakings of the Choprin districts of the former Don province. Outwardly these collective farms scarcely differ technically from the small peasant farm (few machines, few tractors). And yet the simple combination of the peasant means of production in the form of collective farms has produced an effect undreamt of by our practical workers. How has this effect been expressed? In the fact that the transition to collective farming has brought with it an increase of the cultivated area by 30, 40, and 50 per cent. And how is this "dizzy" effect to be explained? By the fact that the peasants, powerless under the conditions imposed by individual labour, found themselves converted into a mighty force when they combined their tools and joined together in collective undertakings. By the fact that it became possible for the peasantry to till uncultivated land and cleared woodland, difficult of cultivation by individual labour. By the fact that it was made possible for the peasantry to get the cleared woodland into their hands. By the fact that the tracts of land hitherto uncultivated, the occasional untilled spots, and the field borders, could now be cultivated.

The question of the cultivation of untilled land and cleared woodland is of the utmost importance for our agriculture. We know that in old Russia the pivot upon which the revolutionary movement turned was the agrarian question. We know that one of the aims of the agrarian movement was to do away with the lack of land. At that time there were many who believed that this shortage of land was absolute, that there was no more free cultivable land to be had.

And what actually transpired? Now everyone sees plainly that there were dozens of millions of hectares of free soil in the Soviet Union. The peasant however possessed no possibility of tilling this soil with his inadequate tools. Since he was excluded from the possibility of cultivating difficult and woodland ground, he inclined to the "soft soil", the soil belonging to the landowners, the soil adapted to tillage with the aid of the implements at the disposal of the peasant under the conditions of individual labour. This was the cause of the "shortage of land". It is therefore not to be wondered at that our grain trust now finds it possible to place under cultivation 20 million hectares of virgin soil, hitherto untilled by the peasantry, and indeed uncultivable by individual labour with the equipment of the small peasant farmer. The importance of the collectivisation movement in every one of its phases, whether its most primitive phase, or in the advanced phase in which it is equipped with tractors, lies in the fact that the peasantry is now placed in a position to till uncultivated and woodland soil. This is one of the advantages of collective farming over the individual peasant farm. It need not be emphasised that the advantages of the collective farms over the individual farms will be even more incontestable when our machine and tractor gangs hasten to the aid of the primitive collective farms in the completely collectivised districts, and when the collective farms themselves are given the possibility of concentrating tractors and combine machines in their own hands.

(To be concluded.)

POLITICS

The Trial of the Tschervonetz Forgers in Berlin.

By Albert Norden (Berlin).

In the little hall of the Berlin Court in which the case of the Tschervonetz forgers is being tried, a chapter of world history is being displayed to view. The names of oil concerns and political committees, international trust magnates and German nationalist leaders, of politicians and adventurers of all possible nations are continually being mentioned in the proceedings.

The accused in the dock are only criminal tools. They are hirelings of the type of **Weber, Bell and Becker**, who cannot refrain from the work of murdering workers. They are the henchmen of **Colonel Ehrhardt**, and (these famous nationalists!) are frequent inmates of German prisons on account of espionage against Germany. There is only one of them who is at all marked out from the rest: **Shalva Karumidse**, bourgeois-Georgian parliamentarian and "fighter for freedom till my death", and, incidentally, a sheep breeder, banker and hide dealer drawing high commissions.

The president of the Court is a man of extreme modesty. If any mention is made of **Ehrhardt** and **Deterding**, of **General Kress von Kressenstein** or **General Lossow**, then he is painfully embarrassed and becomes as silent as the grave. For these gentlemen behind the scenes occupy high positions in bourgeois society and therefore no slur must be cast on them. All the more, on the other hand, the Court allows the accused and their defending counsel to give free vent to their hatred against the Soviet Union, to their expressions of hatred against Bolshevism in Russia and in Germany.

A stout well-fed gentleman appears who describes himself as the representative of the legendary **Georgian Menshevik Government in Paris**. German class judges know what is due to such a coffee-house government, and so **Mr. Achmetelli** is given a seat in Court set apart only for officials, close beside the representative of the Foreign Office.

An interpreter fails to put in an appearance. Who shall take his place? **A bourgeois who emigrated from Russia** to the revolution, and who in the meantime has managed to obtain the position of editor of the extremely reactionary **"Deutschen Zeitung"**.

And now there already begins the chorus of those who would like to turn back the wheel of history. The newspapers of the Second International begin to bestir themselves and suddenly display a newly found love for democracy, i. e. in **Georgia**. The times from 1918 to 1920 are conjured up again when Georgia was not yet "suppressed by the Bolsheviks", when there still existed in Tiflis the government of the Second International, of **Messrs. Jordania, Ramischvilli and Zeretelli**, when Georgia was still, allegedly, independent.

We will destroy the legend before they can build it up again! When, on the 22nd April, 1918, the Mensheviks made use of the conclusion of the Brest-Litovsk peace as a pretext for proclaiming the independence of Transcaucasia, they converted the country into a scene of war between the various races of peoples, into a labyrinth of trenches, in order to destroy completely the young revolution. They called the **Sultan**. They called the **German emperor**. When both of these were overthrown they called for the troops of the **Entente** and converted Georgia into a plaything in the hands of the imperialists. And all this solely in order to fight against the Soviet power in the north and to keep down the city and rural poor in Transcaucasia itself.

"I would prefer the imperialists of the West to the fanatics of the East!" exclaimed **Jordania** on the 14th January, 1919, in the Constituent Assembly in Tiflis. And so, along with the imperialists of the West, he replied to the land movements of the small peasants by burning down whole villages; he pitilessly combated with blood and iron the strikes of workers which continually broke out. While the workers and peasants were shedding their blood for the

and the liberty of the proletariat, the oil from Baku flowing into the oilships of the Entente. For that was the meaning of the alliance between the Mensheviks and the Socialists. The latter set up a wall of bayonets against the oilmen, in return for which the Mensheviks gave them the oil, this most important raw material of the modern industry.

In the meantime some historic events took place. The Georgian proletariat drove out their Menshevik tormentors with the Entente troops. The red flags waved over the derricks of Georgia. The suppressed nationalities became peoples, who, in the exercise of completely unfettered right of self-determination, have joined the Soviet Union. Nationalisation is making tremendous headway, and with it the electrification of the country. The peasants are uniting in collective farms.

But just as little as the workers of Georgia have forgotten their former oppression and are prepared to defend themselves against all imperialist penetration, so the former private capitalist exploiters are equally determined to regain possession of the oil wells.

Between the American Standard Oil Company and the Royal Dutch Shell a fierce competitive struggle is raging. The German Generals, the Georgian Menshevik emigrants and the fascist associations of Germany — these, along with the Second International, were the cards on which Deterding has stakes. But these cards proved to be no trumps.

By dragging out the case for over two years, by placing prosecution papers in the hands of the accused, it has been possible to let the men behind the scenes disappear into the darkness, out of which no judge or public prosecutor will drag them. But they are and remain at work. It is therefore doubly necessary that the international proletariat remains on the alert, in order to thwart the designs of the document and money forgers and their principals, the capitalist warmongers.

The Sham-Opposition of the Maxton-Wheatley Group and the Policy of the Labour Government.

By A. Ferguson (London).

The question of the alleged revolt of the Maxton-Wheatley Group of the Labour Party is of special interest. The Glasgow "Forward", organ of the I.L.P., assures us that the revolt is really serious. The press was full of phrases like "split in Labour Party", "recalcitrant Clydesiders", "serious situation developing", etc., Mr. Compton M.P. proposed motion for the disciplining of Maxton and Co.; Mr. Little M.P. leaves the I.L.P. — the I.L.P. atmosphere is thick with talks of resignations, secessions, etc.

The really significant thing about the whole talk and fuss about splits etc. is that so far, not one single leader of the Labour Party has attacked the Maxton Wheatley group. Not a word from MacDonald, Henderson, Clynes, or even, not a manifesto, no public condemnation of the traitor rebels. It is quite plain that if the situation were as depicted by some people, then the managers of the Labour Party and the leaders of the Labour government who are supposed to be "seriously embarrassed" by the Clydeside revolt, would at least have replied to the attack. But so far no publication has been given that the Hendersons, MacDonalds and Co. are at all seriously worried by this supposed revolt.

As a matter of cold hard fact, the revolt is no revolt at all. It means nothing in the stage of decisive action and has neither the desire nor will to strike the Labour government nor power. The only possible conclusion that can be drawn from the silence of the Labour chiefs is that this "revolt" has been undertaken with their consent and support.

The smaller fry of the Labour Party may agitate themselves about the "Clyde recalcitrants", but the leaders are deliberately using them, as the safety valve of the present situation of militancy among the working class of Britain. This they have played now several times, and they are masters at it. A glance at Maxton's record will show clearly.

In 1924, when the workers were dissatisfied with the Labour Government of that period, it was Maxton and Company who came to the rescue. They revolted

at that time also against the Labour Government; they even voted against them, when there was no danger of defeating them; by their "revolt" in 1924 the Clydesiders canalised the militancy of the workers and led them back to the standard of the Social Democratic leadership they had pretended to revolt against.

In 1925, the same I.L.P. which is now pretending to fight the Labour leadership voted as a delegation for the expulsion of the Communists from the Labour Party.

Again it was Maxton who appealed to the workers to stand firm for the Labour Party even although this Party was driving out of its ranks all militant working class elements and attracting to itself crowds of middle class Liberals and Conservatives.

In 1926, when the General Strike was betrayed, what did these alleged revolters do. Geo. Buchanan M. P., one of the big three in the "Clyde Group", endorsed in an article the unparalleled betrayal of 1926. Maxton, Wheatley and Co. were the people who after a few feeble whines about the calling off of the strike, turned round and used their position to ask the workers to believe the very men who had so despicably betrayed them.

In 1927, at the Mond Negotiations, it was again the same Maxton-Wheatley crowd, who developed the stage-managed revolts along with Cook against Mondism. Here was a situation when the militancy of the working class was perceptibly rising. It was absolutely necessary for the T.U. and Labour bureaucracy to find some method of preventing a revolutionary development and mobilisation of that militancy. The Maxton-Wheatley Group along with A. J. Cook staged the pretended revolt, in order to get to the head of the rising mass movement and run it to seed.

To-day the same game is being played. But the intervention of the Lefts is more urgently necessary than ever before: the contradictions between the election promises of the Labour Party and its present policy is so great in regard to a number of questions, that it would lead to a dangerous tension unless the spectacle were furnished of an alleged fight within the Party itself. This applies especially to the mining problem. The promise of the Labour Party could not be talked away, and equally inexorable was the necessity to introduce a bill into Parliament which turns into lies all the solemnly given promises. Here also it was necessary to intervene, and here also there followed the prompt action of the Maxton-Wheatley group. It was known that a majority, even if a narrow one, was assured, with the votes of some Liberals, therefore this intervention was as cheap as it was impressive. But also in a number of other cases as for instance in the vote on the two "reform" proposals regarding unemployment insurance, it was possible for 37 Labour Party members to vote against the Government without in any way endangering it. As a matter of fact the government, which is entirely under the domination of the Liberal Party and cannot and will not put through any measure without the approval of the latter (in the "question of the recognition of the Soviet Union the Liberal Party had to adopt a somewhat reproachful tone towards the Labour Government) has so excellently arranged matters that on the half a dozen occasions when Labour members voted with the opposition the formal Parliamentary existence of the Government was not threatened.

On every hand the indications of disillusionment with the Labour Government are seen. Among the masses not only is there widespread discontent, but this discontent is breaking out into action. The Labour Party managers are alive to the danger. They realise that so far as they (themselves) are concerned, their prospects of stemming this are negligible, and so the call goes out for the bringing into action of the pretended Lefts. No wonder that Arthur Henderson M. P. His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, at the height of the talk about the revolt, puts his arm round Maxton's neck and says: "Jimmy, you'll never be expelled from the Labour Party with my consent." No wonder that Ellen Wilkinson M. P. says that "Jas Maxton is the best supporter MacDonald has".

To-day the masses are moving against the Social Fascists. Maxton and Wheatley's attempt to run this movement to seed will fail. The only division between MacDonald and Maxton is a division of work in the task of swindling the masses and fixing them to the chariot of Capitalism.

Regrouping in the Polish Government.

By J. S.

After a ministerial crisis, lasting for three weeks after the vote of censure passed on the Svitalski Cabinet in the Sejm session of 4th December, fascist Poland received a new government on New Year's day.

It is true, it is not a very "new" Cabinet. Prime Minister Bartel was, after the fascist May upheaval in 1926, already twice Prime Minister and once Vice-President. He is the permanent substitute Minister of Marshal Pilsudski.

During the Premiership of Bartel, as well as during that of Svitalski, Marshal Pilsudski concentrated in his hands the sole leadership of the army, the foreign policy, of the relations of the government to the Sejm, in short, the leadership of the whole policy of the government. In other words, there never was a Bartel or Svitalski government: there were only different consecutive editions of Marshal Pilsudski's government.

The new edition of the government, therefore, differs but little from the former one, so far as its composition is concerned. Of the various groups which are competing with each other within the camp of so-called sanitation (Pilsudski's party) the group of the "Colonels" obtained the upper hand. There remained in the government Colonel Boerner who is closely allied with the naphtha capital exploiting the West Ukrainian naphtha wells, Colonel Matuszevski, "ideologist" of Polish fascism, Colonel Prystor, Labour Minister (notorious as inciter of the pogrom against the sick insurance institutions and the offensive against the achievements of the working class), and the majority of the former Ministers.

