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## International Unemployment and the Fight against It.

The crisis developing in the United States of America is gradually spreading to the other countries. There exists not the least doubt that we have here not a business depression of local importance, but an economic crisis of an international character. There can still exist differences of opinion regarding the tempo of development of this crisis, but it is impossible to deny its unceasing growth or its depth. The consequences of this crisis are all the more serious for capitalist society as it is developing on the background of the general crisis of the capitalist system and aggravating the contradictions of the same to an extraordinary extent. The importance of this crisis is rendered all the more greater by the circumstance that it is connected with a severe agrarian crisis, which in its turn still further emphasises the rottenness of monopolistic capitalism.

The present crisis of the year 1930 differs from the international crisis of 1920 in that it is developing along with a simultaneous rise of the revolutionary tide and powerful advance of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, i. e. accompanied by two decisive circumstances which are bound to render the consequences of this crisis more serious for capitalism. The analysis which the Tenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. gave regarding the inevitable collapse of capitalist

stabilisation has been brilliantly confirmed. The symptoms of this collapse are expressed in a number of phenomena of which the most important is the incredible growth of unemployment.

In the United States there are already five million unemployed, in Germany three million, and in Great Britain the number approaches two million. The whole of the eastern half of Europe has for some months been faced with sinking production, which inevitably leads to thousands of workers being thrown on to the street. In the little State of Austria there are 325,000 unemployed. In Poland it is reckoned that the number of unemployed will amount in the immediate future to 400,000. In South America millions of agricultural workers are starving as a result of the crisis. In addition to the wholesale unemployment the number of workers on short time is everywhere increasing in an alarming manner. Capitalist rationalisation and the new methods of exploiting labour power have hitherto been accompanied by chronic unemployment, by growth of the army of reserve labour and by a general sinking of the standard of living of the working class. This was the case even in the period when capitalist economy was on the upgrade, which was not so very long ago. The present crisis is intensifying, and will still further

intensify all these processes to a phantastic degree. In the big industrial centres of the capitalist world there is hardly a single working class family of which at least one member is not un employed. Capitalist society and its social democratic and "labour" ministers are delivering over to hunger and misery millions of proletarian families for whom there is no place in the process of production. Under the present conditions of disastrous unemployment capitalist society is unable to do anything better than issue penal laws which deprive the unemployed of the miserable pittance they had received hitherto (Germany).

At the same time there is proceeding everywhere a ruthless attack by the capitalists on wages. In the United States the wages of workers in the steel industry are being reduced by 20 per cent. We see the same thing in other countries. The bourgeoisie is endeavouring to throw the heaviest burdens of the present crisis on to the shoulders of the working masses and to overcome the difficulties at their cost. All this inevitably readers the question of the fight against international unemployment, the question of the material situation of the working class the main object of attention of the Communist International. The wave of strikes which is now sweeping all the capitalist countries is before all bound up with the fight of the working class against the lowering of their standard of living. The terrible wholesale unemployment is the Achilles heel of capitalist society and of all bourgeois and "Labour" Governments. Here there is revealed most clearly to the broadest masses of the workers that the bourgeoisie is incapable of solving the contradictions of the capitalist system.

From this question one can most easily bring the workers to the question of the Young Plan, of Fascism, of social fascism, of imperialist war, to the problem of power and of the proletarian dictatorship. The Communist Party which succeeds in mobilising the working masses round these questions becomes the driving wheel which sets in motion the class which has the historical task of overthrowing the old, decaying capitalist world. What worker will display indifference to the call of the Communist Party not to let himself be delivered over by the bourgeoisie to death from starvation. What worker will not come out on to the streets in order to fight against unemployment and against capitalism, even in the countries of white terror. What worker will not think over the political results of "Democracy", which is become fascistised, and the regime of "prosperity" so demanded by the social democrats and compare them with the political results of the proletarian dictatorship, with the position of the working class in the country where socialism is being successfully built up on the basis of the Five-Year Plan.

It is therefore not a matter of chance that a wave of unemployed demonstrations has been sweeping all the big European towns of late. It is likewise not by mere chance that these demonstrations have assumed such a stormy character. The masses, embittered by hunger, will not listen to the contemptible advice of the social democratic bureaucrats who have grown fat in the service of the capitalist State. In Germany, and in Poland thousands of unemployed assemble in the street in order to present their bill to the capitalist governments, which the latter cannot meet. In Italy, where the labour movement was long suppressed with fire and sword, thousands of unemployed are demonstrating under the cry of "Bread and Work". The Communist Parties have already begun to organise a broad campaign for the unemployed, but this does not suffice by a long way: it lags behind events. The fight against unemployment, against the increasing exploitation, for the raising of the standard of living of the workers must become the guiding thread of a broad mass movement in the international arena. Rightly to carry out the decisions of the 10th Plenary Session of the E.C.C.I. means in the first place to find the lever with the aid of which the broad masses of the working class can be set in motion. Under the condition of the growing economic crisis the question of unemployment is one of these important levers. It is the duty of the Communists closely to link up the fight of the unemployed with the fight of the workers in the factories under the revolutionary class struggle: for the 7-hour day, for higher wages, for payment of full unemployment benefit by the capitalists and their State.

Not a single strike, not a single movement of the proletariat must occur without the demands of the unemployed being placed among the chief demands of the workers. Only then will this movement acquire a general class basis, only then can the various sections of the working class be educated in the spirit of general class solidarity. Only in this way will resistance be offered to social fascism, which is striving, in the interests of capital, to divide the workers into employed and unemployed. This fundamental principle of the class unity of the movement must find its organisational expression in the "Unemployed Committees", "Unemployed Councils" etc., which have been organised in a number of countries. These organs must not only comprise representatives of the unemployed, but they must also include workers from the factories.

We must not hesitate a minute in mobilising broad masses of the workers for the fight against unemployment. Only the Communist Party can lead this international movement against unemployment. Only the Comintern and the R.I.L.U. can unite in this fight both the unemployed and the workers in the factories and lead them to the attack on the system which brings misery, hunger and death to millions of proletarians. Only the Communist Parties can lead the proletarian masses of the whole world on the path of revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

## POLITICS

### Bourgeois-Fascist Reaction and the Revolutionary Upsurge in Germany.

By Werner Hirsch (Berlin).

The aggravation of class antagonism has been proceeding in Germany during the last weeks at a rate far surpassing all expectations. **Unemployment figures**, which to-day already exceed the figures of last year, are increasing from week to week. The total number of unemployed amounts already to over 3 million, so that, including dependents, almost 10 million people are experiencing the miseries of unemployment. Thanks to the Young Plan and the first effects of the American crisis, **mass dismissals** are taking place in all branches of industry, so that in the near future a continued increase of unemployment is to be expected. American finance capital and its agent in Germany, Reichsbank president Schacht, who are barring credits to Germany, are simultaneously paralysing all constructional activity and thereby still further aggravating the crisis.

At the same time a great wave of high prices has set in as a result of the artificially enhanced customs and taxation policy of the coalition government and of the intervention of Schacht. The era of the Young Plan is characterised by a brutal offensive against the toiling masses. The standard of living of the German working class is being systematically depressed.

Parallel with the starvation offensive of the bourgeoisie and the development of the economic crisis there is proceeding a swing of the masses to the Left. To the extent to which the Young Plan no longer appears to the proletarian and petty bourgeois masses as a hazy picture of a plan for extracting tribute, but with all the harsh and palpable brutality of an every day fact; no longer in the form of the million figures of the "annuities", but the 5 pfennig increase for every journey on the street cars or motorbus, the perceptible increase in the monthly gas and electricity bill and the house rent, to the same extent the nationalist demagogic of the alleged opposition of the fascists to the Young Plan loses its effect. The fight against the Young Plan is recognised by the masses as a class question, as a social problem. Hence there is bound to be an increase in the influence of the only Party, which raises the question of the revolutionary class struggle and shows the way out of poverty and the crisis, i. e. the most obstinate defence of the proletarian class interests until the present order is overthrown; the Party which advocates the struggle for socialism. The Communist Party of Germany is able to continue its

struggle for the decisive sections of the proletariat much more successfully and determinedly. There can no longer be any doubt, Germany is actually approaching a "new 1923".

The German bourgeoisie and social democracy are aware of this development. The bourgeoisie itself speaks today of "Germany's Kerensky period", and thereby recognises how soon it expects the advent of the Red October of the German proletariat.

The social democracy, which already during the course of last year was severely defeated in the most important industrial districts by the C. P. of Germany realises that a decisive stage has begun in the struggle between the Communist Party and social fascism for the maturity of the working class. Bourgeoisie and social democracy can see only one way out: the application of the most brutal measures of terror to suppress the revolutionary working class. Hence social democracy is pressing for the passing of the Law for the protection of the Republic, drafted by its Minister for the Interior, *Severing*, by means of which the Communist Party is to be "forbidden". *Orzesinski*, the Prussian social democratic Minister for the Interior, last week delivered a speech in which he bluntly announced the suppression of the C. P. of Germany and openly declared that he was only waiting for the passing of the Law for the Protection of the Republic. At the same time this social fascist police Minister issued a decree prohibiting all demonstrations in the whole of Prussia, and appealing quite openly to the police to suppress all demonstrations by bloody force. In view of all these measures the Communist Party is quite right in pointing out that the social fascists are once again intending to provoke the revolutionary proletariat to premature armed collisions in order to avert the revolutionary danger by means of a blood-letting of the working class.

And in fact worker's blood has been shed in the last few days. Near *Chemnitz*, striking workers who arranged a demonstration were shot down; in *Worms* the police fired on a demonstration of unemployed. Everywhere there are killed and wounded. In *Berlin*, Police President *Zörgiebel* makes an abortive attempt to confiscate two editions of the "Rote Fahne", an attempt which ended with an increase of the number of subscribers to the "Rote Fahne".

In the whole of Germany there has now set in such a powerful protest action of the broadest proletarian masses, that the ruling social fascists and the bourgeoisie are beginning to quake. The prohibition of demonstrations by *Orzesinski* is replied to with numerous huge demonstrations of the workers in all districts of Germany. In the Ruhr district there took place the district Congress of the revolutionary trade union opposition, participated in by more than 1000 workers from all pits and smelting factories of the Ruhr districts, among them being many Christian, non party and social democratic delegates. The Congress was inspired by enthusiastic proletarian solidarity with the Party of the German proletariat, the Communist Party of Germany, whose leader, Comrade *Tuhrmann*, was loudly cheered by the Congress delegates. The Congress greeted the "Rote Fahne" on the occasion of its confiscation by *Zörgiebel* as the Bolshevik central organ of the German working class. During and after the Congress the proletarians assembled in all the towns of the Ruhr district and captured and maintained the streets against the police. At the same time the workers in South Germany, in East Prussia, in Central Germany, in the Waterside district, in Berlin are demonstrating in the streets. Factory meetings are taking place in which the workers are adopting energetic resolutions against the attacks on the Communist Party.

The Communist Party itself declares in its press and in meetings, that it cannot be in the least diverted from its revolutionary policy by the social fascist-bourgeois threats and the police terror. There can be no retreat and no provocation for the Communist Party.

The revolutionary Party of the German proletariat is concentrating its work on the factories, by carrying on a mass agitation for the increase of economic struggles against the Young Plan and the capitalist rationalisation, for the 7-hour day and for increased wages, for the demands of the millions of unemployed, for the drawing of the working women and the young workers into the revolutionary front. The Party is trying to develop these struggles into political mass strikes as the most important weapon of the revolutionary class struggle in the present situation.

## The New Year of Crisis in British Capitalism.

By J. T. Murphy (London).

It is now more than seven months since the Labour Government set out to prove that it was a more decisive factor in the restoration of capitalism than its predecessor the Baldwin Government.

Now let the facts speak.

