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CONTENTS

M. L.: The Insurrectionary Movement in St. Domingo	202	In the International.	
Harrison George: Mexico Before and After the Break with the Soviet Union	203	Towards New Struggles! Leading Article of "Pravda"	211
Albert Moreau: Under the Wall-Street Machado Regime in Cuba	204	A. de Vries: The Congress of the C.P. of Holland	212
A. Ivin: Yen Si Shen and Chiang Kai-shek	205	Economics.	
Hands off the Soviet Union.	206	Alex G. Richman: The Economic Crisis in the USA. I.	214
Comrade Rykov against the Religious Anti-Soviet Agitation	206	Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union.	
New Challenge to the Organisers of the "Crusade": Struggle against Unemployment.	207	J. Rjabov: Socialist Transformation of Agriculture in the Soviet Union	215
W. Tapsell: March 6th in Great Britain	208	Workers International Relief.	
Alex. G. Richman: Unemployment Sharpens in the USA	209	Willi Münzenberg: The Workers International Relief Marching Forward	216
V. Chattopadhyaya: Unemployment in India	210	In the R.I.L.U.	
The White Terror.		Lessons and Perspectives of the Economic Struggles	217
The Lives of Twenty-Five Turkish Communists in Danger!		Five-Year Plan.	
		Growth of Real Wages in USSR. Guaranteed	219
		Book Review.	
		W. Ensee: Earl Browder: "Out of a Job"	219
		International Women's Day.	
		Moirova: The Protection of Mothers and Infants in Russia and in the West	219

The Political Crisis in France.

By J. Berlioz (Paris).

On the 17th of February, in the discussion of a quite subordinate clause in the Budget for the year 1930, the Finance Minister Cheron raised the question of a vote of confidence, with the result that the Chamber of Deputies overthrew the Tardieu ministry by 286 votes against 281. The usual opposition, consisting of the Communists, the Socialists and the Radicals, had been joined by some elements from the Centre groups. A week after, a Cabinet was formed consisting almost exclusively of Radicals, which in turn was defeated as soon as it appeared before Parliament by 292 votes against 277, the majority of the deputies belonging to the Centre having on this occasion formed a bloc with the Right groups. Thus the crisis broke out again, with the result that the Naval Conference in London and the passing of the Budget were held up.

The Tardieu ministry had claimed to be a ministry of prosperity, but prosperity did not put in an appearance. On the contrary, the stagnation in industry and trade increased; certain branches of economy were seriously hit by the crisis of foreign markets; prices increased, and with them the costs of production in the manufacturing industries. The crisis in

regard to corn, wine and other agricultural products, which had to be sold by the peasants at a loss, called forth great discontent in the rural districts.

In spite of the growing fascisation of the State and the increased acts of suppression against the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade union federation (C.G.T.U.), the movements of the workers against rationalisation and for wage increases have grown and attained to a higher political level. The "Humanité", which is immediately threatened, was supported by the toilers with magnificent enthusiasm. Indo-China is shaken by an extensive insurrectionary movement. The claims of French imperialism were frustrated by its rivals at the Hague and especially in London. The promises made by Tardieu were not kept, with the exception of that of a police and fascist dictatorship over the working class and its revolutionary organisations.

The attack on the government took place in the sphere of finance. In order to secure the passing of the Budget at the proper time, the commencement of the Budget year had to be changed from the 1st of January to the 1st of April. The economic crisis emphatically called for considerable

alleviations in regard to taxes which increase the cost of production in industry and place burdens on Stock-Exchange operations.

It was the policy of budget surpluses, of "financial prestige" which called forth a perfect storm against M. Cheron. But the fight was immediately transferred from the sphere of finances to the sphere of politics, both by the opposition of the so-called Left and by Chéron himself. It is certain that the latter acted in complete agreement with Tardieu, who was conveniently ill on the day of the debate. In fact the government thought that, in view of the approaching crisis, its Parliamentary basis was not sufficiently stable and that it was time to extend it towards the Left.

If however, the majority of the big bourgeoisie advocates a concentration cabinet, it is because it wishes to dominate it completely and to possess the key positions in it. When Chautemps, the leader of the Radical Party, who was entrusted with the task of forming a new Cabinet, offered posts to the Centre, he met with a brusque refusal and had to confine himself to forming a Cabinet consisting mainly of Radicals.

This Cabinet, it is true, enjoyed the support of the Socialists, but lacked the support of the numerous centre groups, at the head of which Tardieu led the attack with the result that it suffered immediate defeat.

The Chautemps Cabinet, however, pursued exactly the same policy as that of its predecessors in regard to tax alleviations. It included in its ranks the Radical Albert Sarraut, who was the first to sound the war-cry: "Communism is the enemy!"

After the defeat of Chautemps, Tardieu was again called upon. Tardieu expressed his intention of bringing about a concentration Cabinet.

The lessons of the Cabinet crisis are clear. Confusion exists among the bourgeoisie in view of the economic crisis and the attack of the masses. The brutal solutions of rationalisation and of suppression must be brought into harmony with the ideological leadership of these masses who are nursed in illusions. The interests of the various capitalist groupings, which found expression in the decay of the old big parties and the rise of small centrist groups, must be brought under discipline. The vacillations and uncertainty of the last few days are an indication of the extent of the crisis of capitalism.

Needless to say, the social democrats, right from the first day, placed themselves at the disposal of the bourgeoisie by declaring that "they would never shrink from the responsibility of exercising power, whatever the circumstances may be". They know very well that their hour has not yet come and that at present they can better serve the bourgeoisie by their purely parliamentary opposition.

The Communist Party of France has conducted the fight against Tardieu and against Chautemps with the same energy with which it will conduct it against any other capitalist government. It is pointing out to the masses that the Left, Centre and Right can only carry on the same policy, which is directed against the working class and against the Soviet Union. Among its slogans for the 6th of March is: Down with all forms of government of the police and fascist dictatorship! Long live the workers' and peasants' government!

The Insurrectionary Movement in St. Domingo.

By M. L.

A revolt has broken out in St. Domingo. The insurgents, whose leader is Estrella Urena, have compelled President Vasquez to resign, and Urena will, as provisional president of the Republic of St. Domingo, see to it that the "purity" of the coming Presidential elections is assured. The small cruiser "Wistaria" has left the Virgin Islands and is steaming to St. Domingo in order, "should it be necessary in the interests of British subjects" to send a landing force to the Island. The Ambassador of the United States in St. Domingo is said to have initiated negotiations for a compromise with both parties and to have achieved an agreement between Urena and Vasquez.

The insurrection can by no means be regarded as an isolated event. In the whole of the West Indies strike struggles have taken place owing to the unbearable position of the workers, and peasants, and everywhere they acquired a political character. The economic struggles have developed into fights against the imperialist powers, which were everywhere crushed by armed force of the imperialists.

The general economic crisis in the West Indies is the result of the world-wide sugar crisis. In Guadeloupe, Barbados, Cuba, Porto Rico, the workers on the sugar plantations were compelled to strike as the plantation owners, British as well as American, cut down the wages of their workers on the ground that the sugar industry can no longer bear the rate of wages hitherto prevailing.

"International" and "national" sugar conferences are being held by the sugar barons. At all the conferences it is stated that the crisis can be overcome only if output is restricted and wages are reduced. For the plantation workers this means unemployment and privation.

St. Domingo is a typical sugar-plantation country. The sugar plantations on this island cover an area of 438,182 acres, or more than a fourth of the fertile land of St. Domingo. 90 per cent. of these plantations are in the hands of Americans. The value of the investments in these plantations amounted in the year 1925 to 41 million Dollars.

How important the sugar industry is for St. Domingo becomes clear when it is remembered that in the year 1927 the value of exported commodities amounted in all to 30 million dollars, of which 17 million dollars fell to exported cane sugar. The plantation workers receive 60 cents a day.

St. Domingo is completely dominated by the imperialists of the United States. Not only the sugar plantations, but the cocoa, coffee and tobacco plantations are mostly in the hands of American capitalists. The financial administration is completely under the control of the Americans; the customs administration is also in the hands of the U.S.A.

The events in Haiti, where even the American occupation army was attacked, evoked a great response in St. Domingo. It has been of very little avail that following the intervention of the U.S.A. in St. Domingo reports on the events in Haiti are not allowed to be published. When a group of strikers from Haiti came to St. Domingo they were everywhere greeted with enthusiasm, and there was revealed the general desire to follow the example of Haiti.

The wages of the plantation workers were reduced from 60 cents to 50, and in many places to 45 and even less. A revolutionary wave was foreseen, which caused anxiety not only to the financial and sugar barons of the United States, but also to the British imperialists. From the strategical standpoint St. Domingo is of much greater importance to the British admiralty than the Republic of Haiti. St. Domingo is the eastern part of Haiti and lies in the immediate neighbourhood of Porto Rico and North-west of Jamaica. It also commands the coast of Panama. If the United States occupy St. Domingo with military forces, then Jamaica and the other Central and South American possessions of Great Britain are cut off from the rest of the British possessions in the West-Indies.

Therefore, the British Admiralty had to decide to despatch a warship to St. Domingo in order to prevent by every means the U.S.A. from occupying St. Domingo as it has occupied the Republic of Haiti.

The workers of the West-Indies, whose wages are being cut, the peasants, who are being driven from their land, will continue to fight against the imperialists, even if generals of the type of Urena have betrayed them. The workers and peasants of St. Domingo are fighting together with the peasants and workers of the whole of the West-Indies in order to shake off the imperialist yoke and to create a West Indian Federative Republic in which power shall lie in the hands of the workers and peasants. A section of the League Against Imperialism has just been founded in Haiti, which will help to organise and lead to victory the fight of the workers and peasants of the whole of the West-Indies.

POLITICS

Mexico Before and After the Break with the Soviet Union.

By Harrison George (U. S. A.).

Recent events in Mexico have called attention to that land as one of the focal points of contradictions and instabilities of the capitalist world.

With the last regime of **Calles** and the election in 1928 of **Obregon** (the agent of Standard Oil sales for all Mexico), the Mexican bourgeoisie gave up its previous struggle against Yankee imperialism and became its agent both in the suppression of the Mexican masses and in the fight to drive British imperialism from its position.

But the chief imperialist rival to United States, **Great Britain**, had no intention of yielding. Britain's clerical allies shot Obregon, just as other allies shot **Rubio** on February, 5. Moreover, when a year ago, in February, the Yankee imperialists acting through the hand of Calles compelled the convention of the dominant "National Revolutionary Party" to accept Rubio as candidate and foreshadowed his later "election", British imperialism struck back on March 3, 1929, with the **Escobar Aguirre** rebellion (the Royal Dutch Shell in Vera Cruz is known to have financed General Aguirre), and held in reserve for possible retreat to more pacific means the weaker party of compromise, the "Anti-Re-election Party" headed by **Jose Vasconcelos**.

In the fight against the British-Escobar rebellion the Yankee imperialists acted openly as the interested boss of the **Portes Gil-Calles-Rubio** government clique. All the U. S. consuls in Mexico met with Ambassador Morrow (Morgan's partner in banking) in war council not a week before Escobar struck. The Gil government, far from appealing to and arming the masses as previous and really anti-imperialist governments had done, depended solely on the military and the material help lavishly furnished it by the U. S. government.

The Escobar-Aguirre rebellion was crushed, and a swift re-constellation of forces began. While England put in a bill for \$ 100,000,000 for "property destroyed or damaged" to the Mexican government, Mexico became more openly a colony of the U. S. A., with Ambassador Morrow serving as Governor-general. He negotiated successfully for peace and a modus vivendi between the feudal-clerical elements and those of the government. He supervised the November "election" by military force of Ortiz Rubio over Vasconcelos, who went into hiding and then appeared in the United States with mysterious but forceful promises of future armed rebellion.

But most of all Morrow saw to it that the Mexican workers and peasants should be, if possible, put out of action as an independent force. They had entered, uninvited and unwelcome, into armed action against the Escobar rebellion. At Vera Cruz, before the arrival of federal troops, the armed peasants had defeated Aguirre's troops in pitched battle. Such things were as dangerous to American as to British imperialism, and America's ambassador could not permit such forces to crystallize. The Worker and Peasant Bloc and the Communist Party were obstacles to the advance of imperialist domination. Besides the drafting of a comprehensive fascist "Labour Code" designed to outlaw C. S. U. M. (the revolutionary trade union centre) and prohibit strikes, a whole series of steps, legal and extra-legal were taken by orders of U. S. Ambassador Morrow.

The organ of the Communist Party, "El Machete", was suppressed. The pressure against the Party, ringing it round with spies and harassing it with persecution, became the order of the day. Here and there, and hardly before the Escobar rebellion was crushed, the leaders of armed peasants' groups were murdered by the military, and a quiet campaign of disarming the masses was begun before the November "election".

The "election" of Ortiz Rubio was a farce which all the art of Yankee propaganda could not dissemble as "democracy". The declaration once made by Coolidge, to the effect that United States could not permit a government unfriendly to it to exist between the Rio Grande and the Panama Canal was

actively the policy of the U. S. in Mexico, and the Mexican military were practically under orders emanating from the U. S. embassy, rather than from the Castle of Chapultepec.

Rubio visited the United States. The "New York Times" of January 30, gives us the following information regarding his visit:

"It is not generally known that Senor Ortiz Rubio lunched with Thomas W. Lamont, head of the International Committee of Bankers on Mexico, when in New York, but the meeting is considered significant. Senor Rubio has repeatedly stated that he will not expropriate any more land in Mexico for communal purposes, except on a basis of cash payment. That is considered auspicious, for foreign diplomacy has been keenly interested in this question for years."

Necessarily, the policy of servitude to American imperialism had its corollary in a policy of suppression of the Mexican masses, who hate the very name of the United States. The latter days of December were marked by the provisional government of Portes Gil beginning a frontal attack on the Mexican Communist Party and all sympathetic organisations. Members of the Central Committee of the Party and the Young Communist League were "privately" arrested on a fake charge of "anarchist terrorism plot", while a number of foreign-born Communists were seized, tortured and later deported.

Senor Rubio, disporting himself in the U. S. A., was astonished when arriving at Detroit, to be met by hundreds of workers angrily demanding that the terror in Mexico be ended. He left the city hastily with the horrified apologies of Detroit authorities. In New York some 3,000 workers protesting against the crimes of Yankee imperialism both in Mexico and Hayti, fought the police for two hours under the slogan of "Down with the white terror in Mexico!" Similar demonstrations of the American proletariat took place in Los Angeles, Cleveland, Washington, Buenos Aires and Rio De Janeiro.

It was on the threadbare excuse that these demonstrations were "ordered by the Russian (sic!) government" because certain pernicious "Russians" had been deported, that the Portes Gil government announced the breaking of relations with the Soviet Union within about 24 hours after Rubio had returned from the U. S. A. As a matter of fact, not a single "Russian" revolutionary had been deported, though many Latin Americans had been, most of them Cubans. The stupidity of the excuse naturally hid the real reason: that the United States imperialists had ordered the break.

That it meant an attack on the Mexican toilers was shown by the fact that the same day relations were broken with Moscow, the Mexican army received a general command to proceed vigorously to disarm the peasantry. The persecutions against the Communists, halted by the demonstrations, were begun again, and — after Ambassador Morrow at London had talked by telephone cable with Foreign Minister Estrada for ten minutes on Feb. 6 — the shooting of Rubio by the Vasconcelist-British agent was used as a new excuse to unloose the white terror against the workers, the leaders of the red trade unions "disappearing" and a woman Communist tortured in the general onslaught.