Among the four new Ministers there are to be found three politically neutral bureaucrats; on the other hand the nomination of Jozefski, hitherto Volhynian Voivode, as Minister of the Interior, is of great political significance. Jozefski was one of the members of the Petliura government. Later on he was one of the organisers of Poland's alliance with Petliura and of the campaign against Kiev. As voivode of Volhynia Jozefski suppressed the Ukrainian population and protected the White Russian emigrants and all the counter-revolutionary actions against the U.S.S.R. In the year 1928 he brought about a diplomatic incident by his speech, in which he openly announced the preparation of a new Kiev campaign. The Krakow "Kurjer Ilustrowany", a government paper, interpreted the nomination of Jozefski as a "strengthening of the protection" of the Polish frontier population and abandonment of the "former liberalism" in regard to the national emancipation movement in West Ukraina.

The regrouping of the Pilsudski government only means that this government will on the one hand continue the Parliamentary game, at which Mr. Switalski has proved to be a clumsy player, that with the retention of the Parliamentary forms there will be carried out the so-called "reform of the Constitution" i. e. a better adaptation of the Constitution to the de facto existing fascist regime, while, on the other hand, the policy of suppression and terror against the working and peasant masses and the national minorities, as well as the policy of the preparation of war against the U.S.S.R., will be continued and increased.

What is the attitude of the Sejm Opposition, the so-called democratic bloc headed by the P. P. S., towards this new edition of the Pilsudski government? Whilst the P.P.S. is proclaiming the necessity of "liquidating the system initiated after the May upheaval", it sets its hopes upon Mr. Bartel, one of the most pronounced representatives of this system. The organ of the P.P.S. welcomed the nomination of Bartel as Prime Minister as a "victory of the Constitution and of right over the insolent demagoguery and the light-minded appeals to revolt", and declared at the same time that "the social democratic party of Poland and the trade union federations perfectly realise that the situation of the young State demands many sacrifices of us". The P.P.S. is therefore preparing openly to support the government, to scramble after government jobs and to demand further sacrifices of the impoverished and starving masses.

The composition of the new Cabinet created great surprise in the ranks of the P.P.S. The group of colonels has not only retained its government positions, but Mr. Prystor, the promoter of the rival party B.B.S. (an open fascist group

which split from the P.P.S.), has remained Minister for Labour. The P.P.S. gives expression to its discontent by means of petty and personal attacks on Prystor, while at the same time abandoning its sham opposition in favour of an open cynical support of the allegedly renewed fascist Cabinet.

But neither the manoeuvres of the fascist government nor of the social-fascist leaders are capable of damming back the growing movement among the masses, which is called forth by the growth of unemployment, pressure of taxation etc. Demonstrations and revolts of peasants, chiefly against the taxes, took place in different parts of the country (Western Ukraina, Lomza etc.). Unemployed demonstrations took place in Warsaw, Posen, Grandenz, Lodz, Pabianice, Tomaszow etc. A number of economic struggles (of miners, smelting workers, metal workers, agricultural workers etc.) prove the growing resistance of the masses to ruthless exploitation. A number of demonstrations of the Warsaw workers (on the occasion of the government crisis, against the sentence on the 24 Communists, against the imperialist intervention in China) are the expression of the growing consciousness and the enhanced activity of the revolutionary advance-guard, which is lending political ripeness to the spontaneous actions of the masses.

The Communist Party of Poland, which has to conduct the fight under the most difficult conditions, is untiringly showing to the masses the path of revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship and for the establishment of the Polish Soviet Republic upon its ruins. The complaints of the bourgeois press on the growth of the Communist influence upon the masses are clear proof that this work is not in vain and that the working masses are gathering in increasing numbers round the banner of its revolutionary advance-guard.

THE BALKANS

Fascist Yugoslavia on the Threshold of the Second Year.

By F. Philippovitch (Belgrade).

In April and May 1929 Fascist Yugoslavia concluded with Czechoslovakia and Rumania military treaties against the Soviet Union. The chiefs of the general staffs of these States of the Little Entente at that time held a Conference at Bucharest, at which the representative of the French General Staff, General Nollet was present. Yugoslavia and Roumania pledged themselves at that Conference to come to the assistance of Rumania in the event of it becoming the "victim of an attack on the part of the Soviet Union".

Belgrade is the chief centre of the Russian war-like white guardist emigration. King Alexander officially receives at his court General Kutepov, the leader of the Russian white guards. Wrangel's corpse, which was conveyed from Brussels, was buried with royal honours in Belgrade.

Yugoslavia has been striving from the very first to acquire hegemony on the Balkan Peninsula. With the slogan "The Balkans for the Balkan peoples!", the Great-Servian bourgeoisie is in reality conducting its own imperialist great Power policy. It is striving for an outlet on the Egean Sea and does not abandon the hope of obtaining Salonika. The Great-Servian imperialism is vitally interested in including Albania in "its sphere of influence and interests", as the Albanian coast is an important strategic area for Yugoslavia. The Servian bourgeoisie is striving to unite under its hegemony "all Yugoslavian territory" by which it also means Greece, Macedonia with Salonika, a great portion of Albania, Istria and Bulgaria.

The fascist dictatorship, which carried out the coup d'etat on the 6th of January 1929, has set itself the aim of consolidating the international position of Yugoslavia, strengthening the Great-Servian imperialist policy on the Balkans and preparing more energetically for a new war. This aim is to be achieved by the long standing frontier conflict with Bulgaria, the mass murder of the Bulgarian population on the frontier between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, feverish activity

the Albanian frontier, the physical destruction of the Albanian population in Macedonia and Kosovo, and the construction of strategic railways and roads.

Against these efforts of fascist Yugoslavia, Italian fascism has been endeavouring to set up an anti-Serbian front of all things suppressed by Great-Serbian imperialism. Italian imperialism is supporting Bulgaria and lends secret support to the Macedonian movement. By pursuing a policy of stirring antagonisms between Greece and Yugoslavia, Mussolini has revived the former hostility on the part of Greece caused by the fascist attack on Corfu. In its fight against Yugoslavia, Italian fascism has found in Hungary a perfectly devoted ally.

Italy succeeded already in 1926 in concluding a treaty with Albania, the so-called **Pact of Tirana** of 25th November 1926, by which Italian imperialism pledged itself to assist the Achmet Zog government in the event of any danger threatening the Albanian dictator. Yugoslavia tried to parry this blow by celebrating the signing of a treaty of alliance with France (11th November, 1927). But some days after the fact of the signing of the Treaty between France and Yugoslavia had become public, Mussolini replied with the conclusion of a military alliance with Albania.

In order to isolate and encircle Yugoslavia, the Italian Government promised Albania to assist her in obtaining a loan.

Of course France did not adopt a friendly attitude towards the new Albanian policy and the conversion of Albania into an Italian vassal. At the beginning of December 1929 France sent a portion of her Mediterranean fleet, under the command of Admiral Dubois, to the Yugoslavian port of Sibenik in order to demonstrate the military collaboration of France and Yugoslavia. Sibenik is that port on the Adriatic which is nearest to the Italian coast. It serves as a naval station for the Yugoslavian submarines which were recently built in France.

The year's balance of the fascist generals' dictatorship has proved totally negative in the sphere of foreign policy. Yugoslavia which is surrounded on all sides by enemies, is compelled to increase enormously its military expenditure. As she pursues a hostile policy towards all her neighbours and is connected by anti-Soviet military treaties with all the States of the Little Entente, she is at present one of the main centres of the European war danger. The more the political crisis in Yugoslavia grows the more the fascist dictatorship will strive to seek a way out by provoking military adventures in order to prevent the inner contradictions from leading to a revolutionary outbreak.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the toiling masses are marching towards the revolutionary upsurge under the following slogans: "Down with imperialism! Down with the Long live the Soviet Union! Long live the workers' and peasants government! Long live the Balkan Federation of workers and peasants Republics!"

Discovery of New "Terrorist Organisations" in Croatia.

By Peter Muzevitch (Zagreb).

The printer's ink of the articles published by the Communist press regarding the "black-yellow terrorist conspiracy in Croatia" has hardly dried and already the military dictatorship is serving up new sensational discoveries of terrorist action in Croatia. Although the venal yellow press also on this occasion seeks to represent the events in Croatia as being due to "undermining work" conducted from abroad, the government was nevertheless compelled to admit that this time it had to deal with a very serious and widely ramified terrorist organisation of Croat national youth, former supporters of the Raditch party who are alleged to have planned a series of terrorist actions in particular against the train in which the "Croat" king was travelling to Belgrade in order to take part in celebrations in connection with the first anniversary of the dictatorship. The Zagreb police, who are said to have been "warned in time" by a confidential communication were able to prevent the planned attempt by arresting the "conspirators" and confiscating the explosive material and weapons. Among the arrested are a whole number of young members of the Raditch party, and also the leader of the

party Vlatko Matchek, who, according to the statements of the police, placed financial means at the disposal of the terrorist organisation. All the arrested, who have been subjected to the most frightful torture, have, it is alleged, made full confessions, with the exception of Matchek, who denies all guilt and characterises the statements of the two arrested which incriminate him, as being either extorted or deliberate lies.

There must exist serious reasons which have caused the Belgrade rulers to represent the largest Croat party, which at the last election received over 90 per cent. of all the Croat votes, as a conspiratory organisation, as it thereby follows, even if indirectly, that the Croats are dissatisfied with the existing conditions.

These reasons are to be sought, on the one hand, in the ever advancing radicalisation of the broad masses of the Croat population, and, on the other hand, in the sinister machinations of the officers' clique known as the "White Hand". It is the aim of the military-fascist dictatorship, by wholesale arrests, bloody terror, mishandlings and murder, not only of communists but also of champions of the oppressed nations, to terrorise and intimidate the masses. It seeks by the arrest of Matchek to demonstrate to the oppositional bourgeoisie the strength of the regime and to render it afraid to take any action. But in addition to all this there are other reasons for the attempt which is being made to represent Matchek and other leaders of the Croat Peasant Party, who as a matter of fact are against any active struggle, as having participated in a conspiracy. We have here a typical Balkan frame-up on the part of the "White Hand". They want to frighten King Alexander and the ruling Serbian bourgeoisie still further and to prove to them the necessity of continuing and strengthening the regime of the "strong hand" and the indispensability of the "White Hand". Matchek is being represented as a conspirator in order that General Zivkovitch and the "White Hand" can maintain and extend their positions.

The intensification of the bloody terror and the arrest of leaders of the Croatian peasants party are an emphatic denial of all the rumours current in the bourgeois press that the resignation of General Zivkovic and the gradual liquidation of the dictatorship are pending in Yugoslavia.

The consequences of this sharpening of the terror in Croatia and the whole of Yugoslavia will be quite other than the "far-seeing" politicians in general's uniform expect. The military-fascist dictatorship is freeing the masses from all illusion regarding the pacifist methods of the leaders of the Raditch Party, and is at the same time furnishing them with final proof that the armed revolt is the only way out of their desperate situation.

The political bankruptcy of the leaders of the Croatian party is now complete. They have shown that they are incapable of conducting the national emancipation struggle. In Yugoslavia, and in particular in Croatia, there is taking place a political change of the greatest importance: The oppressed masses are turning their backs on the bourgeois leaders and seeking new ways for their emancipation struggle. The terrorist actions of the Raditch youth are not only a protest against the cowardly and passive policy of the leaders, but also an outward sign of this change.

Against the passively national-reformist policy of the bourgeois leader of the Raditch party, of the Slovenian clericals, of the German party etc. the C. P. is putting forward its active revolutionary policy; against the method of individual terror it is setting up the revolutionary mass struggle. By standing unreservedly for the complete right of self-determination of all the oppressed nations the Party will win all honest national-revolutionary elements for the common fight against the military-fascist dictatorship.

Change of Address!

The address of the "Inprecorr" is now:

BERLIN C25
Bartelstraße 1-5 III, Germany.

AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

Before the First Congress of the Arab Workers of Palestine.

(Letter from Palestine.)

For several years past a growing movement has been observable among the Arab workers in Palestine. The number of the Arab proletariat in town and village is constantly increasing: on the huge orange and banana plantations, which have begun to develop at a rapid pace, thousands of Arab wage workers are employed, while in the towns a number of factories (cigarette, soap factories, etc.) have arisen, where likewise thousands of Arab workers (including women) are employed. In addition there are the workers engaged in the transport industry (before all the railway workers and dock workers).

When it is remembered that the capital brought into Palestine by the Zionists does but accelerate the pauperisation and proletarianisation of the poor Arab peasants, as well as of considerable strata of the artisans while Zionist industry absorbs only a very trifling percentage of the Arab workers, then the growth of Arab capitalism and of the Arab working class becomes plainly obvious.

One can only estimate the number of Arab workers. But if we were to put their number at 50-60,000, this estimate would be too low rather than too high. And this means very much for a country in which up to the time of the war there were at the most only a few hundred wage workers, and in which the total number of Arab inhabitants is, in round figures, 700,000. It should also be added that in the neighbouring countries, particularly in Syria, Lebanon, and Iraq, not to mention Egypt, in which a considerable industry is developing, the number of proletarians is likewise growing from year to year.

