

Münzenberg: Twelve Years of the Red Army

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Crisis and Unemployment.

By Fritz Heckert (Berlin).

The capitalists and the social fascists, who are allied to them for weal or woe, are developing an increasing campaign against the Soviet Union and the Communist Party. There is no slander which these people would not unhesitatingly stoop to spread against the Communists and Moscow. For what reason are these manufacturers of "public opinion" spreading these lies and calumnies in the capitalist and social-democratic press? Their lies and calumnies are the most important means of defending their shameful system of suppression and plunder during a critical sharpening of the situation.

Capitalist stabilisation has suffered a severe shock during the last few months. If there were no Communist Parties and no Soviet Union, capitalism would perhaps be easily able to withstand the shakings which the crisis is now causing. But in all the capitalist countries and also in most of the colonial countries there exist today firmly-welded Communist Parties with more or less revolutionary experience, prepared to conduct the revolutionary struggle. And in the Soviet Union there is being realised with the help of socialist competition the Five-Year-Plan, this powerful triumph of socialist construction. What have the capitalists and their social fascist allies to show against this? Is there anywhere in the capitalist countries such a reconstruction of economy? Is there, perhaps, a rising standard of living of the toiling masses? Is there, perhaps, an extension of freedom and culture? The

facts speak to the contrary, and neither the press scribes nor the learned professors and doctors can smother up these facts. The culture of bankruptcy is flying over the earth and seizing its victims over the whole area where capitalism rules. In Europe, in Asia, in Africa, in Australia, in North and South America, thousands of undertakings and enterprises are collapsing. In the United States, just as in the farthest corner of the colonies, the rosy dreams of capitalist prosperity are dissolving like a mist. The crisis has begun and is playing havoc among the profit-makers. The bones of the wealthy bourgeois of a bright future of capitalism are disappearing. When will the crisis cease? Whom will it spare? What will the masses say to the growing difficulties in capitalist society? Will they once again remain patient and allow themselves to be fooled? These are the questions which the leading capitalists do not venture to answer in the affirmative.

The capitalists, and with them the social fascists, are frantically seeking a way out of the cul de sac. Their prescriptions are: fresh rationalisation, increased output, wage cuts, fresh mass taxes, customs duties on articles of food, higher rents and development of a big offensive against the working class. These robber-methods against the hungry masses cannot, however, be a way out of the critical situation. This solution means fresh, wholesale unemployment, increasing prices, higher mortality and growing misery of the toiling

sections of the population. It will not win any new markets for the products which the capitalist apparatus of production is vomiting forth in ever larger quantities, nor will it achieve any pacification of the starving masses.

For this reason the capitalist apparatus of power has to be employed in the most ruthless manner. The police baton, the machine gun and the armoured tank are being employed against the rebelling masses. The capitalist courts are mobilised. The prison doors are opened wide in order to receive the revolutionary fighters. New laws are being elaborated by the social fascist lackeys in order to prohibit the Communist Parties and to stifle the revolutionary movement. The whole capitalist canaille and their social fascist assistants are sounding the war trumpet against the Soviet Union. The Parliamentary guardians of democracy, the pacifists, who pray for civil peace, say yea and amen to all these measures. Nay more, they not only welcome the setting up of the dictatorship of finance capital and the fascisation of the State, they yell for the strong fist which will master everything.

The slogan of the young democracy: Liberty, work bread! is converted into the battle cry: "Infantry, cavalry, artillery!" But it is not good in such times to base oneself on the point of the bayonet. One of the fascist dictators. Primo de Rivera, has already fallen from this precarious position. Others will follow him.

How is it with the basis upon which the capitalist structure rests? How is it with the hands which are creating surplus value? In the U.S.A. there are more than 6 million unemployed, in Germany 3 million, in Great Britain nearly 2 million, in Italy 800,000, in Austria 450,000, in Czechoslovakia 420,000, in Poland 400,000, in Hungary 300,000, in Bulgaria 180,000, in Yugoslavia 200,000, in Rumania 150,000, in Scandinavia 150,000, in Holland and Switzerland together 80,000—100,000, in South America 1 million, in Mexico 500,000, in Canada 200,000, in Australia 200,000, in South Africa 100,000, in Japan 1 million. To these should be added the innumerable hordes of unemployed and starving people in China, India and Indonesia. These are interesting figures. They not only bear witness of the indescribable misery of many millions of workers and their families and dependents, they at the same time show the whole inner rottenness of the capitalist system,

and therefore the necessity of a fight of the starving against the well-fed.

There have previously been large armies of unemployed under the capitalist system. But never was there unemployment on such a scale in all countries as at present. We have now world unemployment evoked by a world crisis of capitalism. How will the capitalists make plausible to their wage slaves the necessity of and the divine will behind such a state of affairs? How will they explain to the masses that it is possible, by capitalist means, to emerge from this state of affairs into a better future? Lengthening of the working day, wage cuts, a cutting down of social protection, new customs duties, fresh taxes, higher rents, new rationalisation with more work and less wages, police batons, firearms, prohibition of the Party, collaboration between capitalists and social fascists in order to crush and slaughter the workers — these are not the means with which to allay the excitement of the masses and bolster up the foundations of capitalist society. Therefore, the further existence of this order depends not only upon its present rulers, and the actions of its social fascist lackeys, but much more upon the working class. The mass fight of the workers for shorter working hours and higher wages and the fight of the unemployed for work and bread is calculated to unite the whole mass of toilers in one front and to deal decisive blows to the capitalist system. The Communists are confronted with the task of mobilising this fight. With a view to fulfilling this task we are carrying out, on the 6th of March the first international fighting day against unemployment. We will agitate in every factory and every Labour Exchange, in every worker's household for the 6th of March. The more we succeed in bringing the masses into action on the 6th of March, the more we shall be able to march forward in the days following. The lies and calumnies of the capitalists and of the social fascists will not frighten the working masses in their march forward any more than their threats. The fight for the seven-hour day and work and bread for the unemployed, the fight which we are now developing against the capitalist and social-fascist terror, that is the commencement of the fight of the masses for the overthrow of the capitalist system, for achieving socialism. That is the fight for peace, by overthrowing our class enemy.

Hands off the Soviet Union

Twelve Years of the Red Army.

By Willi Münzenberg.

Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary tactics. This truism applies to the whole revolutionary proletarian class struggle, and particularly in regard to undermining and disintegrating the bourgeois armies and creating the Red Army.

In the old social democratic movement the military question was criminally neglected. The leaders of the II. International and of the social democratic parties in the nineties who culpably falsified the main principles of revolutionary marxism and its ideas regarding the State, revolution, dictatorship of the proletariat, armed revolt and the Party, suppressed the teachings which revolutionary marxism, and in particular Engels, had given for the military programme of the proletarian class struggle. The leaders of the social democratic parties before the war, with a few glorious exceptions, as Karl Liebknecht for instance, regarded the military question as something quite taboo.

One of the greatest merits of the Bolshevik Party and its leader Lenin, whom the international proletariat has to thank for restoring revolutionary marxism in its exactitude, is the creation of a revolutionary theory regarding the treatment of the military question by the revolutionary proletariat.

In the old Tsarist Russia, in the revolution of 1905/6, revolutionary propaganda led, for the first time in a bourgeois army, to mass mutinies and revolts in cooperation with revolutionary strikes and fights of the revolutionary workers and peasants. But it was not until 10 years later that Lenin, in the "military Programme of the Bolshevik Party", created the theoretical basis for revolutionary propaganda in the bourgeois

armies. With this programme Lenin and the Bolshevik Party annihilated for ever the centrist utopian slogans of Kautsky, Haase etc. (international arbitration, disarmament etc.). This programme also corrected the mistakes of the "International" group in Germany (that there can be only imperialist wars in this period) and pointed out that in the present period various wars are possible to which the proletariat must give most active support (revolutionary wars in the colonies in order to shake off imperialist rule, civil war etc.) The Bolshevik Party in Russia owes its victory over the Tsarist, capitalist and menshevik enemies in 1917 before all to its correct and revolutionary propaganda in the Red Army and its Marxist-Leninist attitude to the whole military question.

After the capture of power there was demonstrated in the most striking manner the correctness of the Leninist view regarding the nature of war and militarism in the present period. Millions of workers now recognised the necessity of creating a Red Army as a means of defence against the outside enemies and for holding down and crushing the last counter-revolutionary forces in Russia itself. In the year 1919, at an extremely critical time for the young Soviet Republic, the first cadres of the Red Army were created according to military rules. The increased measures of the imperialist States aiming at destroying the Soviet Union by a great military intervention, the increased counter-revolutionary activity of the Tsarist and white-guardist generals, compelled the Soviet Union to set up a strong and effective Red Army. This decision of the Council of People's Commissars evoked a pitying smile from the imperialists and their general staffs. But the smile soon

vanished from their faces. In the years following the Red Army, in spite of its unavoidable inefficient technical equipment, achieved military deeds and carried out actions which evoked the admiration of the whole world and the enthusiasm of all workers.

The first groups of the newly created Red Army annihilatingly defeated the last white guardist armies, crushed Denikin, Wrangel, Yudenitch etc., and captured Archangel, Wladivostok and formed the steel framework firmly binding together the autonomous Republic of the vast country, the Far East, the Transcaucasian Republics and the Ukraine with the centre, Moscow and Leningrad.

In the last few years the Red Army has been consolidated and developed, and is today not only the military bulwark of the U.S.S.R. but at the same time one of the most important cultural factors in the Soviet Union in the fight to abolish illiteracy. The military equipments have been improved and the astonishing victory of the Red Army, under the command of Blucher, over the white-guardist Chinese Generals in 1929 proves that the Red Army has remained what it was in 1919 — the sharp sword of the proletarian revolution.

The Red Army acquires the very greatest importance at the present time, when we are faced with increased danger of war and war incitement against the Soviet Union. The danger of war has become exceedingly serious in the last few months. Every factory which is erected in the Soviet Union, every motor which is set running, incites and goads the General Staffs of the imperialist Powers to attempt to involve the Soviet Union in war as soon as possible. Their best heads can reckon almost to the day when it will be too late for them, and the "Kölnische Volkszeitung" has put into words that which all these white guardist conspirators are thinking: "If the Five-Year Plan is carried out, then woe to Europe!"

There are only two forces working to prevent war: the Red Army and the international working class, which last must conduct the fight in their own countries against the imperialist war-mongers. Let us make ready and do everything we can in order to fulfil that portion of the tasks which falls to us. Nothing is so hated by the imperialists, their journalists, priests etc., as the Red Army, against which the Pope has proclaimed an international crusade. But bitter as the hatred of the imperialists against the Red Army may be, the love which the proletarians of all countries cherish for it is still greater and warmer. They know that the Red Army is the strongest and most effective weapon in the fight for the final emancipation of all the oppressed.

Crusade of the Church and the Social Fascists against the Soviet Union

By P. Maslowski (Berlin).

The acts of provocation against the Soviet Union have increased tremendously of late. It is perfectly obvious that they are due to the chagrin and disappointment of the capitalist world at the fact that the Five-Year Plan is being successfully carried out, that industrialisation is succeeding, that the collectivisation of agriculture with the simultaneous liquidation of the kulaks as a class is making progress. The furious incitement against the Soviet Union is also a measure of the growing world crisis of capitalism, for which the imperialists hold the existence of the Soviet Union responsible.

But the new factor in the present situation is not so much the quantity of the provocation, but rather the form in which anti-Bolshevist activity is being systematised and united. All the different links of the incitement are being united with the aid of religion into a single chain, extending over the whole capitalist world.

