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Increased Revolutionary Activity in India.

By V. Chattpadhyaya.

In the midst of confidential "peace" parleys with the principal imprisoned leaders of the Indian National Congress, the Government of India suddenly arrested all the members of the Working Committee who had assembled to hold a meeting in Delhi on August 25th, the Government order declaring it to be an "unlawful assembly". Among those arrested are such veteran moderates as Dr. Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

This drastic action was immediately preceded by the agitation of the die-hards in England and of the so-called "European" Association in India. While the former have been clamouring, as usual, for "martial law and no damned nonsense", the latter, representing the interests of British commerce, industry, banking and the Civil Service, have recently begun demanding stern repressive measures. At a conference of delegates of all branches of the Association held in Calcutta on August 25th to 27th, resolutions were passed calling upon the Government to declare the Congress an illegal body and to suppress it throughout India, as well as to abandon the policy of making concessions or holding conferences.

These resolutions merely reflected the intentions of the Government which found itself compelled "to demonstrate that it has both the powers effectively to deal with subversive activities and intends to use them to prevent its own subversion". British imperialism is faced with a really revolutionary situation, and, while it is most anxious to make concessions in order to win the support of the nationalist leaders, it is making a show of force in order to create the impression that it is not granting concessions out of fear. This is the traditional imperialist policy of repression and conciliation that is being carried out with even greater virulence by the "Labour" Government.

The action taken against the Congress leaders does not prove that these are revolutionary, but only that their surrender, which is inevitable, is being rendered difficult and being delayed owing to the tremendous pressure from the masses. The movement is in reality a spontaneous mass revolt without a clear revolutionary programme and without revolutionary leadership. Notwithstanding the frequently manifested anxiety of the principal leaders to come to an "honourable peace" with British imperialism, the mass pressure

has compelled the Congress Committees all over the country to reject the peace negotiations, declare a sharpening of the boycott and of the non-payment of (certain) taxes, and assert their determination to stand by the Lahore resolution on full national independence.

For this reason, and in the absence of a revolutionary All-India organisation to coordinate and direct the various anti-imperialist currents, it is the Indian National Congress that lays claim to the leadership of the movement. But the composition of the Congress movement has undergone important changes. The Congress Committees are dominated by the youth, the radical middle-class intelligentsia, and in a number of provinces, by the national revolutionary terrorists. It is the pressure of these groups that is compelling the older leaders to continue the use of radical phraseology, while negotiating for "peace". A striking example of this is supplied by *Vitalbhai J. Patel*, whose histrionic resignation of his post as Speaker of the Indian Legislative Assembly, has given him a certain amount of popularity as a leader. At a mass meeting of 25,000 persons in Agra on July 31st, Patel declared that the "so-called peace negotiations are premature and futile", that they "distracted the masses from the struggle", and that the "present was a fight to the finish and that the fight must be kept up till the country gained independence". He emphasised the fact that "complete transfer of the control of the Army was essential if India is to enjoy the 'substance of independence'". But the same V. J. Patel took part (along with *Pandit Malaviya* and other leaders who had been using similar radical phrases) in the "peace" negotiations conducted by the Viceroy's agents.

But while the Congress Committees, as well as the Youth Leagues and volunteer organisations dominated by the Congress, are extremely active in keeping up and intensifying the movement of civil disobedience (e. g., breach of forest laws, defiance of police orders, etc.), of non-payment of taxes, of withdrawal from schools and colleges, of picketing liquor and foreign cloth shops, of the boycott of British goods, etc., they are also trying to draw in the workers and peasants into the Congress, and thereby to hinder the growth of the revolutionary movement. In Bombay particularly, every effort is being made to make the mill hands join the Congress and carry on their struggle under the Congress flag. The so-called left wing of the petty-bourgeois Youth League of Bombay is demanding that the Congress should "chalk out a positive programme based upon the immediate interests of the workers and peasants" in accordance with the proposals suggested by *Jawaharlal Nehru* at the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee held in Allahabad in February. At the same time, the reformist trade union leaders are also doing their utmost to appeal to the workers to support the Congress programme. In some cases, successfully, as e. g. in the All-India Railwaymen's Federation, where the reformist *Giri* succeeded in getting a resolution passed "demanding negotiations with *Mahatma Gandhi* on the basis of 'substance of independence'" — a fact gleefully recorded by the I. L. P. organ, the "New Leader" (August 29th). But the workers of Bombay, although they join demonstrations and "hartals" organised by the Congress, as e. g. the mass demonstration in Bombay on August 2nd to celebrate the anniversary of the death of the well-known Nationalist leader, *Bal Gangaghur Tilak* —, do not identify themselves with the Congress. They carry the Red Flag along with the Nationalist Flag, and on the occasion of the Tilak demonstrations, they drove about in motor-lorries shouting "Long live the Revolution!". Nevertheless it would be a grave political and organisational error to underrate the danger to the workers of this highly active Congress propaganda. National reformism and labour reformism have united to try and wean away the workers from the influence of the Communists, who although organisationally weak have a strong ideological hold on the working masses. It is the most urgent task of the Indian Communists today to expose clearly to the workers and peasants the real significance of the tactics of the Nationalist leaders, and to give them a clear revolutionary programme for the conduct of their national and social struggle.

Good work in this respect is being done by the *Naujawan Bharat Sabha* (Revolutionary Youth League) and *Young Workers' League*, whose activities are increasing in spite of the most severe repression by the Government. At Lyallpur in the Panjab, the members of the *Naujawan Bharat Sabha* who had been arrested for "sedition" came to court for trial

on August 4th, clad in red shirts. They raised revolutionary class cries, sang revolutionary songs, and ended their demonstration in court by shouts of "Mahatma Lenin ki Jai". The hearing of the case had to be adjourned. In Bombay all the office-bearers of the *Sabha* as well as the editor of "Revolt", organ of the *Sabha*, and a number of other members have all been sentenced to one year's imprisonment each. But notwithstanding the confiscation of the paper and of the cyclostyle machine by the police, the journal comes out regularly in several Indian languages and is "sold freely in the city". The police action against the *Sabha* and its organ had the effect of leading to the publication of new cyclostyled revolutionary journals such as "Rebellion", in *Gujrati*, and "Revolution" and "Flame" in English.

During the last few weeks there has been, as was expected, a strong development of terrorist activities, especially in the Province of Bengal where there are a number of well-organised secret terrorist societies. It was one of these societies that had organised the sensational attack upon the Arsenal in Chittagong in the early days of the present campaign. They have now begun to respond to the general police terror and oppression by organising bomb attacks upon police officials and police stations. The attempt made a few days ago on Sir Charles Tegart, the Chief Commissioner of Police in Calcutta and certainly the man most hated by the revolutionaries failed, as most of these attacks had previously failed. These societies are recruited mainly from among the poorer middle-class youth who have no contact with the masses and who see in terrorism the only outlet for their devotion to the cause of national independence.

The student movement has also developed very rapidly, and hundreds of students are now under arrest for picketing the schools and colleges and for persuading other students to leave these institutions. In Bengal and Bombay particularly, the students have been very active in Congress work (boycott, picketing etc.). In some schools where teachers have attempted to carry out the instructions of the Government to prevent students from participating in the national struggle, they have been often assaulted by the students. Among the students, as among the petty-bourgeois sections generally, there is a sharp division growing between the Nationalists and the Communists, as was shown at the proceedings of the Bombay Students' Conference where the nationalist president refused to allow the Congress platform to be used for preaching socialism or, as he said, "to be turned into a murderous, violent socialistic platform". Nevertheless the growing want of employment among the educated middle-class youth is driving them into revolutionary channels, and the number of students, clerks, commercial employees etc. who see their salvation in the revolutionary working class movement is certainly growing.

As we have pointed out in previous articles, the peasant movement is steadily growing both in *Gujrat* (where the *Ryotwari* system of land tenure prevails) as well as in *Bihar*, *Bengal* and the *United Provinces* (where the *Zamindari* system prevails). The movement is being considerably hampered by reason of the fact that the Congress Committees do not allow it to develop under the slogans of unconditional expropriation and the agrarian revolution. For this reason, the peasant movement is still confined in the *Zamindari* Provinces to the non-payment of the *Chaukidari* (watchman's) taxes which are collected directly by the Government. There have been serious conflicts between the peasants and the police in a very large number of villages in these provinces, and the movement is gaining ground in spite of the confiscation by the police of the property of the peasants.

According to the statistics published by the Congress Committees, the Government arrested 15,989 persons during two months ending June 15th. The total number of arrests up to the end of August is estimated at between 20,000 and 25,000. The conditions in the jails have led to hunger-strikes in almost all the important prisons. It is interesting also that non-political prisoners are being released in large numbers before the expiry of their terms in order to make room for the batches of political prisoners that are being brought in daily.

There is not the least doubt that there will be a considerable intensification of the revolutionary movement during the next few months, accompanied, of course, by more severe repression than India has yet been subjected to under any other Government in Great Britain.

A Historical Day in Hungary.

Street Fighting in Budapest.

Under the tremendous pressure of the working masses, who are becoming more and more revolutionary, the Hungarian social democracy had decided to hold street demonstrations against unemployment in Budapest and other towns in Hungary on 1st September, these demonstrations to be connected with partial stoppages of work. It was intended that these demonstrations should, like that of May 1st, proceed quite peacefully, i. e., should keep strictly within the bounds of the law and should be marked by fraternisation between the police and the social democratic stewards, and help to restore the very battered "prestige" of the social democracy in the eyes of the workers. But things turned out otherwise. The Communist Party immediately issued the slogan: General Strike and Fighting Demonstrations, and, as events prove, the masses followed this slogan. On September 1st, hundreds and thousands went on strike, appeared on the streets and took up the fight against hunger, against unemployment and against the fascist government. Never since the overthrow of the Soviet Dictatorship in Hungary has Budapest seen such masses on the streets. The spirit of revolutionary defiance could not be broken even in the bloodiest days of the White Terror. But it expressed itself only in smaller demonstrations, leaflets and placards — fitful flashes of lightning against the dark background of the rule of counter-revolution. The broad masses, however, remained intimidated. On September 1st the great mass of the exploited in Budapest rose for the first time like one man and called out to the armed guardians of the bourgeoisie and of the agrarians: We defy your prohibition; in spite of all your threats, to-day we capture the streets! And tomorrow? — It was a historical day in the Hungarian Labour movement.

Editor.

* * *

Vienna, 1st September 1930.

It is reported from Budapest:

To day's demonstration of the workers in Budapest against unemployment developed into a powerful political protest against the terrorist Horthy system and against capitalism in general. Such masses of workers as flooded the streets have not been seen in Budapest since the days of the Hungarian Soviet Republic.

The Horthy government made great preparations to prevent any demonstrations or to crush them immediately. Large forces of armed police were drafted into the capital from the provinces and the military were confined to barracks and held in instant readiness for action. Machine-gun detachments and armoured cars were posted at strategic points for use in case of need. On Sunday evening and in the night large-scale raids and arrests took place and all workers who have come under the notice of the police in connection with former demonstrations, with the distribution of communist literature and with communist propaganda were arrested. In this fashion over 300 workers were rounded up. Despite these draconic measures the working class quarters of Budapest were flooded with communist leaflets this morning appealing to the workers to turn the tame demonstration planned by the reformist leaders under the pressure of mass discontent into a really powerful fighting demonstration for revolutionary political aims.

It very soon became clear that the day was going to be a day of communist demonstrations. Early in the morning masses of workers began to collect before the factories, and in most places work was not started at all. At about 11 o'clock

large crowds of workers began to pour from the workers quarters into the fashionable centre of the town, and it was about this time that the first collisions took place. At the corner of the Theresia Ring and King street mounted police charged the masses with drawn sabres. The workers offered stout resistance and many police were dragged from their horses and soundly drubbed. By 12 o'clock the main street of Budapest, the Andrassy Street was crowded with tens of thousands of workers who shouted communist slogans, "Bread and work! Down with the Horthy-Bethlen government! Down with the Bourgeoisie! Long live Soviet Hungary!"

The police attacked the masses and tried to drive them into the side streets and fierce hand to hand fighting took place. Traffic was completely disorganised and there were many wounded on both sides. A rain of stones and pieces of iron injured many policemen.

The social democratic deputy Karl Peyer tried to calm down the masses by delivering an anti-communist tirade and appealing for co-operation with the police in order to restore order. He was shouted down by the angry workers and roughly handled. He left the scene escorted by armed police. The social democratic leader Garami was treated even more severely. He was dragged out of his elegant motor-car and beaten up. The car itself was overturned and set on fire. By one o'clock the tramway service in Budapest was partially suspended.

Particularly fierce fighting occurred in the King William Street, in the Dehbinski Gasse and on the Elizabeth Ring. At two o'clock the military was called out and appeared on the scene with two armoured cars. Volleys were fired at the workers and the first deaths were reported.