The latest figures on unemployment are as follows

|                |           |           |
|----------------|-----------|-----------|
| January        | 5/30      | 1,508,000 |
| December 16/29 | 1,303,600 |           |
| December 16/28 | 1,271,100 |           |
| December 16/27 | 1,100,000 |           |

These come within the scope of the Unemployment Insurance Act and are registered at the Labour Exchanges. It is difficult to tell how many unemployed are not registered but the following figures indicate the number receiving Poor Law Relief and not entitled to Insurance benefits. There are 1,030,000 in receipt of this relief. At the same time the workhouses are full of young men refused all forms of relief, Poor Law Out relief and state insurance.

That these conditions mean an offensive against wages and working conditions and an intensification of labour for the workers is already evident. Already in the period of the Labour Government the average wages have fallen by 5 per cent whilst the cost of living has risen by 7 per cent since June last.

The old year ended with the workers of the big industries restlessly striving, fighting back and yet faced with new attacks. Two thousand workers in the woollen mills of Yorkshire are on strike against wage reductions which are developing throughout all the mills. All the woollen workers are faced with the demand for 10 per cent wage cuts. It is the manoeuvring of the trades union bureaucracy and the Labour Government which is deferring the extension of the stoppage. They are moving with the employers in the direction of a further arbitration award on the lines of the Cotton Arbitration award which brought such good results for the cotton bosses last year.

This of course is part of the social fascist policy of the Labour Government and the Labour Party. Its other aspects are clear as daylight where the strikes are taking place. At Saddleworth for example where the strike is proceeding there is an open alliance of the Labour Government forces both local and national with the police in efforts to break the strike. There are as many police at the mill gates every morning as there are strikers. They do not hesitate to violently break up meetings, arrest communist leaders almost for looking at the strike. In court one trades union official testified to the fact that he went every morning to the mill to assist the police.

Whilst these developments open the new year in the woollen industry, the weavers of Lancashire in the cotton industry are balloting on the question of strike action for a 25 per cent increase of wages. The action of the weavers has followed promptly upon the Labour Government's arbitration award of 6.5 per cent wage reduction. The demands of the weavers have been made in the teeth of the opposition of the union officials. Twice the Executive Committee of the weavers organisations turned down the demands of their members. But they were forced to go forward, unwilling as they were, with the demands of the workers. The demands were rejected by the employers and now again in spite of the official sabotage the workers are voting on the question of strike action. Unemployment has reached great proportions and the discontent amongst the 600,000 cotton workers grows from day to day. They have been told repeatedly that wage cuts "would set the industry on its feet" only to find the old story repeated. Rationalisation of the cotton industry is proceeding rapidly, worsening conditions of labour, speeding it up enormously and spreading unemployment. Everything points to the cotton industry of Lancashire being a storm centre of the class war in 1930.

Although the railway companies hand in glove with the Railway Union prevented a stoppage on the question of the continuation of the 2.5 per cent wage cut the deepening of the discontent amongst the railway workers is proceeding apace. Rationalisation goes on in this industry probably more

rapidly than in any other. A report in the "Times and Engineering Supplement" December 28/29 of the results of the introduction of the 40-ton coal wagons by the London Midland and Scottish Railway tells its own story of what rationalisation means to the railway and transport workers every day. It says: "At Stoneybridge Park special arrangements have been made for receiving the coal from these wagons, and a train composed of ten of them carrying 400 tons of coal can be unloaded by five men in half-an-hour. To unload a similar coal consignment from the standard 12-ton wagon would take eight men 12 hours, as the work would have to be done by hand ... The arrangements are so complete that from the colliery to the bunkers above the furnaces no handling is required." The loco men, the shunters, the men who load and unload the wagons will no doubt "appreciate" the rationalisation policy of the Labour Government and the employers.

But if these industries already mentioned are deeply stirred what of the **coal industry**? Ever since 1921 the coalfields of Britain have been battlefields of fierce class struggle. Capitalist coal production is battered from all sides, from the advance of oil, electricity, increased world production, new means of power generation. The year 1929 recorded an increase of sixty strikes on the year 1928 and during this period there have existed "agreements". There have been not less than 140 strikes in the year. This is very vital evidence both of the will to struggle on the part of the miners and the fact that struggle does not depend upon the termination of agreements as some people think. Most of these struggles have been conducted in the face of the sabotage of the trades union officials.

The year has ended with coal as a central problem before the Government. Its **Coal Bill** breaks every pledge the Labour Party gave to the miners. It provides for the centralisation of the mineowners control. It prepares the way for the raising of prices of coal. It provides for the reduction of wages through arbitration machinery. At every point it has endeavoured to dodge the straight question concerning wages. Did it mean to reduce wages or not? It did not think it would be necessary. It deplored wage reductions. It proposed to give the marketing schemes a three months run to enable the employers to get into their stride so that wage reductions would be unnecessary. But at no point did it propose to stand against wage reductions. On the contrary on the basis of helping the coalowners to "avoid strikes" it proposed and put through its wages board scheme which is nothing less than a full scheme of arbitration to deal with the districts separately, to isolate them with the assistance of the Miners Federation and the County Miners Associations and secure wage reductions.

Already the "Colliery Guardian" says that the Coal Bill has played the useful role of "detracting the attention of the miners from the termination of the district agreements", all of which must now come under revision with the new Bill in operation. But the employers have not waited for the termination of the agreements or the Wages Boards. In every coalfield they are keeping up an incessant attack. With the new features of the situation it is impossible to come to any other conclusion than that the miners are going to be in the forefront of great struggles. Already the **United Mine Workers of Scotland** are setting the pace with a repudiation of the Coal Bill and the agreements of the reformist leaders. They have set out their programme of demands upon which they are preparing for a great struggle. With them of course are all the militant forces of the other coalfields working on the same programme of action whilst taking a leading part in daily struggles which are arising in every coalfield under the pressure of the rationalisation drive of the coalowners.

## Change of Address!

The address of the "Inprecorr" is now:

**BERLIN C 25**  
**Bartelstraße 1-5 III, Germany.**

## The Situation in Austria.

By R. Schuller (Vienna).

The alteration of the Constitution, which went a long way towards fulfilling the fascist programme and means a considerable step towards the fascistisation of Austria, while it undoubtedly gave the bourgeoisie a new and effective means of realising the fascist dictatorship, did not by any means solve the crisis in Austria. It would be quite a mistake to believe that the fight in Austria is already over and the fascist dictatorship set up. The fascist Constitution gives rather a foundation for this dictatorship, and the question, how far the bourgeoisie will succeed in employing the provisions of this Constitution and to approach nearer to their aim in general, the realisation of the fascist dictatorship, depends upon the further development of the class struggle and the role of the Communist Party.

It would be also incorrect to speak of the unanimous adoption by parliament of the new fascist Constitution as marking a turning point in Austria. Nevertheless there is no doubt that we have entered on a new stage. And even the bourgeoisie, and especially its most active wing, is saying that the alteration of the constitution meant only the first step and that the "second stage" of the fight is now beginning.

According to the programme of Dr. Seipel this stage is to bring not only the application of the essential part of the new constitution, but also the development and application of the fascist **Estates Chamber**, which Seipel demands under the designation of "Economic Chamber". It is no longer Parliament but only this fascist Estates Chamber which is to have the right to adopt legislative decisions in all important questions. It is characteristic in this connection that Seipel in making his demands, bases himself on the **already adopted provisions of the new Constitution**, which were passed with the votes of the social democracy.

In the last few months the economic situation has become exceedingly acute. In this situation, and supported by the new Constitution, fascism has now launched a large-scale economic offensive on the whole front. Import duties are being increased, the unemployed are refused the slightest improvement of their position and the government is already considering restricting unemployment benefit. (There are at present in Austria 300,000 unemployed and their number is growing daily!) Factories are being closed down, fresh taxes on articles of mass consumption are being prepared, while industry and the banks are demanding and receiving tax reductions. All this is to be crowned by the anti-terror law which is to come up for discussion shortly.

The present **Schober government** expresses more openly and nakedly than any former Austrian government the will of Austrian and foreign finance capital. Its main support is the Creditanstalt of Rothschild, in which English capital plays a big role. Schober's policy has its main support in the Heimwehr, but it combines in a skilful manner the Heimwehr and the legal fascist State apparatus with the co-operation of social democracy. But there are voices to be heard in the camp of the bourgeoisie demanding the setting up of a militia, which would give the Heimwehr a legal status. This would not only mean a fascist militia for home purposes but would also strengthen imperialistic machinations in foreign policy. Such a militia would have the approval of the social democracy, which would thus, under the cloak of inner disarray, disarm the working class.

With the intensification of the economic crisis and the inevitable economic struggle consequent thereon, a sharpening of fascist terror is to be expected. We see already in the first strikes which have broken out how the armed Heimwehr are being employed as strike breakers in the factories.

In connection with the new situation there is to be observed a certain differentiation in the camp of the bourgeoisie, which is expressed most clearly in the polemics between the Landbund and the Heimwehr and the Landbund and Seipel. Schuny, the Minister for the Interior, who belongs to the Landbund, was expelled from the way onto whereupon the Landbund adopted a critical defence of "the present leaders" of the Heimwehr. The present order is over formation of independent peasants the struggle for socialism an extension of the Heimwehr Germany is able to continue.

But the question arises, what it is that compels the fascist organisations and leaders to adopt these manoeuvres? We can record an indubitable shaking of the influence of the Heimwehr among the peasants on the one hand and discontent among certain portion of the Heimwehr with the legalising tendencies of finance capital on the other. Before all it is the growing defection of the working peasants, who are suffering seriously under the **agrarian crisis** and for whom the Heimwehr have done nothing up to the present, which merits our closest attention. In this process of differentiation foreign political influence plays a certain role, as the Landbund is German nationalist in outlook and is not in agreement with Seipel's Italo-Hungarian orientation.

Nevertheless, with an aggravation of the economic crisis and the class struggle, there exists the possibility of the Schober government being replaced by a government more inclined to Seipel's policy, especially if the Schober government does not obtain the investment loan, and the bourgeoisie, faced with an aggravation of the economic crisis, is compelled to go over to a fiercer offensive at home.

In this united front, held together by the Schober government, there is included not only fascism but also **social fascism**. Social fascism is making use of the minor differences in the fascist camp in order to spread the fiction of antagonisms existing between "bourgeoisie" and "fascism", and to defend the bourgeoisie "against" fascism. This is only a dangerous trick in the **sham fight** between social fascism and Heimwehr fascism in order to cloak their close collaboration. It must be sharply emphasised, that by its vote for the new reactionary Constitution the social democratic party, as is even admitted by bourgeois paners, has ceased to be an opposition party even in the Parliamentary sense. It has become a government party, which if not open is none the less effective.

In its "New Year's message", the social democratic party declared its aim to be a coalition government which shall bring about the pacification of Austria. Whether the S.P. will succeed in fulfilling this pious wish depends on the development of the class struggle. The bourgeoisie, however, does not show any readiness thereto. On the contrary, the collaboration with Heimwehr fascism is costing social fascism position after position, from which it is being pushed by the former.

The further development of the crisis in Austria depends in the first place upon how far the Communist Party succeeds, by its practical revolutionary mass work and the realisation of the united front from below, in separating the masses from the leadership and influence of social fascism. There is already to be seen in the ranks of the social democratic party a real worker's opposition, which is deeply rooted in the masses, even if it betrays all the half-heartedness and weaknesses of the revolutionary social democratic workers who are still under illusions.

The Communist Party is making every effort to carry out successfully the transition to intensive mass work. In so doing it has in the first place to fight against opportunism in practice and the various Right pessimistic deviations, but at the same time also against certain signs of **sectarianism**. The Party must capture the leadership of the masses of the working class in the sharpest fight against the economic and political offensive of capitalism and its social fascist lackeys.

## Schacht and the Coalition Cabinet in Germany.

By Hermann Jacobs (Berlin).

The events which took place after the arrival of Schacht at the second Hague Conference, illustrate the **real relations of power in Germany** much more clearly than all recent events. Schacht's action, which he undertook on Morgan's instructions against Anglo-French competition against dollar capital, at the same time revealed the naked dictatorship of finance capital, embodied in his person, in its absolute power against government and Parliament in Germany.