Pope Pius XI, who as a former papal Nuncio, has a good practical knowledge of the methods of ideological counter-revolution, who has already succeeded in surrounding the Soviet Union with a chain of concordates in Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Rumania etc., and who in the year 1927 issued the slogan "Rescue Christian civilisation from devilish Bolshevism", has the command in the organisation of the "moral" world front against Bolshevism. A permanent committee for combating Bolshevism with religious arguments has been founded in Rome. The 19th of March has been fixed as a world day of prayer for the Russian Church. The whole action is under the protection of "Saint Theresa of the Child Jesus".

The parsons of the whole world have suddenly lined up in the black anti-bolshevist front. There are no longer any sectarian disputes: The English Bishops, among them being the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, have welcomed the call of the Pope and demanded that the Soviet Union should not be recognised or, where it is already recognised, relations should be broken off until "religious freedom" is restored in Russia.

Whether it is a question of a catholic priest, or a protestant pastor or a rabbi, there is only one religious battle-cry: Down with the Godless Soviets! The mobilisation of religious fanaticism on a world scale is in full swing.

In the midst of all this anti-Soviet incitement the II. International must of course not be missing. From the point of view of the clerical offensive against Bolshevism there is first revealed in its proper light the calumnies of the social democracy, especially however those of the English Labour Party and of the German social democratic party. The press of the Second International has long ceased to "protest" in the name of "socialism" against "Asiatic Bolshevism". A glance at the German and English social democratic press shows us that today the church slogan of protection of religion against the Soviet Union has been taken up entirely.

MacDonald and Henderson obediently repeat what the Archbishop of Canterbury has told them to say. The "Vorwärts", the chief organ of the German social democracy, praises the papal appeal as "an acknowledgement of the principles of humanitarian democracy", and declares that it is "really high time" that all "who are endeavouring to hold aloft the principle of spiritual freedom took action against Moscow". This organ of the social fascists Severing and Zörgiebel has the brazenness to support the anathema pronounced by the Pope by referring to the "resurrection of the middle ages", not perchance in social democratic Prussia, which concluded a concordate with the catholic church, but in the separation of church and State and church and school in Soviet Russia. Thus, that which the social democracy in its better days advocated as its own demand, it now describes, in papal jargon, as "a savage terrorisation of religious life".

One is inclined to dismiss the whole matter as something ridiculous and absurd, but this crusade, so far as its international historical tasks are concerned, is of much deeper significance. Hitherto it was one of the greatest sources of trouble and worry to the world imperialists and their social fascist train-bearers that with the very extensive technical-military preparations for war on the Soviet Union there was lacking the necessary war ideology in the masses. The warmongers are quite aware that without such an all-embracing and effective war ideology it would be a risky business to venture on war.

In seeking for the most attractive war ideology, the imperialists hit upon the papal slogan of the necessity of protecting Christian European civilisation from Godless and Asiatic Bolshevism. Here there was offered a relatively favourable opportunity to make use of the religious fanaticism of the masses for ideological war preparations.

That it is precisely the Pope who is playing the leading role in this anti-Soviet crusade is not surprising. The Catholic church and its international structure best corresponds to the imperialist League of Nations. Its authoritative and dogmatic teachings, based upon the absolute obedience of the masses, runs parallel to the main feature of fascism. The Catholic church, by the establishment of missions to the heathen in all parts of the world, has at the same time the organisational means in its hands for supporting world imperialism against the Soviet Union and the oppressed colonial peoples allied with it.

Thus regarded, the papal social-fascist crusade against the Soviet Union is nothing else but a higher stage of the imperialist war preparations against the rule of the Russian workers and peasants. That all reactionary forces, including the social democrats, stand united behind the papal anathema against the Soviet Union, only shows the attractive force of this religious war-ideology and therewith the increased danger of war.

Therefore far from regarding the clerical offensive as a mere trifle the revolutionary proletarians in all countries must display increased vigilance and stand ready to defend the fatherland of all workers.

An Interview with the Heads of the Orthodox Church in the Soviet Union.

Moscow 16th February, 1930.

The "Izvestia" publishes the following interview of a press representative with the Metropolitan of the Greek Orthodox Church, Father Sergius, and some members of the Synod on the position of the Church in the Soviet Union:

Question: Is religion actually exposed to persecution in the Soviet Union, and in what forms is the persecution expressed?

Answer: In the Soviet Union, religion is not and never has been subjected to persecution. In accordance with the decree on the separation of the church from the state all forms of belief are perfectly free and are not persecuted by any organs of the state; in fact the latest decision of the Central Executive Committee and of the Council of People's Commissars of the R. S. F. S. R. regarding religious organisations excludes the least appearance of religious persecution.

Question: Is it true that atheists are undertaking the closing of churches, and what is the attitude of believers to this?

Answer: Some churches are closing, but this does not occur on the initiative of the authorities but on the desire of the population, and often even in accordance with the decision of the believers themselves. The atheists in the Soviet Union are united in a private organisation, and therefore the government organs do not in any way regard their demand to close the churches as in any way binding.

Question: Is it true that priests and believers are subjected to repression and are arrested, banished etc. on account of their religious convictions?

Answer: The repressive measures employed by the Soviet Government against believers and priests are by no means exercised on account of religious conviction but, as in the case of other citizens, on account of various acts hostile to the government. The misfortune of the church lies precisely in the fact that formerly, as is generally well known, it was too much bound up with the monarchist order. Therefore the church circles were unable to recognise the full significance of the great social transformation which took place, and for a long time behaved as open enemies of the Soviet Power, siding with Koltchak, Denikin etc. The best heads of the Church, as for example the patriarch Tikhon, recognised this and endeavoured to improve the situation thus created, and also recommended their followers not to resist the will of the people and to act loyally towards the Soviet Government.

Question: Does there exist in the Soviet Union freedom to propagate religion?

Answer: The priests are allowed to preach and hold religious services, but unfortunately we ourselves do not show any great zeal in this respect. Religious education is permitted for adults.

Question: Are the reports published in the foreign press regarding the brutalities practised by the agents of the Soviet Power on various priests in accordance with the facts?

Answer: These reports are not in the least in accordance with the facts. It is all pure invention and lying which is unworthy of serious people. Various priests are called to account, not however on account of religious activity, but on account of this or that anti-government action, and of course this does not take the form of any persecution or brutality but in the usual form employed in the case of any other accused.

Question: How is the church administered, and do not certain restrictions exist in regard to church administration?

Answer: With us, just as in the pre-revolutionary time, there exist central and local administrations. In the centre is the patriarchate, e. c. the deputy of the Patriarchs and the holy synod; in the diocese are the Bishops and the diocesan councils. In every parish there exist in addition an executive organ elected by the believers. There are at present no restrictions in regard to the conduct of our organs.

Question: Are any religious tendencies granted privileges by the Soviet Power as against other religious tendencies, and is not one of the tendencies supported by the Soviet Government?

Answer: In accordance with the Soviet legislation all religious organisations enjoy equal rights.

Question: What do you think of the future prospects of religion in general?

Answer: Certainly we are disturbed at the rapid growth of atheism. But we sincere believers have the firm faith that the

divine light cannot be extinguished and that in time it will deeply penetrate the human heart.

Question: What would you say to material support from abroad? And how could this be rendered?

Answer: Our position as priests is sufficiently secured by material support provided by our fellow believers. For us it is morally possible to accept support only from our followers. Material support by members of another religious persuasion, and from outside, would be humiliating to us and would impose upon us great moral, and perhaps also political obligations and hamper us in our religious activity.

Question: Has it happened that priests have been condemned to death for not paying their taxes?

Answer: No such cases are known to us. There have been cases in which clergymen have been fined for not having paid their taxes.

Question: What is the present situation of the church?

Answer: The present situation of the church differs considerably from the former situation, owing to the radical transformation of the economy of the country and the replacement of the old economic forms by new forms (collectivisation of agriculture, industrialisation of the whole country). There is taking place a deterioration of the position of the church. We do not however abandon the hope that also in the period of reconstruction faith will be maintained and the church of Christ continue to exist.

Question: Are there in the Soviet Union pastoral, theological and other such like schools?

Answer: In Moscow there exists a theological academy of the new church. The fact that we ourselves have no academy is due in the first place to the lack of the necessary means for this purpose, and in addition we do not consider it expedient now to train persons who feel themselves called for the service of the church.

Question: What is your attitude to the recent declaration of the Pope?

Answer: We consider it necessary to state that the recent declaration of the Pope against the Soviet Power astonishes us. The Pope considers himself to be the "Vicar of Christ". Yet Christ suffered for the oppressed and disinherited whilst the Pope by his recent declared has landed in the camp of the British big landowners and of the Franco-Italian money-bags.

We believe that in this case the Pope, following the old tradition of the Catholic Church, is inciting his flock against our country, and thereby lighting the faggots for preparation of war against the people of the Soviet Union. This action of the Pope, which we members of the Greek Orthodox Church do not in any way require, we regard as quite superfluous and unnecessary. We can protect our Greek Orthodox Church ourselves. The Pope has long desired to catholicise our church, whilst our attitude to catholicism as heresy still remains firm and can never be bound by any connections. We are sending out a special message to our fellow-believers calling attention to the renewed attempt of the Pope to plant catholicism among the orthodox Christians by such impermissible means.

Question: What is your attitude to the speech of the Archbishop of Canterbury at the English Church Council?

Answer: The sudden coming forward of a whole crowd of heads of various churches in Italy, France, Great Britain and Germany on "behalf" of the Greek Orthodox Church appears to us strange and suspicious. The sudden and inexplicable outbreak of "friendly feelings" for the Greek Orthodox Church amongst its constant opponents causes the idea involuntarily to arise that here it is not a question of protecting the Greek Orthodox Church but of earthly aims. We do not venture to say what these "earthly aims" are, but there exists no doubt that they have very little to do with the spiritual requirements of the believers. As regards the assertions of the Archbishop of Canterbury, they are just as mendacious so far as the alleged persecution of religious conviction in the Soviet Union is concerned as the declaration of the Pope. The toiling population of London regards the speech of the Archbishop of Canterbury as an act which "smells of oil". We believe that even if it does not smell of oil, it at any rate smells of incitement of his flock to a new intervention, whilst Russia has already suffered so much from former interventions.

The interview bears the following signatures: Sergius, Metropolitan of Nishni-Novgorod; Serafim, Metropolitan of Saratov; Alexius, Archbishop of Khutyn; Philipp, Archbishop of Svenigorod; Pitirim, Bishop of Orekhovo-Suyevo.

Politics

Germany and the Young-Plan.

Speech delivered by Ernst Thälmann, Chairman of the Communist Party of Germany at the Meeting of the Reichstag on 11th of February, 1930.

I wish to preface my remarks by declaring that the Communist Party, which on principle adopts a hostile attitude to the capitalist system, also in the reparations question advocates on principle its revolutionary standpoint before the working masses against the policy of this Parliament from Versailles to the Young Plan.

In these weeks, in which the Young Bill has been discussed in committee and in Plenum up to the third reading, a decision of great historical importance is being made. This decision means nothing more nor nothing less than that the working class, for three generations, up to the year 1988, will have to pay to foreign capital sums amounting to milliards. This fact alone is sufficient reason why this slave-pact should be fought most bitterly in this Parliament as well as outside it.

Let us call to mind the years 1918 and 1919, when the working population was confronted with the question of liquidating the world war. Also in that fateful hour, two points of view confronted each other. At that time the view represented by the opponents of the Communist Party was crowned with the Treaty of Versailles. To-day it is a question of the second Versailles, of the Young Plan, which according to the will of its originators shall constitute a "final" solution of the reparations problem. Here also to-day two fronts face each other. On the one side the front of the possessing class and of the social democracy, and on the other side the front of the fighting proletariat under the leadership of the Communist Party.