Near the Park a mass of many thousands of workers resisted all the efforts of the police to disperse them. The bourgeoisie taking its constitutional in the park fled in a panic. The fashionable wine restaurant Weingruber was raided by the masses and its interior demolished as also were a number of elegant cafés whose supercilious loungers had sneered at the parade of working class misery. These acts of the infuriated workers formed the basis for the lying bourgeois accounts of "plundering", which were zealously supported by the social democratic press and blamed onto the communists.

The first barricade was erected in the Theresia district and was rapidly followed by many others in various important streets. Private cars, tramways and omnibuses were held up and their occupants compelled to alight. A number of bourgeois were injured. The vehicles were then overturned and formed barricades to hold up the armoured cars of the police and military. In the Theresia district no less than 8 tramway cars were overturned in this fashion.

A hastily summoned session of the Cabinet took place in the afternoon and the police published the first casualty list showing that one worker had been killed, 30 seriously injured and 300 less seriously injured in the disturbances. According to reports at the office of the Social Democratic Party, 10 workers had been killed by the late afternoon and 600 persons injured, including very many serious injuries.

Late in the evening the police succeeded in driving the demonstrating workers out of the centre of the town into the workers quarters. The scene of the struggles showed overturned cars broken windows, uprooted lampposts, hastily erected barricades, pools of blood and torn up paving stones. The villa quarter in the Benczur street suffered severely and over 200 persons were treated in a sanatorium there for wounds.

The official government report in the evening gave 2 dead and 57 severely injured. The government announces that the social democratic leaders themselves called for police assistance to quell the disturbances. The number of demonstrators is calculated at 250,000.

All Sections of the C.I. Can and Must Become Real Mass Parties.

By O. Piatnitzky.

What are the main causes of the **feeble growth** of some Sections of the C.I. (C.P. of Germany, C.P.U.S.A., C.P. of Austria) or even the decline in membership of others (C.P. of France, C.P. of Czechoslovakia, C.P. of Great Britain)?

This question is now being discussed in the Comintern and its Sections. Many comrades admit that the slow growth and even decline of the membership in some Sections of the C.I. in the capitalist countries are due to the bad work of the Sections and their inability to consolidate organisationally their growing political influence, but they ask whether there do not exist other very important causes, which however they are unable to name.

We shall endeavour by means of facts to prove that it depends entirely on the Sections of the C.I. to increase their membership, to recruit new members and to consolidate organisationally their political influence.

Whenever the Sections of the C.I. organise revolutionary campaigns understandable by the masses, and mobilise the Party organisations for their carrying out, they meet with a decided response on the part of the broad masses. We give the following facts:

a) The C.P. of China had to work and has still to work in the industrial centres under the fiercest terror of the Kuomintang and of the imperialists, but in spite of this there has not been a single case where the masses did not follow the Party whenever it correctly prepared an action against the Kuomintang and against the imperialists. The C.P. of China prepared for the 30th of May 1929; on the anniversary of the massacre of 1925 strikes and demonstrations were to take place in Shanghai. The Kuomintang and the imperialists had mobilised all their forces in order to prevent the carrying out of the campaign by the Communists: the whole of the police were on duty; demonstrations and strikes were forbidden under threat of shootings. Under cover of a semi-legal committee of representatives of public organisations which was established on the occasion of the murder of a Chinese by an English soldier, the C.P. convened a Conference of representatives of 60 trade unions, Communist and students' organisations for the preparation of strikes and demonstrations on 30th May. The working masses came into movement. Thousands of demonstrators thronged the streets of Shanghai. The demonstration lasted for several hours, during the course of which the premises of two Kuomintang papers were destroyed. The dock workers, many textile factories, the postal employees and the students went on strike. The Kuomintang union of the postal employees and the universities whose students had gone on strike were dissolved or closed down by the Kuomintang.

This energetically and Bolshevikly prepared demonstration has raised at once in the whole of China the prestige both of the Party—which for a long time had not openly come forward in Shanghai—and of the red trade unions. New cadres entered the Party as well as the red Trade unions, which had still less members than the Party. The May demonstrations of 1929 in Shanghai were so to speak, a turning point in regard to the extension of the activity of the C.P. and of the red trade unions in all spheres of trade union and Party work in the whole of China.

b) Before the 1st of May 1930, the Calcutta Committee of the C.P. of India issued leaflets addressed to the workers, signed by the Committee. It called upon the workers to strike on the 1st of May. The few Party members developed an energetic activity among the workers in the factories and works. Thereupon the workers of the largest factories went on strike on the 1st of May.

c) The C.P. of Poland has to work under very difficult conditions of fascist terror. Members of the P.P.S. collaborate with the police, and as they know personally the active functionaries of the C.P. of Poland, they denounce them to

the police. The Polish prisons are filled to overflowing with members of the C.P. Poland. In spite of this, it is a fact that whenever the C.P. organises a big campaign, before factory council elections, elections to the sick insurance funds, municipal and Sejm elections, before strikes and demonstrations, when the Party organisations of the C.P.P. develop an energetic activity, the workers not only vote for the candidates of the C.P.P., but also participate in demonstrations, although almost all demonstrations result in arrests, beating up and shooting of demonstrators by the police and P.P.S. people.

In the Warsaw factory "Locomotive" where the C.P.P. had strong influence, Party work was neglected for various reasons and the P.P.S. succeeded in ousting the Communists and those in sympathy with us from the factory. The Warsaw organisation of the C.P.P. at once concentrated attention on this point and strengthened Party work in the factory "Locomotive". In a very short time the Javorowski people were pushed out and our Party not only won back its former place, but increased its influence beyond it.

Facts from the activity of the legal Communist Parties also prove this. We only mention a few examples:

d) The small C.P. of the United States (after the expulsion of the Rights the C.P.U.S.A. numbered 8,000 members), after having rid itself of the opportunist leadership of the Lovestoneites, developed a broad and energetic activity in all spheres of Party work. The Communists together with the members of the Trade Union Unity League, organised new trade unions, prepared and carried out the strikes of the miners, garment workers, textile workers, etc. After preparatory work, 1,250,000 workers in all industrial towns of the United States followed the call of the C.P.U.S.A. and of the T.U.U.L. and came out into the streets on International Fighting Day against Unemployment (6th of March 1930). The C.P.U.S.A. successfully recruited new members in the course of setting up new class trade unions and while conducting strikes and preparing for demonstrations. According to the latest data, which however have not yet been verified by the E.C.C.I., it has doubled its membership.

e) The C.P. of Czechoslovakia developed a broad election campaign in the year 1929, at a time of a severe inner-Party crisis—when the Rights openly came forward against the Party and mobilised all their followers in the trade unions, the co-operatives, in Parliament and in the municipal councils, in the Party papers etc.—in this campaign the Party opposed all the bourgeois and social democratic parties, as well as the Right renegades, and polled 750,000 votes. The semi-social democratic and passive elements left the Party, but instead many revolutionary workers joined the Party and assisted it in carrying out the tactic "class against class".

f) The C.P. of France is actively supported in all its campaigns by thousands of non-party workers. When last year the French bourgeoisie attempted to get "Humanité" into its hands, reckoning upon the fact that C.P.F. would not be able of pay off all its debts with the workers and peasants bank at once, the workers collected in a two or three months the huge sum of several million francs for the paper. Thousands of non-party workers organised committees in the factories for the defence of "Humanité". The bourgeoisie had to give in; it had not expected such an outburst of indignation on the part of the working class throughout France.

The red trade unions of France, which are under the influence of the C.P.F., prepared and carried out several thousands of strikes during the last two years. As soon as the unorganised workers realise that the red trade unions are really conducting the class struggle, they gladly join the trade unions. In Belfort, where 13,000 metal workers and textile workers were on strike, 2,400 workers joined the unions of metal and textile workers after the conclusion of the strike.

g) During the general strike and the miners' struggle in Great Britain the C.P. of Great Britain carried on energetic work. Hence it succeeded in winning more than 6,000 new members (increasing its membership by more than 100 per cent). In many mining districts the Party organisations were unable during the lock-out to accept all those who wished to enter the Party. After the defeat of the struggle the number of those who wished to join the Party declined. During the recent struggle and lockout of the woolen workers, when the C.P.G.B. organised committees of action and strike committees, and energetically combated the employers and the reformist trade union bureaucracy, many of the striking working men and women joined the Party.

h) In the year 1928 the C.P. of Germany polled 3,230,000 proletarian votes at the Parliamentary elections, whilst it numbered only 130,000 members. (Hence there were about 25 voters to every Communist Party member.) It can be assumed that at the next Parliamentary elections on 14th September 1930 the C.P.G. will poll about 4 millions votes.

In the year 1929 the C.P.G., in opposition to the blackleg trade union bureaucracy, for the first time applied the tactic of independent leadership of the economic struggles and put up its own candidates at the factory council elections. (Up to the year 1929 the Communists, at the factory council elections, fought within the trade unions to get their candidates on the lists of the free trade unions). In 1929 the C.P.G. put up its own lists in more than 120 middle and big factories, and in these factories polled almost as many votes as the social democrats: in 104 factories the reformists polled in the year 1929 121,236 votes, whilst the red trade union opposition polled 116,730 votes; in 1930, in the same factories, the reformists polled 106,902 votes (14,334 less than in 1929) the trade union opposition polled 110,028 votes (6702 votes less than in 1929).

In the year 1930 the C.P.G. put up its own lists in 1,200 factories embracing altogether 2,5 million working men and women. In 700 factories the C.P.G. polled more votes than the S.P.G. and in many of these 700 factories it had the absolute majority of all votes cast.

In a single group of 15 factories in the Ruhr district, Rhineland and Upper Silesia the red lists won 12,667 votes away from the reformists (the latter had in the year 1929 polled 23,390 votes in these factories and in the year 1930, when the C.P.G. put up its own lists only polled 13,403 votes). In the year 1930 the C.P. of Germany had 7000 of its candidates returned as factory council members and 4000 as deputy members.

There has not been a single revolutionary campaign (elections to Parliament and municipal councils, demonstrations, factory council elections, appeal to strikes etc.), which if started in good time and prepared with all available means by the Communist Party, would not have met with the response of the broad working masses. All the revolutionary campaigns, in particular strikes, which were conducted by the Communist Party (starting from the Ruhr strike at the end of 1928 up to and including the Mansfeld conflict), were accompanied by a successful recruiting campaign for the Party and the trade union opposition.

It is a well-known fact that the working masses of the whole world gladly followed the call of the Sections of the C.I. summoning them to demonstrate on the International Fighting Day against the War (1st of August 1929 and 1930). It is significant that the tactic of "class against class", which is expressed in the fact that the Communist Parties oppose all bourgeois Parties, including the social democratic parties, is energetically supported by the proletariat of France and Germany and of other countries, whilst the carrying out of this tactic encountered the resistance of a portion of the Party functionaries of the C.P.G., C.P.F., C.P.G.B. and C.P.U.S.A. and other Parties. A number of facts could be adduced from the life of all Sections of the C.I. which confirm the assertion that when the Communist Parties prepare and carry out revolutionary campaigns they are actively supported by the working masses, and that the best elements of the working class are endeavouring to join the only Party of the working class, the Communist Party.

Unfortunately, it must be admitted that the Sections of the C.I. not only do not know how to recruit new members,

but even lose the old ones. Why is this? We shall attempt to show the reasons for this fact:

1. The Party organisations of all Sections of the C.I. in the capitalist countries develop their activity from one campaign to another, and do not carry on a permanent systematic work among the masses.

2. Inadequate attention is paid by the Party organisations to the training of the new Party members; the new members are mostly not drawn into Party work, for the nuclei committees, the secretariat and the district committees, as well as other local Party organisations, very seldom function as permanent Party organs. General meetings of the nuclei members and meetings of the local Party organisations are held very rarely and even in those cases where they are held they are usually badly prepared. Even the Plenums of the Party Committees meet too rarely. All these meetings and sessions are replaced by functionaries' meeting of local branches and districts, which, moreover, are convened very seldom and in fact replace both the elected Party committees as well as the meetings and conferences of the local and district organisations. As a result the functionaries' meeting, which is so important for the construction of the Party, takes the place of the meetings of the nuclei, of the district and sub-district organisations. Instead of passing on to these organisations the questions discussed by it for their further elaboration, and by this means to animate them and convert them into permanently functioning organs.

3. If, however, the Party Committees, the meetings of nuclei members and of local Party organisations do not permanently function, then one can understand that the factory nuclei do not form the basis of the Party organisation in the factories. In many works and factories there exist Party members, but they do not organise a factory nucleus. Not all Communists are members of the already existing nucleus of the factory in which they are working, but instead they attend a street nucleus. This is still the case although the social democrats, for whom the local organisation is the fundamental form of organisation, and the national fascists are beginning, not only in words but in fact, to transfer their work for combating the Communists to the factories (they organise factory nuclei and issue factory papers).

