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Many are Being Rendered Giddy by the Successes.

By J. Stalin.

All the world is now talking of the successes of the Soviet power in the sphere of collectivising economy. Even our enemies are compelled to admit that considerable successes have been achieved. These successes are really great. It is an actual fact that on the 20th February last, already fifty per cent. of the peasant farms in the Soviet Union had been collectivised. This means that on the 20th February, 1930, we had more than 200 per cent. fulfilled the Five-Year Plan. It is also a fact that already on 28th February the collective farms had furnished more than 36 million centals of spring seed corn, or more than 90 per cent. of the Plan, i. e. in round numbers 220 million poods of seed corn. Nobody can deny that the supplying of 220 million poods of seed corn by the collective farms alone, following the successful carrying out of the grain procuring campaign, represents an enormous achievement. What does all this prove? That we can regard the definite turn of the village to socialism as already assured.

There is no need to point out that all these successes are of the very greatest importance for our country, for the whole working class as the leading power in our country, and finally

for the Party itself. Apart from the direct practical results, they are of enormous importance for the inner life and training of our Party. They fill our Party with the spirit of confidence and faith in its own powers. They strengthen the belief of the working class in the victory of our cause. They lead new million reserves to our Party.

This imposes upon our Party the task of consolidating the successes already achieved and systematically making use of them for the purpose of further advance.

These successes, however, also have their shady side, especially when they are attained with relative "ease", "unexpectedly", so to speak. Such successes produce at times a spirit of pride and arrogance: "We can do everything", "Everything is a mere trifle for us!" These successes often intoxicate people, render them dizzy; they lose all sense of proportion, the capacity to grasp reality; there appears the tendency to overestimate one's own forces and to underestimate those of the enemy; adventurist attempts are made to solve all questions of socialist construction with a "wave of the hand". One can no longer be bothered with consolidating the successes

achieved and systematically making use of them for further advance. Why should we consolidate the successes achieved... we shall hastily do everything with "a wave of the Hand" until the complete victory of socialism. "We can do everything", Everything is a mere trifle for us.

Therefore, our Party has the task of taking up a determined fight against these dangerous moods, which are harmful to the cause, and eradicating them from the Party.

It cannot be said that these dangerous moods, which are harmful to the cause, have spread to any noteworthy extent in the ranks of our Party. They nevertheless exist, and there is no reason for asserting that they will not become stronger. And if these moods should find root among us, then there can be no doubt that there will take place a considerable weakening of the collective economy movement and the danger of a destruction of this movement can become real.

It is therefore the task of our press systematically to expose these and similar anti-Leninist moods.

And now a few facts:

Firstly, the successes of our collective economic policy are due, among other things, to the fact that this policy is based upon the principle of voluntariness in the collective economy movement, and takes into account the manifold nature of the conditions in the various districts of the Soviet Union. Collective farms cannot be established by force. Such a course would be stupid and reactionary. The collective economy movement must be based upon the active support of the main masses of the peasantry. One cannot transplant the methods of collective economic construction as they are applied in the advanced districts, to the backward districts, such a course would be stupid and reactionary..

Such a "policy" would at one stroke discredit the idea of collectivisation. In determining the tempo and the methods in the building up of collective farms we must carefully take into account the varied nature of the conditions obtaining in the different districts of the Soviet Union. In the collective economic movement the grain districts are ahead of all the other districts. What is the reason for this? Because we have in these districts the greatest number of Soviet Estates and collective farms which are already in a strong position, thanks to which the peasants had the possibility of satisfying themselves as to the power and the importance of the new technique, of the power and importance of the collective organisation of economy, and because these districts have had two years schooling in the fight against the kulaks during the grain campaigns, and further because these districts have, in the last few years, been provided to an increased extent with the best cadres from the industrial centres. Can one say that these specially favourable conditions exist at present also in other districts, for instance, in the corn importing districts of the type of our Northern provinces, or in the districts where there are still backward nationalities, such as Turkistan? No, one cannot say that. It is clear that the principle of taking into account the multifarious conditions in the various districts of the Soviet Union is, together with the principle of voluntariness, one of the most important preconditions for a sound collective economy movement.

What, however, is actually taking place with us? Can we say that the principle of voluntariness and of taking into account the local peculiarities is not being infringed in a number of districts? Unfortunately no. It is, for example, known that in various Northern parts of the grain-importing areas, where the conditions for an immediate organisation of collective farms are relatively less favourable than in the corn growing districts, there is a frequent tendency to substitute the preparation for organising collective farms by bureaucratic decrees, paper resolutions on the growth of collective farms, by organising collective farms on paper, which in reality do not exist, but regarding whose "existence" there is a huge quantity of boastful resolutions. Let us call to mind some districts of Turkistan, where favourable preconditions for the immediate organisation of collective farms do not exist to the same extent as in the Northern parts of the grain-importing districts. We know that in numerous districts of Turkistan attempts were made to "catch up and pass" the advanced districts of the Soviet Union by threats of military force; that the peasants who do not for the present wish to enter

"new farms are to be deprived of the use of irrigation

Publisher supplies of industrial goods cut off.

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What has this Sergeant-major policy in common with the policy of the Party, which is based upon the voluntary principle and takes into account the local peculiarities in building up collective farms? It is clear that they have and cannot have anything in common. Who benefits by such distortions, by such a bureaucratisation of the collective economy movement, such unworthy threats to the peasants? Only our enemies! Whither can these distortions lead? To strengthening our enemies and discrediting the idea of the collective economy movement. Is it not clear that the originators of these distortions, who consider themselves to be "radical", are in fact bringing grist to the mill of Right opportunism?

Secondly, one of the greatest merits of the political strategy of our Party consists in the circumstance that it knows how, at any given moment, to ascertain the most important link of the movement, to seize it and then at the same time to move all links of the chain for a common aim, the solution of a task. Can we say that the Party has already ascertained the decisive link in the system of building up collective economy? But we can and must do this. Where is the deciding link to be found? Perchance in the societies for common cultivation of the soil? No.

Common cultivation of the soil without socialisation of the means of production is a stage of the collective economy movement which is already passed. Perhaps in the agricultural commune? No, not in the commune. The communes are at present still isolated phenomena in the collective economy movement. For the agricultural commune as the predominating form of socialisation not only of the whole production but also of distribution, conditions are not yet ripe.

The deciding link of the collective economy movement, its present predominating form, on to which one must now hold, is the agricultural artel. In the agricultural artel the means of production are mainly socialised in the grain production: labour, use of the soil, machines, and other implements, work beasts, farm buildings.

What are not socialised are, the small vegetable allotments and gardens, the dwelling premises, a definite part of the cows and goats, of the poultry etc.

The artel is the determining link of the collective economy movement because it represents the most practicable form for solving the grain problem. The grain problem again is the determining link in the system of the whole agriculture, because without its solution neither the problem of cattle breeding, nor the problem of economic and similar plants as the chief raw material of industry can be solved. Hence, the agricultural artel is at present the most important link in the system of the collective economy movement.

It is upon this that the "model statute" of the collective farms, the final text of which is now being published, is based. It is from this standpoint that our Party and Soviet functionaries must proceed. One of their duties consists in studying the nature of the statute, and carrying it out completely.

This is the standpoint of the Party at the present moment. Can we say that this standpoint of the Party is being realised without infringements and distortions? Unfortunately no. You are probably aware that in a number of districts of the Soviet Union where the fight for the existence of the collective farms is not by a long way at an end and where the artels are not yet consolidated, attempts are being made to go beyond the limits of the artel and to spring immediately over to the agricultural commune. The artel is not yet consolidated, but we are already "socialising" the dwelling houses, the small cattle and the poultry, and at the same time this "socialisation" is degenerating into bureaucratic paper decrees, because the conditions which render such a socialisation necessary do not yet obtain.

One would think that the grain problem on the collective farms has been already solved, that it represents an already past stage, that the chief task at the present moment is not the solution of the grain problem but the problem of cattle and poultry breeding. But who benefits by this crazy "work" of juggling about with the different forms of the collective economy movement? To upset the collectively inclined peasant by socialising the dwelling houses, the whole of the milk cows, the small cattle and poultry at a time when the artel form of collective farms is not yet consolidated! Is it not clear that such a policy can be useful and welcome only to our sworn enemies?

One of the zealous socialisers even went so far that he issued an order to the artel in which he prescribed: "to

register within three days all stocks of poultry"; to lay down the duties of the special "commanders" for the registration and supervision; "to occupy the key positions in the *artel*"; "to conduct the socialist fight without abandoning the posts", and certainly to take the whole *artel* firmly in hand. What is that? A policy of leading the collective farm or a policy of destroying and discrediting it? I do not speak at all of those — beg pardon — "revolutionaries" who begin the organisation of the *Artel* by removing the bells from the steeple. Just imagine how revolutionary that is!

How could there arise in our midst such dolish exercitations of "socialisation", such ridiculous attempts to spring over oneself, so to speak, attempts which aim at avoiding classes and the class struggle, but in reality bring grist to the mill of our class enemies? They could originate only in the atmosphere of our "easy" and "unexpected" successes on the front of collective economic construction. They could arise only as a result of the anti-Leninist sentiments within a part of the Party: "We can do everything", "We may do everything", "Everything to us is a mere trifle". They could only arise because some of our comrades had their heads turned by the successes and were for a time deprived of their clear understanding and sober outlook.

In order to straighten out the line of our work in the sphere of collective economic construction, we must get rid of these sentiments. This is one of the immediate tasks of the Party at the present time.

The art of leadership is a serious matter. One must not lag behind the movement, because this means getting separated from the masses. But one must also not hasten on ahead, as one thereby loses touch with the masses. He who wishes to lead the movement and at the same time maintain contact with the million masses, must carry on a fight on two fronts — against those who lag behind and against those who hasten on ahead.

Our Party is strong and unvanquishable, because in leading the movement it knows how to maintain and strengthen contact with the million masses of workers and peasants.

POLITICS

The Meaning of the Greco-Turkish Agreement.

By Prynos (Athens).

Under the Greco-Turkish agreement which has now been signed, the settlement of the economic differences between Greece and Turkey will be left to the neutral members of the Emigration Commission for arbitration. The "neutral" arbitrators are under the influence of England and Italy. They are obliged to pronounce their award within six months, but the award will not be binding for the two States. The validity of the Agreement will depend upon the acceptance or non-acceptance of the Award. This economic agreement will be followed by a political treaty of friendship through a visit by Venizelos to Ankara.

Apparently it is not a question of a final agreement; the present agreement represents, however, a certain concession on the part of Greece in the economic sphere in order to attain a political agreement. The necessity of making concessions in the economic sphere in order to bring about the conclusion of a political agreement was admitted at the conference of political leaders of the Greek bourgeois parties which was recently called by the Foreign Minister.

The economic differences turn mainly on the question of the property of the population exchanged in 1923. The value of the property which the exchanged Greek population left behind in Turkey exceeds by many thousand million Drachmas the value of the property left by the Turkish population in Greece (according to some statistics the difference amounts to 95,000 million Drachmas, i. e. about 250 million pound sterling). It is certain that under the award of the arbitrators, Greece will lose this difference.

What is it that compelled Greece to disregard such an economic advantage?

In order to understand this we must keep in mind the endeavours of England to bring about a breach of the friendly

relations between the Soviet Union and Turkey and to align Turkey in the Anti-Soviet front. The cruise of the Soviet fleet through the Dardanelles has disquieted the government of the English imperialists. The economic concessions of Greece, a country which is both economically and politically dependent upon England, are the inducements which England offers in order to win over Turkey.

The repair of the Turkish ship of the line "Goeben" changed the relations of sea power between Greece and Turkey at the cost of the former, in spite of the latest orders of torpedo-boats and aircraft. Hence Greece has an interest in concluding a treaty of friendship which will be accompanied by an agreement to limit naval armaments, which means a postponement of naval armaments on the part of Turkey. This is also of advantage to England, as Greece is its faithful vassal.

Greek imperialism wishes to stop the enforced departure of Greeks from Constantinople, which forms the basis for a future imperialist collision. The idea of a "Great Greece", which shall include Constantinople, is being revived. Zaritsianus, a former minister under Venizelos, spoke openly of the necessity of reconquering Eastern Thrace.

While not abolishing the antagonisms between Greece and Turkey, the Greco-Turkish agreement represents a fresh step in the preparation of the imperialist anti-Soviet bloc and of war against Soviet Russia.

This war is a necessity not only for foreign but also for Greek imperialism. The Greek bourgeoisie wishes by means of war to find a way out of the economic crisis, which has grown exceedingly acute of late. In the course of the last few weeks alone, seventy-five ships, or one sixth of the whole of the Greek mercantile fleet, were laid idle in the ports. Turkey has not yet decided whether it will sever its friendly relations with the Soviet Union. It wants first to make sure of tangible and satisfactory advantages in return, and therefore makes the political agreement dependent upon the economic concessions.

That which remains certain is, that the preparations of international imperialism for war on the Soviet Union become more and more intensive with the amazing progress of socialist construction under the Five-Year Plan.

The Horthy Amnesty in Hungary.

By A. Kovacs.

On the 1st of March ten years had passed since Horthy, this hangman of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie in Hungary, had been elected regent. The establishment of his bloody regime was only possible with the collaboration of the social democratic leaders, not only indirectly by their previous undermining of the Soviet Power, but also directly by their participation in a national coalition government together with the white guardists. Counter-revolution, however, did not sufficiently appreciate the social democratic assistance. During the bloody restoration of the rule of the capitalists and big landowners the terrorist bandits of Horthy, in addition to murdering 6000 revolutionary workers and peasants and torturing 70,000 prisoners, also put a number of social democratic leaders out of the way. It has been proved, Benicky, the former Minister for the Interior brought evidence of this fact before the court, that Horthy himself gave orders to murder the editors of the social democratic central organ, Somogyi and Basco, and quashed the legal prosecution of the murders.

This "Matteotti case" of the Hungarian counter-revolutionary rule was seized upon by the II. International, out of an overwhelming number of white guardist murder deeds, in order to issue a lame protest against Horthy on the occasion of his ten's years anniversary celebrations. In Germany the social democratic "Abend" alluded to the case of Somogyi. Thereupon the Müller government expressed its regret at the libel against the Hungarian regent and its sympathy for Horthy.

Hungarian social democracy, however, has not even applied these lame and ineffective tactics of a sham protest against the Horthy regime. It has, on the contrary, seized the opportunity for concluding a new social-fascist pact with the regime by seeking to realise a very limited amnesty suited to social democratic requirements. The Hungarian social democratic party leaders have consistently sabotaged, betrayed and denounced the struggle of the toiling masses for a real amnesty. Now they have given an assurance to the govern-

ment that they will not disturb the national festivities in Parliament on the occasion of the Horthy jubilee, in return of which Prime Minister Bethlen made vague promises regarding an amnesty, which would have a general reconciliatory character, but of course would exclude all the Communists.