By such means the Mexican lackeys of Yankee imperialism think they can hold down the revolutionary masses. But not only the subjective factor of mass resistance is present, but the objective economic situation is such that the semi-colonial capitalist regime is cracking to pieces everywhere.

Among the first symptoms of economic decadence is the growing number of unemployed, which, according to report has already reached 700,000 in a nation of only 13,000,000: the unfavourable trade balance; the collapse of silver prices striking at the heart of trade and the small merchant class with depreciated money; the general economic crisis affecting oil production (restricted by imperialist control), textiles, mining, metal plants, rail transport, and an agrarian crisis of frightful character, 40% loss of the chief harvests, mass desertion of the land, strikes of the Indian **peons**, whose importance (5,000,000 in number) as a suppressed nationality has never been given adequate attention, and ever more frequent armed collisions between peasants and federal troops supporting the

latifundists. Moreover, the industrial proletariat indicates by a growing strike wave its resistance to rationalisation and fascism. All this, and even the measures of the bourgeoisie to solidify all forces of repression, shows that the very ground is shaking under the feet of the Mexican bourgeoisie, in short, Mexican economy is being involved deeply and dangerously in the growing world crisis of capitalism.

While this, with all its consequences, is undermining the Mexican bourgeoisie, the onset of depression in the U. S. making it hopeless of any bettering outlook, the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, with whom the Mexican government has broken relations, are forging ahead to socialism. Apart from its highly significant diplomatic meaning, its indication of U. S. hegemony in the anti-Soviet war being rapidly organised, the break with the Soviet Union will be more injurious to Mexico than to the Soviet. The Mexican masses will increasingly know, in spite of and even because of the break in Soviet relations, that their bourgeois government is an enemy of their interests and, knowing this, their ever-ready revolutionary spirit will be certain, in the not long distant future, to rise in armed struggle for a Workers and Peasants democratic dictatorship.

Under the Wall-Street Machado Regime in Cuba.

By Albert Moreau.

** The growing economic crisis in Cuba which is bringing the proletariat and peasantry to the verge of starvation is rapidly shaking the very foundation of the "stable" Wall Street Machado Government.

Since the forcible American occupation in 1898, the history of the Island never recorded such a widespread misery and steady lowering of the living standards of the working masses. The lackey Government answers with ruthless suppression and assassination the discontent and rebellious mood of the workers.

The production of sugar, Cuba's life-blood, is undergoing a severe crisis the solution of which the American financiers are unable to find. Sugar, Cuba's economic barometer, was sold in June 1929 at 1.59 cents per pound, a price which compared that of the panic year of 1901/1902 — 1.57 cents per pound — clearly indicates the seriousness of the situation. Of the 1,250,000,000 Dollars invested by American financiers in the Island, 850,000,000 Dollars is thought to be invested in sugar. Two thirds of Cuban sugar is imported in the United States. But the imports from the duty-free American possessions of Philippines, Hawaii and Porto Rico have of late considerably restricted the home market. The restriction of the United States market compelled the Sugar Barons to intensify their drive against the colons and the cane plantation workers. The law enacted by President Machado early in 1928 prohibits the "independent colons" to cut their canes. The colons, unable to pay their mortgages to the big landowners, were forced to abandon the rented properties to the rapacious trusts. The ruined colons swelled the army of the exploited workers. Simultaneously, the workers were forced to accept a wage-cut. **Unemployment** is steadily increasing. More than 300,000 jobless are today in a desperate situation. Consequently the consuming power of the workers has been steadily lowered, especially since 1927 when Cuba was the leading Latin-American market for United States products, now being listed as the eleventh.

The United States financial magnates, through the State Department have strongly dug their claws deep into the flesh of the bleeding oppressed workers and peasants in treaty-bound subjugation of the economic and political life of the Island. The **Platt Amendment** enforced upon it in March 1901 binds the country to the economic chariot of Wall Street. It prohibits the contraction of public debts with any country other than the United States. It prohibits the entering into any treaty with foreign powers other than the United States for military or naval purposes. The **Platt Amendment** gives the right to the American Government to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a Government adequate for the protection of life, property and individual liberty. So openly aggressive has been the attitude of the Washington Government towards the oppressed masses of Cuba that no

better illustration could be offered than the shameless imperialistic declaration of **Eliza Root**, Secretary of War in the Roosevelt Cabinet:

"Cuba has acquiesced in our right to say that she shall not put herself in the hands of any other power, whatever her necessities, and in our right to insist upon the Maintenance of free and orderly Government Throughout her limits. However impoverished and desperate may be her People." (Emphasis ours.)

Acting for the big capitalists, the State Department is empowered to crush any revolutionary movement which aims at the overthrow of the Government which so faithfully serves their interests. The policy of American marine invasion of Cuba in case of a revolution, solely aims at the complete subjugation of the workers and peasants as the latter are the only forces capable to secure the independence of Cuba from American imperialism and its tyrant tools.

Machado's rival group, the Union nacionalista, again and again evoked the Platt Amendment and appealed to the State Department for intervention. The bourgeois elements of the Union nacionalista sought to substitute Machado's regime by their own, promising faithfully to carry out the will of the American trusts. They are backed by individual American capitalists whose interests in Cuba collide with those of the big enterprises and the National City Bank. In reply to Mr. Barlow's appeal, an American capitalist, the Foreign Relations Committee headed by its chairman **Mr. Borah**, conducted a fake investigation. President Machado, with the endorsement of the American Chamber of Commerce of Cuba, the National City Bank and the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, was persecuting the leaders of the labour and the communist movements in October 1929, just at the time of the hearings in the Foreign Relations Committee. In order to stifle the reports from Cuba on the fascist regime of deportations and assassinations, Secretary of State **Stimson** appeared secretly before the Committee and officially discounted "the alleged rumors against Machado's regime of terror". Thereupon, Mr. Borah promised the adjustment of Mr. Barlow's claims against the Cuban Government, thus sanctioning the continuation of suppression of the working class movements by Machado.

So horrid has been the systematic suppression of the militant workers and peasants organisations that **Mr. William Green**, President of the American Federation of Labour could not remain indifferent to the repeated protests of the Latin-American workers. He ordered an investigation which led to the endorsement of Machado's Government of "progress and order".

Wall Street installed Machado as president of Cuba in 1924 with a *Carte blanche* to liquidate all opposition to American Imperialism. No other lackey could so successfully satisfy the masters as he did in a period of four years. At the expiration of his period of presidency, in 1928, Machado put himself as President for another six years after crushing all opposition to his candidacy. His crimes, since his advent to power are notorious. He drove the Communist Party to operate illegally. One by one, the communist leaders and militant workers who had an unquestionable influence in the trade union organisations, mysteriously disappeared or were killed in cold-blood. His black hand extended, out of Cuba reaching Mexico where **Julio A. Mella**, leader of the Communist Party, was murdered by his mercenary agents.

In spite of this regime of terror, the workers and peasants of Cuba have not lost their militant spirit. All attempts to substitute the militant revolutionary unions by reformist or Government fascist unions have completely failed. The recent strikes of tobacco workers, the strike of the millinery workers and the mass political demonstrations showed an open defiance of the workers to the dictatorship. The working youth is now particularly active in its open attack on the fascist reign of terror.

The Communist Party of Cuba has not lost its contact with the toiling masses. On the contrary, more than ever, the militant unions find in the Communist Party an active supporter of their struggles against fascism and American Imperialism. The economic crisis becoming deeper and deeper every day has increased the militancy of the workers and peasants. The future class battles resulting from this crisis will undoubtedly bring the proletarian revolution on the order of the day.

The Economic and Political Situation of Switzerland.

By Bobst.

Next to the American economists it was the Swiss apologists of capitalism who defended the miraculous theory of eternal prosperity. This dreamland of eternal prosperity has faded into oblivion thanks to the American Stock Exchange crash and its after effects. And the first signs of an approaching crisis in Switzerland have caused general nervousness.

The following symptoms of crisis are to be recorded: in the jewelry trade the quantity of orders has rapidly declined; in the centres of the watch and clock industry there are thousands of unemployed and workers on short time; reports of closing down of works in the textile industry are more and more frequent; in the metal and engineering industry there are complaints of the bad business situation and still worse business prospects; the industries catering for foreign tourists are awaiting the coming season with anxiety, as the big Swiss hotel and restaurant proprietors know from the experiences of the war and subsequent inflation, what the partial or complete expropriation of the well-to-do middle class means for the tourist industry in Switzerland.

In agriculture an attempt is being made, by a cleverly thought out system of customs duties (high customs duties on meat, butter, fat and eggs, embargo on imports of foreign killed cattle, price guarantee and obligatory purchase of home grain), to prevent the transition from a latent to an acute agrarian crisis. But all these measures cannot improve the position of the small and middle peasants, whose undertakings are indebted on an average up to 70 per cent. On the contrary, all the protectionist measures naturally only result in the land being valued in excess of its — capitalist — output value. The indebtedness is increasing. The attempt of the capitalist peasants' leaders to restrict the production of milk which predominates at present, in favour of the cultivation of grain and thereby to reduce the supply of milk and milk products so as to maintain the price level has proved abortive owing to the fact that the small and middle peasants, for various reasons (small land plots, lack of machines and liquid money etc.), are unable to extend their grain cultivation.

The crisis in Switzerland will undoubtedly become more acute in the next few weeks and months. Of the annual national income, estimated at 6000 million, 2000 million is derived from export trade. These exports consist exclusively of manufactured goods. The effects of the general crisis will therefore be very serious for Switzerland. The capitalist class will, before all, undertake an offensive against the standard of living of the working class, by means of wage cuts, lengthening of working hours, worsening of social insurance, in particular the unemployment insurance. The class contradictions are rapidly becoming more acute. The social fascists, as in all other countries, are eagerly supporting the offensive of the capitalists against the working class. In their party and trade union press they advise the capitalists to meet the competition on the world market by means of increased rationalisation of the factories. In the Parliaments they talk of the "willingness of the workers" to agree to a lengthening of working hours in the interest of national economy. In addition, they are conducting an intensified fight against the revolutionary working class and the Communist Party. When the workers go on strike against the will of the social fascist trade union leaders, the latter organise strike-breaking. In the political sphere they are paving the way for converting bourgeois democracy into open fascist dictatorship. The reactionary bourgeoisie is joyfully astonished to see that social democracy will do everything in order to ensure "law and order" in the country and is ready to carry through the fascisation of the bourgeois State by means of worsening the formal democratic rights, such as limiting the people's referendum, lengthening of the legislative periods etc.

The role of Swiss social democracy, which as the last miserable remnant of the 2nd International has returned to the 2nd International, is played out. To the extent that the general world crisis is affecting Switzerland, to the same extent the social democracy is going over to pure social fascism. In this period the Communist Party is confronted with the task of taking over the leadership of the working class in the approaching struggles. The Party, by initiating a Bolshevik

self-criticism, has begun to liquidate the mistakes of the past and thereby create the first preconditions to becoming a Bolshevik mass Party and the only leader of the Swiss working class.

CHINA

Yen Si Shen and Chiang Kai-shek.

By Ivin.

The respite which Nanking obtained by means of a base compromise is proving to be very short. The fresh attack by Chiang Fa Kwei and the Kwangsi group on Canton has shown that the period of this respite has expired. Scarcely two weeks pass when Yen Si Shen appears on the scene and proposes to Chang Kai-shek that they both resign and go abroad in order to "leave the solution of all the urgent questions to people who are more capable to solve them". In reply Chiang Kai-shek orders the arrest of the Shansi leaders, who are in Shanghai, and concentrates ten divisions south of the Tientsin-Pukow Railway. Yen Si Shen, who is acting together with the Feng Yu Hsiang group, is only waiting for Chang Hsueh-liang's answer in order to come "before the country" with a solemn declaration.

Meanwhile, military operations have already been commenced in the neighbourhood of the Lunhai Railway. Whether they will develop into an immediate and general armed conflict in the counter-revolutionary camp, or whether this will be preceded by a more or less prolonged period of all possible combinations and manoeuvres of the different leaders, in any event this conflict is on the order of the day.

It must not be forgotten that this time the "usual conflict" in the ranks of the Chinese counter-revolution is developing under the conditions of an extremely sharp economic crisis, which embraces not only the impoverished Chinese village but also the industrial and trading centres. At the same time, the movement of the partisans in the provinces is growing in extent, and the labour movement in the towns is becoming more revolutionary. Finally, the process of disintegration in the Kuomintang is proceeding ever more rapidly, and the Nanking group is becoming more and more discredited.

The so-called "orthodox Kuomintang", with Nanking at the head, is developing into a mere local clique which hardly differs from the cliques of politicians existing at the time of Tsao Kun and Wu Pei Fu. In Manchuria, in North-West China, and now also in the Northern provinces of China over which the rule of Yen Shen extends, the Kuomintang does not exist as a party. In all these vast territories the Kuomintang organisations, so far as they exist even in name, are not under the control of the centre in Nanking but of the local militarists.

As regards the Nanking government, the Nanking people are encountering in their organisations the keen competition of the so-called Reorganisationalists. It is interesting to note that on the occasion of the recent inquiry made among the hundreds of students of the Peiping National University, it transpired that even followers of Mussolini were to be found but scarcely anybody who confessed allegiance to Chiang Kai-shek or any other of the Nanking leaders. This is exceedingly characteristic of the attitude of the whole of the Chinese students, who at one time constituted the chief cadres of propagandists and agitators for Nanking.

But Nanking has not only lost all prestige in the eyes of the Chinese students, of the petty bourgeoisie and of the intellectuals, it is also rapidly losing it among the Chinese merchants particularly those in North China, who have been adversely affected by the transference of the capital town to Nanking. At present it is only thanks to the recognition of the "Great Powers", which is only on paper, that Nanking is succeeding in maintaining itself as a central government. Should the imperialists withdraw this recognition, which will be almost inevitable in the event of a serious defeat of Nanking, as well as in the event of a consolidation of the forces of the Northern militarists and the formation of a

Northern government, then Nanking and its Kuomintang will immediately find itself in the position of the former Sun Chuan Fang grouping and its clique of politicians.

The leaders of the extreme Right Wing of the Kuomintang are demanding that Yen Si Shan form a temporary government in Peiping. Yen Si Shan could have done this long ago with the support of Feng Yu Hsiang and Mukden. As, however, he is a man of "large-scale" plans, he preferred to consolidate his positions in the North and to assume the position of a representative of the Supreme commanders, in the hope of being able in a short time to take the place of Chiang Kai-shek at the head of a "National Government" and to send Chiang-Kai-shek abroad. As the followers of Yen Si Shan maintain, Yen does not wish to fight, he will not place himself at the head of an open revolt, and before all does not desire that China should lose its prestige abroad as a result of the overthrow of the government. In other words, Yen wishes to succeed to power, for he naturally, no less than Chiang-Kai-shek, requires recognition by the "Great Powers". This is the meaning of the present attitude of Yen Si Shan.

On what does Yen Si Shan base his claims? Before all he is of the opinion that he is no less suitable to the imperialists than his present rival. He comes before the bourgeoisie as a "model administrator". For the feudal landowners he has the fame of a man who has suppressed a whole number of peasant insurrections. Finally, in the eyes of his militarist colleagues he is a "just man", for he stands for a "federation of the provinces" and only desires to be "the first among equals".