4. Owing to the lack of a permanent activity of the nuclei committees, of the secretariat and of the Party committees, owing to the lack of a collective leadership and control of the local and district Party organisations, the work of the existing factory nuclei and street nuclei, of the factory papers and the local Party press in general, as well as the work of the red factory councils and revolutionary functionaries in the factories do not receive sufficient attention and remain without Party leadership; also the work of the Communist fractions in the factory councils and trade unions, both in the reformist and red trade unions, and the Communist fractions in all the mass organisations of the working class remain without proper Party leadership. If in addition there is no self-criticism, then one can understand why slackness and bureaucracy are making their appearance in the local and district Party organisations.

(To be continued.)

POLITICS

The Programmatic Declaration of the C.P.G. and its Importance to the World Proletariat.

By Th. Neubauer (Berlin).

** The Programmatic Declaration of the Communist Party of Germany has had the effect of a bombshell in the camp of the German bourgeoisie, for it has presented in bold and striking phrases the question which constitutes the cardinal point of the whole political development in Germany: the social and national emancipation as being inseparably connected.

The inner-political development of capitalist Germany, accelerated by the serious economic crisis, has in the course of five months traversed the path from the great Coalition with the social-democracy at the head, via the bourgeois block

the dictatorship of the Reichspresident, to the threshold of a fascist military dictatorship. In view of the tremendously increased radicalisation of the toiling population (which extends beyond the working class and is embracing ever broader masses of the petty-bourgeois and small peasant middle strata) those forces in German finance capital which see in the establishment of a fascist dictatorship, somewhat on the lines of Mussolini, the last resort for securing the capitalist class rule, are more and more gaining ground.

Against this development in the direction of the fascist dictatorship in Germany there stands the C. P. G., supported by the class-consciousness, the fighting experiences and the determination of the best portion of the German proletariat and by the sympathy of the millions of toilers in town and country, as the only anti-fascist force existing in Germany. It is making use of the election campaign for rallying the toiling masses against fascism. From this situation there arose the programmatic declaration of the Communist Party of Germany.

From the class enemies of the proletariat — from the social fascist "Vorwärts" to the national fascist Hitler papers — this Manifesto has called forth a perfect storm of fury and abuse. The exposed demagogues are shouting about an alleged "new turn", or even of a "nationalist turn" on the part of the C. P. G. But have not the declarations of the Communists on the question of the Versailles Treaty, the Dawes Pact, the Locarno Treaty, the Kellogg Pact and the Young Plan expressed the same ideas? Does not this Manifesto breathe the same spirit of living Leninism which has realised national and also social emancipation for 150 peoples constituting the population of the Soviet Union? The ideas contained in the programmatic declaration are not new. This does not, however, lessen the great international importance of this Manifesto, which consists of the fact that, while ruthlessly exposing the national and social-fascist agents of the exploiting class, it sets forth the task of the social and national emancipation of the toilers of Germany as a one and indivisible whole, with a clear concrete fighting aim.

The Communist Party of Germany declares plainly and openly: the German working class will win its national and social emancipation in brotherly alliance with the proletariat of other countries. The inner-political development of Germany is a matter which concerns to a very great extent the working class of the other countries. There is no need to point out what disastrous consequences the setting up of a fascist dictatorship in Germany would have for the workers of France, Belgium, England and other countries. But at the same time it is equally obvious that the setting up of a socialist Soviet State in Germany would open up a new phase of world historical development for the workers of all countries.

The national fascist agents of German capitalism wish by lying nationalist and anti-semitic phrases to divert the toiling masses from their task, i. e., the social revolution. Against them there is opposed the Manifesto of the C. P. of Germany. The C. P. of Germany declares: where is your programme of national and social emancipation? You have none; you have only phrases, only deception. But here is our programme, which we shall realise just as it has already been realised by victorious Bolshevism over one-sixth of the globe. Here is our programme of emancipation; now you must show your colours!

There can be no national emancipation without social emancipation! Never again will the German proletariat march to war for its exploiters and their imperialist aims. But the million masses of the toilers, freed by the social revolution, will defend the factories and mines which belong to them, the State which they themselves govern. If the German proletariat wishes to shake off the yoke of international imperialism, it must first break the yoke of its own imperialist bourgeoisie. A victorious proletariat which has overthrown its capitalist class, nationalised industry, the banks, wholesale trade and the large landed estates and taken into its hands the State and its economy, can rely upon the unlimited aid of the 150 million workers and peasants of Soviet Russia and upon the brotherly, active solidarity of the French, English and Belgian working class, of the world proletariat, and will find in the revolutionary fight for freedom of the oppressed colonial peoples in China, India, Western Asia, and Africa such powerful allies against imperialism, such a gigantic force, that it will be able to tear to pieces the im-

perialist treaties and to annul the tributes demanded by world capital.

Versailles, Young Plan, reparations — what use are they to the proletariat of the "victors" of Versailles? A lasting settlement of the European frontiers, security of peace? On the contrary, already today the imperialist world is on the verge of the abyss of new wars, which are to change again the map of Europe and fix new tributes for new victors. The reparations, the burdens of which the German bourgeoisie have placed on the shoulders of the working masses of their own country, what benefit have they brought to the proletariat of the victor countries? They have been used by the bourgeoisies of these countries solely for the purpose of strengthening the State power in order to suppress the working class and accelerate armaments for new wars. Enslaved under the double yoke of the German and the foreign bourgeoisie, the German workers have been made into international wage-cutters; the reduction of wages and the cutting down of social policy in Germany adversely affect the proletarians of other countries, as the French workers now realise to their cost. As a result of the Young Plan, the enslavement and exploitation of the toiling masses is being intensified in all countries.

Thus the programmatic declaration of the C. P. G. has a message for the proletariat of the other capitalist countries. We German Communists wish to overthrow our bourgeoisie: you French, English, Belgian, Czechish, Italian and other workers, overthrow your bourgeoisie! We in Germany wish to drive out of the country the whole parasitic band of industrialists, big wholesale traders, bankers, junkers, generals, bourgeois politicians, social and national fascist deceivers of labour — you do the same! Over the frontiers with which the imperialist bourgeoisie divide the working people of the whole world in order to incite the toiling masses of the various countries to new wars, we wish to offer the hand of brotherhood to the proletarians of all countries. Your cause is our cause; our cause is your cause! Away with the artificially drawn frontiers; away with the unnatural division of territories which are united by ties of language and culture! That which Bolshevism has already carried out over one-sixth of the globe for 150 different peoples, we, the German proletariat, wish, in alliance with the proletariat of all other countries, to carry out for the rest of Europe, i. e. to abolish social and national oppression, to win freedom for the toiling masses of all nations, full right of self-determination for the oppressed peoples of the colonies and to establish Communism, the bond of unity of all countries.

The Role of English "Muslims" and "Hindus" in the Colonies.

By V. Ch.

The "Near East" (London) of August 28th contains the following news item:

"It is authoritatively announced that Mr. H. St. John Philby, who since he resigned from the post of Chief British Representative in Trans-Jordan has been carrying on a business at Jidda, has embraced Islam, and that he is now staying at Taif."

This announcement is of more than ordinary interest, for when a high diplomatic representative of Great Britain embraces the religion of a conquered Asiatic country or a country to be conquered, it is not unreasonable to assume that there is more behind the conversion than meets the naked eye. The Arabs at any rate seem to be of the opinion that there is not in this case a genuine transference of religious allegiance from Christ to Mohammed, and the past history of imperialist intrigues lends support to their mistrust.

It will be remembered that another high-placed Englishman, Lord Headly, embraced Islam before the War, and attached himself to that special sect of Mohammedans known as the Ahmadiyya who, not undeservedly, have universally come to be looked upon as supporters, if not also direct agents, of

British imperialist penetration and "intelligence" in Islamic and other countries. In Soviet Russia at least the Ahmadiyyas were proved a few years ago to have established a network of spying centres, and documents found in their possession were published at the time in the Turkestan press. In Kabul, Ahmadiyya missionaries were stoned to death not because they were missionaries but because they were suspected to be British agents.

At any rate, the services rendered to British imperialism during the War by the English Muslim, Lord Headley, and the Ahmadiyya agent of British imperialism, Khwaja Kamaluddin, who visited Mecca in 1916 and prepared the ground for the British "mandates", are too well-known to need more than a reference.

The Islam of the Arabs from Morocco to Iraq is often an anti-imperialist war-cry for the preservation or recovery of their national independence. But one is justified in asking the question whether the Islam of Mr. Philby and Lord Headley is not merely one of those multitudinous ramifications of the British Secret Service through which the credulous populations of Arabistan are brought more firmly into the clutches of British imperialism.

A striking example of the pernicious work of such agents is afforded by the career of Mrs. Annie Besant in India. A Hindu by "conviction", and living and dressing as a Hindu, she has acquired power and popularity among the upper class of Hindus, and has with consummate ability used her Hindu religion and Hindu cultural propaganda to prevent the Hindu nationalist leaders from joining the movement for full national independence. At every crisis of British imperialism in India, in 1915, in 1921, and to-day, she has used her influence as a Hindu to fight against all who want the separation of India from the Empire. She is very busy to-day in London.

The activities of English Jews have been equally pernicious, though in their case there was no special conversion to Judaism, for they were born and brought up as Englishmen. Their services as Jews in establishing British imperialist domination in Palestine have been incalculable.

All these religious agents of imperialism are dangerous only so long as the native feudal lords and capitalists in the colonial countries have the power to sell the workers and peasants to foreign imperialist governments.

The Political Situation in Mexico.

By Hermann Laborde (Mexico).

One of the most interesting aspects of the present political situation in Mexico is Morones' fight against the leadership of the National Revolutionary Party, as embodied in its president, Emilio Portes Gil. The attacks by Morones, this arch-betrayer of the workers, which are purely demagogic and apparently confined to a fight for leadership in the next Parliament, have come to the knowledge of the former President of the Republic while on a "holiday" trip to Cuba and the United States. We will endeavour in the following article to reveal the true causes of this fight.

Emilio Portes Gil was the best tool of Yankee imperialism in Mexico. During his temporary presidency he made concessions to the Church and, under the guidance of the United States Ambassador, D. L. Morrow, pursued a policy of welding together the counter-revolutionary forces while at the same time he launched an attack against the workers and poor peasants, but before all against the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade unions. In January 1929 the thugs of the President of Cuba killed Julio Antonio Mella in the streets of Mexico City with the open connivance of the chief of police, who was a creature of Portes Gil. In May last a General, acting on the instructions of the War Office, caused Guadalupe Rodriguez to be shot in Durango. It was Portes Gil who personally ordered the sealing of the editorial offices of "El Machete", the central communist organ, and the premises of the Central Committee of the C. P. It was Portes Gil who instructed his gangsters to wreck the printing works of "El Machete" and who also introduced the wholesale expulsion

from the country of foreign communists and the exiling of Mexican communists to the **Marian Island**, a penal settlement in the Pacific Ocean.

Ablely supported by the Minister for Trade, Ramon P. Denegri, and the Minister for Agriculture, Marte R. Gomez, Portes Gil, who had been elected as provisional president after the murder of Obregons because he is one of the cleverest and most dangerous demagogues of the "left" petty bourgeoisie, successfully converted the democratic-bourgeois revolution into a counter-revolution. It was a question of preparing the ground for the new President, Ortiz Rubio, who had to carry out in Mexico the policy of United States Finance capital.

After the new President assumed office in February, Portes Gil was made Minister of the Interior. In this way he was rewarded for his services. His most important collaborators however, were simply removed. Two months afterwards, Portes Gil himself withdrew from the Cabinet in order to take over the chairmanship of the National Revolutionary Party. This step, which was taken on the eve of the Parliamentary elections seemed to indicate that Portes Gil had been entrusted with the task of running the elections, as the National Revolutionary Party is the Government party and its candidates are assured of success beforehand. A month before the elections the Labour Party, which has never belonged to the National Revolutionary Party, although it supported Ortiz Rubio as candidate, took up the fight against Portes Gil and succeeded in winning over to its side a number of politicians belonging to the national revolutionary party. For this purpose it made use of the inner fight in the National Revolutionary Party for government posts. In addition, it obtained the support of one of the groups of the opponents of a re-election which in the year 1927 had followed the Gomez-Serrano fraction. There then unexpectedly arose the **National Revolutionary Alliance**, which claimed to support the government of Ortiz Rubio, but fight against his party.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party had at first made the mistake of regarding Morones' fight against Portes Gil and the National Revolutionary Party exclusively as a manoeuvre aimed at removing Portes Gil from his prominent positions, just as Denegri and Marte Gomez had been removed from theirs. It was in this sense that the Central Committee expressed itself at its Plenary Session in June 1929.