The Arab proletariat possesses no rights whatever and is subjected to unbounded exploitation. The lot of the young Arab proletarian class, whether in the service of the young Arab bourgeoisie, which exploits the workers up to the last possibility makes use of women and child labour without any restriction, pays starvation wages, and does not recognise any working time other than from sunrise to sunset and often long after; whether in the service of the young planters, or finally whether under the heel of the British mandatory government, which converts its workers on the railways and on roadmaking into simple wage slaves is a terrible one.

The competition on the labour market, caused by the wholesale impoverishment consequent on the Anglo-Zionist policy in Palestine, had become so great, that the Arab worker was glad if he was able to earn only his piece of bread, and thus the wages were pushed down to a minimum. The worker could be ill-treated and beaten without his venturing any protest, for at the first word he could be flung into the street. There exists no labour protection and no workers' insurance law, for the law issued by the government in 1927 can only be regarded as a mockery of a workers' compensation law.

At the Histadruth Congress (Histadruth is a Jewish trade union under Zionist leadership and affiliated to the Amsterdam International) held in the summer of 1927, a delegation of 2000 Arab workers appeared in order to propose common organisation but met with the answer: "The Histadruth is a Jewish organisation and does not accept any Arabs as members." The only thing which the Histadruth Congress promised was to help in the organisation of a **separate** trade union bloc, but it must **not** be in the Histadruth.

But even this promise was broken in the most shameful manner. Instead of helping the Arab workers to organise, they combated in the most despicable way every attempt at organisation. If an Arab strike took place, as for example the strike of the bakers in Jerusalem, then the Histadruth "took it over" in order to betray it and to find jobs for Jewish workers in place of the striking Arab workers. If a Conference of Arab workers took place organised by the "Ihud" Unity Club, then it was columniated and denounced as Communist by the Histadruth organ until the government stepped in and dissolved it.

In spite of everything Arab workers associations have arisen in Palestine; but they came under the influence of the

Arab nationalists. Nevertheless there exists in Haifa an Arab Workers' Association, numbering a few hundred workers, and there also exists a sort of workers' party in Nablus, as well as some individual trade unions in Jaffa and Jerusalem. In the year 1929 the Arab workers exhibited an increased desire to organise.

The August revolt of the Arabs in Palestine showed with remarkable clearness how fatal is the lack of organisation of the Arab working masses for the revolutionary movement of the country. The Histadruth leaders made use of the August events in order to conduct an even more savage chauvinistic anti-Arab incitement. These leaders, who are mainly responsible for having driven the Arab working class into the arms of bourgeois Arab nationalism, now venture to designate the Arab workers as "pogromists", "murderers"; and the extreme "Left" wing of the Zionist "Labour Party", the Poale Zion, even demanded that the Jewish workers be armed against the Arabs.

On the other hand, the Arab workers feel that the time has come to convene their Congress and to raise their class voice. The Arab nationalists feel instinctively that, while they have been easily able to "lead" all other congresses (of the students, peasants, merchants and journalists), the working class can become for them a dangerous rival in regard to the leadership of and the hegemony of the people's movement. Hence the nationalists endeavoured to postpone the workers' congress as long as possible, if not to annul it completely.

But the spontaneous drive of the working class proved to be stronger. Under the pressure of the masses the leaders of the **Haifa Arab Workers' Association** were compelled to convene for the 11th of January, 1930 a **general Palestinian Arab Workers' Congress** for the purpose of founding an **Arab Workers' Federation**. Not only are all existing Arab workers' organisations to participate in this Congress, but also the unorganised workers shall have the right to elect delegates. Moreover, representatives of workers' organisations from the **neighbouring countries** — Egypt, Syria and Iraq — have been invited to send representatives.

The idea of the Congress is being taken up with enthusiasm by the Arab workers. Whoever sees the eagerness with which the Arab workers speak of the necessity of the Congress and of founding their own union, will perceive how false and lying are the sarcastic remarks of the Histadruth organ, which tries to represent the Congress as a "nationalist affair". These agents of Amsterdam do not see the awakening of the Arab working class, do not understand that with this Congress it comes forward for the first time as an independent factor.

At the same time it would be a mistake to underestimate the efforts of the Arab bourgeoisie to make use of this movement of the Arab workers for their own purposes and prevent the workers from putting forward their own fighting and class slogans. With this object in view the Arab bourgeois press is already developing a comprehensive incitement against the Communists, and is endeavouring to convince the workers that they can best realise their demands **with** and **not against** the other sections of the population.

But the awakening Arab workers must find forces within themselves to overcome this bourgeois and reformist influence, and in this connection also the Arab workers' Congress represents an important stage in the Arab workers' movement. It will be the task of the revolutionary workers organised in the R.I.L.U. section, "workers' fraction", to raise the Arab workers' Congress to a level enabling it to fulfil its revolutionary and class tasks.

For the Independence of the Arab Countries!

Message of Greetings from the League Against Imperialism to the Congress of the Arab Workers of Palestine.

In the name of the Executive Committee, of the General Council and of the affiliated and associated organisations of the **International League Against Imperialism**, we send the most cordial greetings to the first general Congress of the Arab Workers of Palestine.

In the great movement of revolt of the oppressed and exploited peoples for the overthrow of imperialism and the attainment of complete freedom and independence, the heroic struggle of the Arab nation is of the very greatest importance.

The events of the last few months in Palestine and the brutal methods that have been adopted by the MacDonald-Government to maintain Britain's imperialist exploitation, have roused among all friends of freedom in the whole world the desire to stand by the militant Arab masses and to support them by effective international solidarity. The League Against Imperialism which unites in an international organisation the anti-imperialist elements in the imperialist and colonial countries, has been following the struggle of the Arabs with admiration and has already undertaken all possible steps to combat and expose the imperialist propaganda of Great Britain and of the Zionists. The League will continue to perform its obvious duty by mobilising international support for the emancipation movement of the Arab nation.

But we should be wanting in our duty to the Arab workers if we failed to draw attention to a great danger that threatens them — namely that the heroic struggle, in which the broad masses of the Arab people have made such great sacrifices, might be prematurely broken off from within before full national independence and federal unity have been achieved. It has become clear during the last few months that there are certain Arab groups that are not interested in carrying on the struggle against imperialism to its logical conclusion. Proofs of this are supplied by the attitude of the Arab Executive and the feudal and clerical leaders during the General strike in Palestine, by the negotiations of certain Arab leaders in London, by the evidence given before the Imperialist Enquiry Commission, and by the expressed desire of the landlords and the reformist leaders to come to an agreement with the Zionist agents of imperialism.

It is our opinion, therefore, that in the struggle for the overthrow of imperialism it is by no means sufficient to fight only against the Balfour Declaration and against Zionism. The broad masses of workers and peasants must be on their guard against their reformist national leaders who are seeking compromise with British Imperialism at their expense and who will then carry on a fight against the masses struggling against imperialist exploitation, for the independence and unification of the Arab countries and for the social emancipation of the Arab workers and peasants. This danger must be kept constantly in view.

Your Workers' Congress is a proof that the Arab workers have begun to realize the historic task which devolves upon them in the great struggle for national liberty. The union of the organised workers with the organised peasant masses will ensure the overthrow of imperialism and the final victory of your great ideals.

Long live the Arab working class!

Long live the revolutionary united front of the workers, peasants, fellahs and Bedouins!

Down with imperialism, its Zionist agents and the Arab traitors!

Long live the free and independent Federation of Arab countries!

League against Imperialism, International Secretariat.

Open Letter from the Y. C. I. to the All-Indian Youth Congress and to All Young Workers and Peasants of India.

Comrades and Brothers!

The YCI, in the name of millions of young workers of the world, addresses itself to your Congress and to all young toilers of India on questions of interest to hundreds of millions of the Indian people.

The YCI is an organisation of the best representatives of the toiling youth of 63 countries, and has everywhere been in the front ranks in the struggle against capitalism. Its members stood in the front ranks of the great Chinese revolution, just as they are fighting now in all parts of the world for the emancipation of India.

We, as friends and comrades who have shown in deed our devotion to the interests of the colonial peoples and the world revolution, now address ourselves to you.

The progressive representatives of the Indian people, the workers, are actively fighting against imperialism and exploi-

tation, showing an example of heroism and tenacity in the struggle for the liberation of the Indian people which has brought them forwards as the leaders of the Indian Revolution. The spirit of revolt among the Indian peasantry against the landlords and imperialists is growing in maturity.

The revolutionary struggle of the workers and peasants of India is only a part of the world struggle against imperialism, a part of the world revolution. Already imperialism has lost one-sixth of the globe — the USSR, in which the nations that inhabit it are building a new life, building up Socialism and in which all national hatred has been forgotten. The Soviet Union is the fatherland of the workers of the world, the friend of all oppressed peoples in their liberation war, and just as the imperialists of the world are preparing for war, against that country, so must the workers of the world prepare for its defence.

The activity of the masses of India in the fight for a new life, their heroism, their good organisation, have shown to the world what events are maturing in India and have at the same time compelled the Liberals, the reformists and the imperialists to reckon with the force of the mass movement of the workers and peasants.

The imperialists, as represented by the "Labour Government" of Great Britain, are preparing weapons and soldiers against the mass movement of the workers and peasants, will try to drown their revolutionary struggles in blood, while playing upon the demands of the Indian people by promising Dominion rights to India in the distant future. The nationalist bourgeoisie, pretending readiness to fight against imperialism, is in fact throttling the Indian people and especially its progressive champions — the Indian workers, as seen in the betrayal of the peasants of Bardoli, the struggle carried on in Bombay against strikes, and its compromise on the question of Dominion rights. The National Congress, which represents the interests of the bourgeoisie and liberal landlords, actually retards the revolutionary movement, uttering revolutionary phrases in order to deprive it of its revolutionary character. It has long ago betrayed the masses of the Indian people and cannot lead their struggle against British imperialism, its object is to arrive at a peaceful agreement with the British imperialists for the oppression of the Indian people.

Every honest revolutionary who believes not in what people, political parties and organisations say, but in what they do, will see that all the talk of the leaders of the National Congress and of the League of Independence is downright deception of the masses, which becomes more dangerous now, when the mass of workers, peasants and toilers have shown their readiness to fight. Their best representatives are now in the jails of the Labour Government — with the actual benediction of the leaders of the National Congress.

The Labour Government of British Imperialism will continue to promulgate laws to worsen the conditions of the masses, legalising exploitation and slavery. The National Congress will "retaliate" by issuing declarations that "there can be no fight now and that the people must wait".

Comrades and brothers, many of you have already worked among the masses, have come forth from the masses and known their sentiments. Many of you, while actively fighting against British Imperialism, still believe in the National Congress, in the League of Independence, and in the identity of the classes and the Indian people. Many of you really want to go to the masses of workers and peasants, to help them build and develop their organisations. It is to you that we now appeal.

Sever your contact with the National Congress and the League of Independence, disclose their falseness and treachery.

Show them up for what they are, as assistants of British imperialism.

Drive the traitors, the phrasemongers, out of your ranks.

Everyone of you who takes part in the movement of the youth, who is an honest fighter and who wants to fight with all possible means against British imperialism for the benefit of the Indian people must understand that he has nothing in common with the liberal bourgeoisie, the landlords, and their spineless intellectual flunkies.

What is it that you must fight for? You must fight not in the interests of a handful of moneybags, but in the interests of the 400 million Indian people, you must fight for Communism — our ultimate aim, for the abolition of exploitation of man by man, for full equality of all people. But for this one must fight in India first of all for the workers' right to strike, to organise their trade unions, to work an 8-hour day, to enjoy human conditions, to abolish exploitation in the factories, mills and railways, etc. The workers must be helped in their struggle against exploitation. The struggle of the workers is a struggle in the interests of all Indian people. The Indian workers have already been and must be the leaders and teachers of the mass of Indian toilers.

You must fight for the right of the peasants to the land, for the confiscation of the landed estates, for the annulment of usurious debts, the abolition of usury, and the abolition of feudal relations. The peasants must be helped in their struggle for land. They must be helped to seize the land and to get rid of the landlords, to organise in the struggle against the landlords and against British imperialism.

A struggle must be waged for freedom — not in words, but in deeds. Such freedom can be guaranteed only by a workers' and peasants' government, by Soviets. Any other Government in India will be a government of violence and oppression. Anyone who fights against the establishment of a Soviet Government in India differs from the British imperialists only in the methods of oppression of the Indian people.

How to fight? The fight must be a revolutionary one, the methods used by such people as Nehru Junior, people who fight against British imperialism with their tongues in the homes of the rich, at Liberal meetings, must be exposed. The workers must be helped to organise their strikes, the peasants must be helped to seize the land, and preparations must be made for a general strike of the Indian masses. A general political strike will show the masses their strength, will organise them, and will deliver a serious blow to British imperialism. Prepare for a general strike, organise committees of action, organise the masses, disarm imperialism and attract the mass of soldiers to the side of revolution, work among the forces. We reject individual terror as a method. Mass action is the best weapon in the hands of the revolution.

Whom to fight with? You must go together with the workers and peasants, together with the Communists and with the Young Communist League of India, who alone are capable of leading the Indian masses to the end. The Indian Communists are the vanguard of the Indian working class. The Young Communist League is the vanguard of the young workers of India. We call upon the best of you to join and build the Young Communist League which aims at the preparation of the masses of young toilers for revolutionary conflicts by means of active participation in the daily struggles of the workers and peasants against landlord and capitalist exploitation.

The YCL fights in the interests of the young workers and peasants. It aims at the securing of better working conditions for the young workers, and at leading their struggle, and takes steps towards their education. The YCL fights for the revolutionary enlightenment of all young toilers.