As is to be seen, here everything has been carefully taken into account, with the exception of one thing, and that is, that the wheel of history cannot be turned back, whoever may now stand at the head of the Chinese counter-revolution, whether it be Chiang-Kai-shek or Yen Si Shan, the days of its triumph are numbered.

HANDS OFF THE SOVIET-UNION

Comrade Rykov against the Religious Anti-Soviet Agitation.

The following is the report of an interview which Comrade Rykov granted to the representative of the "United Press".

You come to me with a request which I am sorry I am unable to fulfil. You ask me to give you information regarding the number of and the reasons for acts of repression against priests and clergy of various religious denominations. I cannot comply with your wish, for I am not aware of any cases of such acts of repression.

Inasmuch as such repressive measures, or as you express it, brutalities were not applied against priests and clergy of religious denominations, your other request, that these repressive measures be mitigated has no point.

Does this declaration of mine mean, perchance, that no priest or minister of a religious denomination has even been arrested, handed over to the court, or sentenced? There have been and there are cases where priests and ministers of religious communities have been arrested and condemned, but these arrests and sentences were not in any way connected with the religious convictions of the condemned and with their cult. In these cases the priests and clergymen of religious denominations were accused of having committed crimes which violate our criminal code. The priests and clergy must be held responsible for such crimes just as all other citizens of the Soviet Union.

In this connection one cannot refer back to the whole period since the October Revolution and pick out every case where this or that clergyman has been brought before the court for defending some religious thesis or other as, for example, proponents of such doctrines as the Immaculate Conception, the creation of Eve out of Adam's rib, Dead Sunday (All Souls Day), Transubstantiation, etc.

We have removed the religious factors from the whole educational activity and from the system of enlightenment in our

country, and we secure and promote with all the means at our disposal the development of science and spread it among the broadest masses. And with us such a trial as the "Monkey Trial" in the U.S.A. would of course be impossible, as we promote in every way the spread of scientific knowledge. The spread of scientific knowledge and the overcoming of every kind of prejudice naturally and of necessity leads to a decline of the influence of religion and a falling off in the number of those holding religious beliefs.

This decline of the influence of religion and the number of its adherents is also a result of the fact that a number of religious organisations have compromised themselves by their open support of counter-revolution (the Jesus regiment in the army of Admiral Koltchak, the recent declaration of the Extraordinary Church Conference of the Ukrainian Autocephalic Church, that under the flag of this organisation White Guards clothed as priests prepared an armed revolt against the Soviet Power, and a number of similar facts).

I am asked another question. In regard to the closing of churches. Without doubt a number of churches are being closed. But this is taking place as a result of the decisions of meetings of the people, in cases where the population itself regards the existence of the church as superfluous and prefers to employ the church buildings and premises for cultural purposes, schools, clubs etc. If I am not mistaken also abroad churches are subleased, closed and used for this or that institution of a secular character.

With us the closing of churches takes place with sufficient guarantees which are contained in the decision of the Central Executive Committee on religious communities. I mention for example paragraphs 36 and 37 of this decision, which was adopted in April 1929 and also the fact that a considerable portion of the applications of the local authorities for the closing of churches were not granted by the higher organs.

The last question is, what are the causes of the agitation in other countries for the purpose of raising the question of religion in the Soviet Union? I believe that these causes are not of a religious, but solely of a political nature. Those groupings which have launched this campaign and are conducting it in a considerable number of foreign press organs, are endeavouring to use the question of religion as a weapon for political purposes. Here we have without doubt to do with circles which proceed from the standpoint that in political warfare all means are permissible. This alone would explain firstly, the appearance of absolutely wild inventions in the bourgeois newspapers, and secondly, the circumstance that groups and persons have come forward in defence of religion, who for the most part themselves hold religion to be mere prejudice and ignorance, and who with their political activity could never guarantee those forms of religious liberty which exist on the territory of the Soviet Union.

New Challenge 'o the Organisers of the "Crusade".

Moscow, 27th February 1930.

** The Rabbis of Minsk, Menasheh Gluskin, Ovsel Zimbalist, Herz Masel, Gabriel Gabrelow, Osher Kerstein and Mandel Jarcho have issued an appeal to all orthodox Jews reading as follows:

It has come to our knowledge that a number of Rabbis abroad have made common cause with the bitterest enemies of the Jewish people and of the Jewish religion in attacking the Soviet Union and representing the Soviet power as the persecutor of the Jewish people and the Jewish religion.

We are deeply indignant at the fact that a Jewish Rabbi in Paris took part in a joint religious service with the notorious inspirer of anti-Jewish pogroms and leader of the Black Hundreds, the Metropolitan Eulogius. We are indignant at the fact that the Pope has appealed for a crusade against the Soviet Union, and we are unable to understand how an appeal can be issued in the name of religion which can very well bring with it the greatest slaughter, how one can commit a terrible crime against religion allegedly in order to benefit it. We are of the opinion that these people are united by other aims than the protection of religion. The bloody crimes which were committed against the Jewish people by some of those people who now pretend to protect our religion have not been

forgotten by us. We declare herewith that we need no such protection in the Soviet Union. We cannot separate our lot from that of the Jewish people, and the Soviet government is the only government in the world which energetically combats all tendencies towards anti-semitism.

We are opposed to the anti-religious and atheist propaganda of the Communist Party, but we must be just and declare also that the Communist Party is rigidly opposed to anti-semitism and expels all anti-semites from its ranks. We must remember that the Soviet government is now in control of a country in which for centuries an animal hatred of the Jews was fostered. We have not forgotten the bloody pogroms suffered prior to the revolution. A fact of the greatest historical importance is the decree issued by the leader of the Communist Party and the head of the Soviet government, Lenin, declaring the anti-semites to be the enemies of the whole people.

Under British dominance in Palestine excesses of the Arabs against the Jews are still possible, and in Rumania and other countries pogroms and an open anti-semitic campaign are still possible, but in the Soviet Union the authorities and public opinion in general suppress all tendencies to anti-semitism with all possible means including legal prosecution.

We are compelled to declare to the whole world that the Soviet power is the only power which takes measures to give a people, oppressed and persecuted up to the time of the revolution, the possibility of improving its lot. The Soviet power gives Jews land and provides them in their new homes with the means of production. It gives them the same rights as all other nationalities and permits them to elect their own self-administrative organs, the soviets, particularly in the Jewish colonies. All the shameful laws which oppressed the Jewish people have been abolished. In the Soviet Union all paths are open to the Jews, whereas in a number of countries outside the Soviet Union such unfair limitations still exist against the Jewish people.

As far as religion is concerned, the Soviet power gave the Jews equal rights with all other nationalities for the first time in history. The decree separating the Church from the State and the school from the Church prohibits any discrimination between believers and unbelievers. We have never been subjected to any persecution under the Soviet power on account of our religious convictions. There have been cases where Jewish Rabbis and others have been punished for offences against the Soviet laws, but our religious activities are perfectly legal and open, and no single case is known to us of any persecution in connection with them. With regard to the reports spread abroad concerning the execution or other severe punishment of Rabbis in the Soviet Union, we must declare very definitely that all such reports are inventions which have no basis whatever in fact.

We consider it our duty to declare before the world that no single Rabbi has been threatened or is threatened with the death sentence or with any other severe punishment in the Soviet Union. During the whole period of the Soviet power no single Rabbi has been executed anywhere in the Soviet Union. In those few cases where the Soviet authorities have arrested Rabbis, the reason has not been religious but civil. In addition it must be said that the Soviet power deals more justly with accused persons than any other power. A striking proof of this fact is the acquittal of a number of Rabbis in Minsk recently who were arrested in connection with offences against the Soviet laws. Thanks to the objectivity of the Soviet authorities they were very soon released. We Rabbis hope and trust that the Soviet power will continue to treat us in the future as justly as we have been treated by it in the past.

With regard to the fact the Communist Party and the Young Communist League demand that their members break with religion, it must be pointed out that, like the Atheist Association, these organisations are quite voluntary, no one is compelled to join them, and in fact religious persons are not accepted as members.

We cannot deny that the number of irreligious persons in the Soviet Union is growing rapidly, but this is also the case in many other countries. In our country the process is quicker and more obvious.

Where synagogues have been closed down, this was done not by the authorities, but by the Jewish masses themselves. It is true that this limits our influence, but nevertheless, we are convinced that the religious convictions of the Jews in the Soviet Union are stronger than the demonstrative religiousness

in many other countries where the religious organisations are often instruments in the hands of the State.

We cannot ignore the fact that neither the Pope nor the Archbishop of Canterbury took any measures against the persecution of the Jews under the Czar. Why did they both remain silent when Denikin and other white guardist bands were slaughtering the Jews in the Ukraine in the years 1918/19, when they murdered the well-known Rabbi of Njeshin, when the Thora rolls lay desecrated on the ground stained with the blood of helpless old men and young children? These facts arouse in us a lively mistrust of the present action of Pope Pius XI, and the other church dignitaries against the Soviet Union.

We protest with all energy against the crusade organised by the Pope against the Soviet Union. Let the Jews remember what the former Catholic crusades meant to them. We appeal to all orthodox Jews to remember the persecutions suffered by the Jewish people at the hands of those who are now fighting against the Soviet Union. We appeal to all orthodox Jews to protest with all possible energy against the anti-soviet crusade, and to bear in mind that the people who are organising it wish to restore the Purishkevitchs, the Markovs, the Eulogius' to power in our country so that they can once again cause Jewish blood to flow.

STRUGGLE AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT

March 6th in Great Britain.

By W. Tapsell (London).

** Unemployment in Great Britain since 1920 has been one of the most significant problems of capitalism. In all this period the number of registered unemployed workers has scarcely ever fallen below one million. This enormous army of workless has been centred in the basic industries, witnessing the decline of British capitalism in relation to its most formidable competitors.

The General Election of 1929 which returned a Labour Government was essentially fought on the question of unemployment. All the capitalist parties vied with each other in the lavish promises they made to "cure" unemployment. In June 1929, immediately after the election of the Labour Government, the number of registered unemployed was 1,165,302. In February 1930, it was 1,533,709. In 9 months there was an increase of over 350,000 amongst the ranks of the "insured wage earners" (two-thirds of the workers). In reality the increase is at least 500,000, to which, in turn, must be added the masses "struck off benefit". There are certainly two and half millions unemployed in Britain, for in addition to the figures of those registered (1½ millions in two thirds of the working population) plus at least 60,000 unemployed amongst those who are not registered, there are those who originally registered and are now dependent upon the Boards of Guardians.

In 9 months, June 1929 to February 1930, 407,813 workers claiming unemployment benefit were disallowed. Of this total no less than 164,450 were women! In the same months of the years 1928-9, the Baldwin Government disallowed 311,674! Thus, the Labour Government, in comparison with Baldwin, robbed 96,000 unemployed workers of about £ 2½ millions in 9 months!

J. H. Thomas, the Labour "Minister of Employment", after the most grandiose promises, has found work for 9,000 men in the same period that unemployment has increased by about 600,000!

An ascertainment of which industries are concerned in the economic and political crisis reflected in the unemployment figures is illuminating:

	June 1929	Feb. 1930
Iron and Steel Smelting and Rolling	32,555	42,443
Engineering	55,465	68,651
Cotton Textiles	77,786	110,784
Woolen Textiles	27,917	49,059
Building	72,371	153,860
Distribution	95,311	131,652

While there is a reduction in unemployment figures in the coal-mining industry, due largely to transference of min-

other industries, it is necessary to recollect that almost 160,000 miners are unemployed out of about 1,075,000 considered to be in the industry, which 6 years ago had 1,260,000 workers in its ranks.

It is clear that unemployment in Britain will rapidly increase. The continual blood-sucking and strangulation of the independent economic life of the colonies, essential to British Capitalism, produces a crisis in certain of the home industries, as well as a mass new revolutionary wave abroad. The drive for rationalisation, the keener fight for retention of world markets takes place in a period of more intense competition than ever before. The economic crisis in general, and in particular that of America, reacts with frightful force on the economy of British Imperialism.

The nature of the new unemployment crisis and the morale of the unemployed are also of different character. Whole new towns and areas are becoming derelict. Factories shut down, the work is transferred elsewhere, but it is done by speeding up, introducing night shifts etc. It is organised and carried through by the Labour Government and the trade union leaders. The masses of new unemployed see this very clearly. Every day brings new evidence of their determination and will to struggle, their fury at their betrayal by the Labour Government. The lefts, such as Maxton & Co are vainly endeavouring to create the pretence of fighting MacDonald with the idea of leading the new wave of struggle into safe channels. "Unless the Government make a change in the unemployment figures in the right direction they will not be given a mandate by the country at the next General Election", declared Maxton on February 23rd.

This compares with the main article of the "Daily Herald", on February 22nd, which in the most truculent manner threatens the unemployed:

"We warn the unemployed . . . against this demonstration (on March 6th). It can do no good, and can conceivably do great harm, not only to individuals themselves, but to the cause of the unemployed generally."

In this cynical fashion the unemployed are threatened with the Labour police and their batons.

The campaign for March 6th, has already revealed many of the weaknesses of the Party. The recent Party Congress has by no means liquidated the Right danger in the Party. The new leadership have already found in experience that the weakness of the campaign against the Right danger both open and concealed in opportunist passivity, has found its reflection in the March 6th campaign. Strong legalist and formalist tendencies exist inside the unemployed workers' movement, in which the Party influence is very strong, and voices have been raised inside the Party which declared that there was insufficient time for a demonstration to be organised, that it would achieve poor results, should be postponed, etc. Against such shown themselves, the Party leadership have taken energetic stances. In all Districts and Locals, special meetings have been held and District and Local plans for concentration of the maximum Party forces on particular places been decided upon. The main weight of the Party drive has been thrown into the woollen and cotton textile areas and the **minefields** where the sharpest tension exists between the workers and the employers. Unemployment is particularly rife and constantly increasing in the textile industry where, in addition, a great amount of organised short time exists. At the moment in the cotton-spinning section the employers are ballotting on the proposition to work 13 hours short time per week, which will place on short time over another 100,000 workers. In the woollen textile industry the report of the Labour Government arbitrator, is practically sure to attempt to inflict an 8% wage cut on 250,000 workers. Already in these Districts the Party committees of action are being elected at the Unemployment Exchanges and in the factories, representatives of both organised and unorganised, whether employed or unemployed. Numerous meetings have already been held at the factory gates and the unemployed exchanges and are meeting with an increasingly good response.

The feature of these meetings is the rapidly growing disgust with the Labour Government. Special issues of the fac-

tory papers, factory leaflets, etc., are being prepared for the factories and enterprises to be concentrated upon. In addition special national leaflets will be issued addressed to the miners, unemployed workers and textile workers. A special **Unemployed Workers newspaper** will also be issued.

The preparations which have already been in hand for some weeks for a national unemployed march on London have received fresh impetus through the March 6th Campaign. March 6th will mark a point from which the unemployed agitation will go still further and draw in still mightier masses of workers in support of an army of 1000 unemployed workers, men and women, youths and girls, who will march from all parts of Britain on London commencing from the end of March to participate in the mighty **May Day Demonstration** against the Labour Government.

While it is yet too early to judge finally the form of the response to March 6th, it is clear already that it will stand forward as a real mass mobilisation of the workers of Britain against the Labour Government and its policy of rationalisation and war. Despite social-fascist terror and threats the unemployed and employed will take the streets on March 6th, in a mass action which will mark a decided break with the past, a great clarification of the path and the tasks which the British working class must follow, and will mark the first step in the rallying of still wider masses for the mass political struggle for the revolutionary Workers' Government.