The removal of Portes Gil and all "Left" demagogues would be very convenient to the government, which has completed its process of fascism and is becoming more and more a government of the industrial and agrarian big bourgeoisie. The charlatans of the "Left" could render important service only in subordinate positions and be held in reserve in order, should necessity arise, to be made use of in a repetition of the swindle of a "workers' and peasants' government".

Morones' attacks on Portes Gil are intended to annihilate the remnants of the political power and political influence of the Left demagogues. It is already reported that Portes Gil has resigned his position as chairman of the National Revolutionary Party. This estimate of the fight of Morones against Portes Gil is, however, inadequate. In the first place this fight is directed not only against Portes Gil but also against the National Revolutionary Party as a whole, against the political organ of the regime which has been established by United States finance capital. Moreover, the Labour Party and the **reformist trade union federation (Crom)** have always brought forward a programme similar in its demagogic to that of Portes Gil.

The recent discussion in the Central Committee of the C. P. of Mexico has sufficiently cleared up this question. It is now obvious that behind the fight of the fractions for hegemony in the counter-revolutionary front there stand more than group interests. These groups are not simply fighting only for their own interests, for they represent and serve the two imperialisms which have always been fierce rivals in Mexico, i. e., **Great Britain** and the **United States**. British imperialism has long been ousted from the leading economic and political position in Mexico by the imperialism of the United States, and is fighting tenaciously to retain the positions it still has, and which are very strong, and to recapture lost ground. The British imperialists, who have been severely hit by the

defeats of their tools, **Dela Huerta Gomez-Serrano and Valenzuela** which followed one after the other in the years 1923 to 1927 and 1929, have been waiting for a new opportunity.

This opportunity is now offered them. The unrestrained penetration of United States' capital, the cynical submission of the Ortiz Rubio government to Washington, Morrow's tutelage over the financial Ministry of Mexico and its policy, which shamelessly favours the house of **Morgan**, the terrible situation of the country, the industrial and agrarian crises, the ruin of trade, the hunger and misery of the masses, the **Harris Law** and the new U. S. A. customs' tariff, which render the situation still more difficult, were bound to call forth strong anti-American sentiments not only among the workers and peasantry, but also among other sections of the population.

During his visit to Europe Morones negotiated with the leaders of the British Labour Party and with the bureaucrats of the **Amsterdam International**. On his return from Europe Morones delivered an "anti-imperialist" speech against the interference of the government of the United States in Mexican affairs, and concluded an alliance with **Tejeda**, the governor of the Federal State of **Vera Cruz**, who is carrying on opposition, though very feeble, against the Federal government and against Morrow. **Lombardo Toledano**, the theoretician of the Labour Party, likewise commenced a campaign against the United States in the university council, of which he is a member. At the same time the trade union federation of the Federal State of **Orizaba**, the best organisation of the reformist trade union federation of Mexico, issued a Manifesto proposing as a counter-measure against the Harris Law and against the new customs tariff, the carrying out of a boycott of United States products.

Only the **Communist Party of Mexico** is conducting a determined and consistent fight against the imperialists of the United States and of Great Britain and against their lackeys in Mexico.

ECONOMICS

Anglo-German Coal Trust.

Negotiations between the German and English Mineowners.

By Gustav Sobottka (Berlin).

At the beginning of September, negotiations will begin in London between the English and German mineowners on the question of an Anglo-German coal agreement. The initiative for these negotiations came from the English Ministry of Labour. The negotiations however, are not to be confined to the mineowners, but the governments of both countries are also participating in them. Herr Stegerwald, the German Minister of Labour, has been personally invited by the English Minister of Labour, Miss Margaret Bondfield.

It is being made out to the public as if the negotiations aim in the first place at an understanding on working hours and overtime in the mines, regarding which it has been impossible to arrive at an agreement at Geneva, while the establishment of an international coal cartel is to be discussed only incidentally.

As a matter of fact the establishment of an international coal cartel is the chief question; England has been trying for years to establish a European coal cartel in order to abolish competition on the world coal market and to ensure regular profits. Up to the present, however, all attempts to bring about such a coal cartel have failed owing to the contradictions of capitalist economy.

Already in Autumn of last year the MacDonald government was endeavouring to establish such a coal cartel. The chairman of the export commission of the Collieries Commercial Association, Mr. Archer also made efforts in Germany to win the Ruhr mineowners for such a project. But the share offered them was too small and they therefore rejected the proposal.

After the failure of the negotiations with the Ruhr coal owners, which succeeded in concluding a price convention in Africa such powerful mineowners and the Scandinavian Coal

dealers for the Scandinavian market. According to this Anglo-Polish agreement, which came into force at the beginning of the present year, there was to be no undercutting of prices between English and Polish coal on the Scandinavian market. The aim of the two parties was to oust German coal from these markets.

Things have turned out differently however, from what the English mine barons thought. It is true, Ruhr coal has been ousted from these markets, but the English also, and to a far greater extent. When the coal crisis became more acute in the Spring of this year the Poles no longer kept to the price convention which had been concluded. In the submission of tenders for the delivery of coal to the Finnish railways to the amount of about 270,000 tons, in April last, the Polish coal magnates undercut the English by more than 3 shillings per ton, and thereby, with a few trifling exceptions, obtained contracts for the whole of the supplies to the Finnish State railways. The annoyance of the English mineowners was very plainly expressed in the press.

The Poles have proved to be unreliable, and therefore attempts are now being made with the Ruhr magnates, the more so as the first half year of 1930 has shown that the English mining capitalists have not succeeded in excluding Ruhr coal from the world market. Although at the Hague negotiations MacDonald managed to arrange that Germany shall deliver to Italy one million tons less reparations coal than last year, Germany's export of coal increased in the first six months of 1930 to 12,373,000 tons as compared with 11,965,000 in the first half of 1929. The Ruhr mines more than made up for the reduced quantity of reparations coal which they had to deliver, by deliveries on the free market. English coal is being more and more ousted from the overseas market by American coal, so that the situation is becoming increasingly serious for the English mining capitalists.

Thus English mining capital finds no way out of its difficulties. But the MacDonald government, which has promised the miners wage increases and a reduction of hours, is also in a quandary. Therefore the Labour Government and the English mineowners are both seeking a way out in fresh negotiations with the Ruhr capitalists with the object of establishing an international coal trust.

The German mineowners, and in particular the nationalists and the imperialists, are fully aware of their strength in this sphere as against Great Britain. Their demands, therefore, do not err on the side of modesty. The "Rhenish-Westphälische Zeitung" deals in a long article with the situation on the international coal market, and adds that Great Britain in particular is adversely affected by German coal and that English economic circles are recognising more and more how mistaken the solution of the Polish question at the cost of Germany has been. If this recognition gains ground, writes the "Rheinisch-Westphälische Zeitung", the solution of this question must one day be transferred to the sphere of politics. This attitude means nothing else but that the German mining capitalists are determined to make use of their economic advantage over England in order to achieve a revision of the Polish corridor question and of the Upper Silesian frontier. How far they will succeed in doing this depends on how France will defend its Polish vassal.

The workers, however, can see how capitalist economy today is torn with contradictions. When the capitalist rulers believe that they have unravelled one knot, they find two others in its place, causing fresh difficulties. Only the rule of the working class can solve these contradictions.

Notice!

Change of Address

The address of the International Press Correspondence and of the "Inprecorr." Telegraph Agency is now:

Lindenstrasse 71-72, III. Berlin SW 68.

The new telephone numbers are Dönhoff 2856 and 2867.

International Press Correspondence
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THE WHITE TERROR

The Savage Ferocity of the Kuomintang.

By Chie Hua.

The astonishing progress being made by the Soviet Union has roused the ruling class to a wild-beast fury. In the period since the defeat of the great Chinese revolution the ruling class in China have slaughtered no less than 300,000 workers and peasants by beheading them, chopping them to pieces, cutting out their entrails, burning them alive and other diabolical methods. The capture of Changsha by the Red Army and the threatening fall of Nanchang and Hankow have caused the whole counter-revolutionary front, the Chinese bourgeoisie and also the imperialists, to tremble and at the same time have roused them to fury. The mouths of the guns of the foreign warships are turned on the insurgent towns, and the executioner's sword of the reaction is mowing down its victims in the streets. Since the capture of Chiansha by the Red Army a state of siege has been established in Wuhan in order to protect it from the towns surrounded by the Red Army. The death penalty against revolutionary workers and peasants is provided in fifteen clauses:

The death penalty is involved in the following cases:

1. Anyone attempting to overthrow the Kuomintang Government by means of violent revolt; 2. anyone traducing the three principles of Sun Yat Sen, disseminating counter-propaganda writings or calling out hostile slogans; 3. agitation work among the police and militia in order to betray the "people's revolution"; 4. incendiaryism; 5. spying out military and political secrets; 6. damaging munition stores, means of communication and public works and buildings; 7. secret meetings with intentions hostile to the State; incitement to strike, school strikes and strike of shopkeepers; 9. disturbance of public peace through gatherings and brawls; 10. handing over of military weapons or equipment to the enemy; 11. robbery; 12. inciting the masses to disturb the public peace; 13. founding of anti-state organisations under a false name; 14. attempts to escape from prison; 15. concealment of weapons.

In Wuhan, in the period from August 1st to 10th, 42 Communists were executed and 86 persons were arrested on suspicion of being Communists. The figure regarding the executed does not include those who were shot straight away and the executions not yet known.

From the appalling list of thousands who have been executed we give a short list of our Party comrades who were murdered in the 10 days from 1st to 10th August in Wuhan alone.

On 1st August: Li Hui Yuen, age 24 years; Wang Wen Din, age 20 years; Ho Sen, 23 years; Li Su Sen, 23 years; Liu Yin Sen, 28 years; Jau Fun Min, 25 years. On 3rd August: Tsen Dsi Chi, 27 years; Mun San Te, 27 years. On 6th August: Yen Mo Yuen, 26 years; Tan Yin Chau, 33 years; Wan Yun Tian, 20 years; Chang Mon San, 46 years; Li Fun Min, 38 years; Chang Hai San, 46 years. On 8th August: Li San Kiu, 20 years; Li Yue Tsen, 51 years; Li Te Tu, 27 years; Wang Wen Chi, age unknown; Wang Dsu Kiu, age unknown. On 9th August: Hu Kun, 31 years; Wang Dse Chan, 26 years; Shi Te Yen, 49 years; Yue Ngi, 31 years; Fu Tse Yun, 28 years; Chan Kuo Bin, 26 years; Tun Yao Tse, 31 years; Yue Chin Dsi, 43 years; Wan Hwei Chi, 32 years; Chao Gu Li, 32 years; Li Chin Fa, 32 years; Li Chin Ngi, 22 years; Lui Yueh Lin, 21 years; Kau Mu Chan, 29 years; Chang Chin Lu, 26 years; Li Si Min, 29 years. On 10th August: Chang Bin Tan, 26 years; Han Sen San, 25 years; Chang Mun Shan, 28 years; Chen Sui Lin, 49 years; Lin Tsu Chin, 38 years; Wang Li Chien, 34 years; Chen Min Dsei, 36 years.

Our 42 comrades have fallen for the Soviet Revolution under the axe of the executioner. Their heroic self-sacrifice for the cause of the revolutionary workers and peasants will never be forgotten by the comrades still living, who will carry on their work. In the place of these our slaughtered comrades, hundreds of fresh champions will arise. The city of Wuhan,

stained with workers' blood and enveloped in the smoke of the guns of the imperialists, will sooner or later and in spite of everything, stand under the banner of the Soviets. Then the revolutionary workers and peasants will be the judges.

Fresh Murders of Leaders of the Communist Youth in Yugoslavia.

By Andrew

On the 14th of August last, agents of the Zagreb police, in a suburb of Zagreb, waylaid and foully murdered Comrade Goljev, the General Secretary of the Young Communist League of Yugoslavia, and mortally injured Comrade Peter Popovitch-Aga, the organisation secretary of the Young Communist League of Yugoslavia. The seriously injured Comrade Aga was taken to the police prison and there tortured in such a manner that he likewise shortly died of his injuries.

The official police report dismisses this bloody dual murder with a few words as if it were of a case of a couple of hares who had been killed in the chase.

The bloody bands of King Alexander and the General Zivkovitsch are continuing their criminal activity. The dictatorship, which maintains itself by means of a bloody and cruel terror, stands like a wild beast at bay in fear of the revolutionary awakening and revolutionary retribution. The savage bands of the dictatorship occupy with artillery whole working class districts as well as "unreliable" factories, carry out bloody nocturnal inquisitions against the best champions of the proletariat and national revolutionaries, and organise cowardly murders of functionaries of the Communist Party and of the Young Communist League. Prominent revolutionary representatives of the proletariat of Yugoslavia are falling daily under the cruel blows of the organs of the dictatorship, of the court and of the police.