Garami, the spiritual leader of Hungarian social democracy, thereupon elaborated the standpoint of the social democrats in the leading article of "Nepszava" of 23rd of February. In this article, which is full of nationalist and irredentist phrases, Garami demands, "for reasons of true humanity and political wisdom" such an amnesty "which would give back to the fatherland its expelled sons and hard tried emigrants". The article, however, draws a very sharp line of demarcation between the amnesty of social democrats and that of revolutionaries. It declares:

"We do not even think of wasting a single word in advocating an amnesty of such people as Bela Kun and his like... Both in Hungary and abroad there will prevail understanding of the fact that in Hungary the doors are not opened for the Communists."

Thus the Hungarian social democrats demanded an amnesty against the Communists, but a general pardon for the social democratic leaders in emigration, who, according to the leading article of Garami, are all "sworn enemies of Bolshevism".

But even these modest, pious and limited wishes have remained unfulfilled. Horthy's amnesty, which has been published at the last moment, only provides for slight remission of sentences for common criminals, but excludes from its provisions all who have conducted propaganda abroad against the Hungarian regime and only promises individual amnesty for such persons who can offer unconditional guarantee for their future moral conduct.

Great indignation now prevails among the reformist leaders as a result of the failure of their amnesty bargaining. The social democratic press speaks of having been misled by the government and the parliamentary fraction intends to submit an interpellation to the Prime Minister. Behind the scenes however the Hungarian social fascists accuse the II. International of being responsible for the failure owing to the unnecessary "provocation" of Horthy. Against this the social democratic leaders living in emigration accuse the social fascists at home of cowardice and lack of discretion as they did not obtain any guarantees for the amnesty of their comrades before abandoning their protest actions.

The mass of the Hungarian workers and peasants view with equal contempt both wrangling groups of the open agents of social fascists and the hypocritical sham fighters. The mass solidarity is expressed for the revolutionary champions of the Communist Party of Hungary who are pining in the dungeons of counter-revolution. Their amnesty will be enforced by the revolutionary mass movement.

The Government Crisis in Iraq.

Cairo, 11th March, 1930.

The government crisis in Iraq, which led to the resignation of the Cabinet, is already the fourth government crisis in this country within a year. This proves that in Iraq the English have got into such a blind alley that they are even unable to find a few notables who would be ready to bear for any length of time coresponsibility for the imperialist policy. The government resignation took place, on the one hand, under the pressure of the severe economic crisis in Iraq, which has led to wholesale starvation, especially among the civil population (disastrous fall of the price of corn), as well as to a stoppage of trade in the big centres such as Baghdad and Basra. On the other hand, the crisis is the expression of the hopelessness of the negotiations with the Labour Government, which in spite of its friendly gestures at first, has not fulfilled a single one of its promises to Iraq: it is not prepared to abolish the military control or to liquidate the heavy financial burdens resulting from the British Mandate. Even in such a subordinate question as the reduction of the staff of British officials in Iraq, who mean a extra burden of three million rupees annually to the country and hinder the development of Iraqi self-administration, it was impossible to get the British to concede anything, a circumstance which formed the immediate occasion for the resig-

nation of Nagi Suedi. Even the British press is forced to admit that never since the great revolt of 1920 was feeling against England so strong as it is at present.

In connection with the aggravation of Anglo-Turkish relations and the difficulties of the British in the Arabian countries generally, the fresh sharpening of the situation in Iraq acquires special importance.

HANDS OFF THE SOVIET-UNION

Anti-Soviet Agitation in Germany.

By A. Norden (Berlin).

At the same time as bargaining is going on behind the scenes for ministerial posts, there is being commenced an anti-Soviet agitation which places all previous anti-Soviet incitement in the shade. The democrats, this handful of unhappy ones in the political life of Germany, who however have a powerful newspaper concern at their disposal, have this time started the ball rolling. They are introducing an interpellation to the government by which they wish to make the Soviet Government responsible for the actions of the Communists, according to the formula: Communist International is the same as the Soviet Government. And the "Vorwärts" reports that the Foreign Minister Curtius has already made representations in this sense to the Berlin Soviet Ambassador. It is true, against this last report there appeared a lame denial by the Wolff Bureau, which can be interpreted in any sense. The well-known Herr Scheffer has started a noisy press campaign in the "Berlin Tageblatt" in support of this parliamentary thrust against the Soviet Union. Herr Scheffer was at one time one of the greatest eulogisers of the Five-Year Plan and of the collective farms; and he would still be praising them today if the Soviet Government had not, for other reasons, refrained from making use of his assistance. Has Herr Scheffer any new facts to report? He refers to people who have returned from Moscow, but is only able to report of one bankrupt German merchant, who had to close his shop, a thing which is happening to thousands of tradesmen in Germany without anybody making a fuss about it. Scheffer sheds tears over this merchant, and he would like the employees, the petty bourgeoisie and also the proletariat, of whom at present millions and millions are without any means of existence, to join with him in breaking out into a cry of indignation and call for a breach with the Soviet Government and a war adventure. It is characteristic of Scheffer's pomies, that he cites Voltaire of all people as crown witness against the church policy of the Soviet Union; of course without quoting a single word of Voltaire, the same Voltaire who thundered against the church: Ecrasez l'infâme! (crush the infamy).

This strange gentleman arrives at the strange conclusion that Rappallo was nothing else but a *carte blanche* for the kulaks and the Nep bourgeoisie, for whose sake Rathenau concluded this treaty in the year 1922. Scheffer's article is a glaring example of the base and contemptible methods with which the anti-Soviet incitement is conducted.

And in spite of everything it is today still quite impossible to see whether this incitement will lead. Certain effects are already observable. But these are quite other than the originators expected. It is very significant that the "Völkische Beobachter" of Herr Hitler is sharply opposed to the "crusade". Not that the fascists do not wish to join in a war against the Soviet Union. The price offered them for their services is not sufficiently high. Their attitude is obviously attributable to pressure in their own ranks.

If, however, a portion of the workers who are under the influence of the fascists think thus, what must be the attitude of the great masses of the workers and employees, and beyond them the petty bourgeoisie who are compelled to see ever more clearly that the anti-Soviet incitement is actually directed against them, that it is bound to lead to a worsening of their already miserable existence, to cutting down of social legislation, to increasing taxation and even more ruthless exploitation, and finally to a war the cost of which they will have to bear.

The International Conference of the Friends of Soviet Russia.

By Victor Wm. Parker.

The second International Conference of the Friends of Soviet Russia, to be held in Essen on 22nd, 23rd, 24th March, will take place at a time of great political significance, and no stone must be left unturned to ensure a representative attendance of delegates from the principal imperialist countries. The danger of war, discussed at the first International Conference in 1927, now looms like a threatening cloud on the horizon, and it behoves all Friends of the first Workers' Republic to rally to her defence.

When in October 1917 the first Workers' Republic was born, there were many croakers and sceptics — some of them in our own ranks — who predicted the speedy downfall of the Soviet system, and a return to capitalism. But the Soviet system of government has not failed! It stands today a beacon-light of inspiration and encouragement to the toiling masses of the world!

We must not, however, allow ourselves to be lulled into a sense of false security. Only by eternal vigilance can we ensure the ultimate success of our cause. The very success of the Five Years' Plan in the Soviet Union increases the deep-seated and irreconcilable differences which exist between militant, growing socialism on the one hand, and the decaying, but still powerful imperialism, on the other.

The capitalist powers have not changed in their attitude towards the Soviet Union, cannot change. Led by Great Britain — where the most valuable allies of the boss class, the Labour Government, holds the reins of power — they are ceaselessly striving to create a favourable situation for armed intervention, and are only prevented by their own capitalist rivalries, and by the growing militancy of the masses.

As always, the imperialists seek to hide their real aims behind a smoke screen of pacifist propaganda — Kellogg Pacts, Locarno protocols, Naval "Disarmament" Conferences, etc. — but let us not be deceived! Each so-called disarmament conference is used not to further disarmament plans, but to perfect the plans for an attack on the Soviet Union.

The preparations are particularly intense in the border states of the Soviet Union. These countries — whose combined territories do not equal one half of the Soviet Union and whose total populations are far smaller — possess in addition to "official" armies totalling 500,000, huge fascist armies a million strong.

These countries, where the misery and degradation of the working masses beggars description, are expending huge sums on increased armaments. In addition gold is being supplied to them for this purpose with the utmost liberality by the Western European powers.

Side by side with the Technical preparations for war, are proceeding the ideological preparations for war. At the present time these are being carried under the Pope's so-called religious campaign. Unable to hide, any longer, from the eyes of "their" workers the tremendous advance in cultural and economic standards proceeding in the Soviet Union, the bourgeoisie and its social-fascist allies, turns to its old friend — the church.

Under capitalist rationalisation the lot of the workers grows steadily worse.

Under socialism, every advance in technical production, the application of each new scientific discovery to industry, leads to a higher standard of living.

In England the Labour Government "ratifies" the Washington Eight Hour Convention — but makes no attempt to make it operative in actual practice!

In the Soviet Union millions of workers already enjoy the seven hour day, the five day working week, and many economic and social privileges that are unthinkable under a capitalist system of society!

In capitalist countries agricultural production is declining, and to work on the soil is to be condemned to the grossest and most outrageous methods of exploitation!

In the Soviet Union — in face of the wanton sabotage — the workers and peasants, by means of the enthusiasm which socialism alone can engender, are carrying through the collectivisation of agriculture. This gigantic achievement, unthinkable under capitalist economy, has become a living reality. These facts, so pleasant to the ears of the workers, fall harshly on the ears of the imperialists. Can we wonder that

they strain every nerve in an effort to conceal the truth behind a curtain of "atrocities" and "religious persecution"!

Gone are all religious rivalries — Mohammedans and Jews, Protestants and Catholics, erstwhile enemies — all, all are united in defence of their common master, capitalism, and against their common enemy, socialism! Hence the "call" of the Pope! Hence the "righteous indignation" of the Archbishop of Canterbury! Hence the protests of the Chief Rabbis!

Gone too, banished into the wilderness, are political differences! Nationalists, "and socialists", Liberals, and Tories, drop the mask of party rivalry in face of the common foe!

Under these circumstances, it becomes of first class political importance to tear aside the mask from the workers eyes, to expose the bankruptcy of capitalism and reformism, to disseminate the facts of the Five Years' Plan of socialist reconstruction, and to smash the barrage of lies and abuse of Workers' Russia, in order to rally the working class of all countries to the defence of the Soviet Union. This constitutes the most important political task of the Friends of Soviet Russia.

The Soviet Government is not, and never has been, the friend of religion, or of any form of superstitious belief, nevertheless it is fighting the church, not, as the church fought its enemies in the past, by fire and sword, but by the general education and enlightenment of the broadest masses of the workers and peasants of the S. U. There is not on record one single instance of a church being closed by the Soviet Government against the wishes of the majority of the members. Nevertheless, the Soviet Government has been forced to recognise that often the priests are the active instigators of sabotage and counter-revolution. The Soviets have put down, and will continue to put down, in the most decisive manner, counter-revolutionary activities whatever form they may take!

Where in her hour of need, does the S. U. look for assistance? Not to the "left wing" leaders, not to the self-styled champions of the working class, but to the workers themselves. Where today are the Cooks and Lawthers, who swore unswerving fidelity to Workers' Russia? In the camp of reaction.

The International Conference, composed of worker delegates, will hammer out, in the light of their practical experience, the correct policy. Of particular importance will be the delegates from the Border States, who will take back to their fellow workers the truth about Soviet Russia, and the facts about the so-called religious campaign. The Conference will unite together, in the most concrete manner, the Friends of Soviet Russia for a common purpose and for a common ideal — defence of the S. U.! It will draw up the organisational plans for the building up of mass sections of the Friends of Soviet Russia in every country. Held under the shadow of the gathering war clouds, with the danger of armed intervention imminent, the decisions arrived at there, translated into action by our sections, will constitute the best and most effective reply to the war mongers!

The U. S. S. R. League of Militant Atheists on the Anti-Soviet Agitation of the Clergy Abroad.

** The newspaper *Bezbozhnik* (Atheist) publishes the reply of Comrade Yaroslavski, president of the League of Militant Atheists in the USSR., to foreign correspondents regarding a number of questions in relation to the position of religious organisations in the U. S. S. R.

Comrade Yaroslavsky says: "In reply to these questions, I deem it necessary first of all to protest energetically against the slanderous statements which are appearing in the foreign press regarding the activity of our atheist organisation. This activity is carried on publicly, anyone can get an idea of it from our widely and openly spread press.

The League of Militant Atheists is a voluntary society which exists on the basis of a statute confirmed by the Government, and is working, just as other voluntary societies, on the basis of the U.S.S.R. constitution. The means we are using against religion are agitation and propaganda.

We have repeatedly opposed attempts to substitute these methods of influencing the masses by other methods. To bear out my statement, I would like to refer to the widely spread pamphlet published by the Atheists' League "Communists and Religion". This is what we stated in this pamphlet:

"Our Party is carrying on a struggle against religious prejudices, religious creeds by means of science and enlightenment, by means of books, newspapers, lectures, films, informal talks directed against religion and religious deception. Our programme warns all Communists that, in carrying on this work, they must act in a manner not to offend the feelings of true believers, because by offending the feelings of true believers, one does not weaken, but can only strengthen religious beliefs."

You ask if there is religious freedom in the U.S.S.R. and if so, how religious freedom can be reconciled with the deprivation of the clergy of all denominations of the suffrage, and with the consequences of such deprivation of political rights.

Religious freedom in the U.S.S.R. is guaranteed by the decree on the separation of the church from the State, of 13. Januar 1918, which contains the following statement:

"2. In the precincts of the Republic it is forbidden to issue any local laws or regulations likely to restrict or limit freedom of conscience or to establish privileges or advantages of any kind on the strength of the citizens' creeds.

3. Every citizen can practice any religion, or not practice any at all; any deprivation of rights connected with adherence or non-adherence to any creed is repealed.

Note: Any indication of the citizens' adherence or nonadherence to religious creeds is removed from official documents.

4. The actions of State or other public-juridical social institutions are not accompanied by any religious rites or ceremonies."

This law is in force today. There has not been a single case of any religious organisation being subject to persecution for this or that dogma of its religion. In the U.S.S.R. utterly unthinkable is persecution for the propagation of such absurd —from our point of view—dogmas as the approaching end of the world or the defence of theses on the creation of woman from Adam's rib, or the existence of an afterlife in paradise or hell. But at the same time, in our country persecution for anti-religious propaganda is impossible whereas such persecution takes place in all capitalist countries which have, formally, proclaimed freedom of conscience, but in practice, are persecuting, as shown recently in the United States: the case of Scopes who propagated Darwin's scientific theory.

Therefore, laws on blasphemy and punishment for blasphemy, as in a number of countries of "bourgeois democracy", are impossible here.

As to the deprivation of the clergy of the various denominations of suffrage, it is a well known fact that according to the Soviet constitution people living on unearned incomes are deprived of suffrage, and the working class cannot of course be expected to consider as socially useful labour the reading and singing of prayers, the swinging of the censor, etc., religious rites in general.

Whenever churches are closed and church bells are taken down, the rules established by law are strictly observed. I will again refer to our indications in the pamphlet "Communists and Religion":

"We must be prepared for struggle against any religious ideology, including the sectarian, for a considerable length of time. We must carry it on not by compulsion and coercion, not by administrative measures, not by prohibiting church services, but by steady, continuous enlightenment from day to day, by enlightenment of the youth especially, by exposure of the exploiting role of the sectarian organisations, of the connection between any religion, including sectarian religion, and the organisation of the exploiters."