Unemployment Sharpens in the USA.

By Alex. G. Richman (New York).

Unemployment has come to stay in the United States — a guest as ravenous as in England or Germany. This is the result of the ravages of the present economic crisis, plus deep-going rationalisation, and the growing rentier character of the country (while it remains the premier industrial nation, the number of workers in productive work is steadily decreasing).

More than 7,000,000 workers are now unemployed, and the crisis has by no means reached its peak. Wages are being slashed and conditions worsened for those workers who still have jobs. As the fight for foreign markets intensifies imperialist contradictions and the war danger, the C. P. U. S. A. strikes at the most vulnerable point of capitalism by organising the unemployed and employed in a joint struggle. The unemployment situation and the campaign of the Party against it are outlined below.

The factors contributing to unemployment and its extent are as follows:

1. The permanent reserve army of labour. Over a decade ago this was estimated at over 2,500,000, exclusive of agricultural workers. A few years ago the Russell Sage Foundation figured the average number usually unemployed at about 10-12 per cent, an extremely low estimate. (There are now about 33,000,000 workers and employees in the U. S.)

2. Seasonal employment. This affects every industry to a greater or lesser degree. There are practically "seasonal industries", as against others, as was admitted before the Congressional committee investigating unemployment last year.

3. Disemployment. This is rapidly increasing, as a result of terrific speed up, rationalisation, mergers, etc. Julius Klein, assistant Secretary of Commerce, admits that over 950,000 workers have been permanently forced out of factories during the past decade. Well over a million farmers have been forced off the land during this period, and over half a million workers eliminated from railroads and coal mining. As against this, about 2,000,000 have found work in the newer industries and service occupations.

4. The great increase in the use of children's, youth's and women's labour, at lower wages, longer hours and worse conditions.

5. The displacement of older workers, 40 and over. The American Management Association at its last convention heard the report of a survey which stated that "a tacit understanding that employment offices should not take on older men and women" was in force in most companies. (U. S. Dept. of Labour, Monthly Labour Review, Dec. 1929, page 1255.) This is true even of the teaching profession.

6. The present crisis, which between October and January saw from 750,000 to 1,000,000 factory workers alone fired from their jobs.

7. The more rapid growth in working population than in the number of jobs. In the last decade this population increased over 3,000,000.

A conservative estimate of the number unemployed at the beginning of 1930 would therefore be over 7,000,000.

The latest report available on the extent of unemployment is that for New York State, whose data are 98% representative of the country as a whole. In this state in January 1930, factory employment decreased 2%, after a 4% drop the month before — reaching the lowest point in 15 years. Of the 11 leading industries, all but 3 declined, and those 3 were seasonal and increased but little. Some other industries declined in January as much as 19.3% (tanneries) 17.3% (lime, cement and plaster), 14.6% (tobacco), 9% (stone, clay and glass), etc. (N. Y. Times, 2. 11. 30.)

The same day this was announced secretary of Commerce Lamont, made a ridiculous statement to the effect that employment was increasing, and that the crisis was only seasonal and due to "stock-taking". A couple of weeks before Hoover and another stalwart of his, Secretary of Labour Davis, (millionaire member of the A. F. of L. steel workers union) issued a similar statement, claiming that employment was increasing in January. This was so bare-faced a lie that the N. Y. State Industrial Commissioner, Francis Perkins, exposed it at once. The Journal of Commerce characterised it as "intended for popular consumption" (2. 2. 30) and the Annalist wrote: "optimistic official statements which are unsupported, if not flatly contradicted, by the most dependable statistics." (1. 24. 30.) Director F. I. Jones of the U. S. Employment Service, who has filled the press with similar lying statements recently, had to admit before Congressional committee on Jan. 31 that of 5,000 workers he had sent for jobs to California, only 25 had been hired, and that "unemployment is general in almost every state".

Although Hoover's fake unemployment conference in December has been discredited by a number of bourgeois papers, the A. F. of L. has again been overjoyed to renounce strikes and demands for wage increases. In December and January there were over 50 cases of wage cuts and not one of raises. The Colorado Industrial Commission refused to grant building workers an increase on the basis of the stand taken by the A. F. of L. The yellow S. P. also endorsed Hoover's conference, saying that the "has a policy for dealing with the depression (!) and unemployment". The renegade Lovestone and Cannon gangs also expose themselves on this question. The Lovestone organ (Feb. 1), after William Green of the A. F. of L. admits 3,000,000 are unemployed says editorially "there are today 4-5,000,000 jobless . . . at the very height of the pink of capitalist prosperity". They still boast of their American imperialism. The equally sectarian renegades under Cannon do not have even one article or editorial on the crisis in the U. S. and they therefore refuse to recognise it.

In this situation the C. P. is rallying all its forces to organise the workers to combat the curse of unemployment and the system that breeds it. The Party and the Trade Union Unity League (T. U. U. L.) have organised the most widespread and militant series of demonstrations in their history, under the slogans: wages or work, social insurance and relief for the unemployed, against capitalism and its terrorism, unity of employed and unemployed defence of the U. S. S. R. against imperialist war, etc.

The immediate programme of concrete demands it has propagated in its press, in leaflets and pamphlets and at mass meetings and demonstrations include also the following: organisation of Councils of Unemployed, and of Committees of Action together with the employed; unemployment insurance, provided by taxes on income, inheritance and profits, providing full union wages, and administered by the unemployed; prohibition of child labour, with government maintenance for the children; abolition of underground and night work for young workers and women; no evictions and free rent for unemployed; emergency relief from city and federal funds; repeal of the vagrancy laws under which unemployed are persecuted; abolition of private unemployment agencies; old age and other social insurance; strikes against wage cuts and speed-up; unity with organised, women, youth, Negroes; build the revolutionary unions and C. P.; etc.

The C. C. has laid out a detailed 4 weeks campaign culminating in the February 26 international demonstrations. Before that date there will be held great mass conferences of delegates of employed and unemployed workers to finally prepare for the Feb. 26 demonstrations. The Party fractions

in the T. U. U. L., the mass fraternal organisations, the Unemployed Councils and the trade unions are being mobilised fully. A million leaflets and 100,000 copies of the unemployment pamphlets, as well as stickers, stencils, throwaways and hundreds of thousands of copies of the "Daily Worker" and "Labour Unity" (organ of the T. U. U. L.) are to be distributed. The Party recruiting drive, in which so far 4,500 new members have been gained, is to be extended to Mar. 1, as well as the campaign to build new shop nuclei, issue shop papers, get new subscribers for the Daily, and recruit Negro members (680 new Negro comrades have been won so far in the drive).

Some aspects of the unemployment campaign so far, which has been conducted chiefly before factory gates and employment agencies where the jobless gather, are given below:

Jan. 24 — Buffalo — 3,000 unemployed marched through the streets to the City Hall, demanding work or wages, and battling with police along the route. Preceding the march there were mass demonstrations before the Ford plant, a steel works and the municipal employment agency.

Jan. 25 — New York — 3,000 demonstrate before City Hall, amidst great police brutality, in a joint unemployment and Katovits murder protest demonstration. Jan. 28, a follow-up demonstration of 50,000, to mobilise for Feb. 26.

Jan. 31 — Chatanooga, Tennessee — the first unemployed council ever organised in the South was formed by T. U. U. L., with Negro and white workers participating in large numbers. Bridgeport, Connecticut — the T. U. U. L. formed an Unemployed Council at the mill gates of a lumber company where 1,000 workers gathered looking for work. The workers marched to City Hall and stormed the mayor's office despite the police.

Feb. 3 — Boston — 1,000 marched on the State House and City Hall and engaged in a severe battle with the police who attempted to disperse them. Governor Allen, successor to Fuller of Sacco-Vanzetti fame, stole out when a delegation made their way in to see him. Philadelphia — 1,000 clashed with the police who tried to break up their demonstration before an auto plant.

Cleveland — 5,000 demonstrated under the auspices of an Unemployed Council organised by the T. U. U. L. They marched to the City Hall and forced their way into the City Council Chamber from which they were ejected by police.

Feb. 5 — Milwaukee — The Socialist Mayor, Hoan, ordered police to attack an unemployed demonstration before City Hall, and the following day broke up a meeting of the Unemployed Council before an unemployment office.

Feb. 12 — Cleveland — Again 3,000 unemployed men and women marched to the City Hall to demand relief of the City Government, and defended themselves valiantly when attacked by the police, after breaking up the meeting of the City Welfare Committee.

Unemployment in India.

By V. Chatterjee

The crisis of unemployment that has arisen in India and has become especially acute during the last year, is a direct result of the intensification of imperialist exploitation since the War. The problem has become particularly serious among the educated and half-educated middle-class, and wide public attention has been attracted to their position by the increasing cases of suicide among the unemployed during the last few months.

Before the War, when India was mainly a source of raw materials and foodstuffs and a market for British manufactured goods, the chief object of the imperialists in their educational policy was to create a sufficient number of educated men to occupy positions as minor employees in the Government service and in the commercial companies. The whole school and University system was based on this imperialist need, and the education given was of a more or less literary character, no attention being paid to industrial, technical or agricultural subjects. But even before the War there was an over-production in men of this type, and there was not sufficient room for them in the imperialist administrative machinery. During and for a short time after the War, there was a sudden development of industries, primarily for the supply of Great Britain's war needs, and there was a temporary outlet for the products of the schools and colleges.

But the situation has changed during the last 8 years, and industrial and agricultural conditions have worsened. The already heavy pressure upon the soil is increasing owing to the influx of the unemployed and of industrial workers on strike from the towns; neither the quantity nor the methods of agricultural production have improved; industrial development has been only as rapid as was needed for British capitalist interests but has not been rapid enough to provide employment for the surplus population of the agricultural areas or for the educated middle class, and the depression in the existing industrial and trade situation has led to the dismissal of large numbers of commercial employees and to reductions in wages.

The economic and political situation is best reflected in the textile industry — the leading industry of India. The Indian textile millowners have made fortunes during the last three decades by the direct plunder of their workers, but they are now faced with a serious crisis in their industry. Their ignorance, the technical inefficiency of their factories, the disproportionately high salaries paid to their managers and agents, the absence of an efficient sales organisation and their inability to compete with Lancashire, Japan and America, in spite of the low wages paid to their workers, are forcing the millowners to seek ways and means of enhancing their profits. As these profits must naturally be squeezed out of the workers directly and the broad masses of the consumers indirectly, the millowners have been resorting to rationalisation, to attempted reduction in wages, to legislation against the trade union rights of workers, to attempted anti-Strike legislation and to the demand for increased protection against foreign competition.

The inevitable conflict between the workers and their employers has found expression during the last two years in the historic strikes of hundreds of thousands of textile workers under the leadership of the Girni Kamgar Union. In addition, thousands of employees have been thrown out of work. A further increase in unemployment is bound to result in the near future because of the fact that the U.S.A. capitalists, who suffered a very serious blow owing to the recent collapse of the New York stock market, are expected to go in for a wholesale dumping of their textile and other products.

The result is that hundreds of thousands of employees in the industrial concerns, in commercial companies, in government service, are being dismissed, while the employers are exploiting the unemployment situation to reduce still further the already miserable wages of their employees.

Unemployment is most intense among the educated middle-class in the provinces of **Madras**, **Malabar** and **Punjab**, but it has also become extremely acute in **Bengal**. The political consequences of the worsening condition of the middle-class are of considerable importance. The intelligentsia, which is either unemployed or extremely ill-paid, has become radicalised during the last few years and is taking an active part in the struggle against imperialism and for national independence. Whereas formerly they were more closely identified with the political programmes of the bourgeoisie, they are now being attracted increasingly to the organisations of workers and peasants, with whose interests they to some extent feel that their own are bound up. The rapid growth of Youth Leagues and Student Associations, the active part played by them in workers' strikes, in the trade union movement, in the Workers & Peasants Parties, in the co-operatives, in the Peasant Unions, etc., are results of this increasing radicalisation. The unemployed middle-class youths are beginning to form themselves in Unions. An appeal issued by the **B. U. Y. U.** (Bengal Unemployed Youth Union) tells them that they "should remember that they have not been born to creep and crawl, wallowing in the deep mire of penury, but to revolt against all tyrannies. It is a revolutionary age they are living in."

But the middle-class youths, notwithstanding their growing unemployment and their radicalisation, are still unclear in their aims. They are clamouring for industrial and agricultural development; they are appealing to the Indian capitalists to build more industries and pay more attention to the educated middle-class, they want technical and industrial schools established by the Government, they want the Government to establish a shipbuilding industry, to employ them in the Army and Navy, etc. etc. These appeals to the Govern-

ment, to the Indian capitalists and to the Nationalist leaders, are accompanied by the threat that "the problem, if it remains untackled for a further period of time, will compel the youths of the country to oscillate between poverty and revolution."

Another aspect of Indian unemployment is that large numbers of Indian educated and half-educated middle-class youths emigrate to Burma, Ceylon and the Malay States in search of employment, in the belief that the rubber and tea plantations, the tin-mines, etc. offer lucrative employment. But the unemployment problem in those countries is just as acute as in India, and the competition with Indians in their own countries is leading to a growing anti-Indian feeling finding expression in the slogans of "Burma for the Burmans", "Ceylon for the Ceylonese", "Malay for the Malays".

But the pressure of imperialist exploitation in all these countries will lead to a further worsening of the conditions of life not only of the workers and peasants but of the educated middle-class also, and the radicalised intelligentsia will learn in the course of the struggle that the only improvement in their lot is possible by the complete overthrow of imperialism and the establishment of a workers' and peasants' republic.

At a meeting of the Bengal Unemployed Youths Union recently held in Calcutta it was resolved to organise an "Unemployment Day" with demonstrations, public meetings, etc. throughout the country. Steps have been taken that that "Unemployment Day" shall be the sixth of March, so that the unemployed in India may demonstrate simultaneously with their comrades all over the world on the International Day set apart for that purpose.

THE WHITE TERROR

The Lives of Twenty-Five Turkish Communists in Danger!

By F.

In the spring of 1929 a trial of Turkish Communists took place in **Smyrna**. All the tortures had not succeeded in reducing to silence these heroic champions of the revolutionary movement of the working masses of Anatolia. The court, without any legal justification whatever, pronounced a shameful sentence by which about a hundred revolutionary workers were condemned to terms of imprisonment amounting in all to nearly a hundred years, for the sole "crime" of propagating Communism in Turkey.

Shortly after being sentenced, these victims were to have been sent to **Smyrna**. In defiance of all legal regulations, they were conveyed in chains like wild beasts to the dungeons of the remotest and most backward districts of **Eastern Asia Minor**. This measure means their physical annihilation.

After long enforced silence there is now heard from the dungeons of **Elasis** and **Diabekr** the cry for help of these prisoners to the outer world. Not only warders and gendarmes are taking part in the torture of prisoners, but also higher officials. The prolonged tortures have compelled the prisoners to go on hunger strike.

If the international proletariat does not at once intervene in order to snatch these victims from the hands of their tormentors, these champions of the proletarian revolution are doomed to certain death.

The conditions in the prisons of Anatolia are horrible. The prisoners are confined in damp dungeons between bare walls in the greatest dirt, often 20 and 25 prisoners being crowded together in a small cell.

The political prisoners are treated just like common criminals, and in addition are subjected to mediaeval tortures. Whilst, however, under the old regime tortures were only employed in order to extract "confessions", under the regime of **Kemal Pasha** they are employed against prisoners who have already been tried and sentenced. In **Elasis** sticks, rods and hot irons are used as instruments of torture.