When Schacht, at the end of last year, confronted the Hermann Müller Cabinet with an ultimatum four times within two weeks, which was accepted four times, the weakness of this government, which was nothing but the lackey of its

finance capitalist masters, became obvious. Schacht's ultimatum compelled the Cabinet to issue the draft of the financial reform of Herr Hilferding, and when it was published, the categorical declaration of Schacht that this programme is quite inadequate, sufficed to compel the government to drop it straight-way. The democratic-Parliamentary cloak became superfluous in this moment.

But even this capitulation was not sufficient. Herr Hilferding had to vanish before the fury of the all-powerful Schacht. The national loan which Hilferding intended to conclude with Dillon-Read, Morgan's competition, was frustrated by Schacht.

Before the Hague Conference the Hermann Müller Cabinet humbly knocked at the door of the Reichsbank president and asked him to participate in the delegation, to share the responsibility for the final acceptance of the Young Plan. But Schacht flatly refused. He wished, without being a member of the delegation, to be able later on to carry out Morgan's orders with greater ease. He suddenly appeared at the Conference and submitted his demands, viz: changes in the liquidation question of German property in England, changes in the German-Belgian Mark agreement, which was already concluded, rejection of the Anglo-French special demands, restoration of the Young Plan in its original form.

That was Morgan's shot. Dollar capital made an attack, by means of its German employee, on Anglo-French competition. The matter was skilfully prepared. Schacht wished to make participation of the Reichsbank in the Bank of International Settlements dependent upon the fulfilment of these conditions. The Hermann Müller Cabinet which knew of these plans of Schacht since December and had trembled for weeks for fear lest he would publish them, was indignant. The "Vorwärts" wrote: Now or never, Schacht or the Cabinet. But this outcry did not make any impression whatever.

But "authority", or what was left of it, was too much damaged and something had to be done. Schacht was "compelled" to agree to the participation of the Reichsbank in the Bank of International Settlements, of course not without a number of the most important American demands being at last partly fulfilled. Why not? The responsibility for the Young Plan in the formulation as finally adopted by the Hague Conference, does not lie on his shoulders. He has posed as being the international man, has embodied the "national opposition" to all worsening of the stipulations of the Young Plan, now the social democracy can take over full responsibility for all the consequences of the Young Plan, for misery and poverty. Herr Schacht washes his hands of all guilt.

For in the meantime his position has been consolidated. He has seen to it that the only question of importance which was to be decided at the Hague, the new statutes of the Reichsbank, has again guaranteed his independent position as dictator. Two months ago, in Baden-Baden, Schacht had already arranged this with Owen Young. The foreign controllers disappear from the Board of Directors of the Reichsbank, but he, Schacht, uncrowned king of Germany, with an annual salary of 340,000 Marks, cannot be removed from office and is responsible neither to Parliament nor to government. His "national opposition" at the Hague has secured for him the unconditional following of the bourgeois parties. He can risk everything, not only abroad but also at home. He is supported by Morgan and by the National Federation of German Industry.

Social democracy has once again won a sham victory. At first it declared in very bold tones, that there was only one alternative, the overthrow of Schacht or the overthrow of the Cabinet, but on the 15th of January the "Berliner Börsenzeitung" wrote:

"We would not mind at all if the social democrats were to bring about a Parliamentary Schacht crisis. We could at least for once demonstrate to them that the party of trade union secretaries is not qualified to take part in the discussion of great things and decisions."

That is the actual position. The social fascists, as an indispensable instrument of the fascist dictatorship in Germany, may accept all responsibility for what their policy brings in the way of hunger and misery for the working masses of Germany. They may even exercise the most bloody police terror against the proletariat in order to

secure the dictatorship of the finance capitalists, but they must not take part in the discussion of great things and decisions. Real decisions rest with finance capital, with **Hjalmar Schacht**. And the "Vorwärts", which on the 15th of January demanded in big type, "Away with Schacht!" wrote in the evening edition of the 16th of January the following classical sentence:

"No matter how the juridical question is settled, Schacht's disappearance is an urgent political necessity. In what manner that is to be achieved is a matter of secondary importance."

The social democracy can demand everything, but the carrying out of the demands is a question of secondary importance. Herr Schacht, the embodiment of the dictatorship of finance capital in Germany, and his chief Morgan are the real victors at the Hague.

## ECONOMICS

### The Sharpening Crisis in the United States.

By Harry Gannes (New York).

The economic crisis in the United States is in full swing. In order to compare the present steep decline in the productive machinery, the capitalist economists are forced to go back to the crisis of 1893, 1907, and 1914, when American imperialism suffered the severest crashes in its history.

The significant feature of the present crisis is that, without exception, every basic industry has curtailed its production to a vast extent. **Steel production** is down to 50 per cent of capacity, with many plants entirely closed down. In their prognostications for the new year, the steel executives admitted that for 1930 steel production in the U. S. would be curtailed at least 14 per cent.

The **automobile producers**, in order to further the campaign of "optimism" inaugurated by Hoover to act as a hypodermic for the masses in the present severe slump, announced that production would be curtailed only 1,000,000 cars — 20 per cent of their usual production.

**Unemployment**, which already numbers over 5,000,000 is rapidly increasing. The bosses are instituting a widespread **wage-cutting campaign** in which they have the full support of the American Federation of labour.

While **Hoover**, through his semi-fascist council, comprising 400 of the leading exploiters in the United States, with 20 Key-men heading it consisting of such elements as Owen D. Young, Robert Lamont, Julius Rosenwald, etc., fill the entire capitalist press with optimistic statements about future prosperity, the leading economic organs of the bourgeoisie present a less doctored picture of the sharp decline. The **Annalist** (Dec. 20) states:

"The outstanding fact of the business situation is the decreased in activity which has already occurred.... This decrease stands, moreover, as the greatest which has occurred in any one month in the entire post-war period; and in all probability it represents the most severe decline in business activity that has occurred in any one month in the last half century, with the exception of those which occurred in the years 1893 and 1907."

All other capitalist economic writers, who are not engaged in the Hoover campaign of illusion to hide the wage-cutting campaigns, on the basis of the detailed reports of drastic declines in all basic industries, come to precisely the same conclusion.

The "New York Times" gives some figures on the extent of the crisis: "Steel production is almost down to 40 percent of capacity; bank clearings are less than even in 1927, and railway net earnings are 24 per cent below 1928". The building industry is 27 per cent below the same period in 1928. In Chicago, one of the leading building centers, building construction contracts dropped 77 per cent for one month, December.

Another capitalist barometer of the sharp crisis in the productive machinery is the use of electric power. The "New York Times" (Dec. 29th, 1929) adds these facts to the many already published proving the severity of the present crisis:

"In the Middle West, however, throughout the greater part of the region between the Alleghenies and the Missouri River, a sharp decline in industrial production appears to have taken place. While this is especially pronounced in the steel and allied products and automobile centres, the decrease in the use of industrial power would seem to indicate the extension of curtailment into many other lines of heavy manufacture. The Rocky Mountains region showed a further drop in the output of electricity below the amount used the year before, reflecting an increased curtailment in mining and smelting."

U. S. imperialism is now faced with deep-rooted and lasting **unemployment**. There is no prospect of a boom for years to absorb any appreciable number of the present vast army of unemployed. On this point "New York Times" (Dec. 31, 1930) reports:

"Unemployment will be the greatest problem before the United States in the next decade, according to experts of the American Economic Association and American Statistical Association, who discussed it at their closing meeting today".

The capitalist press has been filled with carefully worded slippery articles by the leading imperialists promising an upturn in the productive machinery of American capitalism. Every boss paper published **Wm. F. Green's** statement, which is in complete agreement with **Hoover's** policy of barrage of "prosperity" propaganda. This is in line with the American Federation of Labour's cooperation with the semi-fascist council organised by president **Hoover**.

While the newspapers that reach the masses continue to carry the nauseous good times slop, the leading economic organs of the bosses express nervousness and complete uncertainty about the future of U. S. imperialism. The **Wall Street Journal**, which is the most optimistic of imperialist economic publications, takes occasion to berate the obviously false estimates. In its Jan. 6, 1930 issue, it says:

"Year-end reviewers and forecasters have mercifully ended their annual incubations... It is now surprising... that forecasts for 1930 have almost all been fitted with commodious loopholes through which their authors may later dodge the unpredictable if necessary.... The January prognostications must this year be taken with more than the usual grain of reserve.... Quite likely the wide prevalence of that cheerful spirit tells more of which is to come than the horoscopes themselves."

In other words, the facts of American Capitalism offer very little hope for an immediate revival and the capitalists with all the machinery at their command are preparing with a "cheerful spirit" a smashing attack on the standard of living of the workers and a drive for a greater share of the world markets.

Just now the automobile manufacturers are gathering their scattered forces for a concerted drive on the world market. The Home market is glutted, with overproduction rampant. They look to more distant fields for a solution of their crisis. **Harry E. Pierson**, writing on the prospects of the automobile industry ("Journal of Commerce, Jan. 6, 1930) says:

"Europe is a beacon light for the automobile interests in America. Why there should be an excessive supply in America, and why Europe has been recognised as holding a great potential for demand, is of first concern."

American imperialism in this situation is paying special attention to the **London Five Power Naval meet**. It insists on a navy of sufficient war strength to back up its struggle for markets. While this is always the fact with an imperialist power, when a crisis of the magnitude which has hit American economy stares the capitalists in the face, they become frantic in their war preparations to get the markets which to them spell a possible end to the crisis. Hoover did not even wait for the formal diplomatic covering which he would obtain the London meet to drap the growing war preparations of the United States. He ordered the immediate building of fifteen, 10,000 ton cruisers. The end of the crisis is not in sight. But it has already considerably sharpened the internal class struggle, with gigantic battles of the workers in the offices and its contribution to the sharpening world antagonisms is plainly visible.

# LEAGUE OF NATIONS

## The Hague Conference at Work.

By A. de Vries (Amsterdam).

The second Hague Conference is following the same course as that of its innumerable predecessors. This conference, which was supposed to have to deal with only technical questions, found itself confronted with the greatest difficulties, both of a political and financial nature. The antagonisms became more acute during the course of the negotiations when the delegates were compelled to tackle the essential questions in dispute.

This applies especially to the problem of the so-called commercialisation of the German debt, which constitutes the very heart of the Young Plan.

As is known, the creditor nations have granted Germany a remission of twenty per cent. as against the payments under the Dawes Plan solely on condition that a considerable portion of these annual payments is paid "unconditionally". These "unconditional" payments are to create the possibility of a comprehensive credit operation by being devoted to the payment of the interest on and amortisation of a big loan to be issued by the Bank of International Settlements. Of the sum which is to be raised by this means France is to receive by far the greater part.

It is here that the most serious difficulties arise; the question was first raised by the French delegation on January 10, and on January 12th the Dutch paper "Telegraaf", inspired by French sources, wrote:

"The most important of the financial questions in dispute is that of commercialisation. This must not on any account be underestimated. On January 11, Tardieu conferred at great length on this matter with Moldenhauer in the presence of M. Cheron of the French Treasury.

Cheron pointed out that the Young Plan expressly states that Germany has not the right to prevent the issue of the first part of a loan on the security of the payments under the Young Plan. Moldeuhauer replied that the Plan did not lay upon Germany the obligation to facilitate the realisation of the loan, and in addition, for every operation of this kind his government must secure the collaboration of the Reichsbank. Tardieu thereupon sharply pointed out that his government absolutely insisted that the realisation of the loan must not be hindered by any financial operation on the part of Germany.

On 5th November last Briand and Tardieu had pointed out to the German ambassador the undesirability of the raising of big loans by Germany. Nevertheless at the end of November the German Government endeavoured to raise a loan with the house of Morgan and at the end of December a loan of 100 million dollars with the firm of Dillon Read. Germany is still negotiating over a loan with Ivar Kreuger."

The French therefore fear that Germany will render impossible the "commercialisation" of its debt, i. e. the issue of the great international loan, by attempting, just as in the past year, to raise big loans for itself in the United States and elsewhere. It is especially the director of the Reichsbank, Herr Schacht, who causes the French to harbour this fear. On January 13 the same paper, "Telegraaf", even declared that if Schacht refused his co-operation, then the Young Plan would lose all importance for the French Government.