The last two victims from the ranks of the youth were two of our most valuable comrades.

Aga-Pera Popovitch, a leather worker by profession, a war orphan, son of a proletarian, became acquainted in his earliest youth with the class injustice of present-day society. His revolutionary instinct rapidly led him, as a youth of 15 years, into the ranks of the Communist movement, and later into the ranks of the revolutionary Communist Youth, of which he was one of the oldest members.

He was well known to the workers of Zagreb; on the 1st of May, in spite of the state of siege prevailing in the town, he delivered speeches at impromptu meetings at factory gates. The Young Communist comrades in Belgrade, Dalmatia, Voyvodina and Slovenia speak of him in loving terms. He symbolised in his person the untamable energy of his class, the energy which despises and overcomes difficulties. And in this respect one can best compare him with the murdered secretary of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, Comrade Gjuro Djakovitch. It is no wonder that with such an abundance of vital energy, fiery enthusiasm and political strength, he roused to enthusiasm the comrades wherever he came.

Goljev was likewise one of the most agile and bravest of the proletarian Youth and one of the oldest members of the Young Communist League of Yugoslavia. In the year 1928, at the 3rd Congress of the Young Communist League of Yugoslavia, he was elected to the Central Committee, a position which he held until his death.

Goljev took over the duty of political secretary of the Young Communist League of Yugoslavia after the severe blows of reaction, after the murder and imprisonment of the best cadres of the Young Communist League in all provinces. He joyfully and with great devotion took over this hard and dangerous duty. Politically, as well as personally, he was the embodiment of stanchness and strength. At the last moment, when the police was already on his track (after he had a few days previously, with extraordinary presence of mind, repelled the attack of five police agents) he calmly and coolly made all preparation in order that the organisation should continue to function without interruption after his death. His early death means a tremendous loss to the Young Communist League of Yugoslavia.

Hundreds of the best champions of the Young Communist League of Yugoslavia are suffering behind the thick prison

walls of the Belgrade dictatorship. The best sons of the working class, the leaders of the Young Communist League, Janko Mitchich, Mihajlo Jagitch, Goljev-Kolumbo and Petar Popovitch-Aga laid down their lives for our cause. But the Young Communist League of Yugoslavia lives and will continue to live in spite of the bloody fascist dictatorship.

HANDS OFF THE CHINESE SOVIETS

For Freedom and Peace, for a Soviet China!

The following Manifesto has been issued by the revolutionary Chinese workers to the "Soldiers and Marines of the Foreign Powers in China".

Dear Comrades,

Once more, we, the workers and peasants of China, appeal to you, who are yourselves members of the working class and sons of workers and peasants, to realise your position as tools of imperialist oppression and exploitation, and to cooperate with us against our common class enemies, the capitalists, militarists and imperialists.

The four hundred million workers and peasants of China are engaged in a life and death struggle against all the forces of reaction and oppression. We are fighting against the militarists of all shades and cliques, whether they be of the Kuomintang (the Chiang Kai-Shek gang) or the Northern Militarist Clique, or the so-called Reorganisationists or "Ironsides", etc. We are fighting against the militarists wars which have brought ruin and famine and untold misery to our working masses, the same way the imperialist war of 1914 brought death, starvation and misery to the toiling masses in your own countries. We are fighting also against the imperialists who are behind the one or the other militarists gangs in China, and who lend their support to the darkest forces of reaction and counter-revolution in our country.

Soldiers and Sailors of England, U.S.A., France, Japan and the other powers in China! In the last imperialist war of 1914, you were called upon by your own militarists and imperialist governments to slaughter your own fellow workers for no other cause than for the profits of your bankers and capitalist bloodsuckers. More than ten million of our class brothers, workers and peasants, were killed in that mass slaughter. You were both the tools and victims of that bloody imperialist war, which besides ten million killed, and many more millions maimed and wounded, brought on famine, ruin, devastation to the whole world. The only sufferers were the workers and peasants; the only victors were the capitalists and militarists, whether in Germany, France, U.S.A., Great Britain, or Japan.

But out of that great shambles of 1914-1918 there emerged the First Workers Republic, Soviet Russia, where for the first time in history, the working class seized power and established over one-sixth of the earth, the victorious Republic of Workers' Peasants' and Soldiers' Soviets. Out of that war there also emerged the great revolutionary wave which roused the hundreds of millions of oppressed and exploited colonial peoples, in China, India, Indonesia, Indo-China etc., to rebel against the handful of imperialist brigands who throttle these countries, and against their own capitalist, militarist and feudal exploiters and oppressors who are working hand in hand with the various imperialist powers.

Soldiers and Sailors of the foreign Powers in China! This time you are again being used as tools of the imperialists and of our common class enemy against your own class brothers, the Chinese workers and peasants, who are fighting for their emancipation as a class from the triple yoke of Militarism, Capitalism and Imperialism. You are being used by the same imperialist brigands against us, by the same capitalists and bankers and profiteers, who at this very moment are similarly trying to crush the British, American, French and Japanese workers at home, where millions are unemployed, where your brothers and sisters are also condemned to starvation, and where the revolutionary movement is also growing from day to day.

Foreign Soldiers and Sailors in China! A new imperialist world bloodbath, new wars, are being prepared by those who have sent you and who are using you against us here, and once more you are to be the tools and victims of the new imperialist war. The First Workers Republic of Soviet Russia is to be the main target of the coming war. The capitalist and imperialist spiders and bloodsuckers cannot tolerate to see the workers and peasants of Russia successfully building up Socialism, having thoroughly gotten rid of their capitalists, militarists and landowners. At the same time you are being used to crush the revolutionary movements in China, India, Indo-China, Indonesia, etc.

Foreign Soldiers and Sailors! Brethren of our Class!

Do not permit yourselves to be used as passive and blind tools of imperialist oppression and counter-revolution. Instead, you must fight on the side of the workers and peasants of China, you must turn your bayonets and guns against our common class enemy—the militarists and imperialists. You must help us overthrow the rule of the militarists, the feudal barons and capitalists. Our struggle is only part of the great revolutionary liberation struggle which the international proletariat is carrying on against capitalism and imperialism. You must come to the defence of the First Workers Republic of Soviet Russia. You must follow the glorious example of the French sailors of the Black Sea Fleet who mutinied and refused to shoot upon the Russian workers who were then fighting against the enemies of the revolution. You must help us in the struggle for Freedom, Peace and Rice. You must help in our great struggle which aims at establishing Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Soviets in China, and liberating our country from Militarism, Capitalism and Imperialism.

British, American, French, Japanese and other foreign Soldiers and Sailors in China! We are fighting the same battle which the British, American, French, Japanese and other workers are fighting at this very moment in your countries. Together with the workers and peasants of the capitalist countries, and hand in hand with the victorious workers and peasants of Soviet Russia, we the workers and peasants of China and the other great colonial countries (India, Indo-China, Indonesia, Philippines, etc.), shall rid the earth of the scourge of capitalism. You, as sons of our class, as sons of workers and peasants yourselves, you must be on our side. Hold your weapons strong in hand, but use them in the right direction—against those who have sent you here, against your commanders, against the militarist and imperialist clique who are using you only to save and increase their profits out of our misery.

Down with Militarist and Imperialist Wars!

Turn Imperialist War into Civil and Class War!

Turn your Weapons against our common class enemies!

Defend the First Workers Republic of Soviet Russia!

Fight with us for Freedom and Peace, for a Soviet China!

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

Flunkeys to Her Royal Highness.

By W. Ensee (London).

** The antics of the Labour Home Secretary, the Right Honourable J. R. Clynes, and the "Daily Herald", the organ of the English Labour Party, on the occasion of the recent birth to the Duke and Duchess of York of a second daughter, do but indicate the progress made by the Labour Party in that inevitable process of corruption and degeneration which all governing parties of the second International are undergoing or have already undergone, and serve to show the further unplumbed depths to which it is bound to sink.

For what are the facts? At a time of severe industrial crisis, when there are over two million unemployed, when wage cuts and dismissals are the order of the day, when countless thousands of working class children are without the bare necessities of life, and thousands of working class women have to bear children under appalling conditions of poverty and without the means of obtaining the necessary medical skill and assistance; at a time, moreover, when the same Labour Government is conducting a policy of bloody terror and sup-

pression in the colonial countries; when it is ruthlessly bombing Indian villages, indiscriminately flogging and massacring unarmed and unresisting men, women and children; when the soil of India like that of China, is soaked with the blood of its victims, we have the crowning irony of the Home Secretary (he is the same Minister, be it noted, who has placed a ban on the Inprecorr entering England, who prevented the holding in London of the International Negro Congress, and refused permission for a Russian workers' football team to visit this country) dancing attendance for weeks at the Royal Castle in the most flunkeylike manner, awaiting "the joyful event" of the birth of another royal parasite, whilst the "Daily Herald" comes out with big headlines right across its front page and a leading article full of sycophantic gush, and follows this up for days with nauseating details as to how much this precious infant weighed at its birth, the colour of its eyes, what name it is to have, and so on and so forth.

"**Daily Worker**" the organ of the Communist Party has naturally ruthlessly pilloried this disgusting fawning on the part of the "Daily Herald" and pointed out the appropriate lesson to the workers.

Anticipating the indignation of the workers, "**The New Leader**", the organ of the Independent Labour Party, plays its characteristic and hypocritical role of seeking to divert and allay it by expressing some mild criticism. In its issue of August 29, the "New Leader" states:

"We anticipated that the ordinary newspapers would make it (the birth of the princess) the occasion of an orgy of sentimental slush, but we are moved to protest when the official newspaper of the Labour Movement wallows in the same swamp. The "Daily Herald" takes its readers too cheaply when it joins in the sycophantic slobber of its newspaper rivals."

The organ of the I. L. P. makes this feeble protest to-day, in order that tomorrow the Brockways and Brailsfords may the better cloak and defend the actions of MacDonald and the Labour Party and perform their allotted function of keeping the workers from breaking definitely with this social fascist party.

It is interesting to note that, speaking at a demonstration in memory of **Keir Hardie** held at Cumnock, a mining centre, John McDovern, a member of the parliamentary labour party is reported as saying:

"It is a mockery and a shame to see a Labour Home Secretary sitting for three weeks on the doorstep of Royalty. They could never imagine Keir Hardie sitting there and waiting as a kind of Labour midwife during the time the working classes were enduring the long night of martyrdom."

The reference to Keir Hardie was not out of place in this connection. Although by no means a revolutionary, the father of the Labour Party could, when occasion required, express his opinion regarding royalty in fairly blunt language. It was on such another occasion when the press was full of adulation for the present crowned head of the British Empire, that Keir Hardie wrote:

"King George is not a statesman. He is not the pleasure-loving scoundrel which his father was before him, but, like his father, he is destitute of even ordinary ability. Born into the ranks of the working class his most likely fate would have been that of a street corner loafer." ("Labour Leader" July 23, 1914.)

It is to the latest grandchild of this potential (and actual) loafer that J. R. Clynes and the "Daily Herald" pay obsequious homage.

The present policy of the "Daily Herald", with its complete acceptance of capitalist-monarchist ideology, appears the more treacherous when it is remembered with what self-sacrificing efforts and loyal devotion of thousands of workers and members of the middle class the paper was built up and kept going for years as a militant working class paper. In an editorial which appeared on October 26, 1912, the "Daily Herald" wrote:

"Was there ever a daily newspaper that had such wonderful support as we are getting?
Just think for a moment!"

A woman comes to the Lobby of the House of Commons and asks for Mr. Lansbury. When he arrives she says: 'We have only saved a little, but here is £ 50. Do not let the "Daily Herald" die.' Is there another daily newspaper in the land that can show such an incident?

A working man writes: 'I have ten bairns, but I would almost sooner lose one than lose the "Daily Herald".'

A woman sends her jewels: 'Sell them or pawn them, but do not let the "Herald" die.'

Another man says, "Let the landlord go hang for his rent. I am sending it to you."

Men and women who can ill afford it send £ 5 notes, and then a host of enthusiasts send shillings and half-crowns and half-sovereigns. They say with one voice. The "Herald" shall never die."

It is the sacred trust and confidence of thousands of people such as these that the "Daily Herald", and George Lansbury in particular, have shamefully betrayed in return for Odham's gold. The "Daily Herald" is now a weapon in the hands of the class enemy, but the class-conscious workers of England have their paper, "**The Daily Worker**", the organ of the British section of the Communist International. It is one of the most important tasks of the Party and its sympathisers to convert the "Daily Worker" into a mass organ, able to play its part in training and mobilising the workers of England for the proletarian revolution which will sweep into oblivion the British bourgeoisie and their royal puppets along with their flunkies in the Labour Party.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Communist Party for the Whole of Syria Proclaimed.