In the year 1919 the Spartacus Bund, the Young Communist Party, set up against the reparations policy of the imperialists the slogan of the proletarian revolution. We can say today: If the Communist Party had at that time achieved the victory of the proletariat, then the Versailles Treaty would never have been signed, reparations would never have been paid, then there would have been no need for us to discuss the Young Plan in the Reichstag to-day. But the German working class, like the Russian working class, would be building up socialism.

The social democracy in the year 1919 wanted otherwise. They beat down the German revolution with the aid of the Kulk soldiers. They rejected with mockery and scorn the offer of the Soviet government of an alliance with the German revolution. Only when the millions had been subjugated, when thousands of workers had been shot, when revolutionary leaders like Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht had been foully murdered by the white guardist soldiers, was it possible to proceed to the signature of the peace of Versailles, this counter-revolutionary peace.

Who does not remember the many promises which were made to the working masses at that time by the people's commissars, by the government of Ebert and Scheidemann. I believe that the German workers have learnt in 12 years of bitter experience what these promises were worth. I pick out just a few questions.

Where is the "full socialisation" regarding which in 1919 the placards proclaimed in the streets of Berlin and in the Ruhr district: "Socialism is marching! Socialism is here!"?

The second question: Where is "General disarmament", the "securing of world peace". (Turning to the social democrats). You gave a suitable answer to this question at your Magdeburg Party Congress in the debate on the armoured cruisers.

I put the third question: where is "work and bread for everybody" as was solemnly guaranteed? This question is being answered outside this Parliament by the 4½ million unemployed.

Fourth question: Where is the "free Republic"? At nearly every great unemployed demonstration the police make use of

their firearms in order to proclaim "the freedom of the Republic".

With equally lying phrases, with the same tissue of lies and hypocrisy the present social democratic government is carrying out the Young Plan. What was said regarding the two sessions at the Hague and the Paris Conference by the government representatives? It was declared that the Young Plan meant a step towards freedom, towards lightening the burdens and securing peace.

We declare from this tribune and everywhere that the Young Plan is not bringing freedom but slavery.

The social democratic government asserts that Germany is winning back "its independence". Nothing of the kind. The financial control is assuming other forms than at the time of the Dawes-Plan, at the time of the London ultimatum and previously. The reparations agent disappears. The control over the railways is formally abolished. The pledges are formally abolished. But in their place there comes the much worse, more brutal, more oppressive control of foreign and home finance capital which weighs upon the shoulders of the working masses. For months the German working class has felt this unlimited dictatorship of finance capital in Germany. This dictatorship is carried out by Schacht, the agent of Morgan. Almost everything that Schacht demands is carried out unconditionally by the social democratic government. This government constitutes the most obedient tool that finance capital in Germany could desire.

The government refer to the fact that the French troops are being withdrawn from the Rhine. The German and French Communists have during the last 12 years fought together against the occupation of the Rhineland and the Ruhr district.

What however under the Young Plan, has taken the place of the French troops in these districts? The German police, who, under the leadership of the social democratic police presidents, proceed more brutally against the revolutionary working class than any foreign occupation army. The acts of murder in Worms, in Hartmannsdorf, in Berlin and in Hamburg, Grezinski's prohibition of demonstrations, the gagging of the workers' press, best show what your (to the social democrats) freedom, the freedom of the Young Plan is like.

The occupied area is to be evacuated by the 30th of June. But under the government of finance capital, under the social democracy, the whole of Germany, from the West to the East, from the coastal districts to Bavaria becomes an "occupied area" of capitalist reaction.

How is it with the second promise made by the social democratic government, that the Young Plan would lighten the burdens of the masses of the population? The fact is the Young Plan brings no alleviation for the working masses, but for the German bourgeoisie.

The experts sent by this government succeeded in obtaining a present of 300 million industrial bonds for German industry. Even if the Young Plan means a reduction of 685 million annually as compared with the Dawes payments, this alleviation is counter-balanced by the following facts. During the period of the Dawes Plan about 17 000 million long and short-term credits were accepted in Germany. These credits are expiring and cannot be renewed. During the time of the Dawes Plan, therefore, Germany received in credits twice the amount paid by it in the form of reparations. Now Germany will have to pay almost everything out of its own pocket, or rather out of the pockets of the working people. In the first period of payment, therefore, that is for 37 years, Germany must pay on an average 2187 millions annually. If we reckon the annual interest on and amortisation of the Dawes Plan at 88 million, further the amortisation rates payable under the Belgian mark agreement, and finally the participation and investment without interest in the world reparations bank,

then the average annual payments during the first period of payment amount to at least 2,200 million. To these reparations payments there is to be added during the first decade the annual 1,400 millions interest on the 14,000 million foreign credits, after deducting the 3000 millions of capital exported by Germany.

In all, therefore, not 2,200 millions but 3,600 millions will have to be paid out of the pockets of the German proletariat every year as tribute to foreign capital.

The transfer protection is for the greater part abolished. The Dawes payments were made in German marks, whilst the Young payments must be made in foreign gold currency. As a result, a fresh inflation can easily arise.

In addition, under the Young Plan payment in money is to a great extent to take the place of deliveries in kind. This will of necessity increase unemployment and worsen the conditions of living of the German proletariat still further. I will only cite a few figures: In the first reparations year of the Dawes Plan, Germany made deliveries in kind to the value of 667 millions to the reparations account. In the Dawes reparations year 1928/1929 about 1100 millions reparations payments were made in the form of deliveries in kind. As against this we have only to read the new figures of the Young Plan, which in the first year provides for only 750 million in deliveries in kind, which by the tenth year will fall to 300 millions and then will be done away altogether, in order to see how the situation is worsened.

Of the very greatest importance in this connection is the new economic crisis which has commenced in America. The United States, the most firmly welded imperialist country, which gained enormous financial advantages from the world war, is now seized by the general crisis of capitalism. As a result, America is now proceeding to extend its own export offensive on the world market. The fight for sales markets is becoming more fierce than ever the world has seen. It is obvious that also from this point of view the position of the working class of Germany under the Young Plan, will become unbearable. No alleviation, but instead a tremendous increase of misery and exploitation will ensue.

I put quite plainly and openly to this capitalist Parliament and to the social democracy the question, why, if the Young Plan is better than the Dawes Plans — as the social democrats and the rest of the government parties maintain —, why, then, do we witness just at the present time the tremendous offensive against the standard of living of the working class. Why precisely now are the new taxes being imposed, the customs duties being raised?

The capitalists and the present government do not wait until the Young Plan has been adopted, but began already after the first Hague Conference with their attacks on the standard of living of the broad masses of toilers. This brings me to what we Communists call the **Inner Young Plan**: the complete transfer of the financial burden, amounting to thousands of millions, on to the shoulders of the working people.

We are threatened with new taxes to the amount of 2000 millions. 400 millions in new taxation was decided on in the last few weeks. Moldenhauer's announcement that a further 900 millions taxation will be imposed on the German people in the near future shows wither this development is leading. At the same moment the bourgeoisie are granted a tax moratorium of 600 millions.

The increased customs duties on meat, rye, wheat, flour, butter, fat, even on shoes and frozen meat, represent the extension of this campaign of plunder. But not only these new customs increases, which we estimate at over 1500 million marks and which for every workers family means on an average an extra burden of 150 to 200 marks a year, show the actual situation. To-day the social democracy votes for increased customs duties which two years ago the bourgeois bloc did not venture to carry out against the proletarian masses. At the same time the most important items of food, the clothing and housing expenses of the workers and of all toilers, are being enormously increased in price. If the Communist Party had not led the masses to demonstrations on the 1st of February, if the masses had not offered resistance to the starvation government, then there is not the least doubt, but that already on the 1st of February the rents in most towns would have been increased by 10 to 20 per cent. It is

only the fear of the demonstrating masses which causes the ruling class to consider it advisable not to raise rents before the 1st of April. In all these burning and vital questions, the working women, the whole mass of the toilers, come to experience the blessings of the Young Plan.

Why precisely in the last few days, particularly in Berlin, have the costs of the municipal services been so greatly increased? Because the Young Plan is leading the towns and municipalities to certain bankruptcy. Of late one town after the other is raising the price of gas, water, electricity, light, tram-fares and all other means of communication. This fact (at the present stage when the Young Plan is only being discussed) shows what high prices will prevail in the whole country as soon as the Young Plan comes into operation. Every single one of these measures means a reduction of the real wages of the workers, a deep and perceptible reduction of the standard of living of every proletarian family.

Already at the time of the Dawes Plan we Communists took up the fight against the murderous methods of capitalist rationalisation. In the most important branches of industry hundreds of thousands of unemployed are thrown onto the streets. With the reduced staffs enormously increased profits are recorded at the cost of the working masses. The criminal theory of the social fascists of increased prosperity and capitalist rationalisation is cruelly refuted by the facts.

In the "Finanzpolitischen Korrespondenz" of 26th of January 1930 the well-known national-economist Kuczynski draws the balance of the wages development in the year 1929 and shows that the real wages of the proletariat have fallen 13.9 per cent in the period from June to 1st of January 1930. That is the result of the long-term arbitration awards imposed on the working masses in all the branches of industry by the social democracy.

The general campaign of plunder is now being continued in the sphere of social policy. Everywhere in the country, in the provinces and in the municipalities, expenditure on public welfare is being cut down. But expenditure on public banquets and receptions is not reduced by one penny. I might mention that in Berlin nearly all building work has been stopped. In spite of increasing figures regarding sickness and accidents, no new hospitals are being built — a fact which had to be admitted by the Prussian Minister of the Interior, in the recent discussions in the Prussian Diet. No new hospitals, new children's homes, sport and playing grounds, or public baths and libraries are being built.

During the discussions regarding covering the deficit of 700 millions in the budget, the finance Minister Moldenhauer announced that up to the year 1932 credits will be taken from the employees' insurance and incapacity insurance in order to meet the necessary outgoings for unemployment insurance. With the unceasingly growing number of unemployed, which on a world scale already exceeds 15 millions and is growing rapidly, particularly in Germany, this measure means the liquidation and ruin of the whole social insurance.

There is no country in the world which is marching forward and making magnificent progress in the sphere of social policy and social welfare, with one exception: the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, where the proletariat has the power and the workers rule.

We have today more than 3½ million unemployed. If we include their families, we find that to-day ten million people are without bread and work. That is about one-seventh of the whole population of Germany. To this is to be added 2,900,000 permanent invalids, 2 million war victims, 800,000 recipients of pensions on account of accidents, and the smaller rentiers who have been ruined by the inflation.

It is against this great proletarian army, which suffers the most deprivation, which is most ruthlessly exploited, that finance capital, which is carrying out the Young Plan, is directing its fiercest and first attack. This brutal unbounded exploitation, which cannot even be described in words, which we call the "inner Young Plan", will rage even more frightfully and disastrously than at present and will hit the whole proletariat. Under the murderous effects of the Young Plan there suffer the 15 million workers in the factories as well as the 3½ million unemployed, the female as well as the male, the adult as well as the young workers.

And not only the proletariat, all strata of the working middle class in town and country are suffering under the Young Plan. The small shopkeepers and business people, the artisans, who are overwhelmed with taxes, who are losing the last penny of their savings, who are squeezed by monopolist capital and by the big multiple shops—they are all groaning under the burdens of the Young Plan.

This government and the capitalists who are behind it are completely incapable of annulling the debts to foreign capital. But a government of a similar composition, and the same German capitalists, had sufficient courage and determination, simply by annulling the inner debts, to rob those millions of subscribers to the war loans who had given their last penny for the benefit of the imperialist State.