For us the most important thing about these negotiations is that they show how the mechanism of the Young Plan will function. It is generally known that Germany was able to pay the annuities under the Dawes Plan only by continually raising big State, municipal and private loans, chiefly on the United States money market. The Young Plan thoroughly alters this state of affairs. It is no longer Germany that raises loans in order to be able to pay its debts; it is Germany's creditors who hope, through the mediation of the "Bank of International Settlements", to raise a big loan, the burden of the interest on which the working population of Germany will have to bear.

In addition it should be mentioned that the world economic crisis has rendered the raising of such loans exceedingly difficult.

The consequence is that the Creditor States, in the first place France, but also Great Britain, whose representative Snowden supported Tardieu in every respect at this conference, view with suspicious eyes every operation of Germany on the international money market. And in actual fact when Germany seeks to raise a loan with Morgan or Dillon Read or any other financial house, does it not "spoil the market" for the big "commercialisation loan" from which France in particular hopes to derive such great financial advantages? And especially now, when credit is so greatly restricted owing to the crisis!

Thus even before it has finally come into operation the Young Plan has shown its results, i. e. it forces the working population of Germany into a state of debt slavery.

If Germany is to receive no foreign loans it means that it will be compelled to "restore its finances" exclusively by means of its own resources, which in turn means cutting down of expenditure on social services, reduction of unemployment benefit, higher taxes on articles of mass consumption etc.

This means a new wave of rationalisation, driven to the very extreme, with all its too well known consequences. If German economy is to meet the payments due under the Young Plan without any support in the way of foreign loans, this will only be possible by increasing exports tremendously. Hence the struggle on the world market, especially under the conditions of the approaching economic crisis, will be intensified enormously.

It is perfectly obvious that the second Hague Conference will in no way be able to bring into harmony the existing contradictions. No matter whether a compromise is reached or not, there can be no talk of a "liquidation of the war". In any circumstances the floating of the "International Loan" will require a long time. It will continually keep the situation of the toiling population of Germany under the strongest pressure. It appears that the Young Plan, in comparison with the Dawes Plan, means not an alleviation but a great increase of this pressure.

The second Hague Conference will therefore play its part in the all round accentuation of the antagonisms in the third post-war period by preparing the ground for fresh and unending friction, and conflicts between the creditor and debtors States and laying new and absolutely unendurable burdens on the working masses of Germany.

# THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

## Strike Struggles in France.

Paris, 17th January 1930.

In Rouen the slaters and tilers are on strike for wage increases. In answer to the bourgeois press which uses the old tactic of declaring that the strike is a failure and most of the men are working etc., the strikers held a demonstration through the town which was participated in by the slaters and tilers and many sympathisers and was a great success.

400 miners have gone on strike in Escarpelle against the victimisation of a fellow worker.

On the 15th January energetic demonstrations took place in the railway workshops in Garenne against the capitalist rationalisation introduced under the title "system Bedaux". Three times the workers downed tools and assembled in the courtyard. In the evening a meeting took place and the men decided to continue their struggle if need be with a strike and under the leadership of the revolutionary union.

500 workers (carpenters, mechanics, bricklayers and general labourers) of the Gorgeon woodworking factory have downed tools as a protest against excessive hours and bad working conditions. The strikers are solid and a strike committee has been elected.

A series of small strikes is also proceeding in various places. 50 mechanics are striking in the Hesse works in

Londy (Seine). 60 workers of the cardboard box factory Deschamps et Prévost in Paris are on strike. The workers of the hat works Vallet in Saint-Savine (Aube), the pattern-makers in the engineering works Sorge in Besançon etc.

There are also three victories to report. The chemical workers of Marquette les Lille employed by the Kuhlmann works have won their struggles for better working conditions. The miners of Chana à Villars in the Loire coal-fields have secured the dismissal of a fascist guard, and the builders employed by Nithart Decoman in Paris have secured a wage increase of 25 Centimes an hour.

## The Strike of the Glassworkers in Czechoslovakia.

Prague, 17th January 1930.

The striking glass workers in Unterreichenau and Bleistadt have decided to sharpen their strike measures. The maintenance men have now been called out and the fires raked. This action will in any case prevent the resumption of work for some weeks. The fighting spirit of the workers is excellent.

The strike leadership has issued an appeal to the Czechish working class calling for support. A conference of delegates of the Glass and hardware trades took place in Zvodau at which 120 delegates were present. The conference decided to support the strike in Unterreichenau and Bleistadt and to do everything possible to extend the struggle to the whole of the glass and hardware trades. In the Teplitz district factory meetings of the glass workers have taken place which enthusiastically adopted the decisions of the Zvodau conference.

As usual the social democrats are conducting a furious struggle against the strike and declared it to be "the work of the political bureau of the Communist Party".

Demonstration strikes of the glass workers in Ellbogen and Falkenau in sympathy with the striking glass workers in Unterreichenau and Bleistadt took place to-day. Falkenau was occupied by armed police in order to prevent demonstrations, but despite these precautions two demonstrations took place and the communist deputy Haiplick addressed the strikers. A demonstration of striking workers also took place in Unterreichenau where the police fired into the masses, wounding several workers.

## The Fight of the Unemployed in Latvia.

Riga, 18th January, 1930.

In Latvia, with a population of not quite two millions, the number of the unemployed is officially given as 15,000, but the actual number is more than 20,000, of which 5,000 are in Riga alone. The unemployed are carrying on a desperate fight for work and bread. Only a disappearing fraction of the unemployed are given relief work, for which they receive extraordinarily low piece rates.

The leaders of the Left trade unions, the labour fraction on the Riga town council, and the illegal Communist Party demand work and relief for all unemployed.

In order to mislead the workers the social democrats and their trade unions held on January 16th a "demonstration" of unemployed in front of the town hall and the Ministry of the Interior. The Minister of the Interior refused, however, to receive a deputation of the "demonstrators". On the evening of January 16 the Riga town council discussed the proposals of the unemployed which had been introduced by the labour party (left trade unions) fraction. The unemployed appeared before the town hall but were prevented from entering by the police, who held possession of the whole neighbourhood adjoining the town hall. When the bourgeois parties, including the social democrats, rejected the demands of the unemployed, the fraction of the labour party left the council chamber as a protest. Members of the social democratic sports association acted as assistants to the police in the carrying out of arrests of the demonstrating unemployed. A house search was carried out on the premises of the left trade unions. The daily paper "Kagods", the organ of the workers and peasants fraction of the Latvian Diet, was confiscated.

# THE WHITE TERROR

## Against Terror, Reaction and Betrayal in Mexico.

We publish below a Manifesto issued by the League Against Imperialism to the workers, peasants and anti-imperialist organisations of the whole world. Editor.

In the year 1927, when the anti-imperialist organisations of the whole world met together at a Congress in Brussels, the Calles government in Mexico sympathised with this movement. It even itself conducted a fight against clerical reaction and the penetration of U. S. A. imperialism. In so doing it reckoned on the help of the anti-imperialist forces of the whole world.

At that time the Latin-American peoples regarded Mexico as their champion against imperialism, and the persecuted workers' leaders and anti-imperialists of the whole of Latin America found in Mexico an asylum. Under the leadership of Julio Antonio Mella there was organised in Mexico the revolutionary anti-imperialist movement of the workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals.

The enormous pressure of American capital, which had gradually obtained possession of the mineral wealth of Mexico, the oil wells, the mines and numerous industrial undertakings, confronted the leaders of the Mexican petty bourgeoisie with the alternative, either to stand determinedly on the side of the masses or to sell themselves to imperialism and to proceed, together with the big landed proprietors and the church, against the growing revolutionary mass movement, in order to annihilate it.

The petty bourgeoisie in Mexico, out of fear of the masses, has adopted the same path as the petty bourgeoisie in China has adopted and which the petty bourgeoisie of India and other colonial countries is beginning to pursue. It has intentionally betrayed the fight for independence for the sake of its immediate class interests.

The Mexican petty bourgeoisie, under the leadership of Calles, Portes Gil and Ortiz Rubio, who have personally enriched themselves through the revolution, at first made use of the anti-imperialist movement as a means of pressure in order to extort for themselves the best possible conditions from Wall Street. Then there broke out the revolt, supported by the church and the imperialist circles, against Portes Gil which was a welcome means for American finance in order to accelerate the capitulation of the Mexican petty bourgeoisie. The revolt was crushed with the aid of workers and peasants. The peasants' battalions, formed by the "Campesina League", an organisation affiliated to the Anti-Imperialist League of Mexico, were the first to penetrate one of the chief centres of the revolt, Vera Cruz, and there crushed the insurgents.

This independent action of the workers and peasants who refused to give up their weapons, frightened the petty bourgeoisie still further and hastened its open counter-revolutionary action. Guadeloupe Rodriguez, one of the leaders of the Campesina League, was shot on the order of Calles. This shameful act was preceded by the murder of Julio Antonio Mella in Mexico, by agents of the bloody tyrant of Cuba, Machado. In face of the tremendous indignation of the working masses, the Portes Gil government found itself at that time compelled to conduct a sham investigation, but allowed the murderer to go free.

There then followed blow after blow against the revolutionary organisations. It was necessary to keep the promise given to Wall Street and to shatter the anti-imperialist movement in Mexico from whence the fight against advancing imperialism and the treachery of the national bourgeoisie was conducted unweariedly. The first blows were directed against the most fearless and consistent anti-imperialist fighters, against the Communists, in order then to proceed against the anti-imperialists in general.

Among the first to be arrested was Sandalo Junco, professional secretary of the organisation committee of the A.

American Anti-Imperialist League and secretary of the Caribbean secretariat of the Latin American Trade Union Federation. He was arrested as an "undesirable alien" and was to be conveyed to Cuba where certain death awaits him. In addition, some Cuban students who were active in the Anti-Imperialist League were arrested and regarding whose fate nothing is known at present.

At the same time as Calles and Ortiz Rubio went to the United States in order to confer there with the financiers of Wall Street and with Hoover, systematic persecution set in. Three hundred leading Communists, including the members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, and of the Communist Youth of Mexico, as well as some Cuban workers' leaders and leaders of the Anti-Imperialist League, were arrested during a raid which was personally led by one of the police chiefs of Mexico city, Valente Quintana and General Eulogio Ortiz, the commander of the garrison. House searches were carried out. The Communist Party newspaper *El Machete*, which fearlessly opposed the growing Mexican fascism, was prohibited along with the whole of the revolutionary trade union press, and all the printing machines were rendered useless. On the other hand, a number of Vasconcelo's followers, another group of the Mexican petty bourgeoisie, who openly announced an armed revolt, were released.

The revolutionary organisations of Mexico, such as the Communist Party, the unitary trade union federation and the workers' and peasants' bloc have won the confidence of the masses by their indefatigable fight against the new fascist labour legislation, which is directed against strikes and the independence of the trade unions, and against the agrarian reform, by which it is intended to do away with the achievements of the peasants, and against reaction in general. Demonstrations against the wave of terror have already taken place in the whole of Mexico. In the United States, in Detroit, 2000 workers demonstrated against Ortiz Rubio when the latter was passing through that town. Similar demonstrations have taken place in Chicago. Protest demonstrations have taken place in front of the Mexican Embassy and the Mexican Consulates in Washington, Los Angeles and New York.

Under the pressure of the masses Rubio was compelled to change his plan of handing over Sandalio Jimeno and three other Cuban comrades to Machado. Instead they were shipped to Hamburg.

That is the first success of the counter-action. But there are still a further number of Cuban comrades who are to be deported to Cuba. In addition, numerous Mexican workers are to be deported to the isle of Maria, the Mexican Cayenne. We therefore call upon the anti-imperialists of the whole world to organise mass demonstrations and protests against the fascist dictatorship in Mexico. Enforce the release of the arrested comrades, the reappearance of the revolutionary press and the withdrawal of the prohibition which exists in some States of Mexico against the revolutionary mass organisations.