In order to gain favour with the imperialist great Powers the Turkish government is increasing the persecution of revolutionary elements. A little while ago more than 20 Communists were arrested in **Adana**, **Trebizond** and **Constantinople**, and these are threatened with the same tortures.

The international proletariat must demand the immediate release of the revolutionaries deported to Elasis, Diarbekr and Silverk and raise the sharpest protest against the White Terror of the Angora, government.

An Eye-Witness on the Horrible Deeds Perpetrated in the Yugoslavian Torture Chambers.

By P. R.

The indignant protest of broad masses of the international proletariat against the abominable deeds of the bloody militarist-fascist dictatorship in Yugoslavia compelled the butchers of the Yugoslavian workers and peasants finally to attempt a reply. The hirelings and flunkies of King Alexander are endeavouring, by means of a monstrous and despicable forgery, to prove what "good" treatment political prisoners in Yugoslavia enjoy.

On the 16th November last, wholesale arrests of Croat workers and students were carried out in Zagreb. Among the thirty arrested was a worker named Maiko Hranilovitch. He was subjected to the most cruel tortures in order to induce him to make the "confession" demanded of him by the police, i. e. the existence of a "terrorist" conspiracy of the Croat nationalists.

On the 17th January the bourgeois fascist newspaper "Politika" published with sensational headlines a letter alleged to have been written by Hranilovitch which — so the police assert — he wanted to smuggle out to his mother. A few sentences from this alleged letter suffice to show that it is a forgery. Thus, Hranilovitch writes regarding his situation as follows:

"... Here in prison I have greatly improved in health, and they tell me that I have grown fat. Here I at least have rest. The examination is already over. I shall not be examined further. I no longer think of freedom; I have already forgotten about it. I can soon get used to anything. . . .

The blood-stained Yugoslavian dictatorship makes use of this really stupid forger in order to declare through the "Politika":

"This letter is a most striking refutation of the lying and tendentious assertions of the hostile foreign press, which whenever it writes regarding conditions in Yugoslavia, declares that the Prisoners in Yugoslavia are badly treated . . ."

The masses of the international proletariat are already aware of the actual situation in Yugoslavia. Thousands of arrested workers are fearfully tortured and ill-treated, hundreds are murdered, and the rest condemned to long years of imprisonment. In the course of the year 1929 alone, 65 revolutionaries were tortured to death or foully murdered.

In face of all the terrible news from the Yugoslavian prisons, the exhibition "Death and Terror in Yugoslavia" held in Berlin, the protest meetings in the whole world, the Yugoslavian dictatorship maintained silence. It is now endeavouring to exculpate itself from these charges by means of a plain and palpable forgery. But it will not succeed in this.

The declaration made by a police official in Veliki Betscherek, which was recently smuggled out of Yugoslavia, shows once again the terrible situation and the frightful treatment of the political prisoners in Yugoslavia. The declaration reads as follows:

I . . . municipal police official in Veliki Betscherek make the following declaration:

I have, on the orders of my superior, attended the examination and the torturing of persons suspected of being Communists in Veliki Betscherek.

The tortures were usually carried out from 8 o'clock in the evening until midnight and in the following form: the police premises were first surrounded by police guards in order that nobody could approach and hear the cries of agony of the tortured. On one occasion two people were caught listening and were dragged into the police prison, beaten and then let go. One of these two is known to me, his name is Djordje Latzi, the name of the other I do not know.

The examination and tortures were carried out simultaneously in several rooms. Suspected Communists, men and women without distinction, were brought into the office, bound in chains and ordered to take their shoes off. They were then commanded to sit on the floor and to lay the fettered arm over the knee; a rifle or a stick was placed under the knees, the fettered prisoner was then beaten on the soles of the feet, his stomach and breast were trod on, his hair was pulled out, his arms would be burnt with cigarettes, needles would be thrust under his finger nails and his neck and windpipe trod on — all this was continued until the prisoner made the confession demanded of him.

At these tortures Vice-Police-President Lambrin, detectives Voja Pajevitch, Mladen Kraljeff, Miroslav Mijatoff, Laza Mirkoff and Nitchifor Vuksanovitch have distinguished themselves by their brutality. Vice-Chief of police Maximovitch and the detectives Jankovitch and Koslovatckhi have been present at the tortures but not taken part in them. The police officials who have taken part in the tortures on the orders of the chiefs include myself, as well as Ljubomir Nestoroff, Jovan Zvezanoff, Ljubomir Momirski and several others. All the police officials know of this.

The following persons were tortured in my presence: Nikhasi, Peter Nemeth, Moor, Rosa Keri, Franz Palingor, Peter Semj, Jovan Trajkovitch, Jovan Bishot, Alexitsch, Servo, Gramitsch, and others whose names I no longer remember. The women were tortured just the same as the men. The women were placed in the prison cells along with the men; those, however, who were confined in the corridor of the prison were kept in fetters the whole time just the same as those in the cells. The Communist prisoners who were tortured during the examination, went back bare-footed to the cells or corridor and could not stand on their feet for days. Some had dirtied themselves with excrement as a result of the diarrhea brought on by the tortures.

The declaration which I made to the Examining judge, Mr. Pejovitch that I had never tortured anybody and that nobody had been tortured is untrue. Before I went to the examining judge I was threatened that I should be dismissed if I admitted that there had been any tortures.

That my declaration is in accordance to the facts can be testified to by Dr. Madjar, who mentioned over the telephone that one could hear the cries of agony outside in the street. All the police officials could give testimony regarding the tortures if they were not threatened with dismissal. Further witnesses are those persons who have been tortured and then released.

Date.

Signature.

The fresh, horrifying news regarding the White Terror in Yugoslavia and the cynical lies of the Yugoslavian hangmen and jailors must cause the masses of the international proletariat to conduct the fight against the militarist dictatorship in Yugoslavia with still greater determination. Thousands and millions must support the demands of the heroic fighting workers and peasants of Yugoslavia.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Towards New Struggles!

Leading Article of "Pravda".

March 1st 1930.

** The session of the Enlarged Presidium of the Comintern which has just come to an end, dealt with a number of important question relating to the policy of the working class and its advance-guard, the Communist Parties: the approaching world economic crisis, mass unemployment, and the strike struggles, the municipal policy and the preparation of the forthcoming V. Congress of the Red International of Labour Unions; in addition the Presidium received the reports of the Communist Parties of Great Britain, Italy, Germany and of the Soviet Union. The fundamental feature of the present period characterised by the economic crisis in the United States, which has already seized a number of European and colonial countries, consists in the acceleration of the pace of the revolutionary upsurge, in the further development and accentuation of the economic struggles of the working class and in their growing into political struggles. The elementary movement of the un-

employed (mass demonstrations, street manifestations, collisions with the bourgeoisie and social fascist police) is playing a tremendous role in this upsurge.

Simultaneously the crisis is accelerating the self-exposure of the social democratic parties, particularly those, which are in office (Great Britain, Germany) in the eyes of the broad working masses. Social democracy is becoming more and more fascised, is being converted into an apparatus of the immediate violent suppression of the developing proletarian movement, an immediate organ for the preparation of imperialist wars and in particular of war against the Soviet Union; its upper strata is being converted into a proper police and strike breaking band. It is very significant that during the insane anti-Soviet campaign which has developed during the last few weeks in the whole capitalist world, the social democratic papers have vied with the most dirty, yellow, kept bourgeois press.

This process of self-exposure of the social democracy is accompanied by the self-exposure of the Right and Left Communist renegades as the immediate agents of social democracy. The X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I., which declared adherence to the views of the Right opportunists as incompatible with membership of the Comintern, has confirmed the expulsion of the Right groups in Germany, Czechoslovakia and in the United States. We can now state, that in all fundamental questions of the policy of the working class the expelled Right renegades have slid down to social democracy, and that the "younger" Right renegade groups are following them in this path (the Kilbom group in Sweden, the French and the Austrian liquidators).

The Right renegades not only attempt to prove the consolidation of capitalist stabilisation, they are also furnishing the social democrats with the main arguments for their anti-Communist and anti-Soviet campaign. The most dirty calumnies which are fabricated in the kitchen of the renegades, are printed by the social democrats in the columns of their papers and are made use of by them in their struggle against Communism. In this dirty work every boundary line between the Right and the Trotskyists is obliterated.

The X. Plenum also stated that the "reconciliators" had slid down to the positions of the Right. A certain portion of the reconciliators, in particular in Germany, have by this means manoeuvred themselves out of the ranks of the Comintern. Another considerable group of the reconciliators, headed by Ewert, has seen fit to issue a very belated declaration regarding the correctness of the line of the Comintern and the abandonment of its former errors.

The Enlarged Presidium has laid down a number of concrete tasks for the Communist Parties such as the further development of the economic and political struggle, the combination and co-ordination of the movement of the unemployed with the struggle of the workers, the raising of the level of the movement on to a higher political stage (slogan of the general political strike), the consolidation of the Party organisations and the change of their working methods in order to enable the revolutionary trade unions, where such exist, and strengthening our work in the reformist trade unions, the further development of the revolutionary trade union opposition, the strengthening of our work among the unorganised masses, the continued ruthless struggle against all opportunist vacillations, both of a Left and Right tendency.

In such countries, as in Poland, where there exists a profound shattering of capitalist stabilisation and the maturing of a political crisis, the Communist Party must be politically and organisationally prepared to lead the growing movements of the workers, peasants and national minorities against the fascist dictatorship. In a number of colonial countries, such as India and Indonesia, it is imperative in this period of revolutionary upsurge to form Communist Parties.

The Presidium devoted special attention to the municipal work of the Communist Parties. The Communist fractions in the municipalities could play a great role in exposing the policy of the bourgeoisie and of social fascism. Up to now this has not been the case. It has on the contrary frequently happened that these fractions have become the breeding places of opportunism in practice, of collaboration with the social democratic leaders, in some cases even of corruption and renegadism. The case of the six Paris town councillors is still fresh in our memory. In Germany, the Brandlerists did not find the least

support among the working masses, but they have a considerable number of individual supporters among the trade union officials and the town councillors. The Presidium adopted a resolution declaring it necessary to make a decisive break with this opportunist practice and clearly outlining the paths of a real revolutionary municipal policy of the Party.

The Presidium further pointed to the mistakes and shortcomings in the work of the Communist Party of Great Britain, which have hitherto prevented the Party from becoming a leading factor of the growing revolutionary movement of the masses. The situation of the Communist Party of Italy has greatly improved in spite of the savage fascist terror under which it has to work. Our Party in Italy is the only force opposing the fascist regime and in fact heading the revolutionary movement of the masses. At present this movement is growing as a result of the appalling economic position of the masses both in the towns and in the country. The Communist Party of Italy must be perfectly clear, that the fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie cannot be replaced by a sort of democracy but only by the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Communist Party of Germany has rightly acquired a place of honour in the phalanx of the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries. It has hitherto most successfully applied the Bolshevik methods in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and in capturing the masses.

The Bolsheviks began to capture the workers in St. Petersburg. The Communist Party of Germany is now becoming the hegemon in the working class quarters of Berlin; as the last sessions of the trade union opposition have proved, it has achieved considerable successes in trade union work. It has been able to deliver a number of hard blows to the social fascists of Germany who are a leading force of the II. International. It is fighting within the Comintern in the front ranks for the Leninist line. But the Communist Party of Germany must also improve a good deal in order to be able to give victorious battle to the bourgeoisie and social democracy.

At the present moment of the most bitter anti-Soviet incitement in the whole capitalist world, of an obvious threat of a new imperialist intervention against the first proletarian State of the world, it was of particular significance that the agenda of the Presidium contained a report of the C. P. S. U. on socialist construction in the Soviet Union. The great achievements of this construction in the last few months and weeks stand out in glaring contrast to the growing crisis of capitalism. It is precisely because the bourgeoisie and the social democracy have realised the great importance of the Five-Year Plan and the collectivisation for the international revolutionary movement, that they are raging so furiously against the Soviet Union. But for this same reason it is necessary that the international proletariat, the toiling peasantry and the suppressed colonial peoples should be better enlightened as to our splendid achievements on the front of socialist construction. It is for the same reason necessary to make the defence of the Soviet Union one of the most important parts of the struggle against the war danger.

The growing crisis accelerates the revolutionary upsurge and confronts all the Communist Parties with great and complicated tasks. The international proletariat is approaching new and decisive struggles. To learn to lead the masses in these struggles means to learn to be victorious.

The Congress of the C. P. of Holland.

By A. de Vries (Amsterdam).

** From the 15th to the 17th of February there was held in Amsterdam the Congress of the Communist Party of Holland, which means the beginning of a decided turn in the history of the Party.

In the last few months the opportunist resistance within the Party leadership to the policy of the Comintern assumed more and more tangible form. It must be noted that the whole Party leadership only slowly appropriated the tactics of the VI. World Congress and of the X. Plenum of the E.C.C.I., in addition there were to be seen, after the Party Conference in November, clear signs of a fractional struggle against the carrying out of the Comintern line. At this Conference the criticism of the lower Party organisations found expression for the first time, as well as the self-criticism of the minority of the Party leadership.

The Congress delivered an annihilating blow to the Right deviation in the leadership. Not a single voice was to be heard in defence of the line and the organisational practice of the Riel-Bergsma-Seegers group. These comrades and a few others continued their old tactics at the Congress; while not openly attacking the decisions of the Comintern and of the C. P. of Holland, they endeavoured to prove, as did Comrade **Wijngaarden**, that the new tactic is at present impracticable "for Holland" as long as the Party has not won the confidence of the broad working masses and continues its personal, unprincipled campaign against those comrades who defended the line of the C. I. Only Comrade **Goulooze**, the representative of the youth in the Party Executive, who was largely responsible for the Young Communist League omitting to take up an attitude during the Party discussion, completely abandoned his "conciliatory" errors. When, however, the Congress decided by an overwhelming majority against the Rights and warned them not to continue their unprincipled fraction struggle, Comrades Seegers, Bergsma and Riel declared that they would submit to the decisions and loyally support the new leadership.

They will have to prove by deeds the sincerity of their declarations.

The Congress elected a new leadership consisting of nine members of the former Central and 21 new comrades from all parts of the country. The politically united leadership consists up to two thirds of factory workers.

The Congress clearly indicated that the general situation is favourable for the Party to carry out a determined step in the direction of becoming a mass party. The crisis is shaking Dutch capitalism. Rationalisation, which has been carried out for years in Dutch industry, is beginning to show its fatal consequences for the working class:

The improved business situation observable in the last few years is being followed by a slump. The American Stock Exchange crash had a great repercussion on the Amsterdam stock market. Unemployment in the factories and docks is increasing rapidly. The crisis is felt especially in agriculture. In large districts, in particular in Friesland, the position of the numerous small peasants and tenant farmers is becoming more and more hopeless. Already last year there was a revival of the labour struggles: the strikes of the Groningen agricultural workers and of the Zaandam dock workers were conducted with great tenacity. The Dutch bourgeoisie, however, is most severely hit by the revolutionary movement in Indonesia, which in spite of the most ruthless terror is not being crushed, as crisis, drought and famine have created a desperate situation for the broad masses. As a result not only the super profits of the Dutch bourgeoisie, but even the very foundation of their power and wealth, their colonial possessions are threatened by the approaching wave of colonial revolutions.