The lower officials and employees who, as a result of rationalisation, are dismissed in hundreds and thousands from the public offices, the factories and business houses, are likewise the victims of the Young Plan. To these victims are to be added the hundreds and thousands of small peasants who are being starved out by industrial capital, the banks and big landowners. They are being deprived of their last cow and the most necessary farming equipment, because they are unable to pay the taxes demanded of them for the Young Plan. And if a small peasant attempts to resist he is clubbed and batoned by the police just as the Communist worker in the town.

I call to mind in this connection the happenings in Schleswig Holstein and in the Rhineland.

To-day two fronts face each other in Germany: the victims of the Young Plan and those who benefit by the Young Plan. The victims are toilers without exception. The beneficiaries are all exploiters, along with their social-fascist and national socialist agents.

The victims of the Young Plan are to be seen in the statistics regarding sickness and accidents, the increased child mortality, the daily increasing number of suicides, the misery and starvation in Germany. The beneficiaries of the Young Plan are to be seen in the provocative figures regarding wealth, which I will not fail to submit to this Parliament of the possessing class. I merely mention the fact that while we have increasing misery and frightful poverty of the masses, it is still possible today, in Germany of the Young Plan that directors of the Steel Rolling Trust receive 110,000 marks, every director of Krupp 120,000 marks, the director of the Steel Works Association 180,000 marks, the directors of the I. G. Farben Industry 500,000 marks and General director Cuno of the Hamburg America Line 600,000 marks annually.

The unscrupulous representative of German finance capital, the President of the Reichsbank Schacht, receives to-day, apart from his other sources of income, with which I am not acquainted an annual salary of 340,000 marks. In addition there is the fact that each one of his sub-directors, who it is true receives less than he does, draws an annual salary of 180,000 marks, and that at the Reichsbank it is the practice that when any member of the board of directors is dismissed on account of proved incapability or any other reason, he receives on leaving a sum amounting to eight times his annual salary. An ordinary director would therefore receive a lump sum of 1,440,000 marks, and Herr Schacht, if he were to resign today, would receive no less than 2,720,000 marks. These and other people do not lose anything under the Young Plan.

I should like to supplement these scandalous figures by pointing to the fact that we have in Germany more than 900,000 unemployed who do not receive any unemployment benefit. These people numbering more than 900,000 are, as a result of the fresh cutting down of the public welfare services, driven to the greatest misery and to despair. What is an unemployed worker who has run out of benefit to do when even the welfare institutions refuse to grant him any relief.

The old age pensioners and injured workers must, as a result of the measures of this government, obtain their food at the public kitchens provided by the public welfare institutions, which food in the last few years was given to the needy people gratis, but for which a charge of 25 Pfennig is now made. Thus an injured worker who, for example, receives an allowance of 700 or 800 marks a year, must therefore to-day if he has three or four children, pay from 1 to 1.25 marks for this food.

Great as the differences between the parties in the reparations question may be, they are all united in this House in the fight against Communism and the proletarian revolution. To-day, when it is a question of carrying out the inner Young Plan and robbing the working people, there exist no serious differences between the Hurenberg Bloc and the government parties. I should like to say to the German nationalists, that at the meeting of the Industrialists in Dusseldorf, the members of the German National People's Party enthusiastically spoke and voted for the industrial programme which is necessary in order to carry out the Young Plan.

This common front against the oppressed in Germany is further illustrated by the fact that the German nationalists, who "protest" here in empty words against the Young Plan, a few years ago helped to pass the forerunner of the Young Plan, the Dawes Plan.

The common front against Communism extends to the national socialists. When, in the Reichstag, it is a question of raising the customs duties, of increasing rents and taxes, the national socialists proceed just as eagerly to work as the parties of the Weimar Republic.

One will not find in all the leaflets, newspapers and other documents of the national socialists a single word regarding their attitude to the question of South Tyrol. The national socialists are shy of the question of South Tyrol, because they have financial connections with Mussolini.

We Communists are the only Party which has set up against the Young Plan the slogan of the proletarian revolution. That is why we are calumniated; that is why they wish to suppress us.

The law for the protection of the Republic, which will be discussed here in the next few weeks, is the inner political sword with which it is intended to crush the rebellious masses who are fighting against the Young Plan. With the law for the protection of the Republic it is intended to suppress the Communist press, which tells the truth in the fight against the Young Plan. Those who are fighting for right and freedom are to be thrown into prison. It is to such means that the ruling class in Germany has to resort; but it will find that it is running its head against a brick wall.

The social-democratic-bourgeois coalition government has made it its task to carry out the Young Plan.

We Communists, the Party of the proletarian revolution, have made it our task to prevent by every means the carrying out of the Young Plan and to render its fulfilment impossible.

That is the reason for the unbridled campaign of calumny on the part of the bourgeois and social democratic press against the Communist Party. The social democratic Prussian Minister of the Interior Grzeslinsky, openly declared the other day in the Prussian Diet that he intended to prohibit the Communist Party. And in the face of this the impudent assertion is made that the leaders of the Communist Party are striving themselves for the illegality of the Party.

I declare in the name of the Communist Party, that this assertion is a miserable, contemptible canard.

We not only fight up to the last minute for all legal possibilities of activity, we call to the German working class: Defend the Communist Party with all your powers against the attacks of the social fascist government coalition. We declare, however, at the same time: we are not afraid of illegality, for Severing and Grzeslinsky will never succeed in forcing the Communist Party, the Party of the million masses of the German proletariat to its knees. They will never succeed in separating the Communist Party from the proletarian masses.

To-day we can declare with pride that the Red Front Fighters League still lives and carries on the fight, regardless of every prohibition. We must not forget that the suppression of the Red Front Fighters League was a shameful act on the part of the present rulers. This prohibition cited the provisions of the Versailles Treaty in order to deprive of its rights a revolutionary organisation of the German workers. The bourgeoisie relies on the Treaty of Versailles. We are the enemies of Versailles, and the Young Plan is the second Versailles.

The Young Plan is not only a Pact of hunger and suppression against the toilers of Germany, but it is also a war pact against the Soviet Union. The Young Plan is the war programme of the world bourgeoisie against the State of the

proletarian dictatorship. Never were armaments being piled up so feverishly in all countries as today. That is shown by the Naval Conference in London.

The capitalists of the whole world, under the leadership of America, are increasing their war preparations against the Soviet Union.

The world reparations bank is a fighting organ of the international finance capital in order violently "to open up the Russian market", to break through the socialists monopoly of foreign trade, to establish an economic blockade and directly to finance the war against the Soviet Union.

Schober and Mussolini conclude a pact of aggression. The Pope preaches a crusade against Bolshevism. Mexico severs relations with the Soviet Union and arrests the Ambassador of the workers State. In Germany the Chervonetz forgers are acquitted, the Reichswehr and police budget reaches the enormous sum of 2,000 millions. Armoured cruiser A is being followed by cruiser B and then C and D. The main portion of the German fleet is stationed in the Baltic, against the Soviet Union. The anti-Soviet war incitement is assuming unprecedented forms in the whole world.

"The Young Plan means security of peace"! declared the social democrats when they signed the Plan at the Hague. This assertion is of just as much value as their phrase about the Young Plan being an instrument of freedom and a step towards alleviating the burdens.

The German-Polish liquidation agreement is of special importance. There is thereby firmly set up for the first time since 11 years, the united front of German and Polish imperialism against the Soviet Union. In spite of the great and crying need of the toiling population in Eastern Germany, the German government, of which the social democrats **Beitscheid**, **Rauscher** and **Löbe** are the agents, allies itself with the fascist murder of workers **Pilsudski**, and this precisely at the present time in order jointly to organise intervention against Soviet Russia.

We declare that from the Press centre of the Minister for the Interior there is being let loose in the whole country, simultaneously with the calumnies against us Communists, a deliberate war propaganda against the Soviet Union. We declare from this place our brotherly solidarity with the Communist Party of Poland and the Polish working class, which, in profound illegality, is conducting a heroic life and death struggle against bloody fascism. We are united in our endeavour to hasten the time when the sinister agreement of the German and Polish counter-revolution will be destroyed, when this international conspiracy against the Soviet Union will be crushed by the revolutionary union of the emancipated masses of Germany, Poland and the Soviet Union.

Against the predatory Young Plan we are fighting for the Bolshevik solution of the reparations question, for the programme of the proletarian revolution. (The President threatens to forbid Comrade Thälman to speak further. Loud protests from the Communist benches). As the President wishes to take the opportunity of preventing me from speaking, I should like in conclusion to point to that world-historical act of emancipation which was accomplished by the Russian workers and peasants.

The Soviet Power has annulled over 30 000 million roubles of Tsarist debts by means of revolution. The proletariat of the Soviet Union has not paid and never will pay to imperialism a single penny for debts, interest or reparations. On the other hand, there is being accomplished in the land of the proletarian dictatorship that magnificent work, the heroic struggle to build up socialism. Whilst in Germany a five year finance plan of intensified plundering of the masses is set up, the Soviet Union, with the help of the magnificent Five-Year Plan, is victoriously building up Socialism. In capitalist Germany the Young Plan prevails against the workers; in the Soviet Union the Five-Year Plan rules for the workers and peasants.

The proletarian emancipation fight against the Young Plan is indissolubly connected with the daily fight of the whole working class. In the fight against the Young Plan the proletariat employs all forms of the revolutionary class struggle, whereby the weapon of the political mass strike begins to play a decisive role. We place ourselves at the head of the fight of the workers in the factories and of the unemployed.

We can imagine a government in Germany which will ruthlessly annul the Young Plan by revolutionary means. It

is the German Soviet government, the future government of the victorious German proletariat. (The President interrupted the speaker by continually ringing his bell. Disturbance in the whole house. Applause from the Communists).

When the dictated peace of Versailles was on the point of being concluded, the Communist International declared, in its appeal of its first World Congress to the workers of all countries, written by Lenin:

"The dictatorship of the proletariat and the establishment of the Soviet Power — that is the only conclusion for the proletariat of the whole world to draw from the lesson of Versailles."

We German Communists will draw this lesson, this Bolshevik conclusion and act accordingly at the head of the working class. Whilst in Germany fascism is coming into power, there exists in the Soviet Union the red army of the armed proletariat. We are proceeding on the road to the creation of a revolutionary State power, to the overthrow of all exploiters. The bourgeoisie and social fascism are leading the country to disaster. We, the Communists, will prevent this disaster. When we are in power we will break the yoke of international capital and annul all reparations obligations. We will see to it that the workers who have been thrown onto the street by capitalism, obtain work. We will put an end to the exploiters' pact of the bank magnates, employers, speculators and profiteers. We will break the rule of finance capital and of the social fascists. That is what we are fighting for, whether permitted or prohibited, legal or illegal. We are fighting in order to set up in place of the present Young Germany a Soviet Germany. (Loud and prolonged applause from the Communists.)

The Treaty of Friendship between Austria and Italy.

By Oesterreicher (Vienna).

On Tuesday, February 11th, after his return to Vienna, Federal Chancellor Schober delivered his report on his visit to Rome to the Chief Committee of the National Council, and on Wednesday there was published the Treaty of Friendship with Italy. It is a treaty of friendship and arbitration such as Austria has already concluded, for example, with Czechoslovakia. Nevertheless, Schober's journey to Rome created more sensation than would have been justified by the conclusion of such a formality.