Enter the ranks of the Anti-Imperialist League, denounce everywhere the latest dictatorship in Latin-America, in Mexico, the new ally of U. S. A. imperialism, which is responsible for the existence of the bloody dictatorship in Latin-America and whose troops not only annihilated the heroic forces of Nicaragua but also in the last days crushed the Haitians who are fighting for their freedom. In particular the sections in Latin-America and in the United States must conduct a persistent campaign in order to expose the pseudo-revolutionaries of the Mexican government.

Workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals! The special feature of the present epoch is the betrayal of the cause of independence by the national bourgeoisie and its desertion into the camp of the counter-revolution, which hopes with the aid of its new allies to crush the growing mass movement. Fight with us!

Against Mexican fascism!

Against imperialism!

For the development of all sections of the All-American Anti-Imperialist League into revolutionary mass organisations!

For international anti-imperialist solidarity!

## The Death Sentencing Machine in Lithuania.

By A Draugas (Kovno).

The fascist rulers in Lithuania are now adding a new crime to their bloody record of white terror and murder: two communists, who are charged with nothing else but "anti-State propaganda" are to be executed within the next few days.

The two comrades, who were arrested in August 1929 on the occasion of the discovery of a secret printing press "Spartacus" belonging to the C. P. of Lithuania, which has been illegal and fiercely persecuted for 10 years, were brought before the military court and charged with high treason. The "court", which on account of its savage sentences has acquired even abroad the designation of "Death Sentencing Machine" ("Vossische Zeitung" 13th August 1929), hastened to sentence the chief accused **Domas Kuczinskis** and **Kazys Kentautas** to capital punishment and **Kristinaite**, a working woman, to life-long imprisonment.

Comrade Kristinaite was murdered in prison already in September when she, together with 20 other women, protested against the intended transference from the Kovno prison into a prison in the provinces. The women were attacked by a number of warders and police and so brutally struck and beaten with keys and fists, that Comrade Kristinaite became insane and died soon afterwards.

Now the two other Comrades Kuczinskis and Kentautas are to be executed. It was only after five months that the comrades learned that the Court of Appeal had rejected their appeal and had confirmed the murder sentence.

The same court which, on 11th December 1929, acquitted those fascist criminals who had prepared bomb outrages in the editorial rooms of the Voldemaras newspaper "Tautos Kelios", or only expelled some of them for a short period from Kovno or imposed sentences only up to 3 months imprisonment, pronounces life-long hard labour sentences or capital punishment for class-conscious workers. Thus on the same day, on 11th December 1929, the military court in Schaufliai pronounced death sentences on two members of the district Committee of the C. P. of Lithuania, merely because they had been convicted of "anti-State propaganda".

Comrades Kuczinskis and Kentautas could be charged with no other crime than that they, as members of the C. P., fight against fascism and for the emancipation of the working class. It is for this reason they are to be executed!

The exploited, terrorised masses of the workers and toiling peasants of Lithuania refuse to appeal to any "human feelings" or to the alleged "conscience" of the bestial fascist murderers:

Only the pressure of the proletariat and of the honest progressive people in all countries can prevent the new crime which is being prepared in Lithuania.

The international proletariat demands of the Lithuanian hangmen the release of Kuczinskis and Kentautas and all the other victims of the fascist bloody justice.

## LENIN-LIEBKNECHT-LUXEMBURG-WEEK

### On Lenin's Path.

By J. Yaroslavsky.

In the history of the struggle for socialism there are many politicians, many brilliant personalities who during their life have played an important role in this or that party of the working class; but besides Marx and Engels there can be mentioned hardly any name with which the labour movement of our days is so closely linked up as with that of Lenin.

The years in which Lenin's theory and Lenin's plan of socialist construction have been tested under the most difficult fighting conditions, prove more and more clearly the correctness of the perspectives of Lenin's line. On the 6th anniversary of Lenin's death, on which the Party created by Lenin, can declare that in the Soviet State there exists already the material basis for the replacement of the production of the big kulak undertakings by the production of the big collective farms, this fact is still more emphasised. In the year 1918 and in the years following it was still a question of annihilating the exploiting classes who had ruled in Russia before the

October Revolution: the classes of the big landowners and of the capitalists, whilst now, six years after Lenin's death, it is already a question of liquidating the kulak as a class. The Party is of the opinion that the working class and the toiling masses of the peasantry "have every reason to go over in their practical work from the policy of limiting the exploiting tendencies of the kulaks to a policy of exterminating the kulaks as a class" (Decision of the C. C. of the C. P. S. U.) In this way we have reached, on Lenin's path, a new stage, the stage of exterminating the last roots of capitalism in our country. For the transition of millions of individual peasant undertakings to socialised big production along with the gigantic rate of development of the big industry in the Soviet Union, the construction of tractors, of complicated agricultural machines, combines etc. means the possibility of liquidating the 'individual peasant undertakings' as a whole in the next few years.

This transition to the new epoch was, of course, connected with great difficulties. Many comrades were frightened by these difficulties. Some of our members went over to the Right in order to seek a more easy path. The Rights attempted to represent Lenin's path as being a path for the plastering over of the class struggle. The Rights described Lenin's teachings as teachings which keep silent regarding the existence of hundreds of thousands of kulak undertakings among the millions of peasant undertakings which are to be transformed into collective undertakings.

After the classes of the landowners and capitalist had been exterminated, Lenin had said in Autumn 1921, in his speech at the 2nd All-Russian Congress for political education, that the present struggle can be expressed in the formula: "The victory will go to the one who first gets the upper hand: the capitalist, whom we have already shown the door, or even several doors and many such doors — or the proletarian State".

Against these capitalists whom we have shown the door in the first years of the Nep, "the door or even several doors", and who even penetrated into the pores of the economic life, we conducted a struggle which directly leads to the complete ousting of private capital not only from industry but also from trade. But as long as there exist kulaks, there exists a foundation upon which there arises again and again the capitalist, who exploits the work of the poor peasant, the work of the agricultural worker and who also exploits the worker and the outdoor worker by means of agricultural price speculation. The more the private capitalist is ousted from trade and industry, the more the kulak clings on to his territory which is becoming smaller and smaller thanks to the attack of socialism. It is therefore quite understandable that the kulak and those strata of the population which are still influenced by him, are raising a great outcry over the excessive rate of industrialisation, over the danger of accelerated collectivisation of the village, over the necessity of restricting the programme of great machine construction and for a greater development of light industry.

But Lenin's path is a tried path, and the new stage of this path still further confirms its correctness. The enormous growth of industrialisation, the gigantic extension of machine construction, in particular the construction of tractors, furnish the working class with new points of support, which strengthen its leading role. The present day worker is no longer the same worker who, in the years of decay, in the years of war communism, half naked, without boots, half starved was fighting at the front, who in the rear repaired engines under the most miserable conditions, who produced pipe-lighters and frying pans — to-day he is the worker who constructs the gigantic Dnieprostroy and the tractor factory, who is already now organising hundreds of machine and tractor stations, who sends 25,000 leading organisers in the form of shock brigades to the village in order to promote the cause of the socialist organisation of collective undertakings; he is the worker who challenges his fellow-worker in the socialist competition, who imparts his enthusiasm to the millions of toilers in the village.

Lenin saw this path when he drew up the plan for electrification and the plan for the great machine construction, when he predicted the gigantic acceleration of our whole movement on the path to socialism — if we succeed in allying ourselves with the broad mass of the peasantry —, when he referred to the alliance of our socialist industry with the peasant undertakings.

The Party pursued this path, consistently and firmly, in spite of all difficulties confronting it. The Trotzkyists reproached the Party with slowness at a time when it was necessary to work patiently in consolidating this alliance of the working class with the main mass of the peasantry. The Trotzkyists were not averse to breaking "temporarily" with the middle peasants and would thereby have endangered the alliance of the working class with the peasantry. Lenin's Party has proved that this "new" Opposition was only the echo of petty-bourgeois moods. To the outcry regarding a thermidor, the slipping away from the proletarian line, the Party replied with an acceleration of socialist construction, with an intensified attack on the kulak and at the same time conducted the fight against the Right and the Left phrase-mongers and against all those who adopted a conciliatory attitude to the Rights and the Trotzkyists.

It must be specially emphasised that the successes of our Party on Lenin's path have been attained thanks only to this irreconcilable ideological struggle against the deviations from Lenin's path. It was thanks only to this irreconcilable struggle that the basic cadres of the Right and left oppositions had to admit their error, whilst those who have not admitted their mistakes and those who tried to continue the struggle against the Leninist line, against the line of the C. P. S. U., have been ruthlessly thrown out of the Party and pushed out of political life by the working class.

Great changes have taken place in the economic life of our country during the last six years. The ten years' plan of electrification which was drawn up when Lenin was still alive, is almost completely realised. On the tenth anniversary of the confirmation of this plan it will be greatly surpassed. The proletariat now possesses a much firmer basis for the transformation of national economy on socialist lines. There exists no sphere of economy in which the proletariat is not proceeding to ever systematic intervention, to ever systematic leadership. It must be specially emphasised that Lenin's path is the path on which the worker will maintain his leadership over the peasantry, on which the proletariat takes in hand the complete leadership of the whole of the toiling masses.

We are decidedly nearing this moment, for only now has the real basis been created upon which the proletariat can carry through the socialist transformation of the peasant undertakings, by developing the creative energies of the toiling peasants on Lenin's path, by driving them into the stream of collectivisation and, assisted by the forces of these masses, frustrating every attempt of the kulaks to hinder socialist construction.

Lenin's Party is of the opinion that in the economic year 1930/31 the tasks of collectivising the overwhelming majority of the peasant undertakings can be solved, the complete collectivisation of such important grain districts as the Volga district, the North Caucasus, and that in spring 1932 at latest the collectivisation of the backward grain districts will be terminated on the whole.

The carrying out of this plan, which represents a part of Lenin's plan for the socialist transformation, requires of the whole Party, of every individual worker, of the advanced peasants and agricultural workers, a gigantic exertion of forces, the overcoming of great difficulties — but it is of course the only correct path to socialism. It is hardly likely that people who propose that a different path be followed will find much support. Even our enemies in the capitalist countries must admit that our successes are of enormous importance. And therefore we must fight against this plan of our class enemies, the kulak, the Nepman, the priest, the hostile specialist, against all remnants of parasites in the Soviet Union and their inspirers abroad. For the latter are aware that the carrying out of the Five-Year Plan drives a nail in the coffin of capitalism not only in our country. The gigantic successes of Lenin's cause in the Soviet Union encourage the workers in the capitalist countries, the toiling masses of the colonies and semi-colonies in their struggle.

The Five-Year Plan embodies Lenin's Plan, the weapon in the struggle for socialism, for Communism in all capitalist countries. With the intensification of the class struggle, which we observe everywhere, with the intensification of contradictions within the capitalist countries, Lenin's banner is becoming more and more the banner of many millions of workers and oppressed in all countries.

## UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS

### A Hitherto Unpublished Letter of Lenin on the Situation in Georgia.

Moscow, 21st January, 1930.