Build the Young Communist League. Draw the young workers and the best revolutionary representatives of young peasants into the organisation. Only under the leadership of the Young Communist League of India will the movement of the Indian youth be able to fulfil its historical mission — to be in the front ranks of the Indian revolution.

Long live the revolutionary struggle for a Soviet India!

Long live the revolutionary youth of India!

Down with the leadership of the National Congress and the League of Independence!

Long live the Communist Party of India!

Long live the Young Communist League of India!

Long live the USSR!

Executive Committee of the YCL.
Executive Committee YCL Great Britain.
Executive Committee YCL Germany.
Executive Committee YCL China.
Executive Committee YCL France.
Executive Committee YCL Holland.
Executive Committee YCL America.

Terror, Famine and Pestilence in Indonesia.

By Gerard Vanter (Amsterdam).

The Dutch bourgeois press is regularly publishing the short official reports, that again a new transport of deportees has been conveyed to the concentration camp of Digul in New Guinea. Indonesians who are suspected of communism are being banished to Digul by the Dutch government. Only once has a bourgeois journalist succeeded in inspecting this camp. He called it a hell in which the deportees are perishing of malaria, black fever and mental isolation.

But only those who are suspected of Communism are being tortured to death in this way. Very little has been published by the press regarding the sufferings of these thousands of deportees. Recently the "Nieuwe Soerabajasche Courant" published a report concerning the prison in Pamekasan on the isle of Madura, where four European warders have been wounded by a prisoner who had become insane. In this prison there are only Communists; the mood of the prisoners, who are being slowly tortured to death, is such that the director of the prison gave instructions that the prison door be opened only in the presence of two warders with drawn swords. There are 610 prisoners in this prison, 405 of whom have been waging a constant fight ever since they were delivered into prison. They refused to do any work and were cruelly mishandled of which mishandlings the Dutch press only reported what it considered necessary.

The rich islands of Indonesia offer hardly any possibility of livelihood for the native population. The news regarding the famine in the islands of Flores and Madura is appalling. Wolff, a catholic missionary reports on conditions in Flores. He describes how the population is leaving the villages and going into the jungle in quest of food. But the jungle offer only insufficient food and as the population finds only impure water, numerous cases of dysentery are to be observed. The missionary reports frightful details of the death of women and children; he complains that he had not sufficient time to baptise all the dying children. Of the 500 children whom he baptised, 50 have died already. The official government reports laconically state that in these famine districts "there can be seen everywhere horrifying figures of starving, exhausted and emaciated people" who died in dozens in the months of September and October.

But the government of the pious Dutch exploiters has not granted a pennyworth of aid. Already in May the facts of the famine were known, but it is only now that rice for seed purposes has been sent into the districts most seriously affected.

At the same time the Indonesian government granted an additional credit of 350 000 florins for the extension of the police force on the Western coast of Sumatra, i. e. for the protection of the Dutch planters living there.

The poverty of the native population of Madura is so great that they live exclusively on wild fruits and the leaves of the Nangka tree. The cattle are dying and the natives are compelled to pawn what little property they possess. In addition there are the appalling sanitary conditions. Epidemic diseases are spreading as a result of the permanent malnutrition of the population and are claiming a tremendously high percentage of victims. The press of the Dutch exploiters is now paying attention to the plague of boils, because it threatens to affect also the Dutch. The population of Bandung and Semarang showed great indifference towards this pest; they regard death as a happy release.

Meanwhile "the terror against the Communists and Nationalists" is being increased. The cynical murder regime in Indonesia is splendidly illustrated by the following quotation from a big Indonesian daily "Nieuws van den Dag voor Nederlandsch Indie". On the occasion of mutinies of political prisoners the paper wrote:

"The prisoners are striking! They conspire, they make attempts to murder the prison guards! The prisoners put forward their demands. . . We are having a fine time of it with these riff-raff who are costing the treasury millions every year! If at the time of the revolt more and more shooting had taken place, then, we think, the government would now have less difficulties with these good for nothings!"

The economic crisis in Indonesia is becoming more acute. The Chairman of the Union of Importers in Batavia reports

decline of business in the whole of Indonesia. Exports have greatly declined the last year or so, especially the export of tea.

It is obvious that a new revolutionary situation like that of the year 1926 is approaching. The terror in Indonesia is not a sign of strength on the part of the Dutch bloody rules. The Indonesian revolutionary movement can only temporarily be dammed back by violent measures. Dutch social democracy, which furnishes the best hangmen for Indonesia, declares that the Dutch regime in Indonesia has many good sides and the independence and the right of self-determination of Indonesia is an impossibility.

The approaching revolt of the Indonesian masses under the leadership of the **Communist Party of Indonesia** will prove that Indonesia is not only ripe to take her fate into her own hands but is prepared to fight and to win. In the meantime the **Dutch Communists** will do their duty and make it clear to the Dutch workers that the Indonesian revolution will also deal a terrible blow to the rule of the Dutch capitalists over their white slaves in Holland.

* * *

Amsterdam, 2nd January 1929.

Hundreds of communists and national-revolutionaries have been arrested in **Batavia, Bandoeng, Pekalongan, Surabaya, Cheribon**, and other large towns. Mass searches have also been carried out.

The Dutch Communist Party organised a protest demonstration in Amsterdam, which was attacked by the police who batoned the demonstrators, confiscated a number of banners and arrested two persons, including comrade **Lakerveld**, a member of the Central Committee of the Dutch Communist Party.

INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY COMPETITION

The First Results of the Revolutionary Competition of the Berlin-Brandenburg Party Organisation.

By H. Pfeiffer (Berlin).

The idea of revolutionary competition as an important means to mobilise the masses, to enhance the struggle against social and national fascism and for the overthrow of the bourgeois rule, as the most important method of the united front tactics, was adopted by the district committee of Berlin-Brandenburg in November last year. On the 7th of November a conference of Berlin Party workers decided on a plan of revolutionary competition with the Paris, Moscow and Hamburg Party organisations.

The first results are now to hand. Good results have before all been achieved in the recruiting of new members. Originally the aim was set to win 4000 new Party members by the 15th Februar 1930. This number was soon surpassed. Within a fortnight 5500 new Party members were won. The aim was now raised to 10 000 new Party members by the 15th February, and already up to 30th December 6837 new Party members were won in Berlin and 780 in the province of Brandenburg.

A further success was the election of delegates to the National Congress of the Trade Union Opposition. In the competition plan the number of delegates for the district was fixed at 300. In actual fact, 562 delegates were elected and financed by factories and oppositional trade union organisations. 435 delegates actually attended the Congress.

New members have also been won for the Young Communist League. The competition plan provides for 1000 new members by the 15th of February. Already now 800 new members have been recruited. In addition, hundreds of new members have been won for the anti-fascist defence organisations, for the Red Aid and other revolutionary workers' organisations.

Considerable success is to be recorded in the collection of money for the fighting fund of the C. P. of Germany. Un-

to the present 36,000 marks have been collected, the aim being 100,000 marks. About 1000 new subscribers to the "Rote Fahne" and "Volks-Echo" have been gained, five new local branches and a number of factory nuclei founded.

Only the method of the mutual competition of the nuclei and local branches has brought about these good results. The election victory in Berlin in November last has convinced many vacillating members of the correctness of the decisions of the Wedding Party Congress and of the X. E. C. C. I. Plenum. The winning of many new members is the expression of the growing confidence of the non-Party workers in the Party. The workers in the factories are attentively following and discussing the successes of the Party in the recruiting campaign. For the first time since 1923 the Party has been able to draw new fresh forces into the Party, to overcome the year-long stagnation and fluctuation of Party membership, which was in contradiction to the growing influence of the Party over the working masses.

New methods were applied in this mass work, such as, for instance, the organisation of well-prepared factory meetings with the best speakers, performances of agitprop troops in the factories, recruiting pauses in the meetings and demonstrations for the winning of new members, whereby, for instance, in one meeting attended by 1000 workers 157 workers were won as Party members. This work was strongly supported by the "Rote Fahne", by factory and tenement papers, by establishment of recruiting offices in the workers' districts etc. In December of last year the Party organised **introduction meetings** in various parts of the town. On the 5th of December there took place a big central meeting for the 6000 new Party members. At these meetings new members and subscribers for the "Rote Fahne" were again won. The initiative, the enthusiasm of the new members for the Party is further expressed by the fact that many of them have in turn recruited two, three and even more new members for the Party.

There is now beginning the training of the new members in their drawing into Party work.

The following shortcomings and weaknesses have been revealed in this campaign: the majority of the new Party members have not been won by an intensive daily work but chiefly by factory and public meetings, demonstrations. The daily work in the factories and workers' quarters has been very inadequate, although a few nuclei have doubled and even trebled their membership during this time. The new members are mainly unemployed, only a third of them are workers in the factories, among them being very few working women. These shortcomings must now be removed by an intensive daily work in the factories and in the labour organisations.

Another shortcoming of the competition is that it bore only an inner-party character and has not become a means and method of mobilising the working masses in the factories and workers' organisations. Here a change must be made. In the plans of revolutionary competition of the factories and workers' organisations tasks must be set up in the solution of which the whole working class is interested, for instance in the preparation of the factory council elections, in the struggle against high prices and customs duties, in the fight for the seven-hour day, in the mobilisation of the masses for the political mass strike against the transference of burdens on to the working class as envisaged by the Young Plan and the programme of the bourgeoisie. The question of the leadership of the competition must also be solved. It will be necessary to select committees in the factories and workers' organisations, on which the most active and revolutionary working men and women are to sit.

The factories, and not only the nuclei, should enter into competition agreements among themselves not only in Berlin but with similar factories and workers' organisations in Paris, Hamburg, Moscow etc. The mutual reporting on the results, the exchange of experiences as a means to popularise the idea of the revolutionary competition are also important.

It would be advisable to get also other Party organisations, factories, workers' organisations in Paris, Hamburg, Moscow etc. to report on the results and experiences of their revolutionary competition campaigns.

ECONOMICS

Mass Unemployment Develops in the U. S. A.

By Alex G. Richman (New York).

For the mass of the American workers there has been no prosperity during the past few years — only low wages, speed-up, unemployment and part time, insecurity of job, joblessness after 40, etc. Developments during the past few months indicate that the number of unemployed will mount to the millions this winter. Already, according to Sen. Couzens, there are over 3,000,000 out of work, and the great increase in unemployment has by no means reached full momentum as yet.

In November, unemployment increased 3.1 %, and payrolls 6.8 %. The latter are far more significant, since they show that both wage slashes and part time are far greater than the decrease in employment. These percentages, which are based upon over five million workers in manufacturing, mining, public utilities, trade and public service, are probably much below the actual figures, since the government bureaus reporting them, the U.S. Employment Service and the Bureau of Labour Statistics, are known for their twisting and underestimation of such data.

During the past three months the index of employment in manufacturing industries has declined as follows (1926 = 100): Sept. 99.3; Oct. 102.3; Nov. 95.1 — a decline of 7.5 in October and November. This report admits a decrease of employed workers in manufacturing alone of 186,000 in November, and the real amount is undoubtedly far greater.

The indexes for the past two months in various branches of manufacturing were as follows:

	Employment			Payrolls		
	Nov.	Oct.	Decline	Nov.	Oct.	Decline
General index	94.8	98.3	3.5	95.1	102.3	7.2
Automobiles	85.7	103.7	18.0	82.0	105.1	23.1
Iron & Steel	96.6	99.5	2.9	97.2	104.4	7.2
Textile & Clothing	95.8	98.2	2.4	92.6	100.0	7.4
Leather	93.5	98.2	4.7	81.1	96.6	15.5
Electric, machinery and supplies	122.3	126.5	4.2	123.8	130.6	6.8
Food & kindred products	101.4	104.0	2.6	102.7	106.0	3.3
Chemicals	100.9	102.8	1.9	104.4	106.9	2.5
Metal (excl. iron & steel)	93.4	96.3	2.9	91.1	102.3	11.2
Stone, clay & glass	86.0	88.2	2.2	84.8	88.9	4.1
Vehicles for land transport (incl. autos)	85.9	94.7	8.8	88.8	100.7	11.9
Carriages and wagons (incl. railway carbuilding & repairs)	76.4	84.2	7.8	83.0	92.9	9.9

Of 66 industries and branches listed by the government statements there were employment decreases in November for all but the slaughtering and meat packing branch of the food group, where employment increased 1.5 and wages 0.6; paper and printing, where employment increased 0.6, but wages dropped 0.6; pottery, where the number employed increased 1.3, but payrolls were 0.7 less; stamped and enameled ware, where 3.4 % more workers were employed, but wages dropped 9.4 %; agricultural implements, where there were 4.8 % more workers, with 1.7 % less wages; electric railway carbuilding and repairing, with 0.3 % more workers and 0.6 % less pay, and shipbuilding, where employment was 3.9 % more and wages 4.1 % greater.

We see, therefore, that in only two cases last month (slaughtering and shipbuilding) did both employment and wages increase, and in the former case it was negligible. This shows how universal was the dismissal of workers, and the increase in part time and wage cuts. The end of the harvesting

season (indicated also by a 33.6 % drop in workers in canneries), of roadbuilding (due to winter), the let-up in building, due far more to the depression than to seasonal causes, and decreases in quarrying and non-metallic mining, public utilities, and hotels add greatly to the picture of unemployment shown by figures for manufacturing.