And on another page:

"One must avoid closing churches against the will of the majority of the believing population, provided of course that houses of prayer are not converted, as this has happened, into houses of counter-revolutionary conspiracies, arms' stores, etc."

In the event of a church being closed without the observance of the provisions of the law, the believers take their

grievance as a rule to the All-Union Central Executive Committee which in such a case pronounces in favour of the believers. I will refer to the fact that for several years Jewish working men and artisans cannot get from the V. Z. I. K. the permission to use the Choral Synagogue in Moscow as a club, in spite of the fact that thousands of workers have signed the petition for the closing of the Synagogue and that indefatigable agitation is carried on in the Jewish press for such closing. The U.S.S.R. Government is just as careful regarding the closing of the temples of other religious organisations.

The Soviet law does not forbid religious parents to bring up their children in a religious spirit at home. But schools in the U.S.S.R. are secularised, instruction in the school is based on science, and therefore, the teaching of religion in school which clashes with science, is considered harmful by our constitution. Let the grown-up person decide at the age of 18 if religion is necessary for him or her or not. Neither is it prohibited by law in the U.S.S.R. for children to attend church and listen there to the sermons of the clergy.

You ask what, in our opinion, will be the result of the "crusade" announced by the clergy abroad with regard to the activity of the League of Militant Atheists. I must say that this campaign has given an impetus to atheist propaganda, has given it a political character, has been and is to atheists an incentive to explain to the workers the reactionary character and the danger of this campaign for them. The political aims of this "campaign" are so obvious that this gives us an opportunity of exposing the religious organisations abroad as being in their entirety in the service of the capitalists. This makes, of course, all workers beware of any religion and any religious organisation. The sequel of this "world protest" will be growth of the anti-religious movement throughout the world. The church will lose every where millions of members, and the atheists will get them.

The League of Militant Atheists is not organising any campaigns in connection with the forthcoming day of "International prayer-protest". This device of the clergy abroad is already partly divulged. That which underlies this buffoonery and which serves as a cloak to certain capitalist organisations, oil and others, is becoming more and more clear. In the press and at meetings, we are only explaining the true meaning of this "campaign". Our strongest weapon is—science and satire. To both these weapons the campaign planned by the clergy offers a wide and fruitful field of struggle."

THE BALKANS

Revolutionary Struggles and Revolts in Greece.

By E. Grube (Berlin).

The daily increasing political demonstrations of the workers, and the manifestations and revolts of the peasants in Greece clearly signalise the effects of the world economic crisis and the growing will to fight of all the oppressed sections of the population against the rule of capitalism. The fact that in the agrarian countries, in the colonies and also in the Balkan States the peasants are in open rebellion, renders more urgently necessary than ever the proper application of revolutionary united front tactics. A close alliance between the workers and peasants is a pre-condition to the successful conduct of the fights confronting all sections of the Communist International. The revolutionary development in the immediate future, especially in the Balkans, depends upon the correct carrying out of this policy of alliance as well as upon the active support of the international proletariat.

In Greece the bourgeoisie and its Government are in a desperate situation. In spite of the "stabilisation of the currency" which has been carried out, the Drachma is slowly but steadily falling. In the most important industries, tobacco and wine, unemployment is greater than in the big industrial countries. In the tobacco industry, for example 80 per cent. of the workers in the chief centres are out of work. The government, in spite of its inclination to spend large sums for military purposes, is not in a position to maintain the army

at the strength envisaged in the budget. There are not, as is stated, 72,000 men under arms, but 50,000; and it is impossible in a state of contentment. The ordinary soldier who is serving for eighteen months, receives, in addition to his quarters and rations, 25 Leptars, i.e. less than a farthing a day! The soldiers go about the streets in torn and ragged clothing and their toes out of their boots. Great discontent prevails in their ranks. To what a great extent the soldiers are in sympathy with the workers and peasants is shown by the following incident. When great peasant demonstrations took place two and a half months ago in Tilkis, in Macedonia which were directed against the heavy taxes and other impositions, the Government sent the military against the insurgent peasants. The peasants continued their demonstrations. The soldiers answered the orders of their officers to fire, by handing over their rifles to the peasants. The Government was compelled to withdraw the military and could not carry out the intended measures. The peasants' sons who are serving in the army know that after their discharge they themselves will have to conduct the fight against the measures of exploitation and oppression on the part of the Government.

The position among the workers, however, is even more serious than that among the peasantry. In spite of prolonged and widespread unemployment the workers do not receive any, or only very trifling relief. The railway workers on the private and state railways have for months past received no wages, or only very small sums on account. The building workers, and the state and municipal workers are everywhere engaged in wage movements and economic strikes. Strikes, demonstrations and meetings of the working class have taken place in the last few weeks in numerous towns and districts of Greece.

The economic and financial difficulties are rendered still greater by the huge army of refugees which has returned to Greece. In the last few years nearly two million refugees, that is about 25 per cent, of the total population, have come back to Greece. Whilst formerly these two million helped to support the country by sending home remittances, the country now has the task of providing for these two millions.

In face of the economic difficulties and the growing struggles the Venizelos Government is unable to do anything better than employ the most brutal White Terror. The Communist Party, the Unitary Trade Unions and the Red Aid have been prohibited. The orders issued by the Government for the suppression of these bodies have been sanctioned by a decision of the Courts. The workers, however, pay little regard to the dissolution decrees. The dissolved unions have displayed increased activity in the last few weeks and months. By the wholesale arrest of revolutionary workers the Venizelos Government wished to intimidate the workers and peasants. The effect, however, has been the exact contrary. The workers welcome with enthusiasm the determined fight which the Communist Party and the Unitary Trade Unions are waging against the Government which is employing fascist methods of suppression. Expressions of sympathy from all parts of the country are pouring in daily to the Central Committee of the C.P. and the offices of the "Rizospastis", the Communist Party paper.

The republican-fascist Government of Venizelos, which has received big foreign loans, wishes to prove by its unprecedented measures of persecution against the revolutionaries that it is paying heed to the interests of international capital in Greece. The prisons in which the arrested are held for examination preparatory to their trial consist of the old catacombs built by the Turkish conquerors at the foot of the Acropolis. In these cells, measuring 12 to 16 square metres, and swarming with vermin, there never penetrates a ray of light, nor are there any stools or benches or places to lie on. Twelve to twenty prisoners are confined in these small cells. The State does not provide any food, consequently those prisoners who have no money must starve. A sort of pretorian guard has been formed to keep watch over the prisoners, and if necessary break their resistance by means of blows and ill-treatment. The Government thought it could stifle the cries of indignation of the prisoners in the catacombs, but found that it had made a great mistake. The Greek workers are waging a heroic fight against this murderous system of the Venizelos Government. In order to bring about "calm", the Government

is now having the political prisoners removed to the Izechin prison on the Island of Crete. From this prison, situated 300 kilometres from the mainland no cry can reach the ear of the public.

It is the task of the workers of the whole world to take up the fight against the White Terror in Greece and to hasten to the aid of the Greek revolutionaries.

The further sharpening of the situation in Greece, the increasing swing to the Left the heroic fight of the workers and peasants under the leadership of the Communist Party will break the White Terror, overthrow the bourgeoisie and their Government and, with the support of the international proletariat, establish a workers and peasants government.

STRUGGLE AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT

The Seven Hour Day and its Role in Overcoming Unemployment in the Soviet Union.

** In the old Russia, the length of the working day was fixed by law at 11½ hours. However, in separate cases a 12-hour day was allowed. But in practice the length of the working day was not decided by this law. A great role was played by the degree of organisation and solidarity of the working class. The law did not prevent the introduction of overtime, and in most provincial factories, the working day was in reality considerably more than 12 hours. Only in the biggest industrial centres, the average working day on the eve of the war was kept at the level of 10 hours.

The workers' movement set itself the task of bringing about an 8-hour working day.

Only the setting up of the dictatorship of the proletariat made it possible to grant in full this long repeated demand of the working class. One of the first acts of the Soviet Government was to fix the 8-hour working day as the maximum for all toilers, and a reduction to 6 hours for all workers who were occupied in industries which were harmful to the health or underground, and likewise for workers who had not reached the age of 18 years.

The actual observance of the 8-hour day, the strict limiting of overtime, the introduction of a shortened working day in harmful industries, brought about the result that the actual working day in the industry of the U.S.S.R. (including overtime work) consisted in 1927 of an average of 7 hours 29 minutes. In comparison with the pre-war period (10 hours), the working day in the industry of the U.S.S.R. (including overtime with 1917, when the working day averaged 8 hours 54 minutes, it has shortened by 1 hour 25 minutes).

As is well known, the Soviet Government has not stopped there. Having completed the reconstruction of industry which was destroyed by the wars and intervention, and having started on the complete re-building of industry and agriculture on socialist lines, the Soviet Government, in accordance with the programme of the C.P.S.U., commenced a further shortening of the working day. Two and a half years ago, a 7-hour working day was decreed in order to mark the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution. The 7-hour day was to be introduced gradually. At the present time it will be interesting to examine how far the working class of the U.S.S.R. has actually solved this important problem, which is of tremendous social and cultural importance.

The textile industry was the first to pass on to the 7-hour working day. In 1927-28, 24 textile factories with 104,000 workers began to work the 7-hour day. After the textile workers, other branches of industry began to introduce the shortened working day. In 1928-29, 301 factories with 287,000 workers were transferred to the 7-hour day. On October 1, 1929, the total number of workers on the 7-hour day had reached 437,600, in 329 factories and works, including 174 factories in heavy industry. By January 1st this year, the number of workers who have passed on to the 7-hour day had grown to 650,000, according to incomplete data.

At the end of the current financial year (October 1st) the number of workers in Soviet industry and transport who will be working the 7-hour day will be over 1,100,000, not including the office workers of these factories, who will have their working day shortened at the same time as the workers. This number also does not include the workers in the large number of new works and factories which are being built, and in which according to Soviet law, the 7-hour working day must be introduced from the very commencement. Thus at the end of the year, the number of workers on the 7-hour day will in reality be nearly 1,500,000.

The partial introduction of the 7-hour day has already, in the first months of 1929, reduced the average working day in all Soviet industry to 7 hours 23 minutes. When the 7-hour day is fully in operation, the average working day, if we take into consideration the reduced working day (less than 7 hours), in harmful industries, will be not more than 6 hours 45 minutes.

The introduction of the shortened working day in the U.S.S.R. has not only not caused a reduction of wages, but on the contrary, has been accompanied by a continuous growth of wages. Thus, for instance, the wages of the workers in textile factories, which have been working a 7-hour day since 1928, has increased by 14 to 15%. In a number of factories in the metallurgical, mining and chemical industries, wages increased by 4 to 9% after the introduction of the 7-hour day.

* * *

The introduction of the 7-hour day in Soviet industry is usually accompanied by an improvement in the organisation of labour at the factory, an increase in the number of shifts, and a tremendous increase in production. This in turn causes a considerable growth in the number of workers in the 7-hour factories, and consequently the reduction, and partial or complete liquidation of unemployment. Thus, for instance when the 7-hour day was introduced in the first 24 textile factories in 1927-28, the increased demand for workers absorbed almost all the unemployed textile workers who were registered at that time in the local labour exchanges. And in some districts, the labour exchanges, having sent the whole of their reserves to the factories, were compelled, so as to satisfy the ever-growing demand of the factories, to commence the rapid preparation of worker cadres from amongst the members of the families of the workers and from the peasants of surrounding villages, who had never before worked for wages.

The following figures give a vivid picture of the role of the 7-hour day in the struggle against unemployment. In 171 factories out of the total of 329 which had passed on the shortened working day before October 1929, the number of workers increased by 13.9% after the introduction of the 7-hour day (chiefly in heavy industry); in 48 textile factories, the number of workers increased by 10.9% after the introduction of the 7-hour day; in another 72 factories, the increase was 4.5%, and only in 38 factories (out of 329), mostly small factories, the number of workers remained unchanged after the introduction of the shortened working day. In some branches of industry, the increase in the number of workers after the introduction of the 7-hour day even increased by 27% compared with the number who were working before the working hours were shortened (e. g. the leather industry).

* * *

While in all capitalist countries there is going on an actual lengthening of the working day, the working class of the U.S.S.R. is inflexibly carrying out the shortening of the working day.

The complete introduction of the 7-hour working day in all factories without exception in the U.S.S.R. must be finished by October 1, 1933, i. e. by the end of the Five Year programme. However, we may confidently say that the ever-growing tempo with which the Five Year Plan is being carried out, will make it possible to speed up the complete introduction of the 7-hour working day. And besides this, the successful carrying out of the Five Year Plan of socialist construction will make it possible for the working class of the U.S.S.R. to commence in the near future a further shortening of working hours, and the introduction of the 6-hour working day.

FASCISM

The Result of the Trial of the P.P.S. Left.

By Anna Pomorska (Warsaw).

After a hearing of more than two weeks the great trial in Sosnowice of the anti-fascist workers' party, the P.P.S. Left has come to an end.

What tense excitement the trial, which was based upon the statements of the provocateur Czuma and of police spies, aroused among the working masses, and in particular among the miners of the Dombrova coal area, is shown by the "pre-cautionary measures" taken by the local authorities. The chief of the police had all streets leading to the court occupied by mounted police.

The sentences imposed amount in all to forty years' imprisonment. The chief accused, Burgin and Cwik each received four years, and Gadomski and Bondarenko three years each. Among the condemned are four women, each of whom has been sentenced to two years' imprisonment.

Following the example of the former Tsarist court, the judges sentenced the provocateur Czuma, formerly general secretary of the P.P.S. Left, to one year's imprisonment. This sentence will, of course, never be served, and Czuma, who is at present a member of the openly fascist P.P.S. (tendency Moraczewski-Javorovski), has already received a large reward, i. e. a well-paid post in the Krakow municipality, for his dirty work.

It is somewhat remarkable that the court completely acquitted the renegade groups of Legomski and Rozycki who, under the stolen name of P.P.S. Left, are endeavouring to organise a new, undisguised fascist "Labour party".

It was the aim of the fascist dictatorship in prosecuting the P.P.S. Left not only to add a fresh batch of political prisoners to the present number already amounting to over 6000, but in the first place to create the basis for abolishing the legality of the only remaining legal anti-fascist workers' party. This task the "independent" judges have completely carried out.

The judgement states: "As is to be seen from the resolutions of the third Party Congress of the C.P. of Poland and circulars from the Comintern, the C.P. of Poland has set itself the task of creeping into the legal socialist parties in order to bring the latter under its influence, to dominate them and to lead their activity along the lines laid down by the C.P. of Poland The C.P. of Poland has been completely successful in realising this task so far as the P.P.S. Left is concerned."

Thus the court in Sosnowice has arrived at the conviction that the P.P.S. is only formally independent, but works according to the intentions and instructions of the C.P. of Poland and is only a cloak for the latter.