Schober was received in Rome in a manner which no one would have expected for the Federal Chancellor of Austria, regarding the unimportance of which country Mussolini only three years ago made the most scornful and contemptuous remarks. Schober brought to the King of Italy and to Mussolini the highest Austrian decorations and orders, and received in return the Italian orders of Mauritius and Lazarus. In addition there are to be observed the very suspicious endeavours of the whole of the bourgeois and social-democratic press to represent Schober's visit to Rome as being something perfectly harmless. The social democratic leader Renner declared in a lecture delivered to the socialist students at Prague, that the Italo-Austrian Treaty was not directed against any third State, as for instance, Yugoslavia or the Little Entente.

It is precisely this insistence upon the peaceable intentions of Austria, especially towards Yugoslavia, which shows us that there must be more in this treaty than is contained in the published text. It is true, that while in Rome Schober settled a number of questions of financial importance to Austria. Already at the Hague Italy, on the strength of the treaty negotiations, supported Austria and advocated the abolition of its reparations liabilities. It is true, that Italy could hardly conduct any other policy, as it adopted the same standpoint towards Hungary with whom it is allied. Italy now sets its approval to the raising of the big investment loan by Austria, which is regarded here as a straw to a drowning man. On the other hand, Schober has committed Austria to very serious financial obligations, estimated to amount to 50 million Schillings.

The chief importance of Schober's journey was expressed by the "Neue Freie Presse" with the words: "Austria is

treated as a power. Mussolini now treats us a State which can take its place in the council of nations, as a part of the heart of Europe"

It is this that fills the Austrian bourgeoisie with pride. Austria is again playing a part in foreign politics. Even if the first step of this foreign policy has placed Austria in a position similar to that of Albania as a vassal of Italy, this does not in any way damp the enthusiasm of the government press.

"The piece of the heart of Europe" is also the bridge between Italy and Hungary. The *"Morgen"* ostentatiously denies the rumour current in Styria and Carinthia according to which the Treaty of Rome provides for the carrying out, with the aid of Italian capital, of the construction of the long-planned railway line between Graz and Klagenfurt, which would immediately connect Italy with Hungary. This denial is more in the nature of an announcement. That is the direction in which the new Austria foreign policy is proceeding side by side with Italy. Austria has become the keystone to the encirclement of Yugoslavia by Italy. This circumstance is in no way altered by the fact that Schober, on his journey back from Rome to Vienna, opened the frontier bridge at Radkersburg between Austria and Yugoslavia. This apparent act of loyalty is nothing more than a piece of camouflage.

There exists no contradiction in the fact that this same Schober government which carried out the closest union with the new German imperialism with regard to their regular and irregular military forces, has now concluded an alliance with Italy. It is nothing else but an attempt to revive the old Triple Alliance policy. A further confirmation of this is the intimate relations existing between the reaction in Germany and Italian fascism, which find expression in the financial aid rendered Hitler and his followers by Italy, and the visit of the German Stahlhelm to Rome.

The Treaty of friendship between Austria and Italy will naturally not fail to have an influence on Austria's domestic policy. Schober was acclaimed in Italy by the whole of the fascist press as the hero of the 15th of July. *"Popolo d'Italia"* wrote: "The Italian public receives Schober with sympathy because he firmly resisted the insurrectionary tendencies." Mussolini at a banquet speech declared that Italy follows with friendly interest "the endeavours of Austria to consolidate its own political position". Schober thereupon replied by expressing his admiration at the way in which the Italian people, under the leadership of Mussolini, "is building up its national future to the powerful rhythm of labour".

Thus Schober has also undertaken to carry out an intensified fascist policy in order that the Austrian people can catch up with the "rhythm" of the Italian people.

Schober's visit to Rome is in fact an important stage in the development of Central European politics. Austria, which with the support of Italy will endeavour to complete its fascisation as quickly as possible, makes the bridge between Germany and Italy and between Hungary and Italy. And thus there arises in Europe a big fascist bloc extending from the Baltic to the Mediterranean constituting, behind the Border States, the second line for the attack on the Soviet Union.

The Situation in Latvia.

Preparations to Suppress the Left Trade Unions and Annihilate the Workers' and Peasants' Fraction in Parliament.

By Linard Laizen (Riga).

Latvia is one of those countries which were created by the Entente to serve as buffer states against the Soviet Union. The task of Latvia to serve as gendarme on the Eastern Front is expressed in the domestic policy of the country, in the persecution of the workers, the communists and the parliamentary deputies of the workers' and Peasants' fraction.

The bourgeois court recently sentenced a deputy of the Workers' and Peasants' fraction named Jankus, to four years' fortress imprisonment. The court gave as a reason for its verdict and sentence that Jankus declared at a meeting that Latvia, being a small country, does not need any army, for it has no enemies and armaments can only be regarded as preparations for war against the Soviet Union. Jankus called upon the workers not to use their weapons against Soviet Russia i. e. "be called upon them, in the event of war, to

support the enemy". Such an argument in justification of the sentence not only reveals the real intentions of the Latvian bourgeoisie, but also that it is bent on annihilating the Workers' and Peasants' fraction in parliament, for every member of this fraction can be condemned on account of a whole number of such "crimes".

Of late the police have been making constant attacks on trade union meetings and rounding up workers in the streets and in the factories. Systematic house-searches have been carried out on the premises of the Left trade unions in Riga and in the provinces, especially in Dunaburg, Libau and Windau. Administrative material, literature, lists of members etc. have been confiscated and workers arrested. Meetings of workers are either not permitted, or if they are permitted they are dispersed by the police or proceed under the terror of the police and the bands of hooligans connected with the Ochrana.

The object of these provocations is to frame up a trial which shall serve as a pretext for suppressing Left trade unions by declaring them to be organs of the illegal Communist Party. Upon this basis it will then be possible to apply the old laws dating from the time of the Tzar both against the individual members of these trade unions, in order to sentence them to long terms of imprisonment, and against the unions themselves, in order to suppress them. This was the procedure adopted in 1928 when the left trade unions were destroyed.

All this is taking place against a background of treachery and betrayal on the part of the social democracy. The social democrats work hand in hand with the police, although their leaders attack the reactionary government in words. The Latvian social democrats are regarded as being the most radical in Europe: they are the successors of Tcheidse and, of course, Karunids. The son of Bruno Balnyn, the social democratic president of Parliament, was appointed lieutenant by a special order of the War Ministry, whilst the social democrats delivered speeches in which they declared that he is a genuine fascist, which is actually the case. This young lieutenant, although he is not actually in military service, is now being trained in the Tank Division under the command of fascist officers. . . . The social democratic athletes are active in the Secret Police under the command of this same lieutenant and help the police to seize workers at meetings and demonstrations. At the same time the leaders of the social democracy deliver oppositional speeches against the present government which legalises fascist measures by means of parliament.

At one of the recent meetings of the Sejm the Workers' and Peasants' fraction submitted an interpellation to the Minister of the Interior regarding the suppression of the fraction newspaper, the house-searches and arrests, the mishandling of workers at the police station when arrested, and the attempts to violate the immunity of Sejm deputies. The members of the Workers' and Peasants' fraction, from the parliamentary tribune, called upon the workers to organise in place of the legal newspaper the issue of the illegal papers of the Communist Party in a threefold edition: they called upon the workers to offer resistance to facism and social facism, which are seeking to destroy the Left organisation, and to prepare for the political mass strike.

In spite of the terror, and although the Ochrana has already repeatedly declared that the Communist Party is annihilated and the illegal Central Committee arrested the revolutionary spirit still lives in the masses and is continually growing. The Latvian workers have not forgotten the revolutionary fights and victories which they have fought and won together with the Russian workers. Their revolutionary internationalism is unshaken.

Change of Address!

The address of the "Inprecorr" is now:

BERLIN C25

Bartelstraße 1-5 III, Germany.

Struggle Against Unemployment

Disastrous Unemployment and Revolutionary Upsurge in Poland.

By H. Mar (Warsaw).

In no other country of Europe is the economic crisis so profound as in Poland. Poland constitutes the weakest link in the chain of international capitalism. When the heavy taxation and the insane rationalisation in industry and agriculture had destroyed the purchasing power of the broad masses of workers and peasants, when as a result of the depression on the international money market Poland lost not only the long-term credits (in the year 1929 Poland did not succeed in obtaining a single loan) but partly also the short-term credits, when the state development works had to be restricted owing to the recession of the State revenues, and when the competition on the world market became more keen, there broke out in Poland, with the approaching world crisis in the background, the most profound economic crisis, earlier than in all the other countries.

All branches of industry and agriculture were seized by the crisis. The crisis broke out before all in those branches of industry catering for a mass consumption, such as the textile industry, the leather industry etc. At the same time, however, it made itself felt in other branches, as for instance the wood-working industry, metallurgy and even in the mining industry, in which right up to recently a very favourable business situation was to be observed. The crisis assumed a strikingly disastrous character in the textile industry. In Lodz, Zawiercie, Zyrardow and Bialystok more than half the mills are working only three days a week. Of late the crisis has become exceedingly acute in the heavy industry. The foundry owners in Upper Silesia have decided, commencing with February, to discharge five per cent. of the workers i. e. 1,600 men every month. At the same time the closing down of furnaces has commenced in former Russian Poland. Wholesale dismissals are also beginning in the coal mining industry.

Simultaneously with the economic crisis a deep agricultural crisis is developing. After the May coup the fascist government promoted with all means in its power the rationalisation and reorganisation of agriculture. The government granted the big landowners and big peasants hundreds of millions of Zloty as credits and subsidies, and greatly promoted the development of the chemical industry. The fascist rationalisation of agriculture and the heavy taxation finally ruined the poor and middle peasants. The poor and middle peasants have to hunger and at the same time sell their last kilogram of rye, their last dozen eggs in order to be able to pay the outgoings, the costs of the fascist liquidation of the small parcels of land and the costs of the agricultural improvements carried out for the benefit of the big peasants, etc.

Although the big landed proprietors, aided by the government, organised huge agricultural syndicates, and although the government has itself expended millions on the so-called grain reserves, it did not succeed in checking the disastrous fall in the prices of grain when the agricultural crisis broke out on the world market, nor have the export premiums been of any avail. The price of grain is sinking further, while on the other hand, the prices of industrial commodities, in spite of the crisis, remain the same and some of them are even rising. Thus the broad masses of the peasantry are faced with the disastrous effects of the "scissors", i. e. the disparity between the prices of agricultural and industrial products.

As a result of this general crisis unemployment is rapidly increasing in town and country. A few months ago the official statistics gave the number of unemployed in industry as 94,000. At the beginning of February, however, their number was already 250,000. These figures, however, are far from representing the actual number of the unemployed. The official figures relate only to those unemployed who were working in enterprises employing not less than five workers. The actual number of the unemployed is far beyond 300,000. Of the remaining 700,000 industrial workers, fifty per cent. are working only part of the week.

The Polish village has for a long time been suffering from chronic unemployment. Thousands of workers and peasants

emigrate every year to France, Germany and America. The general crisis has enormously increased unemployment. The fascist political economist Krzizanowski estimates the number of superfluous workers in agriculture at 33 per cent., or 3 million workers.

The material situation of the unemployed is terrible. The unemployed in the villages do not receive any benefit or relief whatever; they are not even registered. Of the unemployed in industry, numbering over 300,000, only 118,000 receive unemployment benefit, and this only for a period of 13 weeks. The highest amount of relief (for a family of five persons) is 27 Zloty (one Zloty is equal to about six pence). The unemployed worker does not receive any medical assistance, he has also to pay the rent for his lodgings etc.