In addition, the war danger is steadily increasing. The conflict with Belgium on account of Antwerp's connection with the sea and with the Rhine has become continually more acute during the last few years, and the hysterical crusade of the parsons of various denominations against the "persecution of religion" in the Soviet Union is also being used in clerical Holland in order to incite the petty bourgeoisie and to prepare it for a war against the Soviet Union.

The old leadership was unable to adopt the correct tactic in this situation. It was filled with pessimism regarding the possibility of gaining the leadership of the proletariat for the Communist Party. The Party did not intervene at all in the economic conflicts. The lively criticism of the rank and file and the initiative which they developed in many cases, showed that the Party was already a step ahead of the leading group of the old Central Committee.

The Congress laid down the next tasks of the Party: carrying out of the action of March 6th among the unemployed and factory workers; orientation of the Party towards work in the economic struggles; establishment of committees of action and of a revolutionary opposition in the trade unions; struggle against imperialist war danger and the setting up of a revolutionary united front between the Dutch working masses and the insurgent masses of Indonesia. Comrade **L. de Visser** made a long speech in Parliament in which he accused the bourgeoisie of bloodily suppressing the Indonesian masses, and at the same time settled accounts with the "left" reformist renegade **Winkoop** group, which, while calling itself communist, nevertheless prevented—to the advantage of the bourgeoisie—Comrade **Darsano**, as representative of the Indonesian prole-

tariat, from raising his voice on behalf of the suppressed masses in the Dutch Parliament. It is now necessary to increase the agitation against exploitation in the colonies and to convert the League Against Imperialism into a mass organisation of the working class.

The Communist Party of Holland, by proceeding to work without pessimism and defeatism, and unhesitatingly carrying out the line of the Communist International, will win the confidence of the broad working masses and beat reformism within the Dutch working class.

The Success of the Party Recruiting Drive in the U. S. A.

By J. Williamson.

"One year ago the Comintern stated in its Open Letter to the American Party:

"Its past still weights upon its present. The relics of the previous period of its existence form the greatest obstacle in the path it has to travel before it successfully passes the turning point and develops in the shortest possible time from a numerically small propagandist organisation into a mass political party of the American working class."

In the same document, the Comintern pointed out how "successfully to pass the turning point":

"The Party can become a mass proletarian Party only on condition that it widens its base by creating its main strongholds in the ranks of the American workers, especially in the most important branches of industry, and also among the Negro workers, while at the same time retaining its positions among the revolutionary immigrant workers."

Since receiving the Open Letter of the Comintern, our Party has travelled far and experienced much. Having rid itself of the petty bourgeois Lovestone renegades, who join the Trotskyist-Cannon in barking at the Party, the Party as a united whole has proceeded to carry out the four conditions laid down by the Comintern as "essential in order that the Party may definitely enter the path leading to its transformation into a mass Communist Party", something which neither of the former factions in the Party understood.

The first of these conditions called for, "A correct perspective in the analyses of the general crisis of capitalism and American imperialism which is a part of it", which the Party has today and did not have at the time of the receipt of the Open Letter. The second of these conditions, demanded, "Liquidation of factionalism and drawing workers into the leadership", the first half of which has been successfully carried through and the latter half still to be taken up boldly and completed. The third demand, "To place in the centre of the work of the Party the daily needs of the American working class...", has as yet been achieved only partially and in a feeble way while the fourth condition,

"Freeing the Party from its immigrant narrowness and seclusion and making the American workers its wide basis, paying due attention to work among the Negroes",

has been seriously tackled in some districts with definite results although by no means completed as a whole—in the present Recruiting Drive.

Writing this prior to the conclusion of the Drive, with still one more week left, we can state with assurance that the quota of 5000 new members will be surpassed by Feb. 28th.

Already (Feb. 16th) we have 4797 new members in the 9th. week of the Drive and 59 new shop nuclei. Of these 752 are Negro workers. The very incomplete reports from a few districts show the orientation is towards the industrial workers. A partial analysis in seven districts (Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Cleveland, Chicago and Minnesota) covering 2209 of the new recruits show 1997 or 90 per cent as industrial workers and of these 194 or 10 per cent are miners. In New York City, we see a gratifying result in that to date they have recruited 74 marine workers and 20 auto workers amongst their new recruits.

The Party in many districts is a new Party. Many nuclei have a majority of new members. The new members bring

with them militancy and fighting determination of the working class; but also a lack of positive understanding of Communist theory and practice as well as many of the prejudices instilled artificially by the bourgeoisie over years of training. While developing and training these new members we must overcome these shortcomings, particularly guarding against expressions of white chauvinism.

The central task and campaign of the Party today, is the absorption and activating of these new members. This necessitates complete changes in our methods of work in the districts, sections and nuclei.

The Comintern in its cable of Feb. 9th., places the problem as follows:

"Rapid influx of new members raises before Party the task of their organisation in factory and street nuclei whose activity must be raised, thus drawing them into daily practical Party work and organising for them short Party courses and bringing the most capable into Party schools. Without such work directed towards meeting the requirements of the new members and keeping them in the Party, a considerable part will inevitably withdraw. The Recruiting campaign would thus not only prove valueless but would also compromise Party in eyes of working mass."

To accomplish this task is the real test of the leadership of every Party organisation, from the nuclei to the Central Committee

The carrying through of the Campaign to Keep the New Members, can only be conducted on the basis of active participation in all the Party campaigns such as Unemployment Day, Defence of Soviet Union, Against Criminal Syndicalist Laws, Against Imperialist Wars, Building the T. U. U. L. etc.

Our two tasks in the campaign to Keep the New Members, are:

1. The establishment immediately of discussion meetings or classes at which all new members must participate, in every city. The reports of the already established classes for the new members show that only a percentage of the new members are attending. This must be remedied at once.

2. The sharp changing and improvement of the organisational and political life of our shop and street nuclei. This means that every unit must discuss in full the political campaigns and issues before the Party and how to carry these through in the everyday activity of the nucleus. Every nucleus must outline for itself, under the leadership of the District and Section leadership, concrete activity to carry through in the factories, the political and organisational tasks of the Party. Linked up with this is the improvement of the functioning of the nucleus, which must meet regularly, on time and with the nucleus executive giving leadership at all times. In activating the nucleus, every member and particularly the new recruits must be involved in activity. The Districts and Section Committee must eliminate 'circular' leadership as far as possible and give detailed personal attention to every lower organisation.

The results of the Recruiting Drive must be utilised by the Party in strengthening the revolutionary unions under its influence. Not only must every new Party member become an active member of the trade unions, but through these new recruits tens of thousands of workers must be organised into the unions under the leadership of the T. U. U. L. A part of the organisational activity of the Party must be the organisation of its forces in Party fractions in the trade unions—a decisive weakness at the present time—in order to maintain and extend Communist influence and leadership.

To keep every new member in the Party needs the complete mobilisation of the membership and functionaries. The entire work of the Party must be planned and knitted together, with the task of keeping the new members. The campaign to keep the new members must be conducted with the same determination and success—introducing revolutionary competition in all Party organisations—as the Recruiting Drive itself.

To Our Readers.

Next week's number of the *International Press Correspondence* will contain an important article by Comrade Stalin on Collectivisation in the Soviet Union.

ECONOMICS

The Economic Crisis in the U. S. A.

By Alex G. Richman (New York).

American imperialism at the beginning of 1930 finds itself sinking deeper into inextricable contradictions in its efforts to avert the intensifying economic crisis resulting from the increasing disparity between the growth of productive forces and shrinking markets. In cutting wages, increasing unemployment and part time, and further rationalising production, it on the one hand decreases the purchasing power of the country and hastens the radicalisation of the workers, driven to organise by the bitter attacks on their conditions. On the other hand, to the extent it cheapens production for export, it intensifies the international struggle for markets and increases the danger of war.

The actual situation, since the crisis began in earnest in midsummer, may be seen from the following table of business activity compiled by the *Annalist* (1. 17. 30):

	Dec.	Nov.	Oct.	Sept.	Aug.
Combined Index (ten items)	89.5	94.2	103.5	105.8	106.8
Freight Loadings	92.3	92.1	98.0	101.7	101.8
Cotton Consumption	85.8	93.8	108.7	103.6	100.4
Pig Iron	91.7	103.7	112.9	119.7	126.3
Steel Ingots	78.4	89.1	104.5	117.1	120.2
Bituminous Coal	97.3	91.7	93.5	96.0	92.0
Electric Power Consumption	94.7	98.8	103.0	102.0	104.7
Automobiles	51.5	81.8	115.5	128.7	136.8

The *Annalist* combined index for November and December was the lowest for any November and December since 1921, and the lowest for any month since August 1924. To take a few industries: December auto activity was at a point lower than any since this index has been compiled (1919), and steel, electric power, and zinc production and cotton consumption by mills were lower than at any time since the crisis of 1921. November was characterised by the editor of the "Annalist" as showing the "largest decline in business activity in any one month in the last 46 years" except for the crises of 1893 and 1907 (12. 20. 29).

We shall take various industries and phases of business activity in detail, and see just what the trend has been, and what the present situation is.

The steel industry, like other extremely highly trustsified industries in the United States, last year, saw the greatest volume of production in its history (54,165,100 tons of steel ingots). This record, however, was due to the activity of the first five months in the year. After the peak production in May (99½% of capacity), the decline set in, which cut production to about 55% of capacity by December. November saw a decrease of 19½%, which is characterised by The Iron Age as "the most rapid decline on record" (12-19-29), and December saw a similar drop.

The question of the capacity of the country's steel mills is now 64,000,000 tons, and in 1930, 50 new furnaces are scheduled to be built which will increase capacity by over 5,000,000 tons. Production for 1930 is generally estimated to be about 45,000,000 tons, or about 65% of capacity. This will be a drop of over 15% from 1929. For the last week of Dec. and the first in January, production was at 38½% of capacity. During the 2nd week in January, production was 65% of capacity, as against 82½%, a year ago.

The construction industry is a basic indicator of the economic situation and, like autos, is one of the largest users of various kinds of materials. Last year, despite the fact that most other industries were breaking records, the value of building contracts awarded decreased 13%. For residential construction, the decline was 31% under 1928. In November the value of permits decreased 12% and in December another 26% (to a point 43% under that of Dec. 1928 and the lowest

point for any month in $5\frac{1}{2}$ years.). Commercial and residential contracts in December dropped to the lowest point in seven years. Public works and utility construction contracts were the lowest in five years. Industrial construction, which declined most in November, after a steady drop since August, showed some temporary increase in December.

Metal-working and Machinery. A decline began in this industry in May, which turned into a sharp drop in November, when production declined 13.3% under October. This industry has suffered great overproduction of plant capacity for a number of years, even though its activity last year was rated as good. In 1925 nearly half its equipment was over ten years old, though machine tools are usually considered obsolete after five years. Now modernisation and rationalisation will set in, increasing capacity even more.

Shipbuilding is generally considered one of the few bright spots in the darkness of the present crisis, due to large Government subsidies, and private building of war vessels. However, in November there was a decrease in building, and on Dec. 1st there were building or contracted for 226 vessels totaling 383,000 tons as against 243 ships of 401,000 tons the month before. At Hoover's economic conference, the president of the Newport News Shipbuilding & Drydock Co. stated that the country's shipyards were working at less than $\frac{1}{2}$ capacity.

The cotton industry has been in a slump for a long time time, and is now suffering from overproduction not only in the US., but on a world scale. In December consumption of US. mills totaled 453,892 bales the lowest point since July 1928, and a decrease of $16\frac{1}{2}\%$ from November 1929, of 29% from October and of 34% from January, the high month of last year. The ratio of cotton cloth sales to production at the end of the years was the lowest in two years, and of shipments to production the lowest in four years ("Annalist", 12. 20. 29, "Times", 1. 5. 20). The manufacture of cotton cloth in December was 244,000 yards — a decline of 30% from November 1929. The wooden industry was operating at only 50% of capacity in December.

Electric power showed a production of nearly 100,000 million kilowatt-hours last year — an increase of about $11\frac{1}{2}$ over 1928. November the last month for which statistics were available, decreased more than 5% under October, reflecting the general decline in industry. Ever since April the monthly increase over the corresponding month of 1928 has grown smaller, dropping from an increase of 15% in April 1929 over 1928 to 6% in November ("Wall St. News", 1. 11. 30; "Journal of Commerce", 1. 3. 30). Preliminary figures for December for industrial consumption of electric power indicate that there was the same degree of decline as in November, about 7—8% below the previous month and 11% below Dec. 1928. ("Business Week", 1. 15. 30).

The chronic crisis in agriculture continues, with millions of the farm population leaving the land, and the rest being impoverished and driven into tenancy and further indebtedness. The press has made much of the "prosperity" of the farmer. Secretary of Agriculture Hyde admits that the farmer's net income has not increased proportionately to his cash income (the press makes much of the alleged increase of \$ 79,000,000 in the farmers cash income last year) because "farm operating costs, taxes and interest on debts advanced somewhat". ("Post", 1. 2. 30). The income available for living, including the value of farm products consumed at home, increased by the magnificent sum of \$ 16,000,000 — or about 55 cents per person on the farm.

All these figures are for the year ending June 30, 1929, and not for the entire year 1929, and therefore do not take into consideration the decline in the prices of farm products since July 1, which was greater than that for other commodities. The Annalist estimates that farm income decreased 5% during the year. (1. 17. 30).

At the beginning of Jan. 1930 prices of farm products were 137.2, or nearly 10 points lower than a year before. The total farm mortgage debt also increased considerably.

Also in a number of other branches of industry of USA. before all in the very important automobile industry, a great crisis has set in, which opens up bad prospects for 1930.

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

Socialist Transformation of Agriculture in the Soviet Union.

By I. Rjabov.

"The collective farm movement has turned from a movement of groups and settlements of toiling peasants into a movement of millions and millions of the basic mass of peasants."

J. Stalin.

Great material hardships existed in Riazan for centuries. Prior to the revolution the peasants possessed only about half of the land. Forty-two percent of the soil was the property of a handful of landlords. Matter were still worse with regard to forests. The peasants owned 226,000 hectares, although they comprised hundreds of thousands, whereas a few scores of landlords and merchants owned 495,000 hectares.

The kulak and the landlord looked after the peasant's belly. At the same time the priests and Zemstvo's looked after his head. The result was that the province was sunk in darkness and ignorance. Up to 60% of the population were illiterate. There were entire villages in which not one could be found able to read and write.

The chief implement used by 50% of the peasants of Riazan was the wooden plough and harrow. The yield in most cases did not exceed half a ton per hectare. About 40% of the peasants possessed no horses at all. Their farmsteads were totally dependent upon the kulak robbers.

Much was changed by the October Revolution. The Riazan village has been transformed. This transformation will be completed by the socialist reorganisation of agriculture, which is making rapid headway now in the district.

That is the story told by Laptlev, an agronomist, about the birth of the first collective farm in the Zaharov district.

"How many farmsteads are already collectivised in the Riazan region?"

"It is hard to tell! On the tenth of January 16% had been organised. On the 25th about 30—35% had joined the collective farms. The process of collectivisation is so swift that there can be no doubt that 75% of the farms will be organised for the spring sowing."

The primitive form of collectivisation, associations for the joint tilling of the soil, is already being discarded. Preference is given to a higher form of collective farming, the artel, the commune.

The boundary lines between villages are disappearing. Collective farms unite and form powerful combines. There are several such combines in the district. The soil, cattle, implements in the possession of these collective farms can be counted in the thousands. Entire district communes are being formed around the old meritorious communes.