It is highly significant that this expert opinion which the court gives as the basis of its judgment, rests upon "the unanimous statement of Dr. Drobner of Krakow and Dr. Kruk of Warsaw. Dr. Drobner, who was formerly a member of the P.P.S. Left, has since founded an independent but quite insignificant party of the "independent socialists", and last year returned to the fold of the social fascist P.P.S. Dr. Kruk is another "leader" of the same "party".

After the Sosnowice court had declared the P.P.S. Left and the C.P. of Poland to be one and the same thing, it communicated its judgment to the Ministry of the Interior. It is to be expected that the ministry will declare that membership of the P.P.S. Left is high treason punishable with imprisonment just as is membership of the C.P. of Poland.

Thus, yet another revolutionary workers' party will be forced into illegality.

But the revolutionary workers' and peasants' movement, of which the C.P. of Poland is the leader, still exists. The more acute the economic crisis of the fascist dictatorship becomes, the higher the revolutionary wave will rise. Fascism is trying to save itself by intensifying the bloody terror, but the history of Tsarism furnishes a classical proof that even the strongest dams of terror must give way before the powerful pressure of the proletarian revolution.

3 in the International

The Maturing World Economic Crisis, Mass Unemployment and Strike Action.

Resolution on Comrade Manuilsky's Report Passed by the Enlarged Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Comintern.

The X. Plenum of the E.C.C.I., in describing the world economic and political situation, stressed the point that the outstanding feature of the Third Period of post-war development of capitalism is the sharp accentuation of the basic internal and external contradictions expressed at the present time in an accelerated shattering of capitalist stabilisation, in the deepening and widening of the revolutionary tide of the international labour movement and in the ripening of anti-imperialist revolutions in the colonial countries. The resolution of the X. Plenum says: "The bankruptcy of the notorious prosperity proclaimed by the American bourgeoisie is becoming more and more obvious". The economic crisis in the United States which set in three months after in the midst of a protracted depression in a number of capitalist countries and in the colonies, and which hastened the extreme accentuation of the fundamental contradictions of world capitalism, destroys the bourgeois legend of permanent prosperity in the United States (Hoover) and strikes a crushing blow at the social-democratic theories of "organised capitalism".

Exposing the falsehood of the bourgeois reformist views regarding "American exceptionalism" (Lovestone, Pepper), and also the pitiful hollowness of the theory that the "problems of the market, prices, competition and crisis, become more and more problems of world economy, and are being displaced inside the country by the problem of organisation" (Bukharin) — the crisis in America confirms the estimate of the Third Period given by the VI. World Congress and the X. Plenum of the E.C.C.I.

L. The Crisis, Growing Unemployment, and the Accentuation of the Contradictions of Capitalism.

1. The significance of the present crisis of over-production in the United States is heightened by the fact that it is unfolding in a period when the contradiction of markets is becoming increasingly acute, when the tendency common to all capitalist countries for periods of depression to become longer and cause the depression to acquire character is certainly very marked, when certain important branches of world economy (coal, textile, shipbuilding, etc.) have failed for a number of years to emerge from a state of crisis, while other branches (rubber, oil, non-ferrous metals, silver, etc.) are entering a crisis, when the capitalist countries and the colonies are already in the midst of a sharp agrarian crisis which manifests itself in some countries in the form of over-production of raw materials and agricultural produce (United States, Canada, Australia, Argentina), and in others, mainly in colonial countries (India, China) in the form of a serious under-production of foodstuffs.

The American crisis finds a considerable part of the capitalist world already in a state of protracted economic depression. In some countries of East and Central Europe (Poland, the Baltic countries, Austria and the Balkans) the protracted economic depressions and crises which developed as a result of monstrous impoverishment of the masses, and which are aggravated by post-war partition, feudal survivals, slavish dependence on world imperialism, create increasingly the pre-requisites for a general political crisis. In the colonies the crisis is due to the development of predatory forms of finance capital, which relies on native feudalism, to the widespread practice of cultivating a single type of crop which makes the colonies economically totally dependent on market fluctuations in the imperialist countries (India, Egypt, etc.), and to the heavy drop in the price of colonial raw material far greater than the drop in the prices of all manufactured goods and other agricultural produce. The crisis is particularly acute in countries of the colonial type because the enslavement of the toiling masses by the imperialists, the

native landlords and the bourgeoisie is linked up with unparalleled impoverishment of the workers and peasants.

2. The crisis in the United States, which arose out of the general crisis of the capitalist system, is beginning more and more to assume an international character because: a) the United States plays a leading role in the capitalist sector of world economy (about 50% of the world's production and gold reserves are concentrated in the United States); b) the interests of the individual capitalist countries are so interlocked as a result of the organisation of international trusts and syndicates, the development of the export of capital and the system of international debts, so that all capitalist countries are drawn into the economic crisis; c) the shrinking of the home market in the United States compels American capital to fight more fiercely for the world market, which means that the world market becomes restricted for other capitalist countries; d) the struggle American capital is waging for markets tends to force down world prices, thus ruining the weaker competitors; e) curtailed output in the United States brings in its wake crises in countries which export raw material and semi-manufactured goods to the United States (Japan—silk, Indo-China—rubber, Brazil—coffee). Consequently, the crisis in the United States is beginning to affect the capitalist countries of West Europe, as is already manifested in the drop in prices, the fall of the value of stocks, reduced emissions, the beginning of a currency crisis in a number of colonial countries, an increase in the number of bankruptcies, almost a universal, though not equal, reduction of output, and finally, wage cuts and universal growth of unemployment.

At the same time the uneven development of the capitalist system explain the variety of form, degree and character which the crisis in the various countries assumes. In some countries the effects of the American crisis is seen in their being drawn directly into the crisis-phase (Canada, Australia); in others it is seen in the spreading over a wider territory (East Europe, colonies, China and India, the South American countries, Japan); in a third type of country it is seen in the maturing of a general economic crisis (Germany); in a fourth it is seen in the accentuation of the chronic depression prevailing in a number of important industries (Great Britain); in a fifth it is manifested in the appearance of the first symptoms of a crisis: slowing down of production, discharge of workers, falling of stocks (France).

Thus the economic crisis deepens the general crisis of the capitalist system, sharpens its internal and external contradictions, breaks down its precarious stabilisation, and accelerates the flow of the revolutionary tide in the capitalist countries and in the colonies.

3. The crisis brings incalculable hardship to the working class. The cruelist hardships are mass unemployment caused in a number of capitalist countries by the sharp curtailment of production, and the increased exploitation, resulting from the intensification of capitalist rationalisation.

In the United States where even in the period of increasing production in recent years the number of workers engaged in industry has declined owing to the extraordinary intensification of labour; the number of unemployed, which is rapidly increasing, is now about 6 million, and in the State of New York is the highest since 1914. Notwithstanding this enormous growth of unemployment, the American bourgeoisie, which is the richest in the world, has not to this day introduced state unemployment insurance.

In Germany, where the economic crisis is only beginning, 3½ million workers have already been thrown on to the streets.

In Great Britain, which has not yet entered the crisis-phase, unemployment has grown from 1½ to 2 millions.

In Japan, there are about 1 million unemployed.

In fascist Italy, there are 800,000 unemployed; there has been a drastic fall in wages and the working day has been increased.

In Poland, where one out of every three workers is unemployed; the number of unemployed being 300,000. In Austria and Czechoslovakia there are 400,000 unemployed workers in each country.

In Latin America, where the industrial proletariat is relatively small, there are 1½ million unemployed.

All in all, in capitalist countries, about 17,000,000, and with their families numbering about 60,000,000 people have been thrown into the depths of poverty. Moreover, millions of workers are engaged only part time and are under the constant threat of being thrown on to the street entirely to swell the already enormous army of unemployed. The conditions of these masses of unemployed are all the more unbearable, become desperate for the reason that in capitalist countries they are as a rule deprived of any kind of support from the State, or receive miserable doles.

Chronic unemployment is assuming even more frightful dimensions owing to the masses of peasants, ruined by the agrarian crisis, filling the ranks of the reserve army of labour thus still further depressing the labour market and enabling the capitalists to reduce wages still lower. Particularly appalling is the position of the agricultural proletariat which is held in bondage by the landlords, plantation owners and farmers. In the colonies where capitalist rationalisation means ruthless extermination of labour power, incalculable unemployment in industry and agriculture brings starvation to millions of toilers. At the same time, instead of reducing the working day, the bourgeoisie pursues a policy of increasing the hours and speeding up of labour to an intense degree.

Intensifying the pressure on the workers, speeding up and wages already low, the monopolist capitalist associations and their State more and more ruthlessly hurl their attack upon the working class, worsening the position of the working masses to the utmost degree.

4. The effect of the world crisis upon world capitalism is made still more disastrous for the reason that it is maturing at the very time when tremendous economic development is taking place in the U. S. S. R., which, in this respect, presents a striking contrast to the whole capitalist world. The extremely rapid progress of socialist industry which is developing at a rate unparalleled in the annals of history and is accompanied by a steady improvement in the material and cultural standard of living of the working class, by a sharp drop of unemployment, the growing activity of the proletariat on the basis of ever-developing self-criticism and struggle against bureaucracy, the growth of creative initiative of the proletariat (socialist competition, shock brigades, departments, and whole factories) and finally, the growing confidence of the masses of peasants in the Soviet Government and the policy of the Communist Party, guarantee the possibility of an accelerated rate of socialist reconstruction of agriculture, and the turn of millions of peasants towards socialism as expressed in the mass transition from petty-individual peasant farming to large scale collective agriculture. The policy of liquidating the kulaks as a class now being applied, the ruthless suppression of all counter-revolutionary intrigues against the proletarian dictatorship, the increasing introduction of the 7-hour working day and the 4-day working week, the acceleration of the fulfillment of the Five-Year Plan so that it will be carried out in four years—all these are mighty achievements for the international proletarian revolution. There can be no doubt whatever that all this, altering as it does the correlation of forces of the two economic world systems in favour of international socialism, makes the U. S. S. R. an even more powerful factor than ever in the intensification of the capitalist crisis and in the revolutionisation of the proletariat and of the exploited masses of the world in general. The Communist International points to the powerful energy and rising enthusiasm displayed by the working class of the U. S. S. R. which is overcoming all obstacles in its path and is smashing resistance of the elements hostile to the proletariat, and imposes on all its Sections the obligation to organise a widespread publicity campaign among the masses of the workers and all toilers in general, in order to explain the magnificent success of socialist construction in

the U. S. S. R. and for the purpose of welding together all toilers under the banner of the revolutionary struggle for the proletarian dictatorship.

5. The development of the economic crisis, which extremely intensifies the struggle between the capitalist monopolist combines in conjunction with their respective governments and in the various capitalist countries for the re-division of the world, and carries the protectionist policy to the extreme, is leading the capitalist world into a period of new imperialist wars. The Anglo-American struggle for world supremacy, the frantic armament race between Great Britain and the United States, the titanic pressure of the United States on British colonial possessions and Dominions on the one hand, and Great Britain's desperate struggles for the retention of her positions especially in South America on the other hand,—the whole struggle being conducted behind a screen of military-political regroupings and fictitious disarmament conference, like the London Conference which, under the cloak of disarmament, is working for the re-armament of the navies on the most up-to-date technical basis,—are accompanied by the growth of antagonisms in Europe itself, which is accentuated by the growing rivalry between American capital and its European competitors on the world market.

Under these circumstances, the Young Plan, which is a programme of struggle now being carried out under the hegemony of American finance capital by the bourgeoisie of the victorious countries in agreement with the finance oligarchy of Germany, represents: a) a plan to subjugate the German proletariat, to lower its standard of living and to increase its exploitation; b) a plan to increase the power of the finance capital of the victorious countries (the thousands of million extorted from Germany); consequently, it is a plan to renew the capitalist attack on the working class, to lower their standard of living; c) a plan of financial blockade (the Bank of International Settlements); finally, the Young Plan means pressure on the U. S. S. R. and finally the imperialist camp itself accentuation of the struggle within the revision of the imperialist booty.

In this connection, the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. calls upon all Sections of the Communist International, and the British, French and Italian Communist Parties, the working class of all countries, and of the German proletariat in particular, against the Young Plan and the domination of the imperialist bourgeoisie and for the victory of the revolutionary

In their endeavour to transfer the burden of the disastrous consequences of the crisis to the economically and increasing enslaved countries, the ruling imperialist powers are as their pressure on the dependent states as well as, and are extending the system of violence, military occupation, predatory seizure of the land of the ruined peasantry.

As the fierce struggle in the imperialist camp for the revision of the world develops, as the revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries and colonies grow and as the U. S. S. R. progresses, the danger of new imperialist wars, and of a military attack on the U. S. S. R. in particular, grows also. The collectivisation of agriculture and the application of the drives of liquidating the kulak in the Soviet Union, which deepens the imperialist bourgeoisie of its last internal ally in the event of intervention, cannot but give rise to renewed acts of intervention on the anti-Soviet imperialist front and to attempt to subvert it; they cannot but give rise to renewed acts of provocation against the Soviet Union on the part of the imperialist bourgeoisie, who in this are strenuously supported and inspired by the United States and France in the conflict on the Chinese Eastern Railway, the rupture of diplomatic relations between Mexico and Germany, U. S. S. R., the anti-Soviet campaign in Great Britain, Germany and France in defence of the counter-revolutionary clergy, the U. S. S. R. and the action of the Pope in coming out at the head of the whole clerical reaction against the U. S. S. R.

The defence of the Soviet Union from the menace of an attack by the imperialists is, more than ever before, the important task of all the Sections of the Comintern.

II. The Parties of the II. International in Power.

6. In the midst of the developing crisis social-democracy reveals itself more than ever before in its role as active instrument of the policies of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, by worsening the economic conditions of the working masses, converting the state apparatus into an open instrument of fascist dictatorship and preparing new imperialist wars.

In Germany, the experience of eighteen months of rule of social-fascism has shown that at the head of the coalition government it really fulfilled the will of the German capitalists, helped them to carry through with increasing ferocity a policy of suppressing the working class and preparation of new wars.

Instead of the promised consolidation of peace and reduction of the burdens heaped on the toiling masses of Germany by the Versailles Treaty and the Dawes Plan, the social fascist policy has resulted in the Young Plan which still further enslaves the working class and toiling masses of Germany to the victorious countries, means increased military and naval armaments and involves Germany in the anti-Soviet front (acquittal of the white guard forgers, treaty with Poland against the U.S.S.R., etc.).

Instead of the promised consolidation of political democracy, the policy of the social fascists has brought greater repression for the working class: the suppression of the Red Front Fighters League which existed under bourgeois governments; the coercive "Defence of the Republic Act", which is directed against the Communist Party and the revolutionary proletarian organisations; the persecution of the Communist press, not merely prohibition of labour demonstrations, but the shooting down of such demonstrations by the social-fascist police.

Instead of the promised "industrial democracy" and wide social-legislation, the policy of social-democracy has given the German workers a consolidated and naked dictatorship of finance capital, further enforcement of capitalist rationalisation which throws hundreds of thousands of workers on to the street, worsening of the Unemployment Insurance Act, the threat to deprive the workers of all public assistance, increased municipal taxes, the whole burden of which falls upon the working class, reduction of real wages, blackleg measures of the fascist trade union and social-democratic apparatus against the revolutionary trade union opposition and against strikers, and numerous expulsions of revolutionary workers from trade unions.