The reports of the two government agencies lie cold-bloodedly, as usual, in their interpretation of the statistics issues. The U.S. Employment Service says, "Movements now under-way will have an encouraging effect on industry, which will mean an increase in the volume of employment. All signs are encouraging and better economic conditions should prevail in the immediate future." Any half-way honest capitalist economic journal, such as the *Annalist*, *Journal of Commerce*, or *Commercial & Financial Chronicle* admits that with the intensifying depression, employment is decreasing.

At the end of November Ford had fired about half of the 137,000 workers in his plants, with many of the rest on part time, and the others facing wage cuts, speed-up and discharge. His 30 plants were fully or partly shut down, ostensibly to prepare for a new model but actually because his dealers were greatly overstocked. Ford himself admitted before the Wall St. crisis that "American production had come to equal and surpass the people's power to purchase", that is, over-production of goods as well as of plant capacity was a fact, and the much discussed "saturation point" had been reached.

Incomplete data indicate that the number of unemployed in Detroit is over 100,000, in Philadelphia over 75,000, etc. In Detroit, for example, Ford and U.S. Rubber workers are being forced to contribute to the community chest for philanthropic employment relief.

Since 1921 about 2,300,000 workers in industry and agriculture have become disemployed, and few of them absorbed by other industries. This has been due to rationalisation of equipment, to discharge of middle-aged and old workers unable to keep the terrific pace etc. Today A. F. of L. bureaucrats in many industries are giving up their laudations of prosperity and admitting the existence of unemployment and its intensification.

Further unemployment may also be expected, aside from that directly due to the economic depression from greatly increased rationalisation due to the stimulus of the depression. The *Business Week* states of the steel trust (and this applies to all industries) that "it regards the present as a good time for the industry to modernise existing plants." Data on railroads and other industries show the intensification of this tendency toward rationalisation, resulting in a great increase in unemployment, part time, speed-up, etc.

A word on the general economic situation will show the basis for expected growth in unemployment. The *Annalist* index of business activity for November shows a decrease of 10 % from October (103.5 to 93.5) — the largest monthly drop in eleven years, with much more coming. Industries using iron and steel, cotton, rubber, and the automobile, building, railroad, coal, zinc, copper, lead etc. industries, show declines in November, and these are going to decline still more in the future months. As the depression develops into a crisis, unemployment will develop with it, and to a greater degree.

The Communist Party urges, in its programme, the 7-hour-day and 5-day week, government relief controlled by the workers themselves, unemployment and other social insurance, a fight against evictions for non-payment of rent, etc. It fights for the abolition of the speed-up system of private employment exchanges, of vagrancy laws, and of child labour.

By unity of employed and unemployed, by organisation of the unorganised, by struggles for higher wages for shorter hours and against the speed-up, by the organisation of councils of unemployed locally and nationally, led by militant rank and filers, by the intensified struggle against the A. F. of L. traitors and their allies, the Socialists and Muste-Cannon-Lovestone groups the struggle against unemployment must be made. The political implications of this struggle — the fight against Hoover's fascist council, against the war danger and against the attacks planned upon the USSR, and the struggle for the programme of the T. U. U. L. and the C. P. — are to be brought out in the campaign against unemployment.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Letter from the Political Secretariat of the E. C. C. I. to the C. C. of the C. P. China.

Dear Comrades!

Recent events in China prompt us to express our opinion on the present situation in the country and to offer some preliminary suggestions concerning the major tasks of the Party without waiting for information from you as to your activities and as to the policy pursued in the present circumstances.

1. China has entered the period of a profound general crisis. This crisis is expressed:

1) In a new outburst of fratricidal war between the imperialist cliques backed by the imperialist powers, the antagonisms between which are becoming more acute.

2) In the formation of a Party for the reorganisation of the Kuomintang, headed by **Van Tin-wei, Chen Hun-bo** and Co., in opposition to the Kuomintang of Nanking, entering upon the political arena with the aid of one of the militarist cliques (Chang Fa-hui).

3) In the complexity of the situation, as a result of the anti-Soviet adventure and the accentuation of all contradictions arising therefrom.

4) In the failure of all attempts to attract any more or less considerable investments of foreign capital and to bring about a revision of the unequal treaties on the part of imperialism.

5) In the obvious collapse of the entire home policy of the Kuomintang which has neither completely crushed the revolutionary movement of the masses (by means of unprecedented white terror) nor has it realised any more or less considerable measures towards the financial and military unification of the country.

6) In the depression in several industries while the role of foreign capital has increased in the economic life of the country.

7) In a drawn out and ever-deepening agrarian crisis of which there is no way out within the framework of the existing bourgeois and landlord system.

8) In a general worsening of the position of the working class and the basic mass of peasants, which is unbearable as it is.

9) In the rise of a new wave of the labour movement which is the skirmisher in the new revolutionary upheaval.

10) In a revival of the peasant movement, guerilla warfare in particular.

The alliance of the bourgeoisie and landlords did not succeed in creating and perpetuating a national bourgeois centralised State based on the triumphant counter-revolution. If in the early period of Nanking rule there was a certain semblance of stabilised bourgeois development in China, we have now a reproduction of the old antagonisms on an expanded scale, thanks to the growing influence of imperialism, the deepening of the economic crisis, the new collapse of the ruling clique, and the revival of the mass revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants. One cannot foretell the rate at which the general national crisis will grow into a direct revolutionary situation. But one can and should right now begin to prepare the masses for a revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeois landlord bloc, for the establishment of a dictatorship of the working class and the peasantry in the form of Soviets, actively developing and widening the revolutionary forms of the class struggle (political mass strikes, revolutionary demonstrations, guerilla warfare, and so forth).

2. In the counter-revolutionary bloc of imperialists, landlords and the bourgeoisie which was formed with a view to the suppression and crushing of the revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants at the end of 1927, and which existed in the early period following on the triumph of the bourgeois and landlord reactionaries, internal strife and splits are now developing and deepening. Although all exploiting classes are counter-revolutionary, although there is no clear line of division between the fundamental contradictions within China, and the contradictions between China and imperialism,

this bloc is nevertheless, now breaking up into two main political camps.

One of these camps unites the militarists, feudal landlords and the big native bourgeoisie (primarily, but not exclusively, the compradors and banking sections). This camp is politically represented now by the ruling landlord bourgeois cliques both of the Kuomintang and outside of the Kuomintang (Chang Kai-shek, Si Shan, An Fui, Fin Yu-sen, Yan si-shan, the Kwansi clique etc.). The great variety of economic forms and the unevenness of capitalist development in the various districts of China explain the peculiarity of the class nature of these cliques representing in various combinations the interests of the landlords and the big native bourgeoisie. However, all of them combined subordinate the country to foreign capital. Feudal dismemberment and the fact that China is an arena and an object of struggle amongst various imperialist powers are the cause of the lack of internal peace inside of this political camp and the cause of constant militarist wars.

The second camp is an attempt to establish a political bourgeois national reformist centre to represent the interests of the intermediary strata of the Chinese national bourgeoisie, i. e. some of the industrial capitalists and merchants. It is opposed to the Kuomintang Government and spreads its influence over the intermediary and small capitalist entrepreneurs, the disgruntled groups of small landlords and the upper stratum of the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie (belonging to the exploiter class). Politically it is represented by the Party for the Reorganisation of the Kuomintang (Van Tsin-wei, Chang Hui-bo & Co.). This party liberally uses bombastic phrases and advances hypocritical slogans about the struggle for nationalism and democracy, and is now trying to use the discontent of the urban petty bourgeoisie and the broad popular mass with the object of regeneration of the Nanking Government and of forestalling another revolutionary outburst. This camp, like the party of "reorganisers" representing it, is counter-revolutionary, very hostile to the revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants inimical to the USSR, thoroughly compromising and slavish in relation to imperialism and militarism. This is clearly manifest in the military action of the "reorganisers" with the aid of "their" militarist (Chang Fa-hui), and in their alliance with the union of Northern military satraps (Feng and others). The classes represented by this camp are incapable of finding a way out and especially of getting out of the protracted crisis in the bourgeois development of the country. They are equally incapable of changing the social nature of the existing government even if they should wish to do so. With the further revolutionary revival of the independent labour and peasant movement, they will very soon give up their opposition to the existing government and in the first decisive class conflicts of the insurgent proletariat and the peasantry, they will soon fuse with the first camp into one counter-revolutionary bourgeois landlord bloc.

However, in the present early stage of revolutionary revival when the "reorganisers" (this party which concentrates the Kuomintang illusions of the masses, which are not yet extinct, and foster new illusory hopes for a "regenerated" Kuomintang) have not yet fully exposed themselves in the eyes of the toilers, a most energetic struggle against their reactionary opportunist influence is a necessary pre-requisite to the further development of the revolutionary struggle and the establishment of the hegemony of the proletariat.

These politically reactionary groups stand opposed by the only revolutionary camp — the **proletariat, the peasantry and the urban poor**. This camp is headed by the working class and its vanguard, the **Communist Party**.

As a result of the bourgeois betrayal of 1927, its capitulation before imperialism and feudalism, the social basis of the various political groups of the Kuomintang, including also the Left Kuomintang, changed and degenerated. The uncritical attempts to draw an analogy between the political groups now and those of the Wuhan period constitute an open and coarse manifestation of opportunism. The temporary and conditional split of the middle bourgeois national reformist wing from the bloc of the big bourgeoisie and landlords, can by no means be regarded as an independent action of the petty bourgeoisie, or as revolutionary act of the national reformist bourgeoisie, as is done by the Right wingers of the CPC who are always ready to substitute all kinds of combinations and groupings in the bourgeois camp for the mass revolutionary struggle of the workers and peasants.

The fact of the matter is that the separation of this middle bourgeois national reformist wing after the complete bankruptcy of Nanking is only another attempt of the Chinese bourgeoisie to paralyse or to delay the revolutionary outburst by proclaiming the reorganisation of the Kuomintang as a way out of the political cul de sac. It is with this view only that the "reorganisers" want to make believe that their participation in the fratricidal militarist war is a struggle for democracy and nationalism, for the reinstatement of the "true Kuomintang". They march under the flag of "reorganisation of the Kuomintang" precisely in order to save the bourgeois landlord counter-revolution from destruction and not in order to do away with it.

3. The political regrouping in the midst of the ruling classes, the formation of the Party for the Reorganisation of the Kuomintang, signals a profound general national crisis in China.

The present national crisis and the revolutionary revival have their specific traits.

The action of Chang Fa-hui, the war between Feng and Nanking show that the development of the national crisis again begins to assume the forms of military political conflicts. Being the direct outcome of the counter-revolutionary policy of the bourgeois landlord bloc, the war between the military cliques at the same time objectively weakens the powers that be, involves the masses in the political struggle, calls forth ever greater resistance to the militarist wars and its consequences, and helps to rouse an independent workers' and peasants' movement.

Another distinguishing feature of the national crisis and the revolutionary upsurge in China is the peasant war. The bourgeois landlord counter-revolution did not succeed in fully crushing the revolutionary movement of the peasants. Although under reactionary leadership, but, in view of its mass character, representing an objectively revolutionary uprising, the revolts of the Moslems and the Red Spears, etc., and especially the universal growth of the mass agrarian movement in most of the provinces of China, the Soviet districts which have remained intact and are lately expanding and gaining in strength, the incessant guerilla warfare in the South — all constitute one stream through which will flow the rising all-Chinese revolutionary movement. But the surest and most important symptom of a rising tide is the **revival of the labour movement** which has come out of the depression which followed upon the bitter defeats of 1927. A desperate economic struggle of the proletariat is developing. It has a tendency of transformation into political battles and street demonstrations. These processes inside the labour movement have already strengthened the Communist Party which successfully led the revolutionary demonstrations and strikes of May 30th and August 1st and September 1st.

Nevertheless, the ideological and political influence of the Communist Party and the organisation of the working class still lag behind the growing mass discontent, the accumulation of revolutionary energy and the spontaneous movement. Most of the Red Unions are not yet mass organisations. The influence of the reformist Kuomintang unions is still great. Particularly great is the influence of the "reorganisers" in the reformist unions (in the North). Communist work in the reformist Kuomintang unions is not serious enough. The Communist Party has not yet far rallied to its side the basic revolutionary industrial workers. And of course the Party has not yet solved the problem of struggle for a majority of the working class, it has not solved the most urgent problem of taking the lead in the spontaneous economic and political struggle of the proletariat. The Party has not yet become the skirmisher, the organiser, and the leader in the revolutionary struggle of the broad masses.

Within the Communist Party proper there are serious vacillations on the fundamental tactical and political issues of the Party (the founding group of Cheng Di-hsin, the tendency of establishing a bloc with the "reorganisers" and the reformist trade union bureaucracy, the tendency to deny the necessity of supporting and leading the peasant war), interfering with its taking an independent leading position in the struggle of the masses in the present revolutionary tide.

In this backwardness of Party influence on the working masses, the backwardness of organisation of the revolutionary trade union movement and the Party, as compared with the growing spontaneous struggles of the working class, is to be found the main danger for the entire further development of the revolutionary struggle in China.