The press publishes a letter from Lenin dated 27th December 1921, written in answer to the enquiry of Comrade Krassin, who was at that time head of the Soviet Trade Delegation in London, as to the situation in Georgia. Krassin had requested Lenin to send material regarding the situation in Georgia, the policy of the Georgian Revolutionary Committee and the plans for convening the Georgian Soviet Congress. "This material"—writes Krassin—"is necessary in view of the resolution of the II. International, which the British Labour Party has endorsed." This resolution demands the withdrawal of the Red Army from Georgia and the organisation of a Plebiscite in Georgia. Krassin further mentions that the English journal, "The Nation", demands that, "the Soviet Government shall bow to the public opinion of European democracy if it wishes to establish relations with it." Lenin, who was staying in Gorki at the time, addressed to the Central Committee of the C.P. of the Soviet Union the following message:

"The telegram regarding the British Labour Party reveals the extraordinary naivete of Krassin. In my opinion two different measures must now be adopted: 1) a number of articles under various signatures should be published in the press, which shall hold up to ridicule the views of the so-called European democracy on the Georgian question; 2) a journalist with a bitingly ironical pen shall be instructed to draft an exaggeratedly polite Note as a reply to the English Labour Party. In this Note it should be most impressively declared that the proposal that our troops be withdrawn from Georgia and a plebiscite organised would be entirely reasonable, and that one could believe that it proceeded from people who have not lost their senses and are not corrupted by the Entente. If it were extended to all races and nations the world over. In order to bring home to the minds of the leaders of the British Labour Party what the present imperialist relations in international politics mean, we propose to them that they kindly consider: 1) the withdrawal of the English troops from Ireland and the organisation of a plebiscite in that country, 2) the same in regard to India, 3) the same with regard to the Japanese troops in Korea, 4) the same in regard to all countries in which the troops of any big imperialist State are stationed. In the Note there should be expressed in the most exaggeratedly polite form the idea that the people who wish to think over these proposals of ours and the system of imperialistic relations in international politics, would be capable of understanding the "interesting" character of the proposals which we have made to the English Labour Party. In general the draft of the Note must be an exaggeratedly polite and exceedingly popular (on the level of understanding of a ten year old child) ridiculing of the idiotic leaders of the English Labour Party. In addition, I suggest that the question be considered whether a copy of this letter should not be sent to Krassin. Personally I am in favour of it."

## THE BALKANS

### Twenty Years of the Balkan Communist Federation.

To the Working Emigrants  
from the Balkans in Europe, America and Australia!  
Appeal of the Balkan Communist Federation!

This year it will be twenty years since the Balkan Communist Federation was founded as a fighting union of the revolutionary class parties of the Balkan proletariat. To-day, twenty years later, the working masses of all the Balkan countries are under the enslaving and bloody regime of exploitation and oppression of the opened or disguised fascist dictatorships of

the Balkan bourgeoisie. Scarcely ten years have passed since the millions of workers and peasants of the Balkan were driven to the slaughter in the interests of the imperialist great Powers and of the imperialist predatory ruling classes of the Balkan countries, and already the fascist Balkan bourgeoisie is preparing, along with the social fascists of the Second International and under the leadership of the imperialist great Powers, the class war, the new imperialist war, against the Soviet Union, the fatherland of the world proletariat. Under the aegis of the imperialistic League of Nations, the Balkan bourgeoisie, which hides its true intentions behind the slogans of "Balkan Locarno", "Balkan Federation" etc., is working to establish an anti-Soviet Balkan war bloc. In the interest of capitalist stabilisation, against the powerful upsurge of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, of the working peasants and of the oppressed nations, and in the interest of feverish war preparations against the Soviet Union, the bourgeoisie is intensifying its bloody rule of fascist terror on the whole of the Balkans.

On the 6th January 1929, the big Serbian bourgeoisie set up with the aid and support of the imperialist big Powers the bloody military fascist dictatorship in Yugoslavia. For a year the military-fascist gallows dictatorship of big Serbian finance capital and of the big bourgeoisie of the whole of Yugoslavia, including that of the conquered territories, has been conducting, with the aid of the social fascists—Topalovic and consorts a war of extermination against the working masses in town and country and against their revolutionary organisations. Hundreds of workers, peasants and revolutionary champions of the oppressed nations have been and are being murdered. The bloodhounds are continuing their wholesale murders, and thousands of workers are being thrown into prison, bestially tortured and tormented to death. The blood-stained military fascist dictatorship is increasing the exploitation of the workers beyond all bounds, is carrying out barbarous methods of rationalisation, reducing wages, prolonging the working day, increasing the robbery of the working peasants and driving all toilers into poverty and misery. But a number of strikes, peasant disturbances, revolts of the oppressed nations, as well as the 1st of May and the anti-war demonstrations on the 1st August show that the bloody crusade of the military fascist dictatorship cannot throttle the revolutionary upsurge of the toiling masses, and that the proletariat, the working peasantry, and the masses of the nationally oppressed peoples are preparing, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, for the armed overthrow of the military fascist dictatorship.

In Rumania the National Peasant Party, which enjoyed the support and sympathy of the misguided broad masses, came into office with the aid of the imperialist Powers. But the Maniu Government soon exposed itself as the government of capitalist stabilisation, of anti-Soviet war preparations in the interests of the Rumanian and international bourgeoisie. Tremendous intensification of the economic crisis, brutal exploitation and robbery of the toiling masses, wholesale unemployment, and intensification of the fascist regime on the one hand, upsurge of the revolutionary mass struggle, powerful strikes, demonstrations and peasant risings on the other, characterise the situation in Rumania. The bloody attacks of Rumanian fascism, the bloodbaths in Lupeni and Temesvar and the dissolution of the last legal class organisations of the toiling masses cannot check the rising mass movement.

In Bulgaria, in spite of the intensification of the fascist dictatorship and the savage white terror, the radicalisation process of the working masses is advancing with great strides. In the past year the Bulgarian proletariat, under the leadership of the Communist Party, went over to the offensive against the dictatorship, against fascism, against the imperialist war danger and capitalist rationalisation and for the defence of the Soviet Union. The powerful strike of the 30,000 tobacco workers, the strike of the textile workers in Sliven, the demonstration and solidarity strikes in Sofia and other places, the intensification of the fight against fascism and white terror, and the mass mobilisations on the occasion of the trial of the 52 revolutionary workers show the increase of the revolutionary mass movement.

In Greece the Venizelos Government, actively supported by international imperialism, is preparing to set up the fascist

dictatorship of the united Greek bourgeoisie. In order to prepare for war on the Soviet Union and to strangle the revolutionary fight of the proletariat and of the working peasants, the Greek bourgeoisie is letting fall its "democratic" mask and passing exceptional laws against the revolutionary class organisations. The year 1929 witnessed powerful strikes and mass demonstrations, armed peasant collisions and mutinies of soldiers, which signalise the growth and approach of new mass strugles.

Italian fascist imperialism converted Albania into a semi-colony where the working masses are delivered over to the most barbarous exploitation. But the year 1929 witnessed strike movements of the workers, even if small in extent.

#### Workers, Comrades!

In the Balkans the economic crisis and the crisis of capitalist stabilisation is becoming more acute every day. The Balkan countries constitute the weakest and most rotten link of the shaken stabilisation of world capitalism. The million masses of the working peasantry are being ruined as a result of the profound agrarian crisis. After the agrarian reform swindle of the Balkan bourgeoisie the working peasants were again expropriated and driven from their holdings of land. As a result of rationalisation the army of unemployed is swelling enormously and fresh hundreds of starving workers are forced to emigrate. The number of workers and peasants of the oppressed nations who are driven out of the factories and off the land and have to flee abroad in order to escape the campaign of extermination is continually increasing. But in spite of the accentuation of the savage white terror and of the fascist regime, the revolutionary upsurge of the proletariat, of the working peasants and of the nationally oppressed masses is proceeding uninterruptedly under the leadership of the Balkan Communist Federation.

#### Workers, Comrades!

The Balkan Communist Federation calls you, on the occasion of its twenty years' existence, to support most energetically the heroic fight of your brothers, the workers and peasants of the Balkan countries. Exercise solidarity with the fighting proletariat, the working peasantry and the nationally oppressed masses of people who are also fighting for you at home! Support the mass actions of the workers on the Balkans by means of campaigns and demonstrations abroad! Create for the purpose of conducting these solidarity actions inter-Balkan Fighting Committees as mass organs of all working Balkan emigrants!

The hard fight of the toilers of the Balkans, the increasing number of strikes, persecutions, the support of the ever growing number of victims demands from you also the greatest material effort. It is your proletarian duty to support, not only politically and morally, but also materially, the fight of your brothers in the Balkan countries. The Balkan Communist Federation calls upon you to initiate and carry out at once a great collection campaign for the creation of a Balkan Fighting Fund. Create the Balkan Fighting Fund as revolutionary aid for the millions of your toiling brothers in the Balkans, for the fight against Balkan and international imperialism, against fascism, against social fascism and opportunism, against the danger of imperialist war, against the anti-Soviet Balkan bloc, for the initiation and carrying out of economic struggles of the working masses in town and country, against the Balkan Federation of the imperialist Balkan bourgeoisie and of the social fascists, for the Balkan Federation of Workers and Peasants Republics!

Long live the revolutionary fight of the proletariat, the working peasantry and the oppressed nations of the Balkans!

Long live the Communist Parties of the Balkan countries!

Long live the Balkan Communist Federation!

Long live the Communist International!

Long live the Balkan Federation of Workers and Peasants Republics!

January, 1930.

The Balkan Communist Federation.

## Intensification of the Political and Economic Crisis in Greece.

By P.r.

Athens, Middle of January, 1930.

The intensification of the economic crisis is proceeding uninterruptedly. Industry, which is experiencing an over-production crisis, especially is hard hit. All the banks have for some time reduced the credits granted to industry and commerce. The value of the securities held by the banks has declined by 30 per cent in the last year. The Banque d'Athènes even suffered a decline in the value of its securities by 40 per cent.

The bank syndicate as well as the Stock Exchange Board demanded energetic measures on the part of the government.

In view of this serious situation the Minister for Economy convened a conference of the industrialists on 3rd of January, at which he stated:

"The production of the country must be adapted to consumption, industry must concentrate itself." He mentioned as measures of assistance intended to be granted by the government a reduction of the tax on shares by 20 per cent, and a credit of 67 million Drachmas given by the bank syndicate, on the intervention of the government, to the speculators in order to avoid a further collapse of the stock market. He further promised to grant considerable loans to industry out of the foreign loans. The press of the country is in a great excitement.

Unemployment among the tobacco workers is increasing. In Serres, a crowd of dismissed and unemployed tobacco workers forced their way into a tobacco factory, remained there in spite of all the measures of the police and resumed work.

The violation of discipline in the army is assuming enormous extensions. At one barracks a sergeant considered it necessary to deliver an anti-communist speech to the troops. As this speech, however, was heard with great resentment by the soldiers, he concluded by saying: "I see, you are all Communists!" and accordingly proceeded to give the soldiers punishment drill. He gave the order to march, but nobody moved. He thereupon ordered the men to sing a patriotic song, but they instead sang a popular dance tune.

In Serres another event took place which serves to show the mood prevailing among the private soldiers in the army. The officers declared to the soldiers that all leave is forbidden as the battalion is suspected of Communism. With the exception of 40 soldiers, the whole battalion went to their native villages in order to pass the holidays with their relatives. When the commander of the battalion appeared in order to inspect the troops, an officer tried to raise a cheer for him. The soldiers however replied with a shout of: "Long live our native villages!"

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### Resolution of the West European Bureau of the Comintern on the Communist Party of Japan.

The government persecutions to which the Communist Party of Japan, the only party of the Japanese proletariat, is exposed bears witness to its real revolutionary work, as does also the fact that the reformist elements have left the Party.

The chief danger to the revolutionary movement at the present time are the liquidators of all shades, from Oyama and his consorts to the inner-party opposition.

All who advocate the creation of a legal Communist Party under the conditions prevailing at present in Japan are agents of the Japanese bourgeoisie within the working class: they aim at sowing bourgeois reformist illusions in the working

masses, they want to bring the movement into the confines of the bourgeois-landowning reaction, into the confines of the existing society. The more "left" the positions of the advocates of a legal party, which under the present conditions in Japan cannot be anything else but a weapon for subjugating the proletariat to the influence and the interests of the bourgeoisie, the more dangerous representatives of the interests of the proletariat they are.

The slightest vacillation within the Communist Party of Japan regarding this question is particularly dangerous at the present time. The most pitiless struggle is necessary against the liquidators and against vacillations within the Communist Party regarding the question of liquidating the illegal C. P., which creates disbelief in the forces of the proletariat and of the C. P. It is necessary to conduct an unrelenting struggle against the attempt to organise an All-Japan legal Communist Party: the C. P. of Japan must not, however, confine itself to the fight outside of the existing legal local organisations of the Labour Party, but must carry on a campaign of enlightenment within the latter.