7. In Great Britain the same tendencies mark the policy of the Labour Government which, at the General Election, promised universal disarmament, better relations with the U.S.S.R., democratic reforms in the colonies (first and foremost in India), improvement in the conditions of the working class and a reduction of unemployment, but which in fact is not only continuing the policy of the Conservatives, but goes even further in regard to worsening the conditions of the working class and oppressing the colonies (introduction of capitalist rationalisation, wage cuts for textile operatives, brutal suppression of revolutionary movements in the colonies).

Instead of the promised disarmament, we see, under the cloak of pacifist phrases, growing armaments on land and sea. Instead of improved relations with the U.S.S.R., the "Labour Government" continues with more subtle methods the anti-Soviet policy of the diehards (Henderson's attitude on the question of Tsarist debts and "propaganda"; interference in the conflict on the Chinese Eastern Railway in favour of the Nanking usurpers; Henderson's recent statement in defence of the counter-revolutionary clergy in the U.S.S.R., etc.).

Instead of democratic reforms in the colonies, we see that the terrorist regime in India is becoming fiercer, the bloody suppression of the Negro movement in South Africa, Arabian-Jewish massacres organised in Palestine, and an enslaving treaty signed with Egypt.

Instead of improvement in the conditions of the workers we see wage cuts (in the textile industry and on the railways); the promise to restore the 7-hour day in the mines is shamelessly broken; a new law is passed which will tend to worsen the conditions of the unemployed.

8. Such is the practice of the two principal parties of the II. International now in power in the largest capitalist countries of Europe.

Where the social-democrats are not in power, they, as a rule, support the measures of the most reactionary bourgeois

governments against the working class and the Communist Parties: they are openly at the head of the fierce anti-Soviet campaigns hand in hand with the Russian white guards (France); they give active support to the bourgeois parties in introducing a fascist constitution (Austria), they mobilise all their forces in the service of fascist terror against the Communists and revolutionary workers (Poland).

The sharper the crisis of the capitalist system becomes, the more rapidly are the social-democratic elements converted into police auxiliaries of the financial oligarchy, the most active and direct is the part the social-democrats play in the defence of the capitalist system, in the suppression of the revolutionary movement of the working masses and the colonial peoples and in the war preparations against the U.S.S.R.

The "Left" social-fascists continue to play this role of executioner in full agreement with social-democrats, except that they do so with more intricate and concealed methods, which renders them the most dangerous enemies of the working class.

III. The Tasks of Communist Parties: Strike Struggles, Unemployed Movement, Demonstrations.

9. By accelerating the process of concentration of capital and the ruin of the middle and petty-bourgeoisie, by increasing enormously the impoverishment of the vast masses of the peasantry, especially in the colonies, finally, by intensifying to an unprecedented degree all forms of exploitation, the crisis intensifies the social contradictions of the capitalist world to the utmost degree.

The intensification of the class struggle arising therefrom leads to the growth of fascism at one pole of society and, owing to the crisis, to the use of increasingly ferocious methods for suppressing the masses (shooting of strikers, smashing of revolutionary working class organisations, arrest of its foremost fighters, dismissals of Communists and revolutionary workers from the factories, etc.), while at the other pole, it leads to a rising revolutionary tide, a widening of the front of the revolutionary struggle and inclusion in the general revolutionary front of the peasant reserves of the colonies and those of a number of capitalist countries.

10. The VI. World Congress placed on record the swing to the left of the working class which replaced a certain amount of depression noticeable in the preceding period in the labour movement. The X. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. emphasised the rise of a new revolutionary tide in capitalist countries which found expression in the development of mass economic strikes and which in many instances assumed the character of a counter-offensive against the capitalist attack (the Ruhr, Lodz, the textile workers in France, the strikes in the South of the U.S.A., Bombay), and in a series of demonstrations (demonstrations in France, May Day in Berlin and Poland). However, these actions of the proletariat were of a desultory character and affected only certain of the proletarian centres.

The outstanding feature in the labour movement since the X. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. is the further rise of the revolutionary tide in the midst of a maturing world crisis and mass unemployment.

The strike movement now developing throughout the world on the basis of struggle for the economic demands of the proletariat is characteristic for the fact that it develops more and more outside of and in opposition to the reformist unions, which play the role of blacklegs, and that the unorganised masses take an increasingly active part in them, in which connection the practice of creating organs for strike leadership by the masses themselves in the process of the struggle becomes more and more widespread.

In the largest capitalist countries a further growth of the strike movement is observed. In France the number of strikes in 1929 was double that of 1928 and at the beginning of 1930 a further growth of strike movements was observed. In Great Britain the number of strikes in 1929 increased several fold compared with 1928. While there was a slight diminution in the number of strikes in Germany last year the strikes that occurred bore a more fierce and stubborn character. In a number of countries strikes are more often accompanied by mass demonstrations, which not infrequently ended in collisions between the workers and the coercive machinery of the bourgeois state (United States, Australia).

In the overwhelming majority of cases these strikes commence as an economic movement for increased wages or against wage reductions, but in many cases they assume a political character, are converted into solidarity strikes (16% of all strikes in France), strikes in defence of dismissed and victimised workers (Germany), or strikes in defence of proletarian revolutionary organisations (Rumania). Even in countries where the most unbridled fascist terror prevails, strikes break through the framework of the fascist dictatorship (Italy).

11. In many countries which are entering the crisis-phase and where a slight decline is observed in the economic strike movement, the rising revolutionary tide finds expression in various militant forms of proletarian activity as well as in the more acute forms of economic struggle.

Simultaneously with the strike movement, there is an extension of the **unemployed movement** which takes the form of hunger marches, political demonstrations of the working class which demand from governments and parliaments work and bread for the hungry, social insurance, unemployment relief at the expense of the State and the capitalists. These demonstrations are cruelly suppressed by the joint efforts of the bourgeoisie and the social-fascists. Embracing ever-wider masses of employed and unemployed workers, and leading in some places to the establishment of committees and councils of unemployed, this movement breaks through bourgeois legality, establishes the right of the working masses to the street and rallies broad masses of the working class around the political slogans of the Communist Parties (the recent demonstrations in Germany, Poland, United States and Rumania). The slogan of a mass **political strike** is becoming the order of the day.

12. The development and intensification of the crisis not only worsens the conditions of the working class; it severely hits the mass of the **peasantry**, especially its poorer sections. As a result we witness a revival of the revolutionary peasant movement (Italy, Poland, Greece, Rumania). This movement assumes the widest dimensions in certain colonial countries where it merges with the labour and national-revolutionary movements. The collapse of the counter-revolutionary unification of China, and the intensification of the struggle of the imperialists for spheres of influence in that country is accompanied by a new wave of revolutionary peasant outbreaks (guerilla and peasant armies). In India, owing to the sharp economic crisis and the intensification of the terrorist regime, we see, in addition to big strikes (Calcutta, the Great Indian Railway) and political demonstrations a revolutionary awakening of the peasant masses (Punjab). At the present time, a revolutionary struggle is flaring up against French imperialism in Indo-China.

All this goes to show that notwithstanding the uneven flow of the revolutionary tide which is expressed in the variety of forms the class struggle assumes and in the varying degrees of its intensity, the revolutionary tide is rising nevertheless, lifting the working masses to the major tasks of the revolutionary struggles, the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of proletarian dictatorship.

13. After the X. Plenum of the ECCI, the ideological state of the Communist Parties passed through a process of further consolidation on the basis of the line of the VI Congress, the line of determined struggle against deviations and especially against the **Right Wingers** and **conciliators** accompanied by purging the Communist Parties from decadent and semi-social-democratic elements. The correctness of the estimation of the Right Wingers and conciliators made by the X Plenum and its declaration that defence of the views of Right opportunism was incompatible with membership of the Comintern, and that the conciliators had adopted the Right Wing position, have been wholly and entirely confirmed.

The Right Wing renegades of Germany, Czechoslovakia and the United States expelled from the Comintern even prior to the X Plenum have adopted the social-democratic position on all fundamental issues of working class policy and tactics. The Right opportunist opposition in the Communist Party of Sweden (Kilbom), formed after the X Plenum and expelled from the ranks of the Comintern and also among the opportunist elements of the unitarian trade unions and in the Communist Party of France, etc. have undergone the same process of evolution (unification of renegades under the false

banner of the so-called Trade Union Defence League, the vociferous agitation for the so-called workers'-peasants' party).

Together with the social-democrats, the Right Wing renegades support the view regarding the further consolidation of capitalist stabilisation; they deny that there is a rising revolutionary tide, an increase in the war danger. They borrow the arguments from the social-democrats to use against the independent tactics of the Communist Parties in the trade union movement, try to force upon the Communists working in reformist unions the discipline of the social-fascist trade union apparatus, advocate a united front of Communists and social-fascists, and take an increasingly active part in the social-fascist campaign against the Communist Parties and the U.S.S.R. and supply material for that campaign.

The fragments of the **Trotskyist groups** headed by Trotsky have in fact also descended to this position. A complete identity of views is to be recorded between the Trotskyites and the Right Wing renegades on all fundamental questions of policy and tactics, and there is complete harmony between them, even to the extent of open blocs (Hamburg and China) in regard to the work which both alike are endeavouring to carry on as the direct agents of social-democracy, in order to demoralise the Communist Parties.

The determined struggle of the Communist Parties against the social-democrats which is inseparably linked up with the task of winning the masses to the side of Communism, presupposes the ruthless exposure of the social-democratic agents acting under the Communist flag, both the Right Wing and Trotskyite renegades, the further purging of the Parties of elements that attempt to play the same role inside our organisations, and the overcoming of all opportunist deviations, both Right, which is the main danger, as well as the Left, in the Communist ranks.

14. In the midst of the developing crisis, of the further intensification of the class struggle and the rising revolutionary tide the **fundamental tasks** of the Communist Parties are: to capture the main masses of the proletariat, to mobilise around the proletariat and under its hegemony the broad toiling masses (the peasantry, the ruined urban petty-bourgeoisie, the oppressed nationalities); secure Party leadership in mass actions, and to direct these actions (strikes, unemployed movements, demonstrations), actions which often break out spontaneously, along the channels of an organised political struggle, especially in the form of mass political strikes, which will bring the working class towards the task of the revolutionary struggle for power.

The fulfilment of these fundamental tasks, —which are decisive in the present stage—in accordance with the decisions of the X. Plenum, calls for:

1. Consolidation of the Party organisations, especially the factory nuclei and trade union fractions; wider embracing of the masses of revolutionary workers by Party organisations, in connection with which a campaign for the recruiting of new members which has been successfully, though not sufficiently, conducted in the last few months in the Communist Parties of Germany and the United States of America, is of exceptional importance.

2. While further strengthening the work of agitation and propaganda to the fullest possible extent a change must be made in the forms and methods of work of the Communist Parties to make them correspond with the task of leading the **mass actions of the proletariat** (strikes, unemployed movements, demonstrations), of the revolutionary peasantry and agricultural labourers (at home and in the colonies), while real and effective preparation must be made for these actions. In Great Britain where this task of changing the forms and methods of work is very urgent indeed, the **"Daily Worker"** must play an important part in bringing about this change.

3. In connection with the fundamental task—of capturing the masses, the process of radicalisation of which must be accelerated to a considerable degree by the maturing crisis—work in the reformist Unions, and work on the basis of the united front tactic from below for the liberation of the masses from the influence of the social traitors, becomes of particular importance. This requires also more intensive work by the Communist Parties in the **revolutionary Trade Unions** (France, Czechoslovakia, United States), energetic recruitment of workers for these trade unions, the securing for the Communist Parties of the leadership in all the organs of mass

proletarian struggle created from below (factory committees, strike committees, unemployed committees, etc.) and strengthening on this basis the revolutionary trade union opposition in the reformist unions, and its definite organisation. In connection with all this, the task in Germany is to consolidate to the utmost the ranks of the revolutionary trade union movement and the organisational centre of this trade union movement.

4. The unfolding strike struggle which in some countries is combined with other forms of political struggle of the working class (mass demonstrations, solidarity strikes, etc.) raises before the Communist Parties the task of extensive popularising the slogan "**mass political strike**" and in the work of the Communist Parties themselves it raises the task of combining open with illegal work. In this connection, the duty of the Communist Party of Poland is to prepare the working class for the leading role in the maturing general political crisis.

5. The Communist Parties in the **colonies** and dependencies must concentrate their activity on the creation and consolidation of mass proletarian organisations and on securing their class independence as a fundamental condition for the proletariat obtaining the leading role in the growing revolutionary movement of the toiling masses of town and country. In China, the task is of strengthening the Communist Party and red trade unions, and also of capturing the rank and file of the Kuomintang trade unions and of securing the leadership of the working class over the revolutionary peasant masses. The first task in India is that of creating a Communist Party as the genuine leader of the proletariat. The same task confronts also the Communists of Indonesia and Indo-China.

The Congress of the Dutch C. P. and After.

By A. F.

The latest congress of the Communist Party of Holland marks a decisive milestone in the development of the Party. The delegates from every district had come to the Congress determined to make an end of the right-opportunist line and leadership which had characterised the Party direction, and to switch the whole Party on to the line of the Communist International.

In this respect the Open Letter of the E. C. C. I. to the C.P.H. and the letters of the West European Bureau had been mainly instrumental not only in pointing out just precisely what were the mistakes of the Party, but also in showing clearly to the Party membership that these mistakes were not accidental but were part of a general political line of opportunism which characterised the Van Riel, Seegars, Bergsma bloc who dominated the Party leadership.

This opportunist policy showed itself prior to the Party Congress in the stubbornly held illusion that rationalisation in Holland had not yet begun; in the non-belief in the militancy and radicalisation of the Dutch workers; in the illusions regarding the tremendous strength of Dutch Social Democracy and in the failure to appreciate its rapid social-fascist evolution. With ideas of this character dominating the Party leadership it is any wonder that the line of the Communist International or the "Independent leadership of the masses by the C.P.H." was literally submerged and sabotaged by the leadership. Not only did they over-estimate the hold which Social Democracy has upon the workers and under-estimate the radicalisation of the masses which is proceeding apace in Holland, they also disbelieved in the Party. This was clearly shown in the determined attempts to get the Party Congress postponed, on the grounds that "The Party did not understand", "The Party could not grasp the E. C. C. I. line", "The Party was not clear", etc.

Even a clearer indication of the opposition to the Comintern line was the determined attempt to strangle all Party discussion. Any article or resolution critical of the opportunist line of the Party leadership was either suppressed, like the "South Holland" resolution, or attacked straightaway in the "Tribune" by the leadership of the Party in such a fashion as to discourage effectively and sabotage any and every attempt at a thorough Party discussion. That it was sheer sabotage was made perfectly clear when the West European Bureau demanded that effective preparations should be

immediately made for the Party Congress and a thorough discussion organised, and that a special commission be appointed immediately to carry this through. At once a flood of articles, critical and containing valuable suggestions came from the local groups and members, showing quite clearly that the membership were only too anxious to have a discussion, and that the leadership had effectively dammed this discussion.