The bourgeoisie is making use of the wholesale unemployment in order to exert further pressure on the working class and the toiling peasantry. It is casting the whole burden of the crisis on to the toiling masses. The employers are everywhere introducing lists of fines and penalties. The fascist government is carrying out the militarisation of the railways. The number of accidents in the factories, mines, etc. shows a frightful increase. In the year 1927, 18,000 workers were injured by machinery, in the year 1928 the number had increased to more than 30,000. The fascist dictatorship is preparing to deliver a blow to the working class by introducing a compulsory arbitration Bill. The capitalists are everywhere reducing wages, depriving the workers of holidays etc. Needless to say the white terror has been greatly increased in the factories, in the street, in the social fascist trade unions etc.

In the village the attack of the big landowners is even more fierce. The big landowners have decided, beginning from the 1st of April, to dismiss 10,000 land workers. The last award of the arbitration committee, worsens the position of the landowners by 40 per cent. The yoke of rationalisation and taxes under which the peasants are groaning, has led to almost daily bloody punitive expeditions by the police against the villages.

In the whole of Poland a powerful revolutionary movement of the unemployed is growing. From the 30th December 1929 to 25th of January 1930 there were mass demonstrations of unemployed in Posen, Pabianice, Wloclawek, Warsaw, Tarnow, Graudenz, Thorn, Zdunska-Wola, Sosnowice, Sokal, Rawa Ruska, Vilna, Lodz, Petrikau, Czenstochau etc.

The most characteristic feature of this movement is the enormous growth of activity and fighting spirit of the masses. All the demonstrations end with hand to hand fights with the police. The unemployed protect their speakers and their committees, violently force their way into the municipal and government offices etc. The police are making ever more frequent use of their firearms. There are wounded at almost every demonstration. But also the police have losses to record. In Posen a policeman whom tried to arrest a speaker, was half beaten to death. In street fighting in Graudenz, Wloclawek and other places policemen were seriously injured by the unemployed.

While this movement is developing it is also becoming more organised. Unemployed committees have been elected in Warsaw, Lodz, Petrikau, Czenstochau, Graudenz etc. These committees were elected on the basis of the united front from below. Everywhere the leading role falls to the Communist Party of Poland.

The revolutionary movement of the working class and the toiling peasantry is growing rapidly. Scarcely three months have passed since the strike of the Upper Silesian proletariat, and already an elementary strike of the textile workers has broken out in the industrial district of Biala. In Lodz, which is hit by a severe economic crisis, strikes in the big factories are becoming ever more frequent.

An extraordinarily important feature of the developing revolutionary movement is the circumstance that the revolutionary reserves, the toiling peasantry and the oppressed nations are not holding back. The fight against the burden of taxes, against the rationalised exploitation etc. is developing

on a broad front in the Polish, Ukrainian and White-Russian villages.

The government is acting as if it were greatly concerned about the unemployed. There has again been introduced the so-called "special relief" for those unemployed whose period of benefit, lasting 13 weeks, has expired. This category of unemployed receives up to 12 Zloty a week. A new decree has been issued according to which workers in undertakings employing less than five hands will also come within the provisions of the unemployment insurance. The Minister for Labour, Pritor, is visiting the places where great unemployment obtains, is making fine speeches and handing out plenty of promises.

The social fascists are resorting to various manoeuvres. They are attempting to lead the unemployed along the way of begging appeals and requests. They are organising soup kitchens and other charitable enterprises for the unemployed.

The 6th of March, the day of international fight against unemployment, is of the greatest importance for the further revolutionary upsurge in Poland. The partial struggle of the masses against wholesale dismissals, for the seven-hour day, for unemployment benefit equal to wages for all unemployed and short-time workers, for the immediate increase of unemployment benefit by 100 per cent., for increased wages must lead the masses to recognise that unemployment can be overcome only by the socialist revolution. This campaign must be linked up with the struggle against war, for the defence of the Soviet Union.

The Communist Party of Poland is making all preparations for this campaign; it is continuing the demonstration movement, it is attracting the broad masses of the peasantry; it for this campaign; it is continuing the demonstration movement, it is attracting the broad masses of the peasantry; it and those workers still at work in the factories into the common struggle. The Communist Party is preparing mass solidarity strikes for the 6th of March.

Revolutionary Struggle of the Unemployed in Rumania.

By S. Horia (Bucharest).

The enormous aggravation of the capitalist stabilisation crisis in Rumania is closely linked up with the catastrophic agrarian crisis. The whole of industry is paralysed. Not only the "weak and shaky" undertakings have been closed down but also the greatest works of finance capital, such as "Reșitza" in the Banat, the "Astra" waggon factory in Arad are restricting production and throwing thousands of proletarians onto the street. Thus, for instance, in the "Astra" waggon factory only about 700 workers are working three days a week, where formerly 5000 workers were occupied full time.

According to the reports of bourgeois papers and of the government the number of the unemployed exceeds 200,000. But the organ of the Unitary trade unions "Munkaselet" (Workers' Life) of 19th January estimates the number of the unemployed industrial workers at 300,000 to 350,000. As a result of the decay of capitalist stabilisation we see the rapid upsurge of the revolutionary movement which is headed by the unemployed masses. In the months of December and January the starving unemployed masses came out on to the streets, under the leadership of the Communist Party. Collisions occurred with the gendarmerie and the military.

The revolutionary struggle reached its highest point in Bessarabia which has been annexed by Rumanian imperialism. After the workers had occupied the premises of the Unitary Trade Unions in Kishinev, mass demonstrations took place with red banners and revolutionary streamers in Orhei, Ismail and Tikhina. The demands of the workers are: work and bread, defence of the Soviet Union and the unification of Bessarabia with the Moldavian Soviet Republic.

In Bucharest and Jassy ever larger masses are demonstrating in the streets. On the 8th of January, during the trial of the arrested delegates to a Conference of the Unitary Trade Unions in Czernovitz, street fights repeatedly took place between the workers and the police. Also in Transylvania and in the Banat powerful mass actions took place under the leadership of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League against the treacherous trade union bureaucracy.

In Temesvar several thousand workers marched with red

flags on the 22nd, 30th and 31st of December and 2nd and 3rd of January. In the ensuing street fights the unemployed occupied the town hall and captured back the workers' premises; it came to barricade fighting. These revolutionary actions were systematically betrayed by the reformist trade union bureaucrats and the expelled Köblös-Berger renegade group. With the protection and support of the fascist authorities the latter founded on the 12th of January the social fascist independent trade unions under the name "Trade unions of the factory and industrial workers": they advocate support of the fascist dictatorship, openly combat the revolutionary labour movement, the Communist Party and the Unitary trade unions.

In the whole of Transylvania the revolutionary struggle of the unemployed masses is developing. In Cluj the unemployed attacked the police guard posted before the workers' premises, disarmed it and occupied the trade union house, in Targa Mures the masses likewise captured the workers' premises. In Arad, Oradea-Mare and Porasov powerful demonstrations also took place.

The social fascists demand the bloody suppression of the unemployed masses. In Bucharest the social fascists organised an "unemployed delegation" who demanded of the fascist government the formation of an armed guard in order to proceed against the insurrectionary communists. Even in the "beggars' kitchens" established for the unemployed, armed social fascists together with police, Siguranza and gendarmerie are attacking the revolutionary unemployed.

The Communist Party and the Unitary trade unions, which are conducting the revolutionary struggle of the unemployed masses, are endeavouring to link up the struggle of the unemployed with the struggle of the workers in the factories. On the 6th of March, the unemployed and the workers will demonstrate under the leadership of the Communist Party for the following slogans: Against the mass dismissals, for State support for the unemployed! Against capitalist rationalisation, for increased wages! Against fascism, for revolutionary self-defence of the masses! Against social fascism! Against the counter-revolutionary renegades and liquidators! For the restitution of the workers premises to the revolutionary working class! For the defence of the revolutionary class organisations of the toiling masses! Against imperialist war! For the defence of the Soviet Union! For the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship and for the workers' and peasants' government!

The Most Important Political Tasks of the International Proletariat.

Leading Article of the "Pravda" of 10th February 1930.

12 million strong is the enormous reserve army of industry caused by capitalist rationalisation and the growing world economic crisis. 80 to 100 million is the number of those people who are doomed to starvation and physical ruin by "organised" monopolist capital. In Poland every third worker is unemployed, in Germany every fourth, in the United States every fifth worker, the millions of short-time workers who are working only 2 to 3 days a week not included. The extraordinary unemployment has spread to the distant colonies and continents. There are millions of unemployed in Latin-America, hundreds of thousands of proletarians are thrown out of production in Japan. Whole branches of industry are laid idle.

Unemployment is the most characteristic feature of the crisis of partially stabilised capitalism. This unemployment has become a powerful means of accelerating the further decay of capitalist stabilisation. Unlike the crisis of 1920-21, which broke out at the commencing decline of the revolutionary wave, when unemployment hit only the countries with a high valuta, the present crisis is proceeding under the conditions of a shattering of partial stabilisation of capitalism, as a result of capitalist rationalisation, and with a new revolutionary upsurge. The growth of the industrial reserve army is extending over much greater territories than was ever the case before.

It is not so long ago that international social fascism promised the workers all the riches of the earth: work, high wages, social legislation, if they would only bend beneath the heavy yoke of capitalist rationalisation. But now the yellow "Vorwärts" is compelled to declare that the crisis is approach-

In China the workers and peasants are on the eve of a fresh advance for the final overthrow of foreign imperialism and its allies, the feudal elements and the national bourgeoisie. In India the toiling masses are engaged in a revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of British imperialist exploitation and feudal despotism and for the attainment of full national and social liberty. In Korea, groaning under the Iron Heel of Japanese imperialism, the workers, peasants, the youth, the poorer intelligentsia are conducting an heroic struggle for freedom notwithstanding torture and persecution. In Indochina Dutch imperialism is putting down with ruthless brutality the revolutionary organisations that are leading the masses in the fight for national liberty. In the Philippines the movement for emancipation from the yoke of American imperialism is becoming increasingly revolutionary. And now, against the background of the news of revolts of the Indochinese etc. from Indo-China comes

revolutionary peasant organisations in Yen Bay and Huang Hoa, giving evidence of the growing united front of workers, peasants and soldiers in the struggle against their French exploiters.

This military revolt is but one of the signals of the coming storm in Indo-China. The widespread movement of national liberation is the natural result of the social, economic and political conditions that have prevailed in Indo-China (Annam, Cambodia, Cochinchina, Tonking and Laos) during the last century, but more particularly since the French imperialists thrust upon those territories and occupied them by brute force some fifty years ago. The situation that has thus been created under French exploitation is intolerable. The peasants are maintained in an indescribable state of pauperism. They are undernourished. The rice production of the country, which is the chief source of living of more than three-quarters of the population is quite inadequate to meet their needs. And even if this inadequate production the greater part is exported by the commercial companies while the people starve. The direct taxation by the imperialist government and the exactions imposed upon the peasantry by the feudal landlords, the planters, the missionaries and by government officials have reduced the peasants actually to the position of serfs.

The workers of Indo-China live and work under appalling conditions. They have to slave from 12 to 14 hours a day with hardly any interval, and it is officially admitted that the mortality among them is from 40 to 50 per cent. Under these terrible conditions 10 to 30 per cent of the workers run away secretly from their places of employment and are subjected to inhuman corporal punishment when recaptured. Forced labour is recruited for the mines and plantations in Indo-China and in the South Sea Islands, and the men thus forced are torn away from their wives and children. If they resist they are belaboured with iron-loaded canes until they bleed to unconsciousness. Women and children under 12 years of age work under the same terrible conditions in the coal-mines and rubber-plantations. And the whole existing system of labour contracts and labour inspection is nothing but a cunning form of slavery organised for the benefit of the exploiters.