By Mustafa Sadi.

After long preparations the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Syria on the 1st of July proclaimed the existence of the Party as a political Party for the whole of Syria.

The Communists of Syria on this day flooded all the streets of Damascus, Beirut, Aleppo, Trablos, Said and other places with Communist proclamations, in which the Communist Party gives an estimation of the present political situation in Syria and of the position of the workers and peasants. The Party further stigmatises the ten years robbery-policy of French imperialism and the complete bankruptcy and the betrayal of the Syrian bourgeoisie organised in the "National Block", and calls upon the workers and peasants to enter the Party and to march under its leadership to further decisive struggle against French imperialism and its lackeys, for the Syrian workers' and peasants' government, for the complete liberation and independence of Syria.

The establishment of the Communist Party of Syria is a great step forward in the development of Communism in Arabia and an important event in the history of the Communist International. The new fighting Section, which is closely connected with the Arabian masses, is the only Party representing the aims and interests of the toilers of Syria, and to-day enters the arena of the struggle of the international proletariat.

The proclamation of the C.P. of Syria has very much disquieted the French imperialists and the Arab bourgeoisie. It was a serious blow to national reformism and its press, which reprints the proclamation of the C.P. in big headlines. The Damascus correspondent of the bourgeois national reformist paper "El Rassid" writes as follows regarding the proclamation of the Party:

"It is an unusually new 'song', the song of Communism and of Communist proclamations, which are being distributed in all streets and posted up on the houses of our cities."

These proclamations call upon the workers and peasants of Syria and of all Arab countries to revolt

against imperialism and native capitalism. Struggle against the 'National Block' which has betrayed the Syrian revolution for the sake of its class interests."

The correspondent writes further:

"Responsible circles are disturbed over the activity of the Communists in Syria, who certainly have connections with the Communist Party of Palestine. For the time being we shall wait for the results of the investigations on the part of the police, which will show whether in reality such a Party exists in the full sense of the word, or whether all this is the work of some adventurers who have created further difficulties at a time when we need peace and order and the removal of our economic crisis." The above-mentioned paper writes in another place:

"We very much regret that there are Communist propagandists among our Armenian guests. We advise all Communists to turn their attention to other countries, for Communism cannot thrive on our Syrian soil."

It is evident that the uneasiness caused by the proclamation of the C.P. of Syria, has not only seized the Syrian bourgeoisie but also the bourgeoisie of Palestine and Egypt. "Achram" (Egyptian bourgeois paper) which appears in Egypt, was confiscated in Syria for having published the proclamation of the C.P. of Syria; and the "Falestin", an Arabian national-reformist paper, made the following truculent declaration:

"If the Communists of Palestine and Syria have begun to carry out the resolution of the Politbureau of the Comintern in regard to the Arabianisation of their Parties and the establishment of an Arab Communist Federation, if we are really confronted by this serious danger, then we hope that our government will be able to settle with the Communists in a very short time."

That is how the Arab nationalists are writing; they are trembling with fear of Communism. They appeal to the British and French imperialists to get rid of the Communists. In connection with the proclamation of the Party, about 25 persons have up to now been arrested, charged with having conspired against the "Republic" and against "Islam". A special court is to be set up to try these comrades, and they are almost certain to receive very cruel and savage sentences.

Our Syrian comrades are faced with serious and responsible tasks. They have to fight against powerful enemies who are well prepared and have all the means of pressure at their disposal.

But the Communist Party of Syria, the advance-guard of the Syrian proletariat, is not afraid of reaction and provocation, but will continue on the path prescribed by the Comintern. It will without vacillation purge its ranks of all opportunist elements, strengthen its connections with the Arabian working masses, consolidate its influence in the trade unions and fight for the Federation of the Communist Parties of the Arab countries, for the carrying out of the democratic workers' and peasants revolution, for the annihilation of all clerical and feudal relations, for the defeat of imperialism and for the agrarian revolution.

PROLETARIAN YOUTH MOVEMENT

The International Youth Day and the Colonial Youth.

By V. Ch.

** One of the most remarkable features of the rapid revolutionary development in the colonial countries since the War, and especially during the last few years, is the prominent part that the middle-and working class youth have been playing in the struggle for the overthrow of imperialism. This revolt of the colonial youth is easily understood when it is remembered that they have been the victims of even greater oppression and repression than the youth in the capitalist countries. While the million-headed mass of workers, peasants and petty bourgeoisie of the colonies have for centuries been ground down by feudal tyranny and imperialist exploitation, it is the youth and the women among them that have had to bear the heaviest burdens. The colonial youth have suffered from various kinds of oppression. Under imperialist exploitation, their economic conditions have been indescribable. Hundreds of millions of young men and women and children go through life undernourished, and the mortality from fever, tuberculosis and other diseases is higher among them than in any other section of the population. Hundreds of millions of them do not know what youth means, for they have to slave on the fields or in the factories on wages that do not provide even one good meal a day, and they have no leisure for any form of recreation. Under the imperialist system they are deprived of all facilities for education, and they are compelled by illiteracy and ignorance to remain unskilled coolies or, as is growingly the case, to swell the ranks of the unemployed. Even for the middle-class youth that has had the chance of school education, there are not sufficient openings to earn a livelihood, and the rapidly growing unemployment among them is leading to their radicalisation. But the youth suffer not only from these and other results of the imperialist system of exploitation. They are also the victims of individual and social tyranny. Under the patriarchal rule inherited from feudal society, they are still subject to the most despotic suppression at the hands of their parents and their teachers. And they are ideologically corrupted, enslaved and hampered in their development by reactionary social traditions and perverse religious dogma.

It must here be specially mentioned that the position of young women is far worse than that of young men, for woman is still regarded as property for barter and for sale. The revolt of the colonial youth against these terrible conditions of life is but natural. In China, India, Indonesia, the Philippines, Indo-China, and the Arabian countries, the innumerable youth leagues that have sprung up during the last few years have given evidence of the new awakening. In China, the revolutionary youth have broken with the past, and are actively participating in the Red Armies and the political and economic organisations of the vast masses of workers and peasants that are engaged in the final struggle for the overthrow of feudalism, capitalism and imperialism, and for the establishment of a free Soviet Republic. In India, it is the youth that is taking the most active part in the movement for national independence. In the course of this struggle there has arisen a differentiation among the youth themselves, for while the petty-bourgeois youth leagues are hampering their own free development by their ideological subservience to the Indian National Congress, representing bourgeois interests, the revolutionary youth leagues and the young workers' leagues are leading the fight for national independence and full social freedom. These revolutionary youth leagues of India are not yet organisationally linked up with the international youth and are conducting their struggle for freedom without any tangible support from the revolutionary youth organisations of other countries. The International Youth Day should give special thought to the revolutionary youth of China and India, who are making heroic contributions to the struggle for the emancipation of the 800 millions of workers and peasants.

Of equal importance is it that attention should be paid to the youth movement in the Arabian countries. In Egypt, in Palestine, in Syria, the Young Men's Muslim Associations have been organising the fight against imperialist domination, but are, as their name indicates, under the influence of their inherited religious illusions, and they represent only the middle-class youth, that have not yet realised the real nature of the struggle. But the growth of the revolutionary movement of the workers, as well as the increasing agrarian discontent, has led to the formation of revolutionary youth organisations that have a programme of full social and economic freedom, and that are growing in influence.

It is necessary to give the fullest moral and material support to the youth in the colonial countries in their struggle for freedom, and to coordinate the various revolutionary and anti-imperialist youth movements of the colonies with one another and with the youth movements in the capitalist countries. The International Youth Day will achieve this coordination and thereby mark a definite advance in the struggle for the overthrow of imperialism and capitalism.

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

International Conference of Women's Co-operative Guilds.

By G. Z. (Vienna).

The International Conference of Women's Co-operative Guilds which opened on 21st of August in Vienna and was attended by representatives of 20 countries, was the first item of the programme of the International Congress of the Co-operative Alliance.

Emmy Freundlich (Austria), opened the Conference. She had a lot to say about the "economic power of the housewife", whose symbol is the shopping basket, about the "unknown shop assistant" etc., without referring in any way to the fact that here it is a question of a class institution. The report on the activity of the International Co-operative Guild speaks of many successes achieved by the co-operatives in the various countries since the Stockholm Conference.

In the discussion on the report, only Comrades Barishnik and Kravtchenko (Soviet Union), the representatives of the revolutionary opposition, pointed out that the International Guild had done nothing to draw the proletarian women actively into the struggle of the proletariat. Thereupon the report was accepted by a great majority.

It must be mentioned that the reformist leadership of the International Guild had intended to carry out an alteration of the statutes which would have placed greater powers in the hands of the bureaucrats. When, however, it became evident that opinion was very much divided at this Conference with regard to the alterations, the leaders did not venture to bring the matter to a vote and withdrew the motions.

The afternoon-session was occupied with debates on the "Rights of women in the co-operatives". Hardstaff, the President of the Scottish women's guilds, advocated the standpoint of "open membership" i. e. all members of the family should be bound to take up shares, and only then could they become members of the co-operatives. This would mean that practically only the labour aristocracy would be able to afford to have their whole family organised in the co-operatives. Dr. Maria Orsetti (Poland), on the other hand, advocated the principle: two votes per family, as the real member of the co-operative is not the individual person but the household.

Comrade Butuzova, member of the Executive of the Zentrosoyus, in the discussion on this question, emphatically opposed the principle of "open membership". In view of the growing poverty of the working class it is impossible for the broad masses that two or three members of the family enter the co-operatives. The representatives of the British, Dutch and Swedish labour aristocracy supported the principle of "open membership".

The resolution, which was finally adopted by 92 votes against 23, neither accepts nor rejects this principle, but recommends the women co-operators to study this question, and demands a revision of the bourgeois law by which the women of all countries will be granted political, social and economic equality.

The next item on the agenda was entitled: "The mothers of the future". The first reporter was Necaskova (Prague), whose speech was quite correctly characterised by the Vienna "Arbeiterzeitung" as advocating that "women's place is in the home!". She went even so far as to oppose the complete equality of women, as the latter "involves great dangers for the existence of the family". She brought forward the stalest bourgeois arguments in support of her reactionary standpoint, such as for instance that 50 per cent of all youths who had come into conflict with the law, had no mother, that orphans' homes cannot produce joyous spirited men etc.

Comrade Butuzova, the co-reporter, first gave a survey of the present situation of working women in the Soviet Union. Equal rights for women in all spheres of life as well as economic independence are the two factors in the emancipation of women, paving the way to complete liberation from household drudgery; the socialist household management is being more and more introduced in place of the old individual management. Thus women can actively collaborate in the building up of socialism. Comrade Butuzova spoke of the

decline in abortions and the increasing birth rate; of the social insurance of the mothers, the development of the big dining halls, the emancipation of peasant women by means of the collectivisation of agriculture and the part played by the co-operative movement generally in the construction of socialism. After dealing with the terrible conditions of women's labour in the capitalist countries, she concluded by the declaration that no humanitarian efforts will be able to create for women the possibility of remaining in the home, nor will they be able to prevent her from being drawn into industry. Women will achieve their real equality only after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the seizure of power by the workers and peasants, when the means of production will be taken over by the workers' State.

Comrade Butuzova's speech made a strong impression upon the whole Conference. Most of the speakers in the discussion more or less emphatically rejected Necaskova's standpoint. Many speakers showed by means of statistical data that economic necessity is forcing women into industry. The delegate of the Polish Ukrainian districts, Szeparowicz, however, used the occasion to make a furious attack on the Soviet Union and its social institutions. She declared the facts related by Comrade Butuzova to be "fairy tales". Not only that, she exposed herself as an agent of Polish imperialism, by advocating the separation of the Soviet Ukraine from the Soviet Union, as Soviet Ukraine, she alleged, is kept under the dictatorship against the will of the population.

The debate on this item was not concluded. The resolution of the reformists, which was adopted against a strong minority, avoids taking up a definite standpoint on this question and reserves decision on this matter to the next international Conference.

The Conference then discussed a resolution on the struggle against war submitted by the Soviet delegation. If the latter had not insisted on it, the whole question would have been shelved by the Conference. The Soviet motion was opposed by a counter-motion of the reformists, which not only welcomes the disarmament conferences of the League of Nations and endeavours to cloak over the danger of war, but also avoids any mention of the defence of the Soviet Union. The resolution of the reformists was adopted by 100 votes against 23.

BOOK REVIEWS

"Zionism is Bankrupt".