The Party Congress was held on 15th, 16th and 17th February in the Bourse in Amsterdam. Seventy-eight delegates attended of whom 68 had decisive votes and 10 consultative. It is interesting to note that 87% of the delegates were workers mainly from the factories. One really significant thing was the entire absence of working women delegates, and this fact was commented upon by several comrades and the Party severely criticised for its lack of attention to the problem of effective work among women.

The discussion over the Political Resolution of the Party and over the question of the leadership of Economic Struggle showed quite clearly the absolute political bankruptcy of the Seegars, Bergsma, Van Riel leadership. The speeches of Comrades Seegars and Van Riel especially contained not one single positive critical proposal, suggestion or even mention of the tremendous tasks which stand before the Party, but on the contrary sought by attacks upon comrades who were striving to carry through the line of the International thus indirectly to attack the political line itself. The discussion revealed that there is a very healthy spirit among the Party members, most of whom devoted their speeches to making concrete suggestions and discussing in the main the work of the Party in the future rather than dwelling only on the past.

This was a very healthy symptom which showed that the Party is turning in the correct direction and is taking its responsibilities seriously. To be sure the discussion both prior to and in the Congress could have been vastly better and could have been of a much higher standard politically. To ensure this bolshevisation of the Party and a thorough political clarification among the Party members stands as one of the essential and primary tasks of the new leadership of the C.P.H.

It is noteworthy in dealing with the new leadership of C.P.H. to bear in mind that not one solitary delegate or district in the Congress proposed any of the right-wing opportunist leaders for the new Central Committee. Their policy of accepting decisions in words but sabotaging them in deeds has been thoroughly exposed, and the Party has in its Congress decisively repudiated them and their corrupt Social Democratic Policy.

The new C.C. of the C.P.H. has very serious responsibilities to undertake immediately. These responsibilities involve not only that the C.C. is united and energetic but also that it is politically clear and determined. The main task of the C.C. is to turn the Party's face to the working masses. To be sure the clarification of the Party itself politically by means of a thorough discussion is a necessity, but this political discussion must be of a positive character. It must be in the main a discussion concerned with the task of winning the leadership of the masses, with the task of effectively exposing and fighting Social Fascism, with the task of how to root the Party solidly and unshakably in the workshops and factories, etc. etc.

The Party and the new C.C. must realise that in Holland the rising wave of struggle is occurring under their eyes. In factory after factory, in workshop after workshop, struggles and strikes are continually breaking out. The Party must understand that in practically every workshop and factory in Holland there is seething discontent among the workers at their conditions: discontent at the low wages, at the overtime, at the speeding-up, at the dismissals, at the brutal terrorism that prevails. It is the task of our Party to make this discontent articulate, to show the workers how and when and why they must fight to better their conditions. It is the task of the Party to organise the discontented and militant workers for action. It is the essence of opportunism to fail to realise that the Party has to stimulate and lead the workers into action.

The old opportunist leadership of the Party proclaimed their willingness to place themselves at the head of strikes when these break out. They failed to realise that it is the task of the Party to lead the workers into action and not to drag behind the masses. In this connection the new C.C. must orientate the whole Party to the factories and workshops.

In this connection the party leadership must beware of the

dangers of over-estimating the hold which Social Democracy has upon the workers and of under-estimating the fighting spirit of the Dutch workers. The Party leadership must recognise that although many workers have voted for the Social-Fascists, yet dialectically they are in practice voting against them by the repeated strikes and struggles in the factories. In this connection the systematic regular issuing of factory papers is of tremendous importance, and every local and district must be made conscious of the political necessity for this.

The turn of the Party towards the problem of rooting itself in the factories must not be approached in a purely mechanical schematic fashion. It is a life and death question for the Party, and every resource should be strained, every avenue exploited, every method tried in order to win success. Every bit of organisation in the Party should be devoted to the task of making articulate and vocal the grievances and demands of the masses and leading them into action, and every action and move must result in a further strengthening of our organisation. In this connection the Political Resolution and the Resolution on Economic Struggles laid down the general basis and groundwork for the new leadership to work upon.

The Party must also from now on give greater attention and help to the Colonial Question. The colonial question is for the C.P.H. an immediate question of rendering effective help and guidance and assistance to the struggling Indonesian peoples now.

Finally, the Party must radically transform the organ of the Party, "De Tribune", into a real paper of the working masses. They must realise that the paper is our best organiser in Holland. To think that a Communist daily paper does not carry a standing invitation to the masses to join their paper is a sufficient commentary upon how the right opportunist leadership viewed the paper. In this connection the paper and the development of the sale of the paper into a real mass organ of the workers of Holland is an imperative necessity.

The Party leadership must immediately begin a drive to recruit workers into the Party. The objective situation is favourable, and by the development of socialist competition among our locals and districts, by the carrying through of incessant propaganda for this purpose, very good results can be obtained for our Party. The sectarian tendencies which have hitherto blocked all progress must be ruthlessly beaten down and a real sustained drive made to consolidate the Party's influence in terms of fresh membership.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

American Standard Oil Murders More Workers.

By Alex G. Richman

The Standard Oil Trust has again given the workers of America a terrible reminder that it operates non-union. On Feb. 18 it murdered 11 workers and injured 100 others in an explosion and fire at its Linden, New Jersey, refinery. A dozen other workers are dying and scores are permanently blinded, crippled and burned. Terrific speedup, rationalisation and absolute contempt what few safety laws there are were the cause of the explosion, although attempts are being made to frame up "disgruntled" workers for the crime.

This explosion is an object lesson on American industrial conditions. While the Standard Oil lawyer, Charles E. Hughes, is being made chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, and his boss, John D. Rockefeller, is golfing in Florida, the trust rejoices to say that there was comparatively little property damage at the explosion and fire. In passing we might recall that the former chief justice, W. H. Taft, received a subsidy of \$10,000 a year from the U.S. Steel Trust, even while he sat in the Supreme Court, and it is quite likely that Hughes remains on Standard Oil's payroll in one form or another while he goes into the Supreme Court.

Thousands of workers had been discharged in the rationalisation drive just before the explosion occurred, and those who remained were speeded up still more. Safety precautions were so neglected in the mania for profits that the

naphtha pipes were worn to a shell and the gas leaked, yet the company refused to do anything about it. The unorganised workers were unable to make any effective protest and force action on the part of the company. This is the same plant where a few years ago "loony gas" — the kind which is used in war and drives a person crazy before killing him — killed eighteen workers, while the oil trust was manufacturing ethyl gasoline.

While state officials, controlled by Standard Oil, are planning an "investigation" to whitewash the company, the capitalist press does its bit by playing down the murders, and promptly forgetting about it within a day or two. For example, the "truth and nothing but the truth" New York Times, chief organ of Wall Street imperialism, reported the explosion the next day in a headline and six "decks" (secondary headlines), yet did not mention the name of Standard Oil once.

The A. F. of L. and Socialists have betrayed these workers and they have no faith in them. The Trade Union Unity League, affiliated with the Profintern, is pointing out to these workers that only by revolutionary organisation of the employed and unemployed can they force better working conditions, the modification of the speed up to prevent mass murders of the workers, and effectively attack the system that inevitably breeds such conditions.

THE WHITE TERROR

Trial of 29 Communists in Yugoslavia.

Belgrade, 6th March, 1930.

The trial of 29 workers and intellectuals commenced in the beginning of March here before the fascist Special Tribunal. The accused have been incarcerated in the notorious Glavnyatcha since August 1929. The accused are: Anton Clementchitch, Anton Festini, Nomchillo Georgievitch, Anton Iurlin, Radoslav Llumovitch, Iordan Karitch, Mladen Tchonitch, Fadil Maglayitch, Dragutin Kostitch, Raiko Jovanovitch, Vukota Dabitch, Josip Beloncack, Trajan Jovtchevitch, Stevan Mounar, Sreten Zujovitch, Radoslav Nestorovitch, Danilo Raushevitch, Bogdan Bilbija, Omer Alikarlitch, Gojko Samardtchitch, Veselin Maslesha, Dragutin Petrovitch, Dr. Labud Kussovatch, Dr. Milovan Tchetchkovich, Branko Miloshevitch, Ivan Milutinovitch, Alexander Peritch. The charges are alleged membership of the illegal Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the conduct of communist propaganda. As usual, the indictment is based solely on the evidence of police and police agents and on "confessions" extorted in the usual fashion.

There were originally 31 accused, but two of the arrested men were murdered by the police. One was the teacher Brazan Brazanovitch and the other was the secretary of the Yugoslavian Red Cross Dr. Vladimir Neshitch.

In consequence of these murders and the revelations made by the surviving accused concerning the frightful tortures to which they have been subjected in order to extract "evidence", the Yugoslavian authorities have organised a conspiracy of silence concerning the trial and no word about it appears in the press. With this manoeuvre the authorities hope to prevent the appearance of foreign newspaper correspondents at the trial.

All the accused were mercilessly thrashed on their naked bodies with leather thongs. In many cases fingers and arms were broken, flesh burned with glowing cigarette ends and matches. Human excrement was thrust into the mouths of some of the prisoners and the lawyer Dr. Raiko Jovanovitch had his big toe broken. The journalist Bozdan Bilbija, the student Ivan Milutinovitch and the doctor Milovan Tchetchkovich were so frightfully mishandled and tortured that the police were compelled to transport them from the police prison to hospital where a serious operation was performed on Bilbija immediately in an effort to save his life.

The record of the Special Tribunal in Belgrade in the short period of its existence is: 42 trials in which 146 persons were convicted, 2 to death and 144 to a total of 644 years and 6 months hard labour. The present accused must expect sentences which mean slow murder in the hell holes of the slaughter-king Karageorgievitch and his right-hand man Zivkovitch. The prisoners and their relatives appeal to their comrades in the outside world to break down the conspiracy of silence and to expose the frightful terror to the world.

ECONOMICS

Rationalisation in the British Cotton Industry.

By U. (London).

The position of the British Cotton industry has gone from bad to worse during the past year and the unemployment figures are now steadily mounting from week to week. At present 20% of the insured workers in the industry are unemployed. The beginning of rationalisation in a number of weaving sheds, coupled with the closing down, in recent months of many mills and weaving sheds accounts for the rapidly mounting unemployment figures.

During the last 8 or 9 years since the slump, the surplus labour in the industry has been to a large extent cloaked by the employers policy of working short time in the spinning section, and in weaving by setting the workers to attend fewer looms than the normal number which is 4. For many years few weavers have worked 4 looms continuously but have worked 2 or 3 some weeks and 4 occasionally. They have also frequently had to wait for material and being all on piece rates their weekly earnings have usually been far below the average full time earnings viz: £ 2 to £ 2.50.

A calculation made in 1928 on the existing average yearly production showed a figure of 80,000 as the total surplus labour in the industry. That figure would be higher today as there has been a further decline in production since 1928.

Exports of piece goods are 40% below pre-war and home consumption 33% less.

Rationalisation which is now beginning, is bound not only to reveal quite clearly the labour surplus shown above but also enormously to increase that surplus. It will specially affect the weaving section where workers will be set to attend 8 to 10 ordinary power looms, or 30 to 40 automatic looms, thereby throwing thousands onto the streets. Not only will the reduction of the labour force in the various weaving sheds cause widespread unemployment but many concerns in both spinning and weaving will be forced to close down entirely by the coming competition of the large amalgamation now being formed viz: the Lancashire Cotton Corporation. Before all it must be stated that the 8 loom system has been tried out for some months in 9 sheds in Burnley and it is now being attempted against the resistance of the workers to introduce it in other places. There has also been some substitution of automatic looms in a few places but as yet the battle has hardly begun on account of the straightened circumstances of many concerns and the known opposition of the workers.

From the capitalist point of view the British cotton industry is in as great, or greater, need of being rationalised than the coal industry. At the same time the difficulties in the way of such rationalisation are perhaps even greater on account of the very many small and inefficient units of production, the extreme sectionalism of the industry and the widespread belief among the cotton capitalists, arising from their past advantages, that the "depression" is temporary and that sooner or later Lancashire will again be supreme in the world's cotton markets. It has also seemed until recently that the tremendous debt charges which have been weighing down the industry since the re-flotation, in 1919 and 1920, of the greater part of the section spinning American cotton were preventing the possibility of rationalisation. But it would seem now that it is precisely the most indebted mills which are likely to be amalgamated on account of the pressure brought to bear upon them by the banks to whom they owe enormous sums of money.

All attempts during the last three years at voluntary cooperation amongst many concerns have broken down. It is true that it is their burden of debt which makes it impossible for the majority of enterprises to improve their productive capacity, reorganise etc., but it is also true that the banks are now forcing the financial support from the banks which is required to "rationalise" the industry. Many mills are in actual fact owned by the banks since their debt charges

amount to as much or more than the present value of their fixed assets. In the boom of 1919 and 1920 the majority of the mills in the American section were refloated or recapitalised. The average price at which mills were sold in those days was about seven times their original share capitalisation. The position can be seen from the following figures relating to 109 limited companies which changed hands during the boom.

	Amount of
Spindles	former share capital
10 511.792	£ 4,765.260

The difference between the purchase price and the new capital was provided by old or new loan capital and by large advances from the banks.

These advances could never be paid off in consequence of the slump which began in the second half of 1920. More than this, most of the new companies and many of the old have been plunging further and further into debt all these last 9 years. Already in 1927 the average amount of **fixed interest capital** (loans, overdrafts and debentures) per spindle in the case of 171 companies owning 17 million spindles out of Lancashire's total of 37 million used for spinning American cotton came to £ 1.14.0.— more than three times the average **share capital** in pre-war days. Hence nearly all the profits actually made during these last nine years have been going to the banks as interest and have been coming under the heading of **cost of production**. Under this heading of cost of production interest figures frequently amount to almost the same figure as wages cost.

Since by 1928, it was becoming impossible for many concerns to meet their interest payments to the banks or loan holders any longer and since bankruptcies were consequently threatening all round, the banks began to discuss rationalisation schemes themselves in order to save "their property". The result has been the launching of the **Lancashire Cotton Corporation** which began to amalgamate mills early last year with the backing of the Bank of England which is financing it to the extent of £ 2,000,000. This direct participation in industry by the central organ of British finance capital is a new departure in policy but is in effect only part of the process of wiping out independent industrial capital which has for so long played an important part in the textile industries.

The mills being taken over by the corporation are being amalgamated at a valuation, on an average of only 20/- a spindle and with a share capitalisation in the Corporation of only 30/- a spindle. This gives a figure very much lower than the **capitalisation** of the mills which refuse to join the Corporation, i. e. those which are not indebted to the Banks or not sufficiently indebted to be forced to join it. For, as might be expected, the terms of amalgamation give little more than a fictitious interest to the shareholders in the shape of deferred shares and a very small percentage of ordinary shares. The banks which receive income debentures in the Corporation in exchange for their mortgage claims on the mills will be the only beneficiaries since these are the only shares on which interest is likely to be paid for many years. The small unsecured loanholders receive only ordinary shares.

Up to the present the Corporation has examined 200 concerns embracing 19,750,000 spindles and 24,358 looms. 71 of these companies contributing 6½ million spindles and 20,000 looms had accepted the Corporation's offer at the beginning of this year and every week or so there is news of new acceptances. Before long the Corporation will probably control some 10 million spindles (29% of the total spindles in the American section) and 25-30,000 looms.