There is no freedom of speech, of the press or of assembly. The schools are totally inadequate in number and quality, and literacy is deliberately maintained as an institution. The workers have no right to organise themselves into unions, and strikes are illegal. Opium and alcohol are forced upon the people under State control in order to increase the revenues of the imperialist Government. The dividends paid by the "Montagne" Distilleries have risen steadily during the last ten years from 40 to 200 per cent. The shares in the industrial undertakings in which French capitalists have invested some 1,000 million Francs and which are exploited by means of cheap and forced labour, are now worth from 7 to 20 times their nominal value. The budget for naval and military purposes and for the imperialist secret service constitutes, as in India, more than 60 per cent of the total budget.

Against this abominable exploitation, this slow extermination of a whole population by imperialism, the masses of Indo-China are now in revolt. One strike has followed upon another in the course of the last year. Colleges and schools led by the students of the **Petrusky College** have organised imposing anti-imperialist demonstrations in **Salgon** and other towns. These were suppressed by the armed police forces and a large number of students were arrested. Hundreds of national revolutionaries and militant workers are in prison undergoing heavy and brutal sentences. "Conspiracies", secret organisations and secret presses are being discovered almost daily.

The cowardly murder of the young revolutionary **Nguyen Si Sach** by a French agent in the prison of **Lao-Bao** — an unhealthy district to which political prisoners are deported and where **Nguyen Si Sach** was imprisoned after having been sentenced in the monster trial against the Revolutionary **Annamite Youth** — has just caused a revolt among the prisoners. All these strikes, demonstrations and revolts of the workers, peasants and the youth have now culminated in the revolutionary outburst of the Indochinese soldiers.

These events in Indo-China and the rapid development of the revolutionary movement are of great significance. **Tonking** is on the border of China. With the help of Annamite and Indian regiments, France and Great Britain protected their concessions in China against the Chinese revolutionary movement. The revolutionary spirit which prevails among the

Indochinese troops will spread among the Annamite soldiers in China and thus facilitate the struggle of the militant Chinese workers and peasants.

The movement for national independence in the Asiatic countries has entered upon a new phase. The masses in Indochina have awakened and are conducting an uncompromising struggle for the overthrow of imperialism, while the bourgeoisie, frightened by the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses who are threatening their very existence, is preparing to capitulate.

And in this collaboration with the imperialists, the feudal and bourgeois elements in the oppressed countries are receiving the full support of the Social Democratic parties and the reformist trade unions. It is the **Social Democrats** who demand that their Governments make concessions to the national bourgeoisie in order that their imperialist masters may continue to retain their hold on the colonies. It was **Varenne**, the Social Democratic Governor-General of Indo-China, who advocated these concessions and at the same time used all his power to suppress the working masses of Indo-China.

The League against Imperialism and for National Independence warns the masses in Indo-China against the feudal and bourgeois elements, who, under the pretext of a "national programme", are preparing to raise a joint French-Indochinese capitalist regime on the backs of the workers and peasants. The League Against Imperialism calls upon all anti-imperialist organisations and elements in Indo-China to unite in conjunction with the movements in Indonesia, China, India and the Philippines to conduct an uncompromising struggle against the imperialists who, in spite of their mutual antagonisms, are united against the independence movement of the oppressed peoples. The League Against Imperialism calls upon all class-conscious workers of the imperialist countries to expose the treacherous role of the Social Democrats and to collaborate with the National Sections of the League and, through their coordinated efforts, to support the struggle of the enslaved working masses of the Far East.

Berlin, February 20, 1930.

League Against Imperialism, International Secretariat.

Flagrant Violation of the Right of Asylum.

United Front of Imperialist Powers against Colonial Liberation Movements in Arabia and Siam.

The League Against Imperialism draws the urgent attention of its National Sections and of all anti-imperialist organisations in all countries to the increasingly frequent and intimate cooperation between the imperialist Powers in the persecution of colonial fighters for liberty and the suppression of the widespread revolt of the masses in the colonial countries against imperialist exploitation.

Two glaring instances of this imperialist cooperation resulting in a shameful breach of the right of asylum have just been reported — one of them from the Arabian countries and one from Siam.

According to the London "Times" 110 Arab revolutionaries have been handed over to the French Mandatory Government by the Government of **Transjordan** which is British mandated territory. These Arabs were political refugees who had taken part in the heroic revolt of the **Druses** against French imperialist rule in Syria and for the independence of their country, and who, after the failure of that revolt, took refuge in **Transjordan** where they enjoyed the right of asylum for over two years. Just before the negotiations of the imperialists at the Hague and in London, these refugees were handed over to their French executioners with the full knowledge and consent of the **MacDonald Government**. The fate that awaits them may well be imagined.

The second recent case of the same character is reported from **Siam**, a semi-colonial country dominated partly by British and partly by French imperialism. We have already frequently published evidence to show that there is an agreement between the French, British and Dutch governments to cooperate in the Far East in suppressing the national-revolutionary movements in their colonies and in handing over refugees to their respective governments. In pursuance of this agreement, the Governments of Siam has, according to the "**Bintang Timoer**" of **Bandoeng**, handed over to the Dutch authorities in Batavia a

Communist journalist named Soebakat, who left Indonesia before the risings of 1926 and 1927 and has enjoyed the right of asylum as a political refugee in Siam during the last four years.

Only recently we protested against the shameful extradition of the Korean revolutionary Yoo Un Hyeng, member of the General Council of the League, by the British authorities in Shanghai to the Japanese Government.

We call upon all anti-imperialist organisations to take all possible action, parliamentary and extra-parliamentary, to protest against the flagrant violation of the right of asylum in the above-mentioned instances, to demand their release and to make a repetition of such outrages impossible in the future.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

Again Murder on the Picket Line in New York.

By Alex G. Richman (New York).

A previously little known worker was killed on the picket line recently by the police, yet his funeral was one of the largest militant demonstrations ever held in New York City. Fifty thousand workers participated in the protest meeting against the murder of Steve Katovis, and 100,000 watched from neighbouring streets, windows and housetops while 20,000 marched in the procession. Over 500 uniformed police on foot, horse, and in motorcycles with machine guns, besides many detectives "preserved order".

Steve Katovis, building maintenance worker I.L.D. (MOPR.) organiser and Communist was brutally shot in the back while demonstrating before a fruit market where the Left wing Food Clerks Union was striking against the boss and the socialist fake union card in his window. After lingering in the hospital a week, tortured by a constant police guard, Katovis died. The following day the CP. demonstrated before the City Hall, and the police attacked not only the 3,000 demonstrators, but even onlookers so brutally that practically the entire capitalist press of the city was alarmed by its cold-blooded exposure of bourgeois democracy in action. The answer was the great funeral demonstration in Union Square. It was also the militant answer of the CP. to the attempt of the police to drive the workers from the streets, from picketing and organisation of the unorganised and unemployed.

The police had been clubbing pickets at shoe, food, needle, etc. strikes, and recently a number of the police had been beaten up by pickets. The attack on the City Hall demonstration was intended to show the workers that the police could fight back, and practically no arrests were made. Barbarous clubbing with blackjacks and clubs were their orders, since the murder of Katovis had failed to intimidate the workers.

The thousands of workers who viewed the coffin of Katovis in the district headquarters of the CP. was an indication of the degree to which the masses were stirred, and of the response that would be made to the appeal of the Party to demonstrate by thousands at the funeral. The police threatened to prevent the demonstration in Union Square, but the Party defied them and went ahead with its preparations. The tremendous attendance at the meeting and its militant character caused the erstwhile sluggers to curb their enthusiasm and they behaved as on parade. The degree to which the authorities were worried was shown by the presence of the mayor and chief of police at the square.

The slogans at the demonstration were: Demand the right to picket! Down with injunctions! Organise against Unemployment! Demonstrate on International Unemployment Day! Stop the murderous police attacks upon the workers! Down with imperialist war preparations against the Soviet Union!, etc. In a statement on the demonstration the I.L.D. linked the murder of Katovis with that of Ella May Wiggins at Gastonia and with the California farm labourers and Illinois miners strikes as "part of the general scheme of the Wall Street government to crush, as it hopes, the growing spirit of working class resistance to its war preparations — and smash the daily mounting discontent as new masses of workers are thrown into the nation's growing jobless army".

The SP. and the liberals played their usual treacherous role. While Katovis lay in his coffin, the socialists were meeting with the Russian white guard socialist Abramovich, plotting new treachery. A SP. leading politician and lawyer got out the injunction which Katovis was violating when shot down. Norman Thomas, recently SP. mayoralty candidate, telegraphed the police after the City Hall attack, asking them not to gratify the Communist "mania for martyrdom". The socialists and AF. of L. have just reached an agreement with these Tammany police to protect the "strike" of garment workers which the fakers are declaring, supported by the bosses, capitalist press, underworld gangsters and police, under pretence of which they plan to attack again the Left wing workers and sell out those deluded workers who still follow them. The liberals, headed by Roger Baldwin and the Civil Liberties Union, first sanctioned the use of violence by the police and then appealed to the courts to "try" the murderers.

The grand jury which heard the evidence of the murder praised the policeman and detective who had shot Katovis — a jury headed by the president of the Bank of America, one of Wall Street's big banks, and made up of other business men. Although the injunction under which the murder took place was thrown out of court later, clubbings continue, with orders seemingly to kill or cripple rather than to arrest, since hundreds of arrests have proved futile. But picketing goes on, with the militant workers organising their defence corps, preparing for the great unemployment demonstrations on International Unemployment Day, which were a central issue of the recent demonstrations, building up their revolutionary unions and their Communist Party.

FIVE-YEAR PLAN

The Largest Combine Factory in the World.

In the neighbourhood of Rostov-on-Don, preliminary work is in progress for the construction of the first combine factory in the USSR, not far from the giant agricultural machine works which is now being completed (the Selmashstroi). The programme of output is 25,000 combines per annum. This giant which will by its size be the largest in the world in this particular sphere will be constructed in the course of one building season. It will start operating in January 1931 and will produce 5,000 machines for the 1931 harvest.

A Machine-Construction Giant — a New Socialist Town.

Another such factory is being built in Siberia in the neighbourhood of Novosibirsk. Its capacity will be 25,000 combines, 35,000 tractor seeders and 30,000 mowers per annum.

Siberia already absorbs now 20% of all agricultural machines to be found on Soviet territory. The machines are carried thither thousands of miles from the Ukraine. National economy suffers tremendous overhead expenses because of this. The transportation of these machines to Siberia has cost 4 million roubles in the past year alone.

With the erection of the new factory in the Novosibirsk and the neighbouring Telbes metallurgical combine all necessary prerequisites are created for the industrialisation of Siberia. Prior to the revolution there was no engineering or machine construction industry in Siberia whatever.

A new town or a socialist type will be built near the factory. The industries of that town will employ about 40,000 workers. Together with their families the town's population will be about 100,000. In order to give all able-bodied of the town employment a few textile mills will be built and also a large electric station with the capacity of 96,000 k. w.

The combine factory and the new town will be completed in two years.

The Result of Socialist Rivalry.

The new powerful Martin oven of the Kremator metallurgical works in Donbas is already operating. According to the programme it was to be completed by March 15th. However thanks to the strenuous efforts of the workers and technicians

has been completed in January. Its construction began in October.

Another Industrial Victory.

February 1st was a great holiday for the proletariat of Nijni Novgorod on the Volga. On that day the new automobile assembling factory began to operate. It is organised according to the most modern American technique. This factory is the first of several such and larger factories of this type which are to supply the Soviet Union with automobiles. On the site which but recently was waste land the proletarians of Nijni Novgorod gathered to celebrate their new industrial victory. The first ten automobiles that descended from the conveyor were turned into platforms for speakers.