4. All the above determines the immediate tasks of the Party. Supplementary to our preceding letters (on the peasant and the trade union questions), we find it necessary to call your attention to the following main tasks confronting the Party in the present situation:

a) It is necessary to make the greatest use of the militarist war which has begun, for the furtherance of the revolutionary independent mass movement. It is necessary to expose to the utmost the counter-revolutionary role of all Kuomintang groups through the press, leaflets, oral mass agitation and appeals. The Party must undermine the governments of all militarist groups in the various districts (Nanking in the South, Chang Fa, etc.; in the North, Yang Tsi-shan, Feng Yu-hsiang, Mukden, etc.). The slogans of transformation of the militarist wars into class and civil war for the overthrow of the bourgeois landlord bloc, must be the main battle cries of the Party in its mass agitation.

b) At the same time the struggle for influence over the masses, for hegemony of the proletariat, must be stressed particularly against the so-called "reorganisers" who want to take advantage of the discontent of the masses and who constitute the main danger at the moment for the further development of the revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants. A most energetic campaign to reach the masses as widely as possible, must immediately be launched with the object of undermining the influence of the "reorganisers" and of exposing their counter-revolutionary nature. The agrarian platform of the "reorganisers" which is opposed to the agrarian revolution and stands in defence of the landowners and of capitalist exploitation, must be actively exposed. It is very important to show the masses the servility of the "reorganisers" in relation to the imperialists, which expresses itself most clearly in the frantic and truly fascist way of halting the Soviet Union in the conflict on the Chinese Eastern Railway. Expose persistently the quasi-democracy of the reorganisers who recognise the principle of "party rule" (completely eliminating mass participation from political life) and who fight against Chiang Kai-shek's dictatorship only in order to establish a dictatorship of other militarists. Of course, any kind of blocs with the reorganisers are impermissible. If such blocs were made, the independent movement of the proletariat would be subordinated to the leadership of the counter-revolutionary national reformist bourgeoisie, which would inevitably result in a defeat of the revolutionary movement. Now, more than ever, the line to be pursued must be that of an independent struggle of the workers and peasants under the leadership of our Party.

c) The Party must devote particular attention to the **labour strikes**. In coordinating economic and political struggles, all efforts should be exerted towards the development of political strikes, and preparations should be made for the calling of a general political strike. Attempts should be made to bring out the revolutionary trade unions wherever the counter-revolutionary rulers of the Kuomintang are weakened and where the revolutionary struggle gains in impetus.

d) The Party must devote more attention also to the development of the struggle for leadership in the anti-imperialist movement against all imperialist powers, especially against United States imperialism. Every act of violence on the part of the imperialists should be used for revolutionary rousing the masses for the organisation of political demonstrations and strikes, trying to extend them to broad sections of the working class, to draw the urban petty bourgeoisie into the movement snatching it away from the influence of bourgeois national reformism. A revival of the anti-imperialist movement may once again have tremendous revolutionary influence on the rising labour movement, and may stimulate its activity. In connection with the conflict in Manchuria, a campaign should be launched under the slogans of defence of the USSR, exposing all Kuomintang fractions, including the reorganisers, as imperialist tools.

e) Strengthen and extend the guerilla movement, especially in the districts of Manchuria, Mantschun, Hailun. Resist energetically the tendencies to under-estimate the revolutionary significance of the struggle of the peasants, especially guerilla warfare. Greater attention to work amongst the forces. Try to arm as many labour and peasant detachments as possible by disarming military units and taking possession of their equipment. Capture and get a foothold in the districts evacuated by the militarists. Wherever the mass revolutionary struggle of the peasants is growing and spreading, aim at the

establishment of Soviet strongholds. In the districts where Soviet Governments exist, actively confiscate the landed estates, arm the peasants, and organise Soviets. Coordinate the disunited actions of the workers' and peasants' armies in Kwantung, Futsiang, Hunan, Hupeh. Wage a mass struggle of the peasantry throughout China, lead and sharpen the daily conflicts in the rural areas against the Kuomintang, the landlords and the militarists. See to it that Party work is done amongst the Red Spears and the Moslem rebels. Elucidate more intensively the tasks of the peasant struggle among the workers and strengthen in every way the leadership of the proletariat in the movement of the peasantry.

5. The problems confronting the movement now can be successfully solved only on the basis of greater fighting capacity and activity of the Communist vanguard of the proletariat. The main and fundamental task of the Communist Party in the present conditions is to gain a **leading role** in the revolutionary movement. Avoiding a recurrence of the putschist mistakes which have in the main already been discarded, the Party must in every way incite and accentuate the class conflicts, get control of the fervour of the masses, advance bigger demands to the extent that the conflicts develop, conduct the revolutionary struggle to an ever-higher stage of its development. All this necessitates great activity and solidarity of the ranks of the Communist Party, a bold recruitment of the best sections of fighting revolutionary proletarians for the Party, an energetic struggle against opportunist deviations from the general line of the Party.

Now more than ever the Party must ensure its Bolshevik ideological entity. It must wage a relentless struggle against the liquidatory platform of Chen Du-hsi which denies the rising revolutionary wave and even the objective conditions rendering it inevitable.

It is necessary to continue and to intensify the exposure of the counter-revolutionary nature of Trotskyism, showing at the same time that the position of a "Socialist" revolution advocated by the Trotskyites is in fact part of the position held by the Right wing liquidators.

The Party must clearse its ranks from outspoken Trotskyites and liquidators. However, the chief danger in the Party at the present time comes from the Right wing opportunist feelings and tendencies which lead to a weakening of the struggle against the "reorganisers", to the mistaken view that the latter are representatives of the petty bourgeoisie, to an under-estimation of the importance of the peasant war, to an under-estimation and dampening of the revolutionary energy and initiative of the masses, to a minimisation of the independent role of the proletariat and the Communist Party. Such tendencies have nothing in common with Leninism and represent a negation of proletarian hegemony in the Chinese Revolution and a position of dragging behind the tail of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie. The Communist Party will not be able to fulfil its mission as the skirmisher, organiser and leader in the new revolutionary upsurge unless it rids itself of all the sundry petty bourgeois vacillations.

Polit Secretariat of the ECCL

E. C. C. I. Denounces Swedish Renegades.

In view of the fact that we learn from the report of Comrade **Hugo Sillen**, the representative of the Swedish Communist Party, that the opportunist renegades Kilbom, Samuelson and Co., who were expelled from the Comintern are falsely describing their party as a section of the Communist International, the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. is compelled to stigmatise this renegade method before the proletariat and especially before the working class of Sweden, as a mean swindle.

The Communist International has in Sweden only one section, which however has absolutely nothing in common with the opportunist party of Kilbom. And if the Kilboms further try to confuse any worker by pretending that they are intending to appeal to the forthcoming World Congress of the Comintern, these renegades of Communism should receive a plain answer: Every Congress of the Comintern will be a **Communist Congress** and consequently its attitude to people like Kilbom and Samuelson who have disclosed their true reformist character, can never be another one than to all other enemies of the revolutionary workers' movement.

Presidium of the E. C. C. I.

From the Open Letter of the E. C. C. I. to the Members of the C. P. of Hungary.

(Conclusion.)

Trade Union Work and the Leadership of Economic Struggles.

The party must, in the near future, elaborate its partial demands, its concrete fighting platform for all these spheres of struggle in order to create a broad united front of the town and rural masses. It must take advantage of the smallest legal possibility, which can only be used in a revolutionary sense if the illegal organisations and organs of the Party are deloped to a much higher capacity of leadership and of fighting than has been the case hitherto.

The spontaneous development to the Left of the working class found expression also in Hungary in the growth of an elementary economic strike movement. The most characteristic features of it are: the strong participation of the unorganised, the growth of initiative on the part of the independent leadership of the struggles from among the masses themselves, the perseverance of the workers (who for the most part do not get any strike pay from the trade unions) until success has been achieved and the beginning conversion of the economic struggles into political ones.

The reformist trade unions have done everything to suppress the struggles, i. e. to throttle the strikes which still broke out (open strike-breaking). This led to a mass exodus of the members from the reformist trade unions as an expression of the crisis of the reformist trade union movement. Apart from individual cases the Party has not understood how to lead the great masses into the fight or even to take over the leadership of the spontaneous struggles. The Party has underestimated the decisive role of the unorganised workers in a country where the overwhelming majority of the organised workers have left the trade unions.

Owing to the faulty work of the trade union fractions, the Party did not succeed to bring under its leadership the spontaneous, sometimes stormy oppositional struggles of the membership and to develop them into a general attack on the social fascist bureaucracy. One of the chief causes of this failure lies in the fact that the decisions of the IV. Congress of the R.I.L.U. and of the VI. Congress of the C.I. were hardly propagated at all and their propaganda was conducted only very faultily and in a distorted manner.

The Work of the Party among the Peasantry.

Owing to the peculiar agrarian relations in Hungary, wage labour plays a considerable role in agriculture not only on the big landed estates but also in the big peasant undertakings, and the various sections of the agricultural proletariat constitute the numerically greatest section of the working class and of the village. At the same time it must be emphasised that the overwhelming majority of the agricultural workers, in spite of the rapid development of capitalism in agriculture after the war, are proletarians according to their class position but semi-peasants according to their social conditions and aspirations. This strata of the village represents the main force of the revolution.

This objective situation is specially favourable for the work of the C.P.H. in the rural districts. The social democracy has not only betrayed the interests of the poor peasants, but in keeping with the Pact with the Horthy-Bethlen government it does not carry on any serious trade union work among the agricultural workers. It is the task of the C.P.H. to start its work just at this point.

Against Fraction Mongering, for New Methods of Leadership.

The fractional disintegration of the Party leadership took place almost exclusively among the foreign portion of the C. C., the attempts to transfer this fractional disintegration into the leading cadres in the country were, fortunately, not crowned with success. Also abroad all fractional activity must be stopped, all fraction mongering, from whatever side it may come, must be opposed with the sharpest ideological and organisational measures. This letter of the E.C.C.I. must serve for all Party members as a platform which stigmatises the maintenance of the old fractional groupings, which have already once been liquidated, as a crime against the Party and the C. I. All group and family clamishness must be

excluded from the work of leadership; the leading activity must be conducted from the point of view of the Party. **Everybody who dares to begin an unprincipled struggle must be ruthlessly removed from the leadership of the Party apparatus or from the Party.** The main responsibility of the leadership of the Party must be placed in the hands of that portion of the C.C. which is in the country itself. It is the task of the Foreign Committee to assist the C.C. in elaborating the most important fundamental and political questions of the Party, in transmitting the experiences of the C.I. and of the Communist sections etc.

The renewal of the Party leadership in the country by means of the worker elements tried in the revolutionary struggle and connected with the working masses, is a permanent task of the Party which can be realised only if the selection of these leaders is made not from the fractional or group point of view, but entirely from the point of view of fighting capacity and revolutionary reliability and — where it is possible — by election by the functionaries.

Broad Self-Criticism is Necessary!

A self-criticism, together with the fundamental treatment of all those problems which were set forth by the 10th Plenum of the E.C.C.I., will serve to bring about the recovery of the Party as a whole and its leading cadres. The fulfilment of these tasks is the demand of the hour. By this means all the healthy elements of the Party which are not infected by opportunism will be united.

In view of the fact that Bolshevik self-criticism has hitherto been replaced by a system of fractional accusations, it is necessary to liquidate completely every fractional attitude to the estimation of the activity and shortcomings of the Party and to gather together all Bolshevik forces of the Party, regardless of their former fractional groupings, in the fight against the Right danger, which also in the C.P. H. constitutes the main danger in the present period.

In the carrying out of a true Bolshevik self-criticism the Party must concentrate the chief fire against the anti-Leninist theses of Comrade Blum, who has replaced the Leninist thesis of the proletarian revolution by the semi-social democratic liquidatory theory. Blum's conception of the Hungarian revolution is the centre of the Right danger in the Party. But the Party members must also be mobilised against the opportunist deviations of Comrade Robert, which are built upon a failure to understand the intensification of class contradictions characteristic of the third period. The views regarding an alleged "disintegration" of the Hungarian working class and the wrong standpoint of Robert in the trade union question must be ruthlessly combated.

In concentrating the struggle upon all these most important opportunist fundamental mistakes (character of the revolution, democratic dictatorship, underestimation of the Left development), all the other questions must also be seen of late (wrong tactics at the sick insurance elections, question of the Trianon Peace Treaty, question of the democratic partial demands etc.)

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The Business Manager.

IN THE R. I. L. U.

The Lessons and Prospects of the Economic Struggles.

Report delivered by Comrade Losovsky at the Plenary Session of the Executive Bureau of the RILU.

Comrades. In order to draw the correct balance of the struggles which have taken place of late, and in order to draw up a correct draft of the further perspectives of the revolutionary trade union movement, we must first of all form a clear idea of what stage has now been reached by international capitalism in its retrograde development. During the period which has elapsed since the IV. Congress of the RILU., events have taken place causing every leader of the labour movement to approach with special circumspection the work of organising our tasks in accordance with the changed situation. Here a position of unique importance is assumed by the sudden and frightful crisis convulsing the United States, and reaching far beyond the frontiers of this mightiest of capitalist countries. The crisis in the United States is no purely American phenomenon. The events which found expression on the American exchanges in October, the Stock Exchange crash which ruined millions of small investors, were brought about by a stagnation in production, and the further development of this exchange crash reacted again upon production, and thereby accelerated and intensified the economic crisis in the United States.

Of these events the most important point for us, for the Central Council of the RILU., is the collapse of the illusions cherished by considerable strata of the working class, and, strangely enough, even by some revolutionary organisations — illusions regarding the stability and consolidation of capitalism in general, and the special stability and the special power of capitalism in the United States in particular.