The low figure at which the mills are being taken over and the consequent advantages which the Corporation will have over all the small cotton spinning companies or individually owned weaving sheds outside is shown by the following figures relating to the 200 concerns examined.

Before Amalgamation	
Share Capital paid up	£ 28,230,618
Creditors (secured and unsecured)	£ 28,890,933
secured being the banks	<u>£ 28,890,933</u>
Total	£ 57,130,541

If Combined in The Lancashire Cotton Corporation	
5½ % Income debentures	£ 12,548 768
6 % Preference shares	383.311
Ordinary shares	13,212.923
Deferred shares	2,371.619
Total	£ 28,516.619

Assets	
Mill valuations (fixed stock)	£ 20,991.245
Stocks etc (other assets)	4,759.842
*) Cash from called up capital	2,516.619
Total	£ 28,516.619

The new capitalisation is therefore about equivalent to the old paid up share capital with all creditors wiped out, or to half the share and fixed interest capital combined. Nearly 75 % of the new capital is held by the loanholders (principally the banks) and moreover all the capital which is likely to pay a dividend viz. the income debentures and preference shares.

The next few years is likely to see the concentration of more and more trade in the hands of the Corporation and the ruin of many cotton enterprises outside. Owing to the advantage of its stronger financial position and the credits at its disposal the Corporation will be able not only to effect big economies by direct buying of raw material and the mercanting of bulk quantities of standard lines but will also be able to recondition its machinery or scrap old machinery and set up new. In spinning it will probably install ring frames in place of some of the old mules; in weaving it will install automatic and semi-automatic looms high speed warping machines etc., although it will be in a position to monopolise most of the trade going, it is not likely to be able to reduce British costs low enough to compete successfully against the Japanese**) consequently British exports are not likely to increase.

The attack on the workers standards has already begun; besides the cut in wages last August, there have already been a few attempts, some successful and some not, to introduce the 8 loom system, but the big attack has not yet commenced. It is likely to commence within the next few months in all the mills and weaving sheds, for once the Corporation had completed the preparations there will not only be an attack on the workers in the mills under its control but an even fiercer attack in those outside, where the employers will be making desperate efforts to keep afloat in spite of the competition of the Corporation by a vicious offensive against the workers. In the factories within the Corporation labour will be rendered far more intense but in weaving at least, wages for a day's work are likely to be a little higher than present earnings since in this way the capitalists hope to divide the workers and break down their opposition.

That the weavers are not only united in defence of their standards of work but ready to take the offensive against the employers is evidenced by the result of the ballot last January for a 25 % increase. A large majority (90,000) voted in favour of strike action. For the moment they are being held back by the Trade Union officials but this will not be for long.

*) Part of the capital paid up on amalgamation is calculated as having gone to pay off some of the creditors.

**) See my article in "Inprecorr" Dec. 13th 1929.

Correction.

An error occurred in the report of the Interview given by Comrade Rykov, which appeared in No 12 of the Inprecorr. page 206 under the title "Comrade Rykov against the Religious Anti-Soviet Agitation". The fourth paragraph should read:

In this connection one cannot find in the whole period since the October Revolution any case where this or that clergyman has been brought before the court for defending some religious thesis or other etc.

IN THE R. I. L. U.

Lessons and Perspectives of the Economic Struggles.

(Continued.)

Our Weaknesses and Shortcomings.

** In the economic struggles of recent date certain glaring weaknesses and defects have come to light. The main defect continues to be that of lagging behind the masses, insufficient preparations of strikes and the consequent inability to get hold of the movement. On the other hand, those strikes headed by R. I. L. U. adherents have revealed, barring rare exceptions, to what extent they have not yet learned to direct the movement of the masses and to what extent survivals of the methods of the reformist trade unions still hold sway in our midst. The most outstanding evidence of these survivals is found in the legalist attitude towards the organs of the bourgeois State, in the inability to bring into the leadership of the strike the workers elected for that purpose at the point of production, a fear of the unorganised, the inability to rally all the strikers and give each of them his definite place in the struggle, a lack of sensibility for the sentiments and moods of the masses, an inability to mobilise all the workers in support of the particular section of labour involved in the fight, the inability to organise the united front from below, the repeated despatch of delegations to the employers, a gap between economic and political demands, and a want of ability rapidly to change the forms and methods of struggle and of mass mobilisation as the situation requires. All this is evidence of the Right deviation in practice.

Training New Cadres.

All these shortcomings compel us to give very serious attention to the problem of cadres. We must frankly admit that we are facing a crisis in the question of cadres. This crisis has deep roots, but it is due chiefly to the fact that a large number of our active militants entered the revolutionary trade union movement with reformist traditions. At every step these social democratic and trade unionist traditions are making themselves felt. It is therefore obvious that we must form new cadres corresponding to the requirements of the new phase of the struggle. Cadres are trained in direct active work, in the struggle.

At the same time we must pay attention to the organisation of schools and courses, where our active workers could improve their knowledge, without for a moment forgetting that the main thing is: — training in the fight, studying from the practice of the every-day struggles. The training of new cadres is the most important political task of the entire revolutionary trade union movement.

Activities in the Shops and the Struggle Against Fascism.

The Central Council again emphasises the importance of organising all our activities around the enterprises. This applies to all countries, whether the movement is legal, semi-legal, or illegal. Activities at the point of production does not necessarily mean that we must organise meetings inside the factory. Where there is such an opportunity, of course, it should be utilised.

In connection with the struggle against Fascism, the question insistently confronts us of organising self-defence corps to resist the fascist bands inside and outside the enterprises. Self-defence corps are of particular importance during economic struggles, for experience has shown that both the bourgeoisie and the social-fascists and the fascists organise special squads to smash strikes and terrorise the strikers. The formation of defence corps, therefore is an imperative necessity.

The Central Council warns all organisations against underestimating the danger of the penetration of fascist agents into the enterprises, and proposes to all the R. I. L. U. Sections to conduct a vigorous and systematic struggle against all

forms and aspects of penetration by fascist organisations into the working masses, driving their agents out of the factories and mills.

The International Character of the Economic Struggles and International Leadership.

The outstanding feature of the present stage of the class struggle is that usually the significance of the economic strikes extends far beyond the confines of the given country. This is so, first of all, because the growth of international trusts and concerns increases the industrial-economic connections between the enterprises on different sides of the frontiers, that the international organisations of the employers give financial support to employers involved in a dispute with their workers, and that the employers during prolonged and stubborn strikes, get their orders carried out in other countries. All this confronts the R. I. L. U. adherents with the problem of organising international actions such as strikes, boycotts, etc. But for this purpose it is necessary to establish far closer connections between the workers in the same industry directly and through the corresponding I. C. P. A.'s. In this respect it is advisable to utilise the experience on concluding special solidarity pacts between the workers of neighbouring countries, agreements for competition in assisting strikers, etc. It is especially important to unite the workers of international trusts and concerns for the purpose of organising simultaneous and joint action and mutual support in economic struggles.

The international character of the economic struggles confronts the R. I. L. U. with the question of international leadership and direct organisational assistance to the strikers. The Central Council instructs the Executive Bureau to study this question, and making use of the forces and means of all the R. I. L. U. Sections, to follow the line of direct participation in the leadership of the economic struggles.

Organisation of International Support.

Despite the fact that the workers of one country are directly interested in the success of the struggle of workers in other countries mutual support during strikes was until now most insignificant. Much is due to insufficient international education of both the masses and our cadres. Such isolation of the economic struggles is a danger not only for the issue of the given strikes, but also for the strikes in neighbouring countries, for the workers, left without support and confronted by the powerful employers, will likewise have no thought of extending support when their fellow-workers in other countries will be in need thereof. The Central Council instructs the Executive Bureau to proceed energetically with establishing the International Solidarity Fund, and to prepare for the Fifth Congress of the R. I. L. U. a report on the state of the Fund and the difficulties and obstacles connected with its realisation.

The International Committees for Propaganda and Action

The correct direction and internationalisation of the strike movement require serious organisational-political work to develop and strengthen our forces in the industries and for the further development of the International Committees for Propaganda and Action. This is all the more necessary as with the growth of independent revolutionary unions, the part played by the I. C. P. A.'s in the economic struggle will correspondingly gain in importance. The Central Council instructs the Executive Bureau to develop the work of the I. C. P. A.'s and to consider the question as to which of the I. C. P. A.'s have made such organisational-political progress as to warrant their transformation into revolutionary industrial internationals. The Central Council considers it necessary to enlarge the leading organs of the I. C. P. A.'s by including in them representatives of the largest industrial organisations of the main countries.

The Strike Movement in the Pacific and in Latin-America.

The strike movement, and the growth on this basis of the class-consciousness of the workers in the Pacific area and Latin-America, has resulted in the establishment of two new trade union centres: the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, and the Latin-American Trade Union Confederation. These

centres, in view of the growing economic struggles, are destined to play a very important part, inasmuch as they will be able to utilise the experience of the international labour movement in the impending class struggles.

The Central Council notes with gratification that the Pan-Pacific T. U. Secretariat and the Latin-American T. U. Confederation have united on the class platform the majority of the organised workers in the Pacific area and Latin-America. These two broad organisations of the united front, uniting both organisations adhering to the R. I. L. U. and those not yet affiliated to it, are of all the greater importance as they have drawn into the organised international labour movement such sections of the workers (Australia, Philippines, India, Ecuador, Colombia, Peru, Paraguay, Cuba, etc.), as hitherto have not been connected with any international. Insofar as both these organisations adhere to the platform of the class struggle, advocate the independence of the colonial peoples, and wage a struggle against the reformist agencies of world imperialism (the International Labour Office, the Amsterdam International, the Pan-American Federation of Labour), the Central Council instructs the Executive Bureau to maintain fraternal relations and to extend all possible assistance in their struggle for the unification of all the workers in the Pacific area and Latin-America, and to share with them our experience in the sphere of directing economic struggles.

Mobilisation of All Workers' Organisations in Economic Struggles.

The R. I. L. U. adherents must make especial efforts during economic struggles to utilise the co-operative, sports, cultural-educational organisations, women's and young workers' leagues, the Workers' International Relief and I. C. P. A. organisation, etc. Experience has shown that some of these organisations do not coordinate their activities, that they often do not do what they could do, some of them even holding the view that they have no relation whatever to the economic struggles of the proletariat. Such a formal attitude on the part of the proletarian organisations to economic struggles must be roundly condemned. Each of the workers' organisations, whatever be the sphere of its activities, must be mobilised for assistance and support in the economic struggles of the proletariat.

The Central Council draws the attention of all sections of the R. I. L. U. to the need for energetic and systematic work in all the workers' organisations with the aim in view of utilising them and preparing reserves for the coming economic struggles.

Conclusion.

The nearing struggles demand of all organisations affiliated to the R. I. L. U. increased activity and intensified work to rally and consolidate their forces, to strengthen the revolutionary trade unions and the revolutionary T. U. Opposition.

The basic task is to occupy firm positions in the key industries (metallurgical, mining, transport, chemical industry), in the public utilities (electricity, gas, etc.), and to make our concrete practical task of the day the winning over of the decisive majority of the working class. We must reorganise our work in accordance with all the tasks which confront us in the new phase of gigantic clashes between Labour and Capital. The slogan of the Fourth R. I. L. U. Congress: "To the Factories! To the Shops! Into the Masses!" is true now as never before.

The Central Council once more points out that the disproportion between the political influence and the organisational reinforcement of this influence has not yet been lessened and that serious leadership of the economic struggles is impossible without the elimination of this discrepancy, without an obdurate struggle against all our weaknesses and defects. Strict self-criticism is the pre-requisite for overcoming this shortcoming. The chief thing is to understand that the new situation requires from all the R. I. L. U. Sections new forms, new methods, and a new pace in the work, and that the organisational reinforcement of the revolutionary trade union movement is the most important political task at the given stage of the maturing class struggles.

PROLETARIAN COMMEMORATION DAYS

The Thirteenth Anniversary of the February Revolution.

By D. Saslavsky.

On the eve of the thirteenth anniversary of the fall of Tsarism, the international Bourgeoisie played the miserable Kutyepov comedy and the farce of the "Crusade" against the Soviet Union in the name of "religious liberty". In all countries the white guardist emigrants have begun to get active. The old rotten and decrepit Tsarist Generals are adopting youthful postures and preparing for a new intervention. Everything is being done in order to show the world that the old Russia, the Russia of the Tsars and the bourgeoisie, has not yet sunk finally into its grave, that it still lives and can return. That is an indispensable part of the programme of preparation for new armed intervention. When, ten years ago, Pilsudski, the second-rate Polish Napoleon, made war on the Soviet Union, there followed in his train the "Ukrainian Government", which had been fixed up in Warsaw. This was the notorious Petljura and his handful of followers. To-day such "Government", whose place is in the train of the capitalist intervention, are again being hatched out. History will again consign them to the rubbish heap, when the new intervention miserably collapses.

But this bourgeois comedy still makes some impression on the masses of the petty bourgeoisie and partly also on the peasants in the capitalist countries. Many believe that in the Soviet Union the population — particularly the peasantry — is discontented with the Soviet Power.

Under the influence of the anti-Soviet agitation, the peasants in a French village recently addressed a letter directly to the peasants of the Soviet Union. In this letter the French peasants ask: "Is it true that you are longing for the old regime and your little father, Tsar Nicolas II? Is it true that you are longing for the Grand Duke? Is it true that your land does not belong to you? Is it true that you have only experienced a change of oppressors — Red instead of the former Whites? Is it true that you are just the same ignorant, pious and vodka-drinking peasants; that your new masters plague you? Tell us fully about your life, how is the soil cultivated, how is it fertilised, how much hay do you harvest, how much potatoes, rye and other crops per hectare? Tell us also whether you still have the former wooden ploughs and broken down horses? ...

I cannot enumerate all the questions here. The French peasants put very plain and blunt questions. Reporting regarding their own conditions, they say that the position of the middle and poor peasants in France is becoming more and more difficult; that the "independent" peasant is in reality the slave of the capitalist banks; that the farms are being crushed under the burden of taxation and that only the big farmers are flourishing.

The letter from the French peasants was published in the "Orlovskaya Pravda". This newspaper, which appears in a rural area where there is very little industry and has a peasantry which for the most part starved and led a miserable existence under tsarism, is read by innumerable peasants. In this district the former landed-proprietors were particularly strong, while the peasants were more than usually ignorant and backward.

Before me lies a huge pile of letters from peasants — answers to the French peasants. It was impossible to publish even one tenth of them in the paper which appears in Orlov. An uninterrupted stream of letters poured in even from the remotest villages. Amongst them are letters sent by village meetings, by village Soviets, letters from individual peasants, from members of collective farms and from individual farms, from young peasants, from members of the Red Army etc. Together they constitute a lively description of the situation obtaining at the anniversary of the overthrow of despotism.

That these letters are in answer to a newspaper article is

something absolutely new, and altogether inconceivable of the Russian village under Tsarism. Under Tsarism the peasant did not read any newspaper. If they fell into his hands, he used them as cigarette paper. The Village was almost completely illiterate. Today the peasants write with pride in all their letters that there are only a few left in their village who are unable to read and write. It is true, the letters show that their knowledge of reading and writing is not very expert. Many write such a fist that it is very hard to decipher. But almost all can read, and understand what they read.