Even now, in the winter, there is intensive building of barns, wells, dining rooms, etc. going on. For the spring the collective farms of the region are going to spend 68 million roubles on new buildings. The district is rich in rock which will be used for that purpose. The collective farms supply the means. Riazan and Moscow also supply a little in the form of State credit.

Pushed to the wall, the kulak hides between the back of the hesitant peasant. He pushes to the forefront his agents and the ignorant women. He gives them instructions and tells them what to do. He uses every possible occasion. Take for instance Krupskaya's arrival to Riazan to attend an educational conference. After the conference women approached a school teacher, asking:

Is it true that Krupskaya said at the conference: "have patience for a year, do not join the collective farms. Hold out only one year! And then you will see everything will be as it was!"

Realising that their game is lost, that the idea of collective farming is stronger than the "Anti-Christ" bunk and rituals, the kulaks try different methods

In many villages the kulaks are the first ones to vote for collective farms. They raise their hands higher than anybody else wishing to show that they really stand for collective farming!

In the Starotikov district 44 peasants deprived of citizenship sent in applications with a request to be taken in the collective farm, and even offering all their property. There are kulaks who offer to the collective farms property to the value of 25,000 roubles.

But all in vain! The kulaks are not admitted. Those who have managed in one way or another to get into the collective farms are now being combed out.

Shepherd delegates to the district Soviet declared at a Soviet session that with their whips they will drive the kulak, the priest and the bureaucrat who sabotage and interfere with the building of socialism out of their villages.

The Apushkin Commune has to its credit a ten years status and considerable achievements. It set the example to the surrounding population. A district of complete collectivisation is springing up around the Commune.

Other younger sisters of the Apushkin Commune have also many achievements to their credit. Even a small association makes itself felt, and not only in the economic and labour domain. The collective farms are developing considerable cultural activity.

Let us take, for instance, the collective farm "Krestyanka" in this district. It consists of 18 individual farms which have raised among themselves the means for the establishment of a school and a class to teach adults reading and writing. They are paying a school master and are giving him board and lodging. They are asking now the urban Soviet to send them an educated and capable superintendent for a creche, they say that they can bear the expense of a creche.

Let us now take Novo-Yegordayeva, a very big village: 2% of professional beggars, about 60% poor peasants, 25% of peasant farms with stoves without a chimney, families living in dug-outs, — this, is what the main population of Yegordayeva looked like in the not very distant past.

Eighteen months ago Yegordayeva became a collective farm. The village has now a tractor detachment. Collective farming and tractorisation are leading Yegordayeva out of the state of destitution. Here are some data from the report of the collective farm:

"Formerly, Yegordayeva collected in the autumn various produce to the amount of 70,000 roubles. In the course of the last financial year, it made 700,000 roubles out of its produce, ten times more!"

Already in the first collectivisation year the harvest per hectare in Yegordayeva yielded: about 9 cwts. oats, 9 cwts. buckwheat, 125 cwts. potatoes. The adjoining individual peasant farms yielded per hectare 5.4 and 33 cwts. respectively.

The village has already a school, a reading room, an agrarian bureau, a newspaper, a library and a wireless installation. The destitute, backward, illiterate Yegordayeva will be soon a thing of the past.

Collective farms are demanding sensible leaders with initiative. Organisers, agronomists, accountants, political educationists and people capable of handling complicated machinery are very much needed.

According to a rough estimate, the district will require this year about 20,000 workers for collective farms. This has induced the district to take very decisive measures. In the agricultural college, for instance, many students will graduate before the fixed date. In January, a technical college of socialist agriculture was opened in Shatzk, the first of this kind in the USSR, which will train expert collective-farm-workers. Finally, about 10,000 people are being now trained and re-educated at various district courses: for collective-farm leaders, cattle breeders, seed-growers, women's organisers, librarians, etc.

All the forces are being mobilised. A big army, equipped with knowledge and experience will come out this spring into the collective farm fields. But even this is not enough.

Considerable help will be given to the collective farms by the group of workers which has come to the district out of the 25,000 who have recently responded to the call of the C. C. C. P. S. U. (b) to go to the collective farms for a considerable period.

WORKERS INTERNATIONAL RELIEF

The Workers International Relief Marching Forward.

By Willi Münzenberg (Berlin).

The last few years have fully confirmed the predictions contained in the resolutions passed by the International Congress of the Workers International Relief in 1927, with regard to the approaching general economic crisis and the frequent and great economic struggles resulting therefrom.

At no time before the war — and even after the war only in the years 1919 to 1924 — were there so many economic struggles, strikes, lockouts etc. as in the year 1919 and the beginning of 1930.

The economic struggles are marked by a revolutionary fervour which was not observable in the economic struggles towards the end of last century. The struggles and strikes embrace much bigger masses, sometimes hundreds of thousands of participants, last much longer, often break out against the will of the trade union bureaucracy and bear a political and revolutionary character.

These facts have led to the workers International Relief acquiring a much greater importance than it had in former years. Whilst some years ago only a small circle of W. I. R. functionaries alone and isolated, had to conduct its propaganda in order to interest in its work the smallest number of workers, today leading trade union groups and workers from the factories spontaneously approach the W. I. R. with proposals to extend its activity.

Never since the existence of the W. I. R. has its propaganda found such a response in all countries, in numerous organisations and among the broad masses than in the last year.

The German section of the W. I. R. is marching at the head by its recruitment of about 10,000 individual members and a great number of collective affiliations in December and January of this year. If the organisation proves capable of extending the recruitment until April and of training a great portion of the new members as active functionaries, by Summer the organisation will enrol 25,000 new members. For the first time in Germany the attempt was made to form W. I. R. factory groups, and this attempt has been successful. In Germany the W. I. R. possesses now over 100 factory groups which are commencing effective work in the factories. The W. R. I. in Germany issues a monthly organ "Mahnuruf" (The Call) with a circulation of 70,000 to 80,000, and a dozen factory papers, nuclei papers. It possesses several Agitprop groups, lantern views and film departments, and has become an important factor in the revolutionary labour movement.

The W. I. R. in Czechoslovakia can also record good results. 40 big recruiting meetings with Comrades Smeral and Kisch as speakers were overcrowded and resulted in 1000 new individual members. There is a remarkably big enrolment of collective members; before all trade union groups, labour organisations of a social and cultural character.

In Austria a number of new local branches have been founded. In Linz and in Steyr alone 204 workers joined the W. I. R. The Austrian section has now decided to establish feeding centres for the unemployed marching to Vienna.

In Rumania and Yugoslavia, the W. I. R. has greatly increased in strength. In Holland a reorganisation is being carried out and a great propaganda week is being prepared.

In Great Britain the W. I. R. declined in the period from 1927 to 1928, but in 1929 experienced a new upsurge which still exists at the present time. For the first time the basis has been laid for a firm organisation (formerly only loose committees existed): practical relief organisations are being established and a monthly is being issued.

In the United States of America the W. I. R. developed rapidly, particularly in the last six months. In nine districts, district secretariats were established; in New York the central secretariat has been considerably enlarged. District Conferences will take place in New York on the 20th of February, in Chicago on the 28th of February and in Philadelphia on the 2nd of March. The American W. I. R. has, apart from the big

relief actions in the great textile and miners struggles in North Carolina and Pennsylvania, initiated a large-scale campaign for the purchase of tractors for the socialist construction in the Soviet Union.

The W. I. R. is now conducting a broad international campaign against the bourgeois-social democratic campaign of incitement against the Soviet Union. The W. I. R. held hundreds of meetings against the demagogic propaganda concerning the kulaks emigrated from the Soviet Union. A W. I. R. delegation, on the invitation of the Soviet Russian trade unions, has visited the East and South of the Soviet Union and is now undertaking an international lecture tour on its impressions of Soviet Russia.

On the 12th anniversary of the Soviet Union the W. I. R. took over an estate near Moscow with the obligation to equip it during the year 1930 with the most modern machines and tractors and to render it a model estate. The collection for the technical equipment is in full swing and in the first days of March the first tractors will be transported to Moscow.

If the present rate of advance of the W. I. R. is continued, then the International Congress of the W. I. R. which will be convened for the Summer of 1931 will become a real review of the "supply columns of the fighting proletariat", as the W. I. R. is rightly designated by friend and foe and which today already has a membership of over 18 million working men and women in nearly all the countries of the world.

IN THE R. I. L. U.

Lessons and Perspectives of the Economic Struggles.

We publish below the most important parts of the Resolution adopted at the VI Session of the R. I. L. U. Central Council on the Reports by Comrades Lozovsky and Merker.

Political Nature of the Economic Struggles and the Mass Political Strike.

The experience of recent strikes confirms the deeply political nature of the present economic disputes. This is frequently forgotten by the RILU supporters and for this reason throughout their whole course strikes take place under the same slogans as if no change had occurred during the whole period of struggle. Under the present conditions of intense struggle, there can be no talk of "purely economic" strikes, precisely for this reason the adherents of the R. I. L. U. must be extremely vigilant and not allow the moment to slip by for developing the strike to a higher level.

The combining of economic and political strikes brings up the problem of the **mass political strike** whose dimensions and nature must be determined in each given case. The mass political strike may involve an entire district, a whole industry or a whole country (general strikes) . . . the main thing in such a strike is its general class demands. Experience has shown that the RILU adherents are unable to extend strikes (the Berlin plumbers' strike), to mobilise all sympathisers around any politically important strike, and that they often isolate a mass political strike from its economic demands. It must be plainly stated that this is the weakest point in the work of the RILU adherents. Now it must be clearly realised that as the struggle grows sharper, mass political strikes will come to play a more and more important role.

Fascisation of the Reformist TU Machinery.

The reformist TU bureaucracy have passed from covert sabotage of strikes to the open recruiting of blacklegs and the direct organisation of police-reformist raids on strikers and their strike committees. To-day every strike is opposed by the open blackleg machinery of the reformist unions. We find a rapid fascisation of the reformist TU apparatus taking place, this machinery becoming the initiator of the attacks launched by the bourgeois State on the working class. In some cases, when the will to fight and the militant sentiment of the working masses reaches a point where the social-fascists are unable to nip a strike in the bud, i. e., before it actually breaks out, they then take the lead in the strike in order to smash it later. Sometimes the social-fascists declare demonstrative

strikes, for the purpose of breaking the fighting mood of the workers. In both cases the revolutionary TU movement must expose to the full these manoeuvres of the social fascists and transform such demonstrative strikes into a mass struggle for concrete demands, into a struggle for winning over the workers still under the influence of the social-fascists. Here our most important task is to intensify the struggle for the trade union masses and to pit them against this blacklegging trade union machine, to sharpen the struggle against the scab functionaries of social-fascism.

Independent Revolutionary Leadership of Economic Struggles.

The general class nature of each strike, the necessity of fighting against the united front of the State, the employers and the social-fascist TU apparatus, confronts the RILU supporters with the problem of careful and serious preparation of every strike and of every action undertaken by the workers. Beginning from the Fourth RILU Congress, experience has shown that this aspect of our work has suffered the most. In spite of the decisions of the Fourth RILU Congress and of the Strassburg Conference, old mistakes are being repeated. In many countries the RILU supporters have not only failed to prepare strikes, but have themselves frequently been caught unawares by various disputes. This is the worst sign of the Right deviation in actual practice.

The course of many strikes has further shown to what extent our own contingents are still unacquainted with the elementary rules of strike tactics. There have been cases when RILU supporters have refused to set up elected strike committees, have appointed strike committees from above, transforming them into subordinated technical organs of the trade unions; the unorganised workers, the women and young workers, were not represented in these committees . . . our adherents there failing to realise that such action only undermines our contact with the various strike organs, thus reducing the chances of victory. It has been further shown by experience that our comrades are incapable of mobilising new reserves, of extending a given strike and making each such strike the common cause of all the revolutionary workers. Finally the sound leadership of economic struggles presupposes the skilful application of the tactic of the united front from below and the mobilisation of all the workers in each enterprise in the struggle for the demands put up.

The Central Council urges all RILU Sections to adopt for guidance on this question the Decisions of the Strassburg Conference on strike tactics.

Economic Struggles and Growing Unemployment.

The tremendous growth of mass unemployment as the result of the new economic crisis, and the huge increase in the reserve of cheap labour, confronts the revolutionary TU movement with the necessity of making a drastic change in the tempo, methods, and forms of activities among the unemployed. Sound leadership of economic struggles also involves the question of getting the unemployed to participate in these struggles and in the fight against blacklegging. The supporters of the RILU must get down to work of organising the unemployed, linking them up with the men on the jobs, and utilising the period of preparations of economic struggles for laying the basis of solidarity of action. The unemployed must be drawn into the Strike Committees and into all commissions formed by the latter.

On the other hand, the struggle for unemployment relief must become the business of all workers on the job. That is why the adherents of the RILU should concentrate their attention on organising joint action of the men on the job and the unemployed in defence of the unemployed workers' demands. We must energetically combat the transfer of the unemployed to the Colonies and Dominions, the object of such settlement and mass migration schemes is to get rid of the restless elements and to provide the bourgeoisie of the subject country with cheap labour and foremen and overseers for the exploitation of the native proletariat. The whole proletariat must be roused to fight for the 7-hour day and for the maintenance of the unemployed at the expense of the employers and the State. Thus the most important tasks of the RILU adherents in connection with the rapid growth of mass unemployment and the sharpening of the class struggle, are: — to rally the unemployed on the basis of a class programme; the welding of the unemployed with the men on the job; the constant defence of

the interests of the unemployed, and the winning of the unemployed for active participation in economic and political struggles.

Against the Right Capitulators.

The sharpening of the class struggle, the independent leadership of the economic struggles, and the consequent necessity of further sharpening the struggle against the social-fascist TU bureaucracy have called forth wavering in certain Sections of the RILU. A particular brand of opportunism is revealed in the tendency which under the pretext that at the present time all partial struggles are doomed to failure, and that everything... according to them... must be postponed until the final decisive struggle.

All these currents of various origins, of different dimensions and importance, have one thing in common: — they are opposed to the revolutionary tactics of the RILU, to the sharpening of the struggle against social fascism and to the independent leadership of economic struggles, at the same time they are for unity with the social-fascist oligarchy at the head of the trade unions. The Central Council warns everyone that affiliation to the RILU imposes the obligation to carry out the decisions of its Congresses and that any opposition to the independent leadership of economic struggles, or the repudiation of the struggle against social-fascism, any attempt to split the revolutionary trade unions or to liquidate them out of fear of persecution, or to build up new "independent" trade unions as against the existing revolutionary trade unions, will find the initiators and leaders of any such policy outside the ranks of the Red International of Labour Unions.

Strikes in Countries with Illegal TU Movement.

In a number of countries (Italy, Yugoslavia, China and elsewhere), the revolutionary trade unions have been forced underground by the blows dealt them by the white terror. The growing wave of economic disputes creates conditions favourable for the emergence of the revolutionary trade unions from illegality. Our task is to get out from illegality at all costs, without, however, yielding an iota from our political positions. To achieve this end it is necessary to be able to combine all forms of illegal, semi-legal and legal activities, by organising the workers on any pretext and under any name. The weak point in the work of the RILU adherents in China, in Italy and Yugoslavia has been that they have not been able adequately and skilfully to develop the work of the illegal trade unions, that they have not given due attention to the key industries and industrial centres, that they have not consolidated organisationally the influence wielded by the illegal trade unions among the masses, have not fought energetically enough for the open existence of their unions and have not displayed sufficient elasticity to create TU organisations under any convenient cloak. For countries with an illegal TU movement the leadership of the mass movement from underground is a matter of outstanding importance. The development of the economic struggle in countries of this type must compel us to give particular attention to the strike movement which can serve as the starting point for the creation of strike committees at the point of production and for the open existence of the class trade unions.