The irreconcilable fight against the legal political parties of the reformists and the liquidators must in no circumstances lead to abandoning the utilisation of all the given legal possibilities for the revolutionary education and organisation of the working masses and the peasantry or to a weakening of this work. On the contrary, the members of the P. C. of Japan must with considerably greater energy put into practice the former decisions, in which is pointed out the necessity of creating and strengthening all possible legal and semi-legal workers and peasants mass organisations, such as trade unions, factory committees, delegate meetings, peasants committees, women's organisations etc.

It is still more important now to combine the illegal and legal work, and every illegal party organisation and party nucleus must make use of all existing legal workers' and peasants' organisations in order to carry on agitation and propaganda in them, which will promote the organising of the masses for class struggles in accordance with the decisions of the 10th Plenum of the E. C. C. I.

The chief tasks for all members of the C. P. of Japan and all advanced workers are: strengthening of the C. P. of Japan in the fight against the liquidators and against legalism, broad political agitation among the masses, before all in the factories, preparation for the organisation and carrying out of mass strikes and demonstrations, propaganda and organisation of strikes of the workers in various branches of industry in all industrial centres. The approach of an economic and political crisis, the capitalist rationalisation, the growth of unemployment etc., create the conditions for a radicalisation of the broad masses of workers and peasants and a rapid growth of the revolutionary movement. In these circumstances the successes of the revolutionary movement depend wholly and entirely upon the ability, the energy and determination of the members of the C. P. of Japan.

Favourable circumstances are now arising for the C. P. of Japan to rouse the workers and masses of small holders to fight, in which the fight for economic demands (for increased wages, for shortening of the working day, for the abolition of ground rents etc.) must be combined with the fight against the government of white terror and the capitalist offensive, i. e. with the political slogans of the C. P. of Japan.

It is necessary to organise mass strikes and protest demonstrations against the persecution of the C. P., against the arrest and condemnation of Communists, against the bourgeois-landowning reaction, against the capitalist offensive, against the trade union law and tenants' law.

For this purpose there is necessary an energetic and enterprising work of the Communists in the factories for the creation and strengthening of Party factory nuclei, for developing the initiative and energy of the factory nuclei in the revolutionary education of the working masses, the preparation and leadership of their struggle, before all of strike struggles, as well as a simultaneous strengthening of the Central Committee of the Party.

## Open Letter from the E. C. C. I. to the C. P. of Denmark.

Dear Comrades,

Your Party Congress will soon meet. It has great and responsible tasks. It must become a turning point in the history of your Party, the transition from opportunist passivity to Bolshevik activity.

It is to-day clear to every Party member, that the Party is undergoing a certain crisis. Its influence on the masses is not growing, but on the contrary is declining, as the recent Parliamentary elections proved. The number of Party members is beginning to decline. The instructions of the C.C. to the Party are reduced to a minimum, although the objective presumptions for the activity of Party are more favourable than previously. The third post-war period of capitalism with its characteristic features: shattering of capitalist stabilisation, lowering of the standard of living of the working class by capitalist rationalisation, intensification of the class antagonisms, transformation of social democracy into an imperialist social fascist party, radicalisation of the working masses, increase in their activity,—these phenomena form in their totality that historic epoch in which to-day, along with other countries, Denmark also finds itself.

The Danish bourgeoisie is conducting an offensive along the whole front, against the proletariat; it deprives fresh thousands of proletarians of their means of subsistence and creates for those who are still working in the factories the most worst sweating system. The bourgeoisie, by mobilising the whole power of the concentrated forces of the State and of the employers' organisations against the proletariat, is at the same time robbing the working class and its organisations—with the complete support of social democracy—of the right to strike (Hard labour law).

The Danish bourgeoisie, which is closely allied with the English bourgeoisie, prefers to make use of social democratic help, in its offensive against the proletariat. Danish social democracy, which is one of the most reactionary parties of the II. International, is eagerly fulfilling its social-fascist task, which consists in using every means to break the resistance of the suppressed class and to maintain the power of the ruling upper class. It helps the bourgeoisie to depress the standard of living of the workers. The reformist trade union bureaucracy does everything in its power in order to prevent the development of economic struggles of the working class.

Danish proletariat still cherishes great illusions with regard to social democracy. But the experiences which it is making and will make with the second "socialist" Stanning government will dispel its illusions. A number of spontaneous strikes in the factories, the increasing efforts of the Danish workers to enter into friendly relations with the proletariat of the Soviet Union (the sending of a Russian delegation on the initiative of the factories) proves that the class activity of the Danish proletariat, the radicalisation of the masses is not only growing in extent but also in depth.

Bolshevist activity of the Communist Party can play a great role in accelerating the radicalisation of the working class, in accelerating the going over of the Danish proletariat to a broad counter-offensive and its shedding of its illusions regarding social democracy. Meanwhile the Danish C.P. has not yet been able to overcome its opportunist passivity. It is clear, that in Denmark, with the petty-bourgeois character of her industry, with her old and deeply rooted reformist traditions, this Right opportunist sickness of the Party is bound to be much more serious and deeper than in Parties which have gone through a school of revolutionary struggles. The question of combating the Right danger has not yet even been raised in the Danish Party; its roots and the concrete forms of opportunism have been neither analysed nor exposed.

The Right reformist deviation in the C.P. of Denmark finds expression before all in its passivity in the struggle against the social democratic government and the reformist trade union bureaucracy; in its failure to understand the social-fascist degeneration of social democracy and trade union bureaucracy; in its passivity in regard to winning the masses of the industrial proletariat and the penetration of the Party into the factories, as well as in national limitedness and underestimation of the war danger.

Up to the present the Party has omitted to bring the Communist Programme before the masses and to oppose to the reformist strategy of the Stauning Party the revolutionary strategy of Communism. In his programme-pamphlet "Why do we need a Communist Party?" Comrade Thøgersen did not even consider it necessary to mention the existence and the role of the Soviet Union, although the best propagandist proof of the historic justification of the Communist policy would doubtlessly be a comparison of the results of Stauning's policy on the one hand, and the policy of the Soviet Power and its leader, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, on the other hand.

In the Party the slogan of "workers' control" is still being used in the opportunist manner which has repeatedly been condemned by the Comintern, i. e. without connecting it with the immediate struggle for power, for the proletarian dictatorship.

Instead of dispelling the democratic illusions of the masses and showing them that there is no other way to annihilate the class rule of the bourgeoisie than that of the proletarian revolution, the Party, for instance, came forward on the occasion of the recent municipal elections with the characteristic Left social democratic phrase: "Let us make the municipalities the instruments of the class struggle". Such slogans are opportunist, as the municipalities are constituent parts of the bourgeois State. Instead of exposing the social fascist nature of modern social democracy as a bourgeois party which is corrupting the ranks of the working class, the theory was propagated, that "there are two socialist tendencies in the trade union movement, the social democratic and the Communist". (see leading article of "Arbeiterzeitung" of 11th November 1929).

It is precisely this thoroughly wrong appraisal of social democracy which explains the fact that even on the eve of the elections there were suggestions made in the Party that common lists of candidates should be set up with social democracy. If such thing is possible already now in face of the open reactionary policy of social democracy, how then will the Party fight against the "Left" phrases of a portion of the social democratic leaders. Lyngsie in the trade unions is an example of this type, and at the same time a warning.

The Party has not revealed any activity in regard to the carrying out of the decisions of the IV. R.I.L.U. Congress on the new trade union tactic. It did not actively take part in the economic partial struggles of the last few years. Even in the factories where Communist nuclei exist, the strikes broke out independently. The Party did not set up a concrete fighting programme in the trade unions against the capitalist offensive and did not come forward as an organised force. The Communist trade union fractions exist only on paper. The Party did not succeed in concentrating its work in the factories. Even in Copenhagen only 25 per cent of the members are factory workers, and in particular the big factories are still outside of the sphere of Party influence. Is it surprising therefore that the radicalisation of the working masses is proceeding over the head of the Communist Party?

As the Party is not conducting a ruthless struggle against social democracy and the trade union bureaucracy, it could not of course profit by the radicalisation of the working class. Many thousand of proletarians know already from experience that a social democratic government differs but very little from a bourgeois government; in spite of this they voted at the elections for the social democracy, for they did not see any other way, they were not shown the way to socialism, they did not recognise in the Communist Party an active factor of the proletarian class struggle. The Party did not know how to use a language understandable by the masses.

The Party crisis is the expression of the disproportion between the opportunist passivity of the Party and its most important tasks as advance-guard of the working class.

The Right opportunist deviation in the C.P. of Denmark is revealed in the underestimation of the war danger, in the underestimation of Denmark's role in the future war against the Soviet Union. The serious failure of the 1st of August was an outcome of this underestimation. This trial mobilisation of the masses in the struggle against the war danger found the Party wanting.

(To be concluded.)

## FASCISM

### For the Release of the Anti-Fascist Prisoners!

From an Appeal of the Trade Union Federation of Italy.

The Confederazione Generale del Lavoro (General Trade Union Federation) of Italy, which was abandoned by the reformists and illegally continued by the revolutionary workers, has issued to the proletarian organisations of the whole world an appeal, from which we publish the following extract:

"For many years thousands of proletarians have been imprisoned in the Italian fascist jails, given the utmost penalty the law can inflict, condemned to isolation and to slow but certain death by starvation. They were in the front ranks of the struggle against the regime of exploitation and reprisals established by fascism. The tortures, privations, the sufferings, provocations and threats have not bent them. They remain, in spite of everything, the strong and courageous fighters for the proletarian cause. For this reason they were excluded from the amnesty which the fascist government recently granted on the occasion of the wedding between the democratic Belgian monarchy and the monarchy of the black shirts. This class amnesty, which pardons and releases the thieves, forgers, bankrupts who are the friends of the fascist dignitaries, coincides with new mass arrests of proletarians in all parts of Italy. . . .

After seven years of fascist dictatorship and after three years of exceptional law, neither the permanent arrests and the sentences of the Special Tribunal, nor the shootings have been able to suppress in the Italian workers the will to fight and to resistance. This is proved by the movements, the mutinies, which are flaring up everywhere in Italy. . . .

The Trade Union Federation of Italy appeals to the workers to reply to the contemptibleness of the fascist "amnesty" by strengthening the struggle for the release of the political prisoners for the abolition of the Special Tribunal and the exceptional laws, for the overthrow of the regime.

The Trade Union Federation of Italy, which continues its revolutionary class action in spite of the terrorist laws of fascism, appeals to the proletarian organisations of all countries to support by their active solidarity the emancipatory struggle of the Italian toilers.

Long live the international struggle for the release of all victims of reaction! Long live revolutionary international solidarity!

Fight to the death against all varieties of fascism and against Italian fascism!"

### The Anti-Fascist "Conspiracy" in Paris.

By Pietrini.

Paris, 15th January, 1930.

On December 31st 1929, there were arrested in Paris Alberto Cianca, the former chief editor of the democratic paper "Il Mondo" of Rome, Alberto Tarchiani, the former editor of the conservative Milan paper "Corriere della Serra", and Giuseppe Sardelli, the former socialist organiser. All the three, in whose lodgings a great quantity of explosive material has been found, are charged with having prepared a number of terrorist attacks on members of the fascist government and even on the Italian royal family.

The whole reactionary European press, and in particular the fascist press, has made use of this "conspiracy", in order to start a great campaign against the arrested and against the whole "anti-fascist concentration" generally, which has its headquarters in Paris and is a typical expression of bourgeois anti-fascism.

How much is true of the romantic tales served up in the newspapers; what were the real intentions of the accused and their "accomplices"; what share the agents-provocateurs of the Italian and French police have had in this "plot", what connection exists between the discovery of this "plot" and the

diplomatic negotiations between the two governments — all this cannot be ascertained at present. One thing is certain however: the arrested and the political groups to which they belong are absolute opponents of the working class, opponents of the proletarian anti-fascist movement, and that therefore the Italian workers cannot have any connection with these people and these political groups.