What is of the utmost importance for us is the indubitable existence of an economic crisis in the United States, and the beginning of a general economic crisis in the greatest capitalist countries, for the influence exercised by the American Stock Exchange, by American capital, and by the various branches of American industry upon the international money market and the world's economy, is so great that a collapse on the Stock Exchanges of the United States cannot but react upon international economy. We must choose our tactics, and determine the ways and means to be adopted by our organisations in order to attain the greatest success in the struggle, in accordance with the status of capitalism under the given conditions, and in accordance with the concrete difficulties with which it is faced and the extent and nature of these fresh convulsions.

All business circles in the United States were plunged into excitement by the exchange crash. The government of the United States, aided by the leading representative of the American trusts, President Hoover, in conjunction with his colleagues, attempted to offer a certain resistance to the financial earthquake which was causing serious complications in the whole economy of the country. Hoover organised several special conferences of industrialists, railway magnates, representatives of public utility services, and labour representatives. Hoover plans the formation of a National Economic Council, a sort of capitalist State Planning Commission, for the purpose of regulating that which is beyond all regulation. It is especially interesting for us to note the measures which the leaders of American politics and economy are endeavouring to take in order to stem the growing crisis. The business men of the United States have, however, but little faith in these measures, and however great their esteem for Hoover, they are nevertheless fully aware that neither Hoover nor his colleagues can alter the elementary laws convulsing the finance and economy of the United States at the present time.

The crisis in the United States, and the commencing general economic crisis, involve extremely serious international political consequences. The social consequences, too, will be extremely serious, and will effect a fresh regrouping of forces in the ranks of the working class; they will show how very illusory were the speculations of the Right and conciliatory groups.

Most conspicuous of all are the international consequences, the lessening and restriction of production, already beginning

to be felt in the United States, in spite of the existence of enormous reserves, and in spite of the existence of enormous possibilities of production. This restriction is bound to intensify to the highest degree the struggle on the world markets; the after effects of the crisis will bring to the surface the aggressive tendencies of American capitalism, which, goaded by the crisis, will hurl itself upon its competitors with the greater fury and determination, in the effort to oust them from their positions. The crisis will further greatly increase the armaments on land, on the water, and in the air, because, in the first place, forces must be created enabling this attack on the markets to be carried out successfully, and because the increase of unemployment in many countries lead to the attempt to relieve unemployment by the building of new warships and the increase of armaments. These two results of the crisis will further strain international relations, increase the number of ways and methods of mutual combat among the states, and lead to sharp collisions between the competitors.

Here England is one of the main competitors of the United States. The crisis will therefore intensify the struggle between England and the United States. It will further increase the struggle between France and the United States, and, since German industry is developing its exports to a great extent with the aid of American capital, with the object of being able to pay the contributions imposed upon it first by the Dawes plan and then by the Young plan, the struggle between American and German imperialism for the same markets will be simultaneously increased.

Another factor which I need not dwell upon is that the increased armaments will doubtless render the antagonisms between the United States and Japan, already at an extreme tension, more acute than ever, and may lead to a war for predominance in the Pacific Ocean. Thus the totality of the problems resultant on the crisis begun and spreading in the United States leads to acuter antagonisms among the states, to fresh wars for markets, spheres of influence and zones of power. There can be not the slightest doubt on this point.

Hoover wants to calculate his own control figures and draw up his own plan. Nothing will come of this, for Hoover builds his plan on the drifting sand of capitalist anarchy. Soviet Russia, on the other hand, bases its plan on a firm foundation, for with us capitalist anarchy was abolished at the same time as private ownership of the means of production and exchange. The issue of the capitalist plans is simply the disruption of economy and a further intensification of the struggle. Our plans, on the contrary, lead to the progress of socialist construction, to the inclusion of further branches of industry, to the development of ever new forms and methods of carrying out the plans laid down.

If, however, you will contrast the Five-Year Plan of socialism with the belligerent plans of decaying capitalism, you will see very plainly that the immediate future is inevitably bound to witness an intensified struggle on the part of the capitalist world against that country which stands most firmly against the background of the general crisis of capitalism.

For this reason the danger of a war against the Soviet Union remains imminent. It is even greater as the crisis spreads. These international effects of the crisis will be accompanied, and are already being accompanied, by extremely important changes within the capitalist states involved in the crisis. Unemployment in particular will spread widely, and is already increasing. Hundreds of thousands of workers have already been thrown out of work in the United States in consequence of the crisis. The crisis will lead to an even greater pressure being exercised upon the working class, for the purpose of reducing the costs of production and increasing the possibilities of competition on the foreign markets. The crisis will lead to longer working hours, to worsened social insurance, to the robbery of even the few rights still remaining to the workers. In other words, the present crisis will intensify to the utmost the inner contradictions and the class struggle, and will force the working masses to resist the pressure already exerted upon them.

As a result of this crisis, the Fascistisation of the state apparatus of state administration will be accomplished at a much greater speed. Signs of this are observable, not only in Europe, but in America. The most characteristic feature of the present period is the fact that in this Fascistisation an especially important rôle is played by social democracy, which, though uttering democratic phrases, in reality carries out the Fascistisation of the state apparatus and the state administration. And

this circumstance will intensify the struggle between the upper and lower strata in the social democratic parties and in the reformist trade unions. It will bring about a conflict between the workers and the leaders in the reformist organisations. For as soon as the upper strata of the trade unions and social democratic parties become the instruments for the execution of Fascist policy, then the objects of this policy, that is, the workers, cannot but protest, cannot but rise both against the bourgeois state and the employers, and against their head organisations. In this manner the revolutionary trade union movement is beginning to become stronger, both where special revolutionary unions already exist, and at the same time in places where they do not yet exist. The struggles will become more acute, and will increase both quantitatively and qualitatively. At the same time the trade union world will experience augmented attempts to split the trade unions, for reformist trade union bureaucracy will do its best to weaken, by means of schisms, splits, and expulsions, those organisations which begin to take a stand against the social Fascist policy.

What we see at the present time in the different countries shows that the struggle will assume much acuter forms than before. We may already observe the conversion of the economic struggle into the political. In some regions, in some countries, and especially in the colonies, we observe considerably sharper struggles, frequently merging into revolutionary conflicts and even insurrections. It may be said that in the course of precisely this phase of the economic crisis the question of the struggle for power may very well arise, and that in various countries not only immense conflicts and mass strikes may break out, but revolutionary risings.

Against this background the complete bankruptcy of the Right and conciliatory groups stands out conspicuously after proclaiming for one and a half years the firmer establishment and consolidation of capitalism. We have seen such people; we have seen them in America, in Germany. At the last congress of the Unitary Labour Federation one of the spokesmen of the opposition — an extremely confused thinker and windbag in any case — uttered what the others obviously thought. We heard that the social peace would still continue for 40 years, and that during this time there would be no revolutionary struggles.

It is quite natural that this collapse, destroying about 60,000 millions of stock exchange values, this crash which has exposed to the light of day the crisis spreading in the United States, and which forms the point of departure for an intensification of the crisis in England, France, and other countries, will awaken numerous agitated voices among the professors of the bourgeoisie, among the ideologists of capitalism, and these will once more resume the search for a remedy against the disease.

About a month before this exchange crash, but after the crisis had begun to make itself felt, the Congress of the League for Trade Union Unity was held in the United States. This League drew up a lengthy programme, containing among other things one very brief sentence. This sentence is very brief, but none the less it bears witness to the fact that although these comrades were gathered together in the centre of the United States, and although it was their task to judge the status of American capitalism, they had not yet grasped anything of what was going on beneath their eyes. In this programme we read as follows: "The capitalism of the United States is a monopoly capitalism." This is correct. We read further: "The era of competition in industry is gone for ever." It is actually written down in so many words that in the United States the era of competition in industry is past. These comrades are obviously of the opinion that monopolist capitalism completely excludes competition. This was that theory of exclusiveness under which its originators: Lovestone, Pepper, and others, themselves had most to suffer, for they were expelled from the Comintern. How this theory contrived to get into the programme of our League, whether by smuggling or with open visor, Comrade Foster will tell us. All I can say personally is that whatever the threshold this theory may have crossed it has nothing in common with our views, as only a very slight reference to what Lenin wrote on monopolist capitalism suffices to show. It is only necessary to glance at the numerous resolutions passed on this subject by the Congress of the Comintern, in order to see how little this theory agrees with reality, and how detrimental it is.

For us it is of great importance to learn the extent and character of the upsurge beginning in the labour movement.

before this crisis began, and which will now grow and intensify as a result of the crisis. The fresh upsurge which we are experiencing at the present time differs from that which took place immediately after the war — in 1919/20 — in the fact that at that time a revolutionary situation existed only in one part of the European countries. At the present juncture we see something very different. The upsurge extends not only over Europe, but to the extra-European countries, to the colonies; it is spreading to fresh continents, to Latin America, to such vast countries as India, China, Japan etc. The upsurge is not yet so intense as in 1919/20. But on the other hand it differs not only in its greater extent, in its comprehension of fresh continents and countries, it possesses at the same time a subjective factor which was lacking immediately after the war. We possess an organised communist movement, a developed revolutionary trade union movement, Sections of the Communist International and of the Red International of Labour Unions, playing a considerable rôle in the development and intensification of the internal crises of every country. Hence the upsurge of the labour movement, as it stands at present, reaching far beyond the limits of Europe, and comprising new lands and continents, raises for us a large number of questions which were purely European at one time, and whose solution was formerly needful only in the old capitalist countries.

Is it possible to say at the present moment at what speed the development of the labour movement will proceed, in what sections the struggles will become acuter, or where the weakest link in the capitalist order, the link most easily broken, is to be found. We can only guess where and at what spot the first revolutionary spark will be struck. But that this swelling upsurge is leading certainly to this is no guess. It need not be said that the upsurge does not resemble a rising tide carrying all before it in one homogeneous mass. In some countries relations are already strained to the utmost. In India the economic strikes have become in some places not merely political strikes, but revolutionary struggles. In other countries we see only the first signs of an awakening — in Italy for instance. On some sections of the front we have great centres in the capitalist countries, such as Poland, Yugoslavia, Roumania, and a large number of other countries. Let us take for instance the strikes taking place at the present time in France. These are of different extent and different character; they show that the upsurge is unequal. In order to be able to determine our tactics in the commencing and growing struggles, we must first of all clearly grasp what has taken place. We have just passed through a considerable number of serious conflicts between labour and capital: the Ruhr conflict, the strikes in Lodz, in the North of France, in India, in Australia, in the United States, in China, in the Balkans, in Poland etc.

The most important new factor in these struggles is the fact that a turning point has been passed in the transition from the defensive to the offensive. Secondly, all these strikes, in spite of their economic demands or formally economic character, are of far-reaching political significance. Thirdly, the unorganised workers, the women workers, and working youth, play a very active part in the struggles. Fourthly and finally, even the smallest success cannot be gained — experience confirms this — without relentlessly combating the social Fascist trade union apparatus, the social democratic parties, and the reformist trade union bureaucracy which is inclining more and more to Fascism.

It may be said that during the last few months no great conflicts have occurred, apart from India. Is this not a sign that those who warn us against over-estimating the development to the Left in the masses are right. The Left development of the masses, say the Rights, is simply an invention of Moscow. The Left development of the masses is an invention, so say the Rights in Germany, in France, and in other countries. When asserting this, they refer expressly to the circumstance that no great strikes are going on at present. The strikes bear a more or less scattered character, and from this they draw the conclusion that our prognosis regarding the Left development of the masses, and the growing extent and tension of class relations, are purely fruits of the Moscow imagination.

I am of the opinion that here, as in all other questions, the Rights are suffering from colour blindness. They are unable to estimate the import and character of any action. They judge a strike chiefly by quantity. They do not comprehend that there are strikes which show the approach of conflict, strikes which may be small in themselves, but which

possess enormous political significance as forerunners of entirely new struggles.

We must devote attention to a number of actual problems set us by the impending struggles. Experience has shown us, above all, that even when the line taken is correct, there is frequently an incongruity between the line and its execution. In many countries our adherents do not understand how to extend the movement, to draw fresh reserves into the struggle, to bring fresh forces into action. They let a small troop fight against the whole system of the bourgeois state, of the social Fascist trade union apparatus, of police victimisation, etc.

It is not to be expected that matters will be made better and easier the louder we shout about the "independent leadership of economic struggles". No, comrades, the mere passing of resolutions on this question is not enough. To make an outcry about it at meetings is not enough either. The independent leadership of the economic struggles means that we really do lead them, and do not come in the rear of events. This speciality of limping in afterwards is becoming too customary among us. I. represents a very great danger for our organisation.

I shall adduce a few examples. Let us take the small strike of the plumbers. Where was here the whole trade union opposition of Germany (and it numbers hundreds of thousands)? Where was the revolutionary opposition of the other trade unions? What steps did they take? Why were plumbers left in isolation? Let us take other strikes — those in France, in Czechoslovakia — and you will see that even though we may have begun to solve the problem of the independent leadership of strikes, we have not yet begun to solve the question of the correct manner of conducting one single strike. For we have not grasped how to call up reserves, how to extend a strike, how to utilise the favourable situation which has been created and to win over new masses by its aid, and therefore a courageous and heroic struggle often ends in defeat.

I do not judge the leadership of a strike solely from the standpoint of victory or defeat. No! It frequently occurs that even the best of tactics and the most efficient leadership may encounter such forces, such resistance on the part of the employers and the bourgeois state, that we suffer defeat. There are defeats which are tantamount to victory. The problem of the leadership of economic struggles is not to be regarded solely from the viewpoint of the defeat, but from that of the capability of drawing on reserves, of extending the struggle, and of gathering together the separate small conflicts, of converting the small individual struggles into struggles of a general class nature.