The conveyor of the Nijni Novgorod factory will normally produce an automobile every 20 minutes.

Work in the factory is so organised that unlike in capitalist factories the conveyor system will be a means not of making workers unqualified but of raising their skill. Each worker will know all the operations. Later as auto construction develops in the Union the workers of this factory will be able to become foremen and instructors for other factories.

Constant Growth — Soviet Foreign Trade.

The turnover of foreign Soviet trade in the first quarter of the current fiscal year (not including the transactions in Asia in December) amounted to over 482 million roubles—250 million exports and 232 million imports. The favourable balance for the 3 months thus amounts to 18 million roubles.

The relative strength of Soviet industrial exports increases every month. Compared with the first quarter of the preceding fiscal year it has risen 33%.

This year's favourable harvest and success of the grain-collecting campaign has also affected the trend of exportation of farm products. Compared with last year there is a considerable increase in exports of flax and grain. The total farm export compared with the corresponding period of last year has risen 15%.

There is a considerable faster rate of exports this year than last. In 1928-29 Soviet exports increased 13%. But in the first quarter of this year the exports on the European side alone increased 24%.

Imports in the first quarter showed an increase of 22%. The structure of the import fully corresponds to the process of industrialisation of the country. The biggest increase is shown by the import of industrial and transportation equipment. The import of these items has increased 26% and the relative strength of this group in the general import is 32.5%. Hence, almost one third of the total import falls on equipment. The import of raw material has relatively diminished, the internal raw material resources augmenting and raw material is used more rationally. But most remarkable is the rapid growth of import agriculture. The extensive mechanisation of agriculture and the use of chemicals is bound to affect the structure of imports. The import of tractors and necessary parts and also agricultural machinery and instruments has quadrupled. The industrial import comprises 90.6% of the total.

How Soviet Cooperatives Eliminate the Capitalist.

One of the steps of the Soviet cooperatives towards the improvement of the supply of products to the workers which the latter still have to buy to a certain extent from private dealers is the extensive development of cooperative farms, kitchens, gardens, etc. For instance, the Moscow Consumer's Societies invest this year 7 million roubles on the organisation of dairy farms (with about 7,000 cows), gardens, pig raising, fishing, etc. The cooperatives are also building 7 new huge restaurants which by the end of the year will supply 550,000 dinners per day.

The extent to which cooperative gardening is developing is shown by the following figures: in the R.S.F.S.R. alone the cooperatives have been allowed 42 million roubles credit for a period of 3 years for the organisation of gardens near proletarian centres.

ECONOMICS

The Economic Crisis in Latin America.

By M. Kogan.

The economic crisis in the Latin American countries commenced long before the crisis in the United States and has its specific causes, which are mainly to be found in the world over production of colonial goods. The Latin American countries supply about 90 per cent. of the world production of coffee, about 50 per cent. of the world production of cane sugar, a considerable portion of the world production of cocoa etc.

For a number of years there has existed a chronic over-production of colonial goods, that is to say, on this section of world economy there is revealed most sharply the contradiction between the growth of productive forces and the narrowing of the sales market.

At the end of 1929 there took place a complete collapse of the world production of sugar, especially of cane sugar, as well as a complete collapse of the "Institute for the Protection of Coffee Production" in Brazil, which artificially regulated the production, the reserves and the export of coffee from Brazil — which constitutes three quarters of the world production.

Naturally the economic crisis in the United States, which country is one of the most important markets for the colonial products of Latin America, aggravates the crisis, and accelerates the fall in the prices of colonial products as was particularly to be seen in November and December.

The price movement of colonial products in the whole of 1929 shows an uninterrupted recession. The rubber market has shown an uninterrupted sinking of prices, especially in the last few months, as a result of the falling demand for rubber by the automobile industry of the United States, and this is having an adverse effect on the rubber production in Brazil, Bolivia and Guiana.

The developing crisis in coffee production is affecting the economy not only of the Central American republics (Guatemala, Salvador, Costa Rica), but also of Brazil, in which over 500 million American dollars are invested. The danger of a crisis as a result of over-production of coffee has existed ever since 1928. The high level of prices has the whole time been only artificially maintained by the "Institute for the Protection of Coffee Production" in Brazil. The world over-production of coffee caused by the increased production in Brazil and a number of Central American Republics and Colombia, was expressed in the growth of the world's stocks from 19,660,000 sacks on October 1, 1928 to 21,137,000 sacks on October 1, 1929. The current calculations of the balance of the world's coffee trade for 1929/30 are likewise extremely unfavourable. The world supply amounts to 45,256,000 sacks, the world demand to 23,000,000 sacks. The loans recently concluded by the Brazilian government with the banking houses of Schroder, Rothchild and others in London, cannot of course avert the developing crisis.

The crisis in the national economy of Brazil is still further aggravated by the depression in a number of other branches of industry, as for instance, the textile industry, especially in the province of Sao Paulo, where it constitutes the most important branch of industry. The crisis in the Brazilian textile industry, which consists in over-production and limited sale possibilities, is mainly due to the unfavourable position of agricultural production, i. e. the low prices of agricultural produce and the increased cost of living.

The world crisis in the sugar industry, and especially the cane sugar industry, means a severe blow to the economic life of Cuba. With the existing world prices of sugar the Cuban sugar industry is suffering constant losses. Thus, for example, the prime cost of sugar amounts in Cuba to 2½ cents a pound, whilst the world trade price is 2.25 cents a pound.

Finally, the prolonged drought had a very bad effect on the agriculture of a number of South American countries. This applies especially to Argentina, where the harvest yield of the most important products showed a falling off of 40 and even 54 per cent. as compared with last year.

On December the 17th government forbade the changing of bank notes for gold within the country, but at the same time

secured to the banks the right to export gold. As a result the Argentine currency immediately declined in value by five per cent.

In view of the economic crisis which embraces the majority of the Latin American countries, the visit of the d'Abernon Commission to the chief economic centres of South America—the Argentine, Brazil, and Uruguay—is very significant. The agreement which the government of a number of South American republics have signed with d'Abernon shows that England is not disposed to give up its positions to United States imperialism. Thus, for instance, under the agreement arrived at with d'Abernon, Argentine undertakes to buy English goods to the value of eight million pounds Sterling in the next two years (chiefly for railway and public works) in return for which England undertakes to import Argentine goods, chiefly food, to the same amount.

The economic crisis of the United States will undoubtedly lead to an increased export of capital and goods in particular to Central and South America. But the crisis in a number of Central American Republics, such as Cuba, Guatemala, Salvador, Costa Rico, the crisis in Brazil, the signs of crisis in Argentine agriculture and the permanent depression in a number of smaller South American Republics, such as Colombia, Bolivia, are a natural barrier to the expansion of American foreign trade. Hence, there is to be expected an intensive growth of capital export from the United States to South America, in particular to Brazil and Argentina.

As a result the enhanced competition between the United States and England in Central and South America will in the next few months assume sharper forms and bring about a further growth of antagonisms between the two greatest imperialist Powers of the world.

But simultaneously the class-consciousness and the fighting capacity of the Latin American proletariat and of the impoverished peasantry will also grow.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

The Proletarian Self-Defence Organisation of the German Working Women on the Red Class Front.

By Vera Stein.

The Red Women's Union is a self-defence organisation of the German proletarian women. It has set itself a special task — the organisation of the working women's mass for the struggle against bourgeois women's organisations, against imperialist wars which are being prepared, for the active defence of the USSR. The special methods of work which the Red Women's Union had to use for carrying out this task consists of demonstrative united actions of the mass of the members. For this aim a special uniform was introduced — a grey blouse and cap. These united and energetic actions of the Red Women's Union in all demonstrations of the revolutionary working class developed and consolidated amongst the women workers confidence in their own strength and capability gradually to overcome the petty bourgeois reactionary prejudices which exist even among the advanced part of the working class concerning the women's question. Meetings of the women's masses are called, with speeches, discussions, questions and answers; concerts and entertainments are organised. In this way women obtain a weapon which helps them to carry out their revolutionary duty in the everyday work of the factory, at home and in the street. The Red Women's Union is especially active every year during the **International Women's Week**, during the campaign against war and on the anniversary of the victorious Russian Revolution. Besides this, the Red Women's Union independently carried out special campaigns, for instance, for obtaining subscribers for the journal "Frauenwacht". The Red Women's Union took part in the district meet of the Red Front Fighters, in the campaign against the abortion laws, in the campaign against bourgeois women's organisations and carried on a

recruiting campaign for the Union. From time to time meetings of activists were called, courses for preparing functionaries and improving their qualification were arranged in the evenings and at weekends. However, in spite of the work they had carried on, one cannot say that the Red Women's Union has been up to the task which lie before it. The reason of this is in the first place the fact that the character of the Red Women's Union as a **self-defence organisation** was not sufficiently recognised. The second defect consisted of the fact that the Union did not base its work on the **factory**. Members were recruited chiefly from the circles of proletarian housewives and least of all from amongst the **women workers of factories**. Demonstrations and manifestations, which were practised during the first years, were gradually dropped, which contributed towards isolating the Union from the **women workers masses** which were continually moving Leftwards. A further reason was the passivity and the Right mistakes of some of the functionaries of the Union.

The III Congress of the Red Women's Union in August 1929 demanded that a decisive turn should be made in the direction of mass work. The centre of attention was focused on the question of the defensive powers of working women and proletarian housewives. The question of getting points of support in the most important factories was put forward as the pre-requisite of successful work. The recognition that every factory with a large number of women must become a fortress for us — this is the basis of systematic and consistent everyday work. A beginning has already been made, and in a number of districts distinct successes have been achieved, for instance in Berlin, Wasserkant, Silesia, Halle-Merseburg. The factory groups must become organs of the Red Women's Union for the organisation of the struggle of the women workers in the place where they are standing face to face with the foe, i. e. in the factory.

The growth of fascist women's organisations, the terror against the fighting proletariat which is becoming more and more intensive, compels the women workers also to realise the necessity of developing their defensive powers. The active participation of women in the bloody struggles of the recent period, their enthusiasm and loyalty to the proletariat, have shown all proletarians what a great role is now played by women workers in the revolutionary class struggle. The work of the R. W. U. with regard to training and education is being assisted at the present time by the practical work of the mass of members in a number of circles, for instance, in the workers ambulance service, participation in the courses organised by proletarian target shooting societies, in excursions with games and sports. In this sphere we must more than ever before make use of our experience and at the same time more closely study the methods of our opponents. We know that hundreds of thousands of women in fascist organisations are receiving at the present time an allround military training. Since these anti-worker organisations are endeavouring to make women capable of defence in a fascist spirit, to give them physical training, the R. W. U. must try with all its forces to keep working women away from participation in these organisations, must attract them to the Red class front, and must make them capable of defence in the proletarian meaning of this word. Physical training helps to carry out this task, it steels the will for class struggles, trains them in perseverance and revolutionary persistence.

The patronage of the **Chemical Defence Society** over the Red Women's Union has a special political importance. The Chemical Defence Society is an organisation of the proletariat of the U. S. S. R. which has set itself the task of defending the proletarian fatherland. The Russian women workers at the present time share in the proletarian government, and their rights are absolutely equal to the rights of men. In case of war against the U. S. S. R., just as in the years of civil war, they will defend the proletarian dictatorship in the ranks of the Red Army. In close contact with the Chemical Defence Society, the Red Women's Union will concentrate all its strength so that, in the coming great political struggles, it will be able to form **women's battalions** which will be in a position to overturn the accursed capitalist system in a united front with the whole of the revolutionary proletariat, and to create a Soviet Germany.