According to their programme, and by reason of their social origin and the intimate relations which they entertain with the police of the "democratic" countries, who hospitably received them as guests, these bourgeois anti-fascists are in fact the agents of foreign and Italian capitalism, and it is consequently unavoidable that at a certain moment they get into the hands of Italian and foreign agents-provocateurs. The victims of these agents-provocateurs and of their "plots" are not only the bourgeois anti-fascists, but still more the Italian proletarians in Italy and abroad, against whom every pretext is used in order to proceed against them.

It is further necessary to state that it is no mere chance that of late a certain revival of activity on the part of bourgeois anti-fascism, at least abroad, is to be noticed. Under the leadership of the Communist Party and of the Italian Trade Union Federation the Italian workers and peasants have resumed the fight, a fact which is proved by numerous episodes throughout Italy, and it is not difficult to predict that in the next few months there will take place broader and more violent mass struggles. Fascism sees its own existence endangered by the energetic action of the workers and peasants, and bourgeois anti-fascism observes at the same time the disappearance of any possibility of becoming the successor of Mussolini.

In such circumstances bourgeois anti-fascism considers it necessary to raise its prestige in the eyes of the masses by some sort of "beautiful gestures" and, as it avoids all mass action, resorts to "plots" of the Paris kind.

In order to prevent bourgeois anti-fascism from achieving its aim even partly and getting even small sections of the working class under its influence, the Communist Party of Italy is in duty bound to expose the various "plots", to tear down the halo of heroism and martyrdom with which the participants would like to adorn themselves; it must increase its campaign against the so-called anti-fascist movement, which is not based on the class struggle and which is not willing to overthrow, along with the Mussolini government, the whole capitalist regime.

## THE PEASANT MOVEMENT

### A Conference of Toiling Peasants in Austria.

By G. Z. (Vienna).

On 12th January there took place in **Bruck on Mur** (Styria) an important conference of peasant representatives which constitutes the beginning of a revolutionary peasant movement in Austria. The participants in this Conference were social democratic and non party peasants, as well as a Communist peasant from **Burgenland**, all of whom had been elected in public peasant meetings. In addition a representative of the "Austrian colonists and land reformers association" took part in this Conference.

The Conference dealt with the appalling misery of the Austrian small and middle peasants. Whilst the peasants succeeded, during the time of inflation, in getting free of all their debts, immediately after the stabilisation of the schilling new debts were incurred. Already in the year 1925 4700 applications for distractment were made. This number increased to 6400 in the year 1926. Since then the number of distractments has increased like an avalanche from year to year. The peasants, and especially the middle peasants, who are threatened by proletarianisation, are beginning to stir. **Gouvernement parties and social democrats** are endeavouring to take advantage of the discontent in the rural districts for their own purposes. In this respect the **Land Union** is taking the lead, and recently even proceeded to form its own **peasant defence force**, thereby meeting the wishes of the masses of the toiling peasantry who are against the **Heimwehr**. The Conference in Bruck was

specially characterised by the fact that it represented sections of small peasants who had already realised that are being misled by the open and concealed government parties.

The Conference adopted a programme of action, headed by the following three demands:

1. **Expropriation without compensation of the big landed estates and of the church lands** and their transference to the small peasants and small tenants. **Leasehold enfranchisement of the small tenants.**

2. **Cancellation of all debts (mortgages)** with which the small and middle peasants are burdened.

3. **Exemption from taxes** for the small peasants and reduction of taxes for the middle peasants.

In addition to other vital demands for the peasants, this programme calls for the rallying together of the working peasants of all countries in the struggle against the threatening imperialist war and for the defence of the Soviet Union, the only State in the world in which the peasants have gained their emancipation. The Conference determinedly opposed fascism, which intends to render the peasants "as servile as before 1848", and called for an alliance with the revolutionary working class.

The Conference resolved to summon the peasants to the struggle for these demands, to establish everywhere **Committees of Toiling Peasants** who are to prepare the **First Austrian Peasants' Congress**, which is intended to be held in the Autumn of this year. These committees of toiling peasants are to proceed immediately to the establishment of village defence groups, embracing all the adult toilers of the village: small peasants, small tenants and also the agricultural workers. The raising of the defence question is very important. Its solution is the precondition not only for the successful struggle against fascism in the rural districts, but also for the realisation of the most important demand of the landless peasants, the distribution of the big landed estates.

Finally the Conference elected a delegation of five members to the **European Peasants' Congress**, comprising delegates from most of the Austrian provinces.

## IN THE R. I. L. U.

### Lessons and Prospects of the Economic Struggles.

Report delivered by Comrade Losovsky at the Plenary Session of the Executive Bureau of the R. I. L. U.

(Conclusion).

I know the immense difficulties encountered by our unions, not only at home, but even more outside the borders of their own country, when they wish to lend this real aid. And all these difficulties, beginning with those occasioned by the police, will continue to increase, will grow and intensify with the aggravation of the class struggle.

We must learn how to organise a really international relief action, and to give both moral support, and material and organisatory help.

In the democratic republic of France the movement is in reality already semi-legal. With the further intensification of the struggle attempts may be made to dissolve the Unitary Unions. We possess illegal unions in Italy, in China, in Yugoslavia, semi-legal unions in Rumania, in Greece. Everywhere severe pressure is being put on the revolutionary unions by the bourgeois State, and the unions which are still legal today may be faced tomorrow with the necessity of continuing their activities underground. A subterranean hiding place must be sought as soon as the relations of forces are such that it is no longer possible to maintain the conquered positions.

The question of leading mass struggles from the subterranean hiding place is a very important one. Under illegal conditions an extensive apparatus is not available. Unions existing illegally cannot comprise hundreds of thousands of workers, they comprise only the best & to the ways and means must be found to establish contact between the unions and the works and factories, to lead mass strikes

spite of illegality, and to emerge from the subterranean Ueberall at every suitable opportunity. The experience gained in Italy, in China, in Yougoslavia, ref<sup>er</sup> Poland and Rumania — it is a sad truth that the number of countries requiring to use this experience increases steadily — is already wide enough. I must say however, that with respect to the utilisation of this experience these countries are further away from one another than they are geographically, and I do not know in what manner our Rumanian comrades will utilise the experience gained by the Polish, or in what manner the Yugoslavian comrades will utilise that of the Italian, or the Italian that of the other countries. The Italians should be able to learn much from the Polish comrades, for in Poland there exists a tradition of protracted illegal work, and in Italy matters are not very favourable in this respect.

I have already referred to the fact that the characteristic feature of the Labour movement today is its expansion far beyond the frontiers of Europe. Only a short time ago we all knew very little about the Labour movement in China or India, for the simple reason that there was no Labour movement there. But during the last few years the Labour movement in these gigantic countries has begun to assume a position of paramount importance, and the working class of these lands is taking the lead in the revolutionary struggle, not only against feudalism, but against militarism, and against the whole of its own bourgeoisie. The Labour movement, both in the colonies and in the older semi-colonies (for instance in Central Africa, where many interesting facts may be ascertained) develops solely by means of the spontaneous strike. This is the original primitive reply given to the bourgeoisie by the most severely exploited workers, and upon the soil thus provided the political and trade unionist groups begin to spring up. From these again the actual trade union organisations are formed. These movements differ in extent and importance, but have all one point in common, whether they be primitive movements, or movements of a higher type, such as the strikes in the Congo, in Central Africa, in South Africa, in India, and in China — they are all definitely anti-imperialist in character. This circumstance imparts to the movement in any colonial country, from the very beginning, certain definite and specific features entirely lacking in the first stages of the movement in the old capitalist countries.

India is on the eve of great revolutionary conflicts. To judge by all signs, a revolutionary wave of enormous power is approaching. And there can be no doubt that in these revolutionary struggles against English imperialism, represented by the Labour Party, the Hindu proletariat will play the leading rôle.

You may see from all this the amount of revolutionary inflammable material which has accumulated in the colonies and semi-colonies, and may judge the powerful part it will play in the struggle against imperialism and against the capitalist system.

In this connection two organisations are of great importance: the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat and the Latin American Trade Union Federation. It is the duty of the RILU, to support these organisations, which hold the class standpoint, to co-operate with them in every way in gathering together the whole of the proletarian forces of the Pacific coast and Latin America, and to form a united front with them.

But the duties incumbent on us are by no means exhausted with this. Whilst discussing what is going on in the colonies, we must not omit to raise the question: what are the adherents of the RILU, doing in the imperialist countries? What have the English comrades done for the Labour movement in India? Very little! What have the French comrades done for the Labour movement of Indo-China, Syria, or Algeria? Damned little! And what do the American comrades know of happenings on Haiti? In this respect we must take an abrupt turn, but not in words alone, in deeds. We must realise that nothing but the alliance between the workers of the capitalist countries and of the colonies guarantees the victory over imperialism and the national bourgeoisie. If we take no practical steps in this direction, we fail to fulfil our most elementary class duty towards the working class of the colonies and towards the working class of our own country.

I should like to draw a few conclusions from the tasks thus indicated. The first conclusion is as follows. I do not wish to be so understood that my insistence on the necessity of studying the methods of class warfare, and of carefully investigating the experiences of strikes and the strike movement, is taken to mean that I am of the opinion that we must now sit still and wait till these studies have been concluded. We gain our knowledge during the struggles. We must realise that here life, direct work among the masses, immediate leadership of the strike movement is the best teacher. The more we take part in this movement, the better we shall discover laws hitherto unknown to us. During the last eighteen months we have accomplished much in the study of the positive and negative aspects of our strike tactics. We have drawn the balance of these studies in a large number of resolutions passed by the Executive Bureau, we arranged a special conference for strike tactics at Strassburg. We found however that many of our leading comrades not only do not know the decisions passed by the Executive Bureau and the strike conference, but are not even familiar with the decisions of the IV. Congress of the RILU. The Right maintain that we hasten too much in advance, whilst in reality we frequently lag behind. And this, as you know, is no very brilliant strategy. It is our task, when leading the masses, not to separate ourselves from them. But we often separate from them, and remain at a certain distance behind them. And this falling behind the masses is a worse sin than hurrying before them. At the present moment, when the wave is rising, when titanic struggles and tremendous conflicts between capital and labour are impending, and there opens before us the perspective of the development of economic struggles into political, of political struggles into insurrections, possibly confronting the working class of some countries with the decisive struggles for power before long — at this juncture to remain behind is to commit the greatest crime against the advancing Labour movement.

The difference between us and the reformists lies in their fearing to think of the immediate future, whilst we arm for these future struggles. The bourgeoisie does not venture to glance into the future, for it knows what awaits it there. We, on the contrary, are not afraid to look ahead; we know the line of development of the international class struggle, we perceive its inner antagonisms and their daily intensification, we see the forces assembling on the side of the working class, who observe the regrouping and increasing trend of the masses from Right to Left. The Labour movement is proceeding to the Left, whilst the bourgeoisie, with its political allies, social democracy and reformist trade union bureaucracy, are going to the Right.

On the other hand, the forces of the revolutionary wing of the Labour movement too are growing, and also the forces of the Communist International and the Red International of Labour Unions. Therefore we have no fear of looking into the future, and therefore this future is the object of our desire. At what speed will the class struggle develop? How soon will the revolutionary struggles break out in this or that country? What will be the extent of the class conflicts, and how long will they last? No one can foresee this. But that class struggles of stupendous force are approaching, that the present crisis greatly accelerates developments, that the legend of „prosperity” and organised capitalism has suffered shipwreck, that the demoralisation of capital is revolutionising the broadest masses, that this crisis will serve as point of departure for a thorough regrouping of forces and a far-reaching Left development in the masses, for a great consolidation of the forces of the revolutionary wing of the Labour movement — of all this there is not the slightest doubt.

We must now be ready for these struggles. The revolutionary army must lose no time, must not disregard the tempo of our work. And we must, I believe, pay serious attention to the methods and forms of our work. We must adapt our daily work to the vast struggles now pending, and so equip ourselves that they do not take us by surprise.

These, comrades, are the tasks before us. This is what must be accomplished at any price, if we want not only to carry on a struggle, but to carry this struggle through to a victorious end. (Applause.)