The most characteristic feature of the present stage of the struggle is the expressly political character of all economic conflicts. The connection between politics and economics has never before been so self-evident as now. In the programme of the Comintern we find a classic definition of the connection between economics and politics. Here we read: Politics are concentrated economics. At the present time we see how every small conflict leads to a struggle between the working class and the whole system of the state.

What do we mean by raising the strike to a higher level? It means advancing, during the course of the development of the economic strike, those new demands arising in the process of the struggle. In this question we find several extremes represented amongst us. On the one hand we see comrades who say: If we have once commenced a strike and advanced demands, these demands must remain the same until the end. This is obviously the purely trade unionist standpoint, an echo of that English trade unionism which insists, as you will remember, that even the general strike was an economic, and not a political strike. We must admit that the strikes of today bear an expressly economic character. This does not, however, mean that as soon as 1000 or 2000 workers go on strike we must at once proclaim: three halfpence wage rise and the dictatorship of the proletariat. If we have the dictatorship of the proletariat, we can manage without the three halfpence. It is clear that such a simplification as this, and such an attitude, would serve no purpose whatever, and has nothing to do with really revolutionary and well thought out tactics. The politisation of the struggles, the extension of the demands, consequent upon the course taken by the struggle itself: these are tasks of our leadership. We must of course elucidate our demands by propaganda during a strike, but without directly linking up our final aims with any small strike. The politi-

sation of the struggles is one of the most important factors for every trade unionist, and in this respect there is still much to be done.

In this connection we come to the problem with which we are now faced daily: the question of the political mass strike. I know that there are countries where the slogan of the general strike awakens the idea that it can be carried out when we like, and as often as we like. In France, and indeed in all Latin countries, the traditions of anarcho-syndicalism hold sway. Here every strike is called a general strike, and great confusion is the result. On the other hand, we frequently observe another extreme. In the countries where the trade union movement is German in type, the resistance against anarcho-syndicalist phrasemongering leads to a clinging to traditions which are opportunist in the highest degree. Whilst in the Latin countries the political mass strike or general strike can be utilised as mere phraseology, on the other hand fear of this slogan — and fear of this slogan is a tradition — leads in the German trade union movement to other exaggerations, to phenomena of an entirely opposite nature.

What we need is clear insight into what a political mass strike really means, under what conditions it can break out, how it can be carried through etc., accompanied by the rejection of anarcho-syndicalist phrasemongering and social democratic opportunism, if we are to tackle the problem of the political mass strike, and if we are to solve the problem of the conversion of economic struggles into political.

(To be concluded.)

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

C. P. S. U. Decision on the Collectivisation of Agriculture.

Moscow, 6th January, 1930.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has now published its decision upon the collectivisation of agriculture and upon the measures for the support of the collective undertakings. The decision points out that the collectivisation movement has exceeded the figures contained in the plan, and in the spring no less than 30 million hectares will be tilled by the collective undertakings. In other words, the 5-year plan has already been exceeded, because it provided for 24 million hectares tilled by the collectives at the end of the fifth year. The development of the Soviet farms has also exceeded the original plans, so that the socialist agricultural forces are now in a position to replace the large-scale kulak farming with large-scale socialist farming. This situation gave the Party the material basis for proceeding from its policy of limiting the exploiting tendencies of the kulaks, to a policy of exterminating the kulaks as a class. The Five-Year Plan provided for the collectivisation of 20% of the land, but in fact the end of the plan period will see the collectivisation of the great majority of the small peasant farms. Autumn 1930 or at the latest Spring 1931 will see the completed collectivisation of such important grain districts as the Lower and Central Volga districts and northern Caucasus.

The Central Committee of the Party instructs the Supreme Economic Council to push forward the work for the production of modern agricultural machinery, and particularly of such machinery to be used with tractors. The Commissariat for Agriculture is instructed to organise the work for the measurement, etc., of the land in such a way that the demands of the collectivised districts are completely fulfilled, whilst the work in a few of the national districts where the collectivisation has not yet made much progress may be retarded.

The decision also provides for the reorganisation of the collective undertakings. An appeal is issued to all party organisations to increase their work for instructing workers and peasants to take over the management of the collectives. The Commissariat for Agriculture is instructed to work out a constitution for the Artel form of collectivisation as a transitional form leading to the agricultural commune.

The party organisations are instructed to take over the leadership of the collective movement, to organise real collective production and to achieve not only the figures laid down in the plan, but to exceed them and make the present sowing campaign the commencing point for a new forward drive in the collectivisation movement.

SOCIAL FASCISM

The S. P. of Lithuania in the Service of Fascism.

By A. Draugas (Kovno).

The resignation of Voldemaras signalled the accentuated crisis of the fascist dictatorship in Lithuania. The impoverishment of the working class, the indebtedness of the poor and middle peasants has reached an unbearable degree. The resistance of the exploited and suppressed toiling masses to the regime of bloody terror is growing, and more and more frequently finds expression in strikes, demonstrations, in collisions with the police and the fascist bandits, in fights for the street.

In these circumstances the bourgeoisie is compelled to make a tactical turn, which in no way must be considered as a change in the policy of fascist suppression but is only intended to offer the bourgeoisie the possibility of maintaining the dictatorship.

The legalisation of the social democratic party after its six months' suppression constitutes the attempt to make an apparent extension of the social basis of the dictatorship while at the same time enabling it to carry out an intensification of the bloody terror against the anti-fascist movement of the revolutionary workers and peasants.

It is characteristic that the legalisation of the S. P. of Lithuania took place immediately after the trials in Kovno and Ponevezs, in which 24 and 13 class fighters respectively were sentenced, some to capital punishment, others to hard labour imprisonment for six to 15 years; that almost simultaneously the military court in Schaulen pronounced death sentences on Communists, and that in the near future there will take place before the military court of Ponevezs a monstrous trial of 150 persons who are accused of "secret conspiracy", i. e., of being members of the Communist Party which has been illegal since 1919.

By means of the legalisation of the social democracy the Lithuanian bourgeoisie intends to disintegrate the ranks of the class-conscious masses, to separate them from the revolutionary movement and to bring them, with the support of the social democratic leaders, under the influence of fascism.

It was the Lithuanian social democracy which in 1919 initiated the terror against the revolutionary movement and carried it out and supported it respectively for many years. Lithuanian social democracy paved the way for fascism and rendered Voldemaras' coup d'état possible. After a short interval of "opposition" it is now crawling under the protection of the dictatorship. In September of this year the S. P. of Lithuania wrote in a memorandum to the II. International: "The dictatorial Voldemaras government endeavoured during the whole period of its rule in the first place (1) to weaken the social democratic party of Lithuania, as it is from this (??) side that the dictatorship expects the greatest danger". The legalisation of the S. P. of Lithuania exposes the whole demagoguery of this declaration, and the mass terror against the revolutionary movement shows from which side the dictatorship scents danger.

Incomplete statistics of class justice and white terror in Lithuania report for the period of 1st of January to 1st of October 1929 580 house searches, 768 arrests, 201 wounded and 10 murders of workers. In 46 trials there were pronounced 295 sentences imposing 764 years' imprisonment, 3850 dollars in fines and ten death sentences. As a result of the inhuman prison regime, which is on a par with that of Yugoslavia and Rumania, the political prisoners have been driven to hunger strike four times in the course of these nine months (in all 595 participants and 2268 hunger days). It was in the sign of this rapidly rising wave of terror that there

took place the reconciliation between fascism and the S. P. of Lithuania.

The intensification of the bloody terror in Lithuania has aroused the energetic protest of the international working class and of all progressive elements of the world. MacDonald, Crispian and other shining lights of the II. International, who tolerated and approved the brutal terror against the revolutionary proletarians and peasants on the part of the different social democratic, popular socialist, christian-democratic and fascist governments for eleven years, have only demanded the "removal of the terror" when the S. P. of Lithuania has been suppressed.

MacDonald's pressure aims at the inclusion of the Lithuanian fascist government in the Baltic Anti-Soviet bloc under the immediate leadership of Poland, which is ruled by English imperialism. The legalisation of the S. P. of Lithuania, which is partly the result of MacDonald's intervention, likewise shows the growing subordination of the fascist vassals to imperialism in regard to the preparation of war against the Soviet Union.

Thus the social democratic leaders of Lithuania are following, with the blessings of MacDonald and Crispian, the path of understanding with the fascist regime, the path which Moraczewsky in Poland, Kasakoff in Bulgaria and D'Aragona in Italy traversed long before them.

PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

A Year under the Military Fascist Dictatorship in Yugoslavia.

By Vera (Zagreb).

Since the 6th January 1929, the day of the introduction of the military fascist dictatorship, the already low standard of living of the toiling women of Yugoslavia has been depressed still further.

Whilst in the year 1928 the difference between men's and women's wages amounted to 25 per cent, in the year of the dictatorship it increased to 33 per cent. Deprived of every legal fighting possibility and protection by the dissolution of the independent trade unions, women's labour is successfully used by the capitalists to depress wages on the labour market. This is one of the most important reasons why the regime succeeded during this year in reducing wages by 25 per cent.

In Yugoslavia, just as in other countries, the number of women engaged in production is constantly increasing. In the year 1926 there were in Slovenia, which is industrially best developed, 32.5 per cent. women workers, in Serbia 14.2 per cent., in the whole of Yugoslavia 22.7 per cent. From 1926 to 1929 the number of workers in Slovenia increased by 26 per cent., that of the working women by 29. per cent.

Simultaneously the number of working women seeking work is constantly growing, partly as a result of the acute unemployment, partly as a result of the impoverishment of broad sections of the peasantry and of the city proletariat. Already in the first three months of the dictatorship there were 132 per cent. more unemployed women than in the same period of the previous year.

The wages of working women are real starvation wages. 60 per cent. of all working women are earning only 11 to 20 Dinars; 15 per cent. receive even less than 10 Dinars a day. On the other hand, the minimum of existence for an adult worker in Yugoslavia amounts to 1020 Dinars a month, for a whole family of four to 2650 Dinars.

During the rule of the military-fascist dictatorship the working day has been prolonged to 10 and even 16 hours. With the assistance of the social fascists the government is now proceeding to worsen the labour protection law, which was already inadequate. Hitherto the working women had the right to draw from the sick insurance institutions three quarters of their wages during eight weeks before and after confinement in the event of their being absent from work. It is now intended, among other things, to reduce this already insufficient benefit.

Every attempt of the working class to obtain better working and living conditions is being crushed by the most bloody methods. In spite of this, the Yugoslavian working class, under the leadership of the C. P. of Yugoslavia, is still continuing the fight, under the most difficult conditions. In the ranks of these fighters there are to be found the best of the working women.

The C. P. of Yugoslavia started only a year ago its systematic work among women. On the proposal of the Central Women's Commission set up by the IV. Congress of the C. P. Y. (November 1928), the Central Committee has issued the directives elaborated by this women's Commission regarding the building up of an apparatus for work among women. Later on there were issued the directives for the organisation of women's circles in the factories and the working methods in these circles.

Under the rule of the fascist military dictatorship there was issued for the first time a central women's leaflet on the occasion of the International Women's Day. In spite of the white terror, meetings of working women took place on the 8th of March, 1929.

The winning of the masses of toiling women is one of the most important sections of the whole Party work. Chief attention must be devoted to the extension of the Party apparatus, the organisation of a broad network of women's circles and delegate conferences, and the drawing of women into Party work.

The First Delegate Conference of Working Women in Austria.

** On the 15th of December there took place in Vienna the first Conference of delegates of working women. There were present 28 delegates from factories, 3 delegates from organisations and 24 guests. Of the 28 factory delegates 18 were members of the C. P. of Austria, 3 were social democrats and 7 were non-Party.

The International Women's Secretariat had sent to the Conference a telegram of greetings which was enthusiastically accepted and at once replied to. In addition a letter from the C. P. of Yugoslavia arrived in which were described the barbaric persecutions to which the revolutionary women of Yugoslavia are subjected.

The main report as well as the speeches in the discussion, dealt thoroughly with the situation of the working women of Austria, who are subjected to terrible exploitation. The resolution, which was unanimously adopted, points out that 60 per cent. of the Austrian working women are earning less than 25 (Austrian) schillings a week and that only 3 per cent. of the young working women are getting over 20 shillings a week. The consequences of rationalisation for the working women occupied chief place in the discussion.

The Conference demanded for the struggle against fascism that working women should join the self-defence organisation of the factories. The resolution contained among others the following demands: Equal pay for equal work; fight against capitalist rationalisation; ten minutes pause after every work hour on the conveyor; fight against night work and child labour; against the high prices; against the fascist dictatorial constitution; against the new imperialist war; for the defence of the Soviet Union and for a Soviet Austria.

The conference unanimously adopted a protest resolution against the terror in Yugoslavia, in which the Austrian revolutionary women pledge themselves, in common with their Yugoslavian sisters, to conduct the fight against the Yugoslavian military dictatorship.

Another letter was sent to the working women of Berlin containing the warmest revolutionary fighting greetings of the Conference.

This first Conference of the working women of Austria is to be the beginning of a series of similar Conferences which will be organised for the industrial districts of Austria and which are already in course of preparation. The Vienna Conference has proved, by the eager participation of working women in the discussion, that the Austrian working women are filled with a militant spirit.