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

It is just a year since the revolt of the Fellahin in Palestine. The importance of this revolt lies not only in the revolutionising of the Arab masses of Palestine and the neighbouring Arab countries brought about by it and the shaking of British imperialist rule in the Near East, which the bloody MacDonald government is endeavouring to patch together again by employing the most ruthless terror — wholesale arrests, death sentences, gallows, etc. — not only in the exposure of the feudal-bourgeois Arab nationalist leaders whose treachery during the revolt and in the course of the year which has since elapsed became most striking — the August revolt of the Arab small peasants in Palestine is of special importance because it gave the death stroke to one of the vilest political adventures of the post-war period i. e. the Zionist movement.

Due to its inner contradictions Zionism, supported by the imperialist Balfour Declaration, was for many years in a state of decline. This movement, guided by the Anglo-Jewish financiers, who were followed by considerable masses of illusional petty-bourgeois, had already lost a considerable amount of its influence owing to its miserable financial collapse in the year 1925/27 and its inability in any way to achieve its aim. The August revolt of 1929, in which Zionism was responsible for the death of hundreds of the poor Jewish inhabitants of Hebron, Safed etc., who had to pay with their lives for the imperialist crimes of the Zionist leaders who are allied with the English, (the report of the British Committee of Investigation which meant the cynical abandonment of the Zionist lackeys by British imperialism and the prohi-

bition of the emigration of Zionists to Palestine which had to be issued in order to pacify the Arab nationalists) sealed the political bankruptcy of the Zionist movement.

The book by P. Katz, "Zionism is Bankrupt", which has just appeared in Yiddish ("Hammer" Publishers 1930, 78 pages), shows the course pursued by Zionism leading to its collapse. A wealth of statistical data is here brought together, which illustrate the reactionary political and economic role of Zionism as well as the complete fiasco of its so-called efforts to build a home for the Chosen People. The effects of Zionism on the economic development of Palestine and on the social position of the Arab workers and fellahin, are dealt with very thoroughly. It is proved a) that Zionism is responsible for the increased taxation of the Arab rural population; b) that it can carry out its land purchases only by collaboration with the big landowners ("effendis"), and that, taking into account only the last few years, no less than 1746 Arab families (8730 fellahin) have been evicted from their land; c) that Zionism has led to a constant lowering of the real wages of the Arab workers and to wholesale unemployment among the Arabs. Evidence that Zionism carries out its robber policy with full knowledge is given by the quotation from the speech of the chairman of the Zionist "National Fund" (land purchasing company), M. M. Ussischkin, who declared on the 27th April 1930, that is after the bloody lessons of August 1929: "If there are natives in Palestine, then they should be sent somewhere else, but we must have the land".

The second part of the book describes the effect of Zionism on the Jewish toilers of Palestine, and proves that a mass colonisation of Palestine is out of the question even if the robber-policy against the fellahin is continued. For such a mass colonisation, which is on a capitalist basis, leads to the population of the "agricultural" colonies rapidly forming into social groups: the colonists become landowners, who cultivate the soil by means of wage labour (partly with Arab workers), a part of them turn to trade, another part leave the country again (over 25,000 Jewish emigrants have left the country in the years 1922/1928. Page 75).

A sinister role is played by Zionist socialism, the Palestine Section of the II. International. This is the instrument of the Zionist bourgeoisie, with the help of which they keep in check the Jewish workers who are roused to indignation by the Zionist policy. The Zionist socialists and the so-called Left Paole Zion have long since entered on the path of social fascism; they are not only the advance troops of Zionist robber companies in driving the fellahin off the soil, but also carry on a furious incitement against the Communists and the Soviet Union.

In the concluding pages there is pointed out the way which the revolutionary proletariat of Palestine must follow; it can be only the path of revolutionary emancipation struggle of all toilers against British imperialism and Zionism. For Jewish and Arab workers alike, only the revolutionary anti-imperialist and anti-zionist fight offers a way out of the profound economic misery and the infamous political oppression to which the working masses of the country are subjected.

Although the work appears to be somewhat lacking in regard to two points: failure to show the connection between British imperialist policy and Zionism or analyse the causes of the relatively strong influence of social fascism upon the Jewish workers, it constitutes from the Leninist standpoint a very successful indictment of Zionism, which is to be recommended in view of the lying propaganda of various leaders of the II. International (Vandervelde, Brailsford etc.) in favour of Zionism.

A Bunch of Five.

By W. N. Clark.

The First series of five pamphlets prepared under the direction of the Labour Research Association and published by International Pamphlets, New York, deal with subjects of more or less immediate interest to workers not only in America but in other countries.

The first of the series, "Modern Farming—Soviet Style", by Anna Louise Strong, gives within thirty pages a necessarily brief, but very vivid and absorbing account by an eye-

witness of the tremendous transformation which is being brought about in Russian agriculture—and with it in the whole way of living and mentality of the great masses of peasants—by those all-conquering creative forces which have been released by the workers' revolution.

Miss Strong gives her readers a very clear and convincing picture of the great campaign which is being waged on the agricultural front, of the whirlwind advance of the process of collectivisation, which is converting Russia from an agricultural country of small and scattered farms, with all the waste and inefficiency thereby involved, into a country of vast-scale, mechanised agriculture, equipped with all the achievements of technics and agronomic science, thus releasing the peasant from hopeless drudgery and slavery to the soil and bringing to him all the advantages and culture of city life. It is really an epic story of heroic struggle waged with unconquerable enthusiasm, under the guidance of the C.P. of the Soviet Union and its General Staff, the Central Committee, in the face of enormous difficulties and in spite of innumerable errors and mistakes and the bitter hostility and sabotage of the kulak elements.

In "War in the Far East", Henry Hall traces the history of imperialist rivalries in Manchuria since the last decade of the last century, particularly for the control of the railways of this country. It tells how, after the October Revolution, the Soviet Government voluntarily cancelled all unequal treaties forced upon China by the Tsarist Governments and signed an agreement for the joint operation by the two countries of the Chinese Eastern Railway. Following its betrayal of the Chinese nationalist movement, the Kuomintang, with the consent of the imperialist powers, commenced a series of provocations against the Soviet Government culminating in the seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway. It was only the firm and consistent peace policy of the Soviet Government which averted a serious war. Hall stresses the repeated attempts of the U.S.A. at this juncture to invoke the Kellogg Pact, which he shows to be nothing but a weapon in the imperialist struggle. He concludes by warning the workers of the imperialist plans for attack on the Soviet Union and the necessity of their being on guard.

"Chemical Warfare" by Donald A. Cameron is a plain matter of fact treatment of the subject by an expert. He points out that in the case of chemical warfare, disarmament is an absolute impossibility, as the numerous industries which come under the comprehensive term of the "chemical industry" are all essential in peace time, but can at a moment's notice be switched on to the production of war material. The writer is careful to refrain from exaggerated statement or any attempt to be sensational, but his sober enumeration of the various gases and their strategic purposes presents prospects which are horrifying enough. He points out that the real enemy to be fought is not war, but capitalism, and the necessity of mobilising all workers in the key industries for the purpose of converting imperialist war into civil war.

The problem of unemployment as it exists in the United States is dealt with by Grace M. Burnham in "Work or Wages". Since the Stock Exchange crash of last Autumn which marked the end of American "Prosperity" unemployment has assumed catastrophic proportions, nevertheless there still exists no national unemployment insurance. Since 1915 fifteen bills dealing with unemployment insurance have been introduced in six legislative bodies, not one of which, however, was passed. In contrast to the plight of the American workers the writer points to the benefits and privileges accorded the unemployed worker in Soviet Russia, where unemployment is being steadily reduced.

The series is concluded by an excellent booklet by N. Sparks on the "Struggle of the Marine Workers". Proceeding from the organisation and the high profits of the shipping trade, it deals in detail with the position of the marine workers, longshoremen, and harbour workers, rationalisation, unemployment, wages, the slavish working conditions in the marine industry, the ever-threatening danger of accidents and ships' disasters etc., the position of the various reformist and yellow organisations of these categories of workers, and concludes with the full programme of the Marine Workers' Industrial Union, affiliated to the T. U. U. L.

The price of the pamphlets is 10 cents each, with the exception of the last, a double-sized one, which is 20 cents.

A second five pamphlets on Labour and Speed-up, The Woman Worker etc., are in preparation.

V. Congress of the R. T. U.

The World Crisis, Economic Struggles and the Tasks of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement.

Report of Comrade Losovsky.

Comrades! Only two and a half years have passed since the IV. Congress; but history is made so fast that more has happened during this short period than during 15—20 years of peaceful organic development of pre-war capitalism. Tremendous events have taken place in world economics and politics. They brought about radical changes in inter-State relations, transformed the mutual relations between the imperialists and the colonial world, sharpened class antagonisms, and clearly brought out the hostility and irreconcilability of the principles underlying the two systems: the capitalist-exploiters' system and the socialist-workers' system.

I. The Economic Crisis, the Disorganisation of Capitalism and Growth of Capitalist Contradictions.

The crisis by which at the present time the whole capitalist economy is shaken though not in the same degree consists of: 1) an acute economic crisis that began at the end of 1929 in the USA. and has gripped a number of other capitalist countries, 2) a protracted agricultural crisis embracing all agrarian countries and especially the colonies, 3) a continuous crisis in several countries (Poland, the Balkans, etc.), 4) permanent depression in Great Britain still further aggravated by the crisis in the USA. The crisis is a world crisis as it has, with few exceptions, drawn most countries into its whirlpool and is developing on the basis of the world crisis. France, having been one of the exceptions until recently, is, at present, also suffering from a general depression and the symptoms of a crisis in several branches of industry (automobile).

What are the outstanding features of the world crisis? It is a crisis of over-production, continuous growth of productive possibilities and called forth by the tremendous disproportion existing between the production and the markets which have been narrowed down by the pauperisation of the masses and the rebellions in the colonies. Economically the crisis shows 1) a restriction of output, 2) the closing down of separate departments and even of whole factories and mills, 3) the considerable fall in exports and imports, 4) the accumulation of tremendous goods-reserves in industry and in agriculture, 5) the considerable fall of wholesale prices, 6) the introduction of almost prohibitive tariffs, 7) difficulties of credits and Exchange crashes.

The direct consequences of the crisis are: 1) sharpening of competition between the trusts for burdening each other with the losses sustained in the crisis, 2) the common struggle of all trusts to burden the working masses of the towns and country with the whole weight of the crisis, 3) vast unemployment of an extent never witnessed before, 4) the reduction of wages, increase of the working day and reduction of expenditure on social insurance, 5) reduction of taxes on the propertied classes, and the imposing of taxes on primary commodities.

From an International point of view the crisis has already led up to 1) violent tariff wars between the most powerful states, 2) a sharper and more ruthless struggle for markets, 3) increased armaments, and a number of military treaties, 4) the intensification of preparations for war against the USSR, in order to break through the foreign trade monopoly, to stop socialist construction and convert the USSR. into an open market for capitalist products.

What is the situation of industry now? The last months have everywhere, with the exception of France, witnessed a tremendous reduction of the output of the industries and a continuous closing down of different departments and even whole factories. Comparing production in the second quarter of 1930 with that of the second quarter in 1929 we notice a reduction by 16 per cent in Germany, 10 per cent in England,

17 per cent in the USA., 22 per cent in Poland. The index of the general situation of business at the end of July in the USA. was 911 as compared with 1146 in July last year.

Figures on the total production, being average figures, do not show which branches of industry have suffered most; but if we consider the figures concerning the different industries we notice that the crushing force of the crisis was most strongly felt by the industries connected with **export**; thus, for instance, in Great Britain the output of steel in June was reduced by 28 per cent as compared with June last. The output of coal fell from 21.7 million tons in May to 16.7 million tons in June. The tonnage of ships under construction has been reduced by one half. The steel industry in the USA. is at the present time producing only 58 per cent of its former output, the automobile industry only 50 per cent, etc. According to the data of the Economic Bureau in Germany, its industrial output fell to 60 per cent in the middle of 1930, the figure for 1929 being 75 per cent. The following table on foreign trade, comparing the first half of 1930 with the first half of 1929 (100), will show that foreign trade is affected most of all:

Country	Imports	Exports
Germany	86	99.5
England	90	85
USA.	76.3	79
France	87.5	90
Italy	80	86.5

Tremendous quantities of goods are lying in the storehouses and the owners are at a loss to get rid of them. In Canada, Australia, and in the USA there is a surplus of 15 million of tons of grain; thousands of tons of coffee, sugar, tea and rubber are lying unused in Brazil, Cuba, Colombia, Indonesia, etc. The supplies are so great that the government of the USA. is buying up tremendous quantities of grain and other commodities in order to support the big landowners, and the planters.