Another remarkable thing about these peasant letters is the extraordinary interest they reveal in the questions put the French peasants. The peasant in the pre-revolutionary time only knew what was happening in his own village, and at the most of events in the neighbouring town. A letter from French peasants would at that time never have interested the mass of the peasantry. Today they are not only interested in it, but reply to it. All wish to take up the pen and write an answer. All want to convince the French that they, the Russian peasants, have done things in the proper manner. Each one of them regards it almost as an affront that today, on the 13th anniversary of the February Revolution, people could still believe of the Soviet peasant that he desires a return of the "little father Nicolas", that he is beaten, that he still ploughs with the primitive wooden plough etc. In all these letters there is to be discerned a feeling of indignation, of repudiation, a decisive protest against the bourgeois lies.

We will give only one quotation from these letters: "Dear Brother, you ask us whether we are longing for Nicolas II. Excuse our blunt way of putting it. Yes, we long for him as much as the dog longs for the whip. Ask any pioneer, he will answer this question for you!"

And in all these letters the peasants, who know how to reply intelligently to the question regarding the harvest and the cultivation of the land, speak of the great process of collectivisation which has set in. They conceal nothing; they speak of the fight which is being conducted in the village against the kulaks, of various mistakes and difficulties. But the general tone of this pile of letters is one of confidence and will to fight.

This mood is particularly characteristic of the present juncture. For the 13th anniversary of the overthrow of the autocracy differs from a number of former such anniversaries precisely in the fundamental change in the mass of the middle peasantry. Thirteen years ago Tsarism cherished a stupid belief in the "monarchist feelings" of the peasants. It was thought at that time that only the workers and the radical bourgeois intelligentsia were capable of revolution. Therefore to many people the "betrayal" of Tsarism by the masses of the peasants was something quite unexpected. But they got reconciled to this, seeking to explain it as due to the hatred of the peasants for the big landowners. But not only the monarchist Generals but also the Liberals and "socialists" still stuck to the obstinate blind belief that the middle peasant is unquestionably a fanatical supporter of private property, who would never permit the collective cultivation of the land and never follow the banner of socialism. Therefore, the whole counter-revolution, from the monarchists to the Mensheviks, eagerly awaited the moment when the little peasant, as the supporter of private property, would finally show his teeth to the Bolsheviks, when he would call back the old crowd which had fled abroad, in order to save his individual farm. The furious resistance of the kulaks to the collective farm movement appeared to the counter-revolutionaries precisely as that phenomenon so eagerly awaited.

But the middle peasant who so cruelly "betrayed" the Tsar thirteen years ago, has not less cruelly disappointed the whole of the Liberal bourgeoisie, from Miljukov to the Menshevik Dan. The proletarian revolution spread and took deeper root uninterruptedly. It acquired an ever broader social basis and was able upon this basis to group around it those strata of the toilers who at first only partially supported the revolution. It is by no means a mere chance that the thirteenth anniversary of the overthrow of despotism is accompanied by such events as the mass entry of whole factories, hundreds and thousands of workers into the Communist Party, and the wholesale going over in whole districts, of millions of peasants to collective farming.

PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

The Contemporary Struggle against War and the Lessons of the Berne Women's Conference.

By Käthe Pohl.

A terrible danger of new imperialist wars is threatening the working men and women of the world.

The papers of all countries, while carrying fake disarmament headlines, give daily reports on actual armament facts. The military expenditures of the capitalist countries are growing into millions and thousands of millions. Military technique, the technique of human destruction, makes gigantic strides forward. War experts and politicians say openly that there will be no rear in the coming war.

General von Sect, head of the German Reichswehr, publicly stated that:

"It is now absolutely impossible to take any measures to save one's country at its borders from the fate of becoming a theatre of war. The only method of defence is that of effecting the same destruction and devastation in the enemy country." (Minutes of the Magdeburg Congress of German Social Democracy, 1929, page 147).

Dittmann, the reporter on the question of the military programme at the Magdeburg Congress of the German Social Democrats, 1929, described the fate of the "rear" in the future war as follows:

"When the fronts in the autumn of 1914 during the world war stagnated in a stationary war and the number and quality of aeroplanes was still weak, one could . . . without obstruction . . . mobilise all national energy for the production of ammunition. But will that be possible now when scores, nay hundreds of enemy aeroplanes will be showering bombs on the ammunition works? Will it be possible under such conditions to keep the working men and women in the factories? Will not a universal panic drive the people from the industrial centres and big towns to the villages? (ibid, p. 117.)

Such is the hellish outlook for the future. There will be no rear in the war. The first aim of each of the belligerents will be to destroy the sources of the military strength of the opponent — the war industry and transport.

Not only the workers at the fronts, but all proletarian centres, all towns where workers live and work, will be centres of enemy attack.

The working women will not only be waiting for news about the death of their husbands and sons at the front, they will be exposed to bomb showers which will be falling upon the heads of their children and upon themselves "in the rear". The only consolation of the British working woman for instance who in the event of war with the United States will perish from American bombs and poison gases will be, according to such an authority as General von Sect, the knowledge that they are "defended" by British aviators who throw bombs on the American working women and their children....

The social traitor, Dittmann, this time said the truth about the danger threatening the working men and women, but only in order to draw from it the following false conclusion:

"Will not then the whole population demand the cessation of the senseless mutual extermination from the air and will it not refuse to develop the 'military potentialities'?"

(Military potentialities — a new French term describing the capacity of the industry of a given country to develop the production of articles needed for the conduct of war.)

It is hard to imagine a cruder and more criminal lie than the prospect advanced by Dittmann.

The "population", i. e. chiefly the working women showered upon with bombs from the air will grow indignant and demand from the government: "Please stop the senseless murder from the air. Better kill our husbands thoughtfully on the land and on the sea."

Dittmann's prophecy that the working women will stop or

"bridle" the war in the air, the contention of the II. International that the proletariat can prevent war under capitalism, that it can force the bourgeoisie to disarm, or at least to refrain from using poison gases and bacteria in war — all this is the most dangerous and most criminal deception of the working men and women.

Even members of the II. International are at times forced to disclose the lie. To believe that the bourgeoisie can be forced to disarm or even to discard the use of gas and bacteria in the future war is the same as to hope to place an umpire with a whistle over the battle-field in time of war, just as in time of a box-fight. This is what Mr. Fenner-Brockway, a British socialist, candidly said at the Brussels international Congress, and the socialist "disarmers" did not repudiate him with indignation but answered with a good-natured laugh.

The working women today comprise one-third of the proletariat. The tens of millions of women in the factories, on the railways, in commercial enterprises and offices, constitute a tremendous force. How is this force to be used in order to prevent a "bomb shower" over the proletarian centres? How is the fight to be waged against war when it begins?

The experience of struggle of the working women during the first world war and particularly the work of the International Berne conference of socialist women, the 15th anniversary of which will take place at the end of March 1930, help to answer these questions.

The Berne conference was called by Clara Zetkin on the initiative of Lenin and the Bolsheviks.

Lenin and the Bolsheviks believed that the tremendous role played by female labour during the war and the terrific growth of exploitation and sufferings of the working women because of the war render these women a most powerful revolutionary factor in the struggle against war.

The Bolsheviks therefore moved at the women's conference in Berne a resolution publicly condemning the betrayal of the proletariat by the old official parties of the II International after August 4, to proclaim the necessity for the revolutionary socialists to split away from the social chauvinists and centrists a la Kautsky who protect them, and to call upon the working women to get ready for a struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie as the only way of putting most speedily an end to the war and preventing other wars.

The conference however did not have the courage to take this consistent revolutionary path, and rejected the Bolshevik resolution.

The conference said nothing in its resolutions and manifesto to the working women about the betrayal of the Parties of the II. International and merely urged the working women "to fight for peace" without explaining that only a struggle of the proletariat for power constitutes a real and earnest struggle for peace.

But although having put forward the inadequate "struggle for peace" slogan the conference called upon the working women "not to lose any time and opportunity in using all means at their disposal in order to demonstrate their solidarity and their desire for peace, fearless of obstacles and persecution, resorting to all forms of mass action".

These words called for a revolutionary struggle against war, and insofar as the appeal of the Berne conference reached the working women it certainly helped to stimulate revolutionary action.

And there were not a few such actions in the years of 1914/18. The first demonstrations and strikes against war in Germany, France and other countries were organised primarily by working women. On March 18, 1914 the working women of Germany were the first to come out on the street, they were the first publicly to whistle at Scheidemann and to greet Karl Liebknecht. Thus the Berne conference was of some use to the proletarian movement, notwithstanding its big political mistakes.

But why did that conference make those mistakes? Why did it not decide to take the path indicated by Lenin?

Because it was not backed by strong organised ranks of conscious revolutionary proletarian women. The women's socialist movement in 1914 was not yet sufficiently ripe in politics.

The lesson to be drawn is clear. In 1930 and in subsequent years the working women must not repeat the mistakes of 1914—1918.

In the daily and sharpening struggles against capitalism and in the struggle against the danger of war it is necessary

to organise the growing masses of working women and to illuminate their minds with the light of Lenin's teachings. We mobilise the broad masses of working women — this powerful revolutionary force in the general revolutionary army — for the struggle against capital and the danger of war, for the struggle for power.

BOOK REVIEWS

Bill Haywood's Book*).

The Autobiography of William D. H. Haywood.

By Bertha Braunthal.

America, which has always been described by the social democrats and the reformist trade union leaders as the paradise of the workers, in which the proletariat can reach a high standard of living without any struggles, is now in the throes of great revolutionary movements, called forth by the severe economic crisis which throws millions of workers out of work and plunges them into utter misery. A book throwing a very interesting light on the development of the American labour movement in the last half century and one which is practically indispensable to every worker who wishes to have a historical background to the present working class movement in imperialist America is Bill Haywood's Book. It vividly and graphically describes the decade-long hard, bloody struggles of the American workers for decent wages and the eight-hour day, and against the arbitrariness and brutality of the employers.

Bill Haywood himself has played no small part in these struggles. He was born in 1869 in the west of America and had already as a boy to work for his living. He lost one eye at the age of seven, but this loss does not seem to have handicapped him in his active and adventurous career. At the age of 15 he got a job in a mine and experienced all the hardships of a miner's life. He soon developed a fighting spirit, which was outraged by the sight of a terrible lynching of a Negro, which he witnessed in his boyhood, and by the ghastly massacre of the Piute Indians at Thacker Pass, when men, women and children were killed while asleep, although the Indians had committed no offence.

But the turning point in Haywood's life was the **Chicago Haymarket case** in 1886, when eight revolutionary strike leaders were convicted and executed on the trumped up charge of having thrown a bomb in Haymarket square on May 4th. By quoting the simple and inspiring speeches delivered by the accused before the court, Haywood has helped to enshrine the memory of these brave workers in the heart of every proletarian, striving for the emancipation of his class. And as a counterpart to these heroes of the working class, **Sam Gompers**, who declared before the same court as a witness, that

"he has differed all his life from the principles and methods of the condemned"

is portrayed in the following scathing manner:

"This squat specimen of humanity certainly did not personify the membership of the American Federation of Labour. Sam was very short and chunky with a big head that was bald in patches, resembling a child suffering with ringworm. He had small snapping eyes, a hard cruel mouth, wide with thin drooping lips, heavy jaws and jowls. A personality vain, conceited, petulant and vindictive. Looking at him I could realise the passion of cruelty with which this person would wield power if he had it. It was easy to understand how Gompers could plead for men who were facing the noose of the executioners with his tongue in his cheek and his heart reeking with hypocrisy. One could realise that he might even refer jokingly to the defeat of a great labour struggle, if it were being conducted by an organisation that was not strictly in accordance with his views. To look at him

was to know that he could protest against giving relief to women and children."

The most brilliant pages of Haywood's life are closely connected with his activity as secretary and leader of the **Western Federation of Miners**, which was founded in 1893 out of the Knights of Labour. The glorious history of this union, which conducted big strikes of the miners at Colorado City, Cripple Creek, Denver, some of them lasting for years, for the enforcement of the eight-hour day and higher wages, the terrible atrocities of the military and citizen's alliance, which had been called in by the employers, the explosions in the mines, which furnished the pretext to prosecute the striking miners, the deportations, murders of miners during these strikes are vividly described in the book.

With the growth of industrial unionism the revolutionary workers of America felt the need for the formation of one general organisation which would comprise all the unions and fight on a common basis of class struggle against the exploiters. The Western Federation of Miners took the initiative, and in conjunction with the American Labour Union and the United Railway workers Union, the **Industrial Workers of the World** (I. W. W.) was founded in 1905. This organisation, which was joined by Eugen V. Debs, has also to its credit the militant leadership of a number of strikes, such as the Lawrence textile workers and Patterson silk strikes, each of which involved 25 000 workers, the strike of the rubber workers at Akron etc. But the I. W. W. was soon rent by inner differences, split into two wings on personal grounds, weakened by the withdrawal of the W. F. M., which after Bill Haywood's resignation became an opportunist body and finally landed in the camp of the A. F. L. As a result, the I. W. W., which was savagely persecuted by the whole bourgeoisie on account of its class and anti-war activities, got involved in a trial, which ended in the class court, in an atmosphere dominated by war fever and anti-red hysteria, sentencing all the leaders of the organisation to long terms of imprisonment up to 20 years. When Bill Haywood, after a year imprisonment, left America for good in 1920 to find brotherly hospitality among the Russian workers, the I. W. W. in America collapsed completely.

Bill Haywood, who died on May 18th in Moscow and was buried under the Kremlin wall in the Red Square, was the typical representative of the American working class. Unbribable, filled with unquenchable hatred against the exploiters and their capitalist State, fearless of dangers, self sacrificing, in theory he lacked a clear outlook of the future of the working class, of the function of the State and the role of a revolutionary party. He was not a Marxist, but a syndicalist, who believed in the unions taking over the control of industry, according to the principles of the W. F. M. "by means of lease, bond, location or purchase". In this respect his speech at the III. World Congress of the Communist International is very characteristic; he openly declared that the Russian Revolution was won not by the Communists but by the workers. In making this distinction, Haywood showed his complete lack of understanding of the relationship of the Party to the working class, and its indispensable role as leader. Further he claimed that the paralysis of Russian industry at the time (Summer 1921) was due to the fact, that the Russian working class was not organised economically, and that it would have been much easier for Russian industry to recover, if the Russian workers had enjoyed the same revolutionary scientific training as the members of the I. W. W.

Although the record of Bill Haywood's life is so rich in heroic struggles against the all-powerful Dollar capitalism and must ever remain a source of inspiration to all class-conscious workers, it confirms in the most striking manner Lenin's famous dictum, that without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary practice.

It remains the historical task of the Communist Party of America, under the leadership and guidance of the Comintern, to take over and preserve the best traditions of the militant and class-conscious movement of which Bill Haywood was such an outstanding representative, combining them with the correct, Marxist-Leninist theory by which alone it will be possible to build up a real revolutionary mass Party capable of overthrowing that colossus—American Imperialism.

* London, Martin Lawrence Limited. Price 7/6 net.