Strike Struggle in the Colonies.

In the colonial countries the strike struggle has served as the starting point for the political formation of the labour movement and for the creation of trade unions. The experience of the economic battles fought during the past year, on the Philippines, in Central and South Africa, in Indo-China, Singapore and elsewhere in the Orient, has shown that a strike beginning spontaneously in countries like these constitutes an important political event in the labour movement of the country concerned. These struggles serve as the acid-test for all national-reformist elements that creep into the working class to advance their own aims. We find the Bombay working class setting up its own class union, the Girni Kamgar Union, right in the thick of a strike. This union now plays the leading role in the labour movement of India. Similar facts are to be observed in all the colonial countries. But the experience of these same struggles has further shown that the aid given by the RILU supporters in the capitalist countries to their colonial brothers was most insignificant. A passive attitude like this to

the struggles of the colonial working class against their own and the foreign capitalists cannot be tolerated any longer. The workers of the colonies and the semi-colonies are entitled to demand real help and support from the revolutionary workers of the capitalist countries. It is perfectly obvious that it is very difficult for the workers of Indo-China, Tunisia, Algiers, and other French colonies, to fight without assistance from the French working class; or for the workers of Indzir, Central and South Africa, and other Crown colonies to achieve any serious successes without the real and serious help of the revolutionary workers of Great Britain; and again, for the toilers of the Philippines and Haiti to smash their own and the foreign bourgeoisie unless they have the backing of the vanguard of the working class of the United States. But, to look at the matter from another aspect, the workers of the capitalist countries also stand in need of the assistance of their class brothers in the colonies, for only the joint struggle of the working class of the colony and 'mother country' will produce the maximum effect. Systematic assistance given in full measure to the workers of the colonies, and in the first place to the workers of China and India, in the preparations for and the carrying out of their economic battles, political and economic help during these struggles, the intensification of the struggle against the social imperialists who are trying to gain a hold over the labour movement of the colonies, and, finally, the fullest possible support of the young TU movement in the colonial and the semi-colonial countries... these briefly are the tasks of the RILU supporters of the capitalist countries in this field of work.

Strike Movement Among Land Workers.

The considerable growth of the strike movement among the agricultural and forest workers in the capitalist and colonial countries, the deeply political nature of these strikes, the resultant sharpening of the class struggle in the rural districts everywhere, confronts the supporters of the RILU with the serious task of organising all revolutionary proletarian forces in the countryside. The way the agricultural workers are scattered out of contact with each other makes it particularly difficult to prepare and carry out mass strikes, and for this reason the entire revolutionary TU movement must extend organisational, political, and material assistance to the agricultural workers in the unification of the broad masses of the land proletariat on the platform of the class struggle. Particular attention must be given to the militant class education of the agricultural workers and to the exposure of fascism and its efforts to draw over to its side the masses of the land labourers by demagogic promises. The strike weapon is the most suitable and effective means of exposing such fascist demagogic and consolidating the positions of the revolutionary TU movement among the broad masses of the rural proletariat. Outstanding importance as far as the organisation of the agricultural workers is concerned and their induction into the revolutionary movement, attaches to the work of building up mass strike committees and establishing direct connections between these strike committees and the workers of the industrial enterprises.

(To be continued.)

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The Business Manager.

FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Growth of Real Wages in USSR. Guaranteed.

The workers' cooperatives of Moscow and other industrial centres have reduced prices on February 1st on articles which play a big part in the workers' budget: textile goods, clothing, underwear, footwear and various food products. Prices have been cut about 4-5% compared with the prices of October 1929. On some goods (ready-made clothing) there is a cut of 10% and even of 20% (footwear).

At the same time there is also a price reduction on bread (at least 0.5 kopeks per kilo), potatoes, vegetables and fruits (from 8-15%).

In Leningrad the price of black bread has been lowered 16% and white bread 8%.

At the same time the workers' co-operatives are taking steps to increase the sale of goods which hitherto the worker has been partly buying on the market (the goods purchased by workers on the market in the Soviet Union amounted at the beginning of this year to about 11% of manufactured goods and 18% of farm products). The role of the private dealer will in this sphere be reduced to the minimum (to about 2-3%).

All these steps will guarantee a reduction in the cost of living of the working class family of about 3½-4% as compared with last year.

The worker's nominal wages this year are raised an average of 9%. Together with the lowering of the cost of living the average wage will increase at least 12%. Such is the decision of the Party. This decision will have to be unconditionally carried out.

The Moscow enterprises have allotted 4,000 workers belonging to cooperatives to take control over the reduction of the prices in cooperative shops.

BOOK REVIEWS

Earl Browder: "Out of a Job."

By W. Ensee.

The fact that America, the much belauded land of prosperity, is now definitely and disastrously involved in the world economic crisis, means a severe blow to the reformists and apologists of capitalism in general, who saw, or pretended to see in the long sustained period of prosperity enjoyed by the U.S.A. the possibility and the prospect of a new era of expansion and growth of capitalism in general, while at the same time it has strikingly confirmed the standpoint of the Comintern, which has always insisted on the temporary and shaky character of capitalist stabilisation.

But even during the years of "prosperity" there existed an ever increasing army of permanent unemployed, whose numbers have been tremendously augmented with the outbreak of the crisis, of which the big Stock Exchange crash last autumn was as much a result as a cause. How serious is the problem of unemployment for the American working class is shown by the little pamphlet under review. Written in simple and convincing manner, it makes plain to the ordinary worker the cause of unemployment, how it is a necessary and inevitable accompaniment of capitalism and becomes more acute and hopeless of solution as capitalism approaches its decline.

No official statistics are published in the United States regarding unemployment, but it is interesting to note that according to the "Handbook of Labor Statistics", in the years 1926/27, the production of manufacturing industries increased by 30% per cent. over the year 1918/20, whilst in the same period the number of workers engaged in manufacturing industry declined by 950,000. "The same thing happened in agriculture, mining and railroads. In the same period, for all four groups of workers, the increase in production amounted to approximately one fourth of the total, but the number of workers holding jobs declined by almost two millions." To this figure is to be added another two million workers provided by the natural increase in the population, as well as the huge

army, amounting also to approximately two million, of former farmers and farm hands who have been forced to leave the land and seek work in the towns.

The pamphlet shows, by quotations from capitalist sources, how futile and fraudulent are the various schemes for curing unemployment and averting an economic crisis put forward by various capitalist spokesmen and statesmen with the approval and backing of the A. F. of L and socialist Party leaders. Citing the Soviet Union as an example, where the workers, on the basis of their workers' government, have been able to undertake a great expansion of industry and to secure to themselves all the benefits of the increased production without the crises which always occur under capitalism, Browder shows that the fight against unemployment must be a fight against the capitalist system, which fight must be waged by the employed and the unemployed workers in a united front. The pamphlet contains an immediate programme of struggle and demands as well as a programme of work among the unemployed.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

The Protection of Mothers and Infants in Russia and in the West.

By Moirova.

The October Revolution made a commencement of the genuine protection of mothers and infants in the USSR. It was also a guarantee of its further development. At the present time every woman worker who has the slightest comprehension of Soviet laws knows that mothers are guaranteed the right to rest, to normal conditions of child birth, and to material support. The popularity and publicity of laws in the USSR, for the protection of mothers and infants, the attraction of the masses of working women to the control of the carrying out of these laws and to their further perfection, enhances the sympathy of the women workers of all countries for the workers' government.

At the present time according to Soviet laws, a woman worker who is a mother receives leave for 8 weeks before child birth and the same amount of leave after child birth, with full pay. For 9 months after child birth, a working woman has a daily break of one hour for feeding the child, and receives assistance to the extent of one-eighth of the average monthly wages of the district. Beginning from the fifth month of pregnancy until the end of the time when the child is fed at the breast, that is for 13 months, a woman worker cannot be dismissed from work even in case this regulation causes considerable loss to the industry. In case of child birth, a woman receives free medical help, free medicine, free treatment and help in the "mothers' and children's houses". For a month before child birth she receives money to the extent of half her average monthly wages in order to buy the layette for the newly born child. Further the mother receives assistance in the form of free children's consultations, the supply of milk, creches kindergartens and playgrounds, etc. The unmarried mother is not only not deprived of any rights in the Soviet Union (where compulsory registration of marriages does not exist), but on the contrary the Soviet Government especially carefully assists her in supporting and educating her child. There are a number of reductions for single women, first chances of being accepted in employment, in getting living apartments, for putting her children in schools, etc.

The colossal achievements of women workers in the USSR, in this matter is in direct opposition to the situation of the worker-mother in capitalist countries.

The history of the protection of mothers and infants in Western Europe extends for decades, and everywhere capitalism is unable to solve this problem even to the very slightest degree. Under the pressure of the working masses capitalism makes laws for the protection of mothers and infants, but at the same time they interpret these laws in such a manner which deprive them of their beneficial character.

In surveying the laws of every country on the protection of mothers and infants, we see that every paragraph of these laws is drawn up solemnly and eloquently, but they all contain

such limitations that the employers can without difficulty consider these laws to be non-existent.

In Bulgaria, according to the law of 1918 on "hygiene and safety at work" (ch. III, par. 21) it is laid down that "a pregnant woman or a woman after child birth must not work in the institutions mentioned in the present law, for 8 weeks, of which period 1—4 weeks may be before child birth, and the remainder after child birth. For the whole of this time they are to be considered as being on holiday and must receive half of their wages. They must in no case be dismissed as a result of pregnancy. After child birth women must be freed from work for two hours earlier every Saturday without any diminution of pay, for a period of 6 months after the conclusion of the holiday, if the child is alive."

This seems to be quite a decent law for a bourgeois country. But if we look at the actual situation of the work and life of the Bulgarian women workers, then their condition fills us with horror. In a number of factories, girls of ten to twelve years are working in industry, and their working day is 10—12—13—16 hours and their pay 20—30—40—45—53 kopeeks. Here is a letter from a Bulgarian woman worker:

"In Varna in the textile factory where there are 1,300 women workers, the women clean the machines on Saturday, and on Sunday they work until the dinner hour. These factories have set up prison conditions of life in the common living apartments."

In these common living apartments, almost all the women workers are infected with tuberculosis, their food is bad, but the women workers are compelled to eat it for fear of being thrashed, the living rooms are dirty and unventilated. The letters of the women workers are read, and if they wish to meet relatives, they can only do it in the presence of a forewoman. When the workers go out for a walk, they are accompanied by a forewoman so that they cannot run away. "Disobedient" women are punished by flogging on their naked bodies. The forewomen always go about with a stick in their hands. Every woman worker at the end of the year works for one day without wages, as a mark of thankfulness to the employer. When the women workers see the employer, they are compelled to shout 'hurrah'. Long live Mr. Nikolaiav!"

By such measures "Messrs. Nikolaiav" replace the laws for the protection of mothers by a prison regime, by setting up in their apartment houses and in the factories a vigilant surveillance over the "morals" of their workers, not allowing them to meet any single person face to face. The letters received from Bulgarian women workers enumerate a number of such facts from the life of working women.

The situation of women workers in Rumania, in Yugoslavia, and in all the Balkan countries is no better. In Yugoslavia there is a law to grant a four-week holiday to pregnant women. In spite of this miserable allowance which the law gives them, the women workers cannot use it, because the fear of unemployment compels them to work right up to the last day. The fact is that the employer is not bound by any obligations with regard to pregnant women and can dismiss them from his works at any moment.

A large percent of the women workers of Yugoslavia are living in a state of so-called "free" non-church marriages. Their illegitimate children have no rights at all by the law. The mother of an illegitimate child is considered to be a prostitute, is subjected to persecution, which often drives her to suicide.

In Czechoslovakia, according to the law of 1924 which is still in force, the woman worker has the right of a vacation when she is pregnant, but she does not receive any allowance. This law states that "in the interests of the growth of population and of social politics" every woman worker who is married for the first time, who is a member of an insurance company, and has paid her dues for a 100 days, and also a widow who marries again, and has been a member of an insurance company without a break for not less than 5 years has the right to receive a single sum ("dowry") from 400 to 500 Kronen. This "brilliant" law for supporting mothers seems to have been specially made so as literally to abolish the law of vacations in case of pregnancy. Who can use these vacations if they have no means of support?

We know that the problem of child birth is especially sharp

in France, since the death rate in France is higher than the birth rate. However, in spite of the fact that in France 10,000 newly born infants die every year, the government openly sabotages the 1917 law, according to which the employer is obliged to organise crèches at every factory where more than a hundred women are employed. By the law of 1913, women workers had the right to receive an allowance during pregnancy, to the extent of half a franc to one and a half francs a day. This allowance is given only on condition that the woman leaves her work. What help this allowance gives is shown by the fact that every day that a woman spends in a maternity home in France costs her 15—20 francs. At the present time the allowance has been slightly increased, but the categories of women with the right to receive it has been cut down.

In reality women workers do not make use of this allowance out of fear of unemployment, since no one compels the employer to keep in his factory anyone whom he does not desire. On the other hand, owing to the insignificance of the allowance, and a number of restrictions to receiving it, the women workers of France are not in a position to take it, and they work in the ordinary way in the factory right up to the last day.

Germany is no exception to the general rule, although the Social Democrats are in power. In Germany there is a law for protecting mothers and infants, but — by official statistics — only 44% of the working women of Germany come in the scope of this law. The law has in view a ten to twelve week vacation during pregnancy, with 50—75% of wages, but the percentage of women who use this leave is extremely insignificant. The small degree to which this law is observed even in the capital of Germany is shown by the following example which is sent us by a correspondent from Germany:

"In the Beromen factory, which manufactures margarine, a woman worker was dismissed as soon as the employer found out that she was pregnant for five months. The woman did not give in but brought him to court. The court fully supported the employer using the following formulation: "The plaintiff became pregnant without marriage, and this must be imputed as her crime."

If in the given case the employer and the judge seized on the point of the unmarried situation of this woman, nevertheless in a number of other cases the motives for the dismissal of pregnant women is excused by a number of other reasons. According to the law a working mother must be allowed during 6 months after child birth an extra interval at work for feeding the child, but workers make use of this interval only in very rare cases, since they fear that they will be dismissed. All this transforms the law for the protection of mothers and infants in Germany into an empty declaration. The women workers of Germany are compelled to hide their pregnancy and stand by their machines until labour pains commence. The outrageous role of the Social Democrats on the question of the protection of mothers and infants does not end here.

In the constitution of Weimar there is a point that "the law must guarantee for illegitimate children the same conditions of physical, spiritual, and social development as legitimate children, but this is not put into practice. Women members of the Reichstag — of the Centre Party and the Social Democrats — agreed that "there could be no question of granting the same rights to illegitimate children". The birth rate in Berlin is 100 times less than in Moscow (30 per 1,000 population and 0.5 per 1,000), and the death rate amongst illegitimate children is twice as high as the death rate of legitimate children. The birth rate of illegitimate children is growing in comparison with the number born in wedlock. Comrade Overlach, a Communist member of the Reichstag, in speaking in the Reichstag on the question of illegitimate children gave a shocking report of the misery of unmarried mothers, child murder, suicide, penal sentences.

Facts are stubborn things, and these facts show the workers more clearly than words can show them the difference of the situation of mothers and infants in bourgeois countries and under the government of the workers.