The economic crisis has caused unprecedented consternation among the ranks of the ruling classes and their social-fascist henchmen. Statesmen, learned economists and the social-democrats are racking their brains to find a way out of the crisis, and are trying to explain to the working masses the disorganisation of "organised capitalism" and the collapse of the "prosperity" theories. It was organised capitalism that was a fetish to the social democrats — even some Communists were affected by this theory — as it promised to bring plantfulness into modern economy by a further development of trusts and concerns (Hilferding, Naftali). But the castle in the air suddenly collapsed, the USA. let down the whole crowd of theoreticians, and turned their "organised" chatter inside out. The theory of the prosperity and the exceptionalism of American capitalism suffered the same inglorious collapse as the theory of "organised" capital. United States capitalism—the idol of the European bourgeoisie and international reformism, is rocking on its foundations and the promised land is suffering the throes of an earthquake. The crisis in the USA. still further aggravated a number of existing crises in other countries and placed before the whole capitalist world the dilemma—which way is the capitalist world going? How can it get out of its painful crisis? Mr. Hoover promised rapidly to mend everything, but those will be very few who believe in the optimistic promises of the Washington officials. Hoover's star is setting. He entered the White House accompanied by "prosperity" music, and will leave it to the ominous rolling of the thunder of the economic crisis.

It is not only in the USA. that people are racking their brains; the governments and learned men, in Europe are doing the same. But what are the results? What have the wise men found? Keynes, the greatest economist of England, recently published an explanation of the crisis. The present

crisis is, according to his opinion, a disease called forth by growth, but not an old age ailment. But as soon as the existence of capitalism is questioned even people of Keynes' weight, are losing their common sense. In what other way may the conclusion of his speech, given below, be described? He says: "England is now four times as rich as it was 100 years ago. And I am absolutely justified in saying that, in 100 years we shall be at least eight times richer than we are now." ("Manchester Guardian", June 28, 1930.) All this is quite true but I should like to know to whom "we" refers. Does Mr. Keynes really think that the British proletariat will stand for a hundred years more the Baldwins, Lloyd Georges and MacDonalds? At the present time each country is beginning to surround itself with higher and higher tariff walls. The United States led the way and was followed, after a protest, by the others. The oldest advocate of free trade—Britain—has introduced protective tariffs, is increasing the duty on primary commodities and is preparing to issue an empire tariff. The latter causes much opposition not only in the dominions (Canada, Australia, South Africa), but also in the United States of America; but the question is on the order of the day, and the tariff war is acquiring already a most violent character.

The crisis concentrates the attention of the exploiting countries on the problem of new markets; therefore a violent struggle has begun for and against high duties, for and against penetration into foreign colonies. This is the reason why the relations between England and the USA, in all countries of Latin America are strained (Brazil, Bolivia, Paraguay, Venezuela, Mexico, Central America), and in China, India, etc. Relations are extremely strained between France and Italy, Germany and France, Poland, etc. The question of new markets is a matter of life and death, especially with the great capitalist countries and includes all problems of international economics: the export of capital, security for credits, freights, etc. All these problems are, more than any others, closely linked up with the whole system of international relations. The problems of colonies and of new spheres of influence are becoming most urgent once again and young American imperialism cannot reconcile itself with the fact that England owns one fifth of the globe; in the same way Italy does not want resignedly to look upon the colonial wealth of France. But the problem of a redistribution of colonies is first of all a problem of strength. This leads to the heightening of the fever of armaments, to the piling up of military and naval budgets, to the building of thousands of aeroplanes, to work night and day in the war industries, to the growth of the chemical industry the science and technique of the man-killing industry are making tremendous progress. It is not at all surprising that the feverish armaments are being veiled by pacifist phrases of outlawing war: the Kellogg Pact and Disarmament Conferences are necessary hypocritical attempts at pacifying the anti-war feeling of the masses. War preparations are going ahead at full speed: but the relation of forces is not the same as it was in 1914. The chief actors today are: Britain against the USA, and Germany (Germany's international trade has been higher this year than Great Britain's) France against Italy, France against Germany, Britain against France, Germany against France and Poland, Japan against the USA, while the small States are already looking out for the best buyer of their cannon fodder.

The situation of world imperialism is becoming extremely critical as the whole colonial world is in turmoil owing to the pressure of the crisis. A new upsurge of the revolutionary wave has begun in China where a number of districts have been occupied by the Red Army, and the imperialists are once again creating a united front for the stifling of the Chinese Revolution as was the case in 1925/27.

The revolution in India is of no less importance than that in China, as it is stirring tremendous masses of oppressed natives into revolt against imperialism. The present initial stage of the bourgeois democratic revolution in India bears witness to the vast revolutionary reserves that up till now have been hidden in the crown jewel of the British Empire. Indo-China is rising against French Imperialism. The growth of anti-imperialist feeling in Egypt and all over the Arabian East, the sharpening of anti-imperialist struggle in Latin America, a number of revolts on the Dark Continent, must be added to the other facts in order to give us a clear understanding of the tremendous changes that have been wrought in the colonial world during the last two years and a half. This revolutionary

upsurge in the colonies, especially in China and India, has brought about considerable changes in the relations between world imperialism and the world revolution, to the advantage of the latter. The imperialists, especially the British and French, would not show such consternation in vain, they would not be attempting to drown India and China in blood baths. They understand quite well, that the real danger lies there and threatens to end their rule over millions of slaves. The imperialists of Britain and France are representing the rebellions in the colonies as "Moscow intrigues". It is obvious to everybody that such explanations are just demagogic, rubbish, as it is impossible artificially to incite millions of people to struggle. In any case, one thing is clear, the revolutionary events in the colonies are extremely weakening imperialism and are one of the most serious reasons for the speeding up of the decline of stabilisation.

All the external and internal contradictions of capitalism open up the prospect of a number of political crises in the weakest links of the capitalist chain. The political crisis in Poland, Rumania, Greece, Spain and other small countries is becoming more accentuated, which calls for more intensive activities of the RILU supporters. The sharpening of contradictions leads to internal and international conflicts; a tiny spark will be sufficient to explode the international tension, while social relations are becoming ever more strained. The struggle of the working class for political power will become in the near future the problem of the day in many countries. The international bourgeoisie hopes to surmount all these difficulties by putting the blame on the USSR.

The irreconcilable antagonism between the capitalist world and the USSR overshadows all conflicts among the imperialists. The last two years are characterised by a number of hostile acts by the capitalist powers against the USSR. It will suffice to mention the war supplies that France sent to Poland, Rumania, and the Baltic States, the role played by Great Britain in the creation of a "safety cordon" around the USSR, constant visits of officers of the General Staffs of France and Britain to different countries, the investment of French and British capital in the war industries, especially the chemical industries, of Poland and Rumania, increasing attempts at an economic blockade of the USSR, etc., etc. These facts are the best proofs for the seriousness of the danger with which the USSR is threatened. The purpose of this stubborn policy of encirclement as practiced against the USSR is to break through the foreign trade monopoly, to open by force a wide market for the capitalist countries, to put a stop to the industrialisation and collectivisation of the USSR, to wipe out the territorial basis of the world revolution. This programme is intended to help the imperialists to emerge from the world crisis. This is the bourgeois way of solving the contradictions that are disrupting capitalism.

II. Mass Unemployment, Conditions of the Working Class and International Reformism.

1. The Standard of Living of the Working Class is Declining.

The whole burden of the world crisis is being borne by the working class. Permanent armies of unemployed had owing to capitalist rationalisation existed in several capitalist countries already before the crisis. Thus, to use an American expression, "Technological unemployment" was added to normal capitalist unemployment. The crisis gave birth to an unheard of extent of unemployment the terrible weight of which is lowering the standard of living of the workers and influencing their class struggles.

What is the number of the armies of workers thrown out of production? Bourgeois statistics are very modest in citing figures, but we have nevertheless to use them. The first place belongs to the USA, with 6,000,000 unemployed, second is Germany with about 4,000,000, then follow Great Britain with over 2,000,000, Japan with 2,000,000, Italy with 800,000, Poland with 400,000, Austria with 400,000, Latin America with 1,500,000, etc. We have no figures of the millions of unemployed in China, India, Indo-China, Indonesia and other countries; but even on the basis of bourgeois statistics we shall not be very far from the mark in estimating the total figure of the unemployed at 20,000,000. Every day brings news of the closing of further factories and mills, of the dismissal of further armies of workers. With their families, this means that about 70,000,000 people are thrown into misery, famine and starvation.

This army, unprecedented in its dimensions, for the most part is not receiving any unemployment benefits, and even where such are granted (Germany, Britain, Austria), they are just sufficient to carry on a semi-starving existence. But this is not yet all the misery that is crushing the working class. There are millions of workers working short time who also have to be taken into consideration when characterising the conditions of the international proletariat. Unemployment is the most terrible scourge of the workers, and it is impossible to come to any right conclusions without carefully studying the special features of present day unemployment.

Unemployment is not the only outstanding feature of the present day situation of the working class. The economic crisis is the starting point of new attacks on the wages and labour conditions of the workers. The following figures will serve to illustrate the lowering of the standard of living of the workers: in Germany it was lowered by 13 per cent between May 1929 and May 1930. In Great Britain workers wages in the minin~ industry were cut by more than 19 per cent in the second quarter of 1929 as compared with 1924; the productivity of labour at the same time increased by 23 per cent. The average decrease of workers' wages in the cotton industry amounted to 19 per cent in June 1930 as compared with the October wages of 1924. The wage cut in the wool industry amounted to 11 per cent for the same period. The wages of 500,000 textile (cotton) workers were lowered by 6½ per cent in 1929, those of the wool workers by a further 9 per cent in 1930. In the pig iron industry wages decreased by 5.2 per cent during 1924/28 while the productivity of labour increased by 58 per cent. In the USA, between June 1929 and June 1930, the weekly wages fund paid out by the 54 main branches of industry decreased by 18.2 per cent, while 13½ per cent of the total of workers were dismissed. The year's decrease (January 1930) of the wages paid out by the automobile industry reached 35.4 per cent, the number of employed workers being lessened by 7.6 per cent. The year's decrease of the average fund of weekly wages in the textile industry amounted to 17.3 per cent in April 1930, 10.1 per cent of the workers being discharged. The Steel Trust paid by 20 per cent less wages than last year. The workers' real wages in France fell by 4 per cent in the second half of 1929, and, if compared with 1911, by 9 per cent. The real wages index in Paris, figured on the basis of the trade union existence minimum, was 19 per cent under the pre-war level in October 1929. Wages were lowered by 20 per cent in Italy in the second half of 1929. The wages index in Tokyo (Japan) in May 1930 was 10.4 per cent lower than in August 1924. Wages were cut by 40 per cent in various industries. Wage cuts were most marked in the colonial and semi-colonial countries—in China, India, Latin America (Brazil, 35—50 per cent, in connection with the crisis, and on the sugar plantations of Cuba 35 per cent in 1928/1929).

These are only a few figures: but if we investigate into all countries and industries, we shall come to the conclusion that the working class as a whole is bearing the whole burden of the crisis. Both workers and unemployed must be considered in calculating the standard of living of the workers. According to the data compiled by the German bourgeois economist Kutchinsky, the German working class, owing to unemployment, lost over one fifth of its income during the first half of 1930; if we add to the unemployed the hundreds of thousands on short time, the decrease will be equal to one quarter. Adding to this the fall in the buying power of the German mark, 10 per cent as compared with last year, we shall arrive at a real understanding of the situation of the working class of Germany in the middle of 1930. The same investigations into the United States would show that the high workers' wages in that country are but one of the fairy tales of "economic prosperity". Jürgen and Marguerite Kutchinsky who before the crisis wrote a book on the "Conditions of American labour" give much interesting information that serves to expose the myth of high wages. The American bourgeois is considering the standard of living of a small group of the labour aristocracy and want to convince us that the figures apply to the American working class as a whole. Yet the labour aristocracy numbers only 10—15 per cent of the total. The Kutchinskys are quite right in coming to the conclusion that the American worker is getting wages below the existence minimum.

The conditions of the international working class are determined not only by the wages of the workers in the capitalist countries but also by the labour conditions in the colonial and

semi-colonial countries. Apart from the conditions of slavery that exist in many African colonies, in several Latin American countries, Indo-China and others, we see that the wages of the workers in China, India, Indo-China, the Philippines, Java, Brazil, Central America, that is, the wages of tens of millions of proletarians working in industry and on the plantations (coffee, rubber, rice, tea, bananas, sugar) are terribly low. It is quite obvious that the extremely low standard of life cannot but influence the conditions of the whole international proletariat; it is as clear as day light that either the proletariat of the capitalist countries will have to help the working classes of the colonies to overthrow imperialism and to raise the standard of living, or otherwise the colonial coolies will drag down the standard of living of the capitalist countries to a still lower level.

The growth of unemployment and short time is accompanied by a **lengthening of the working day**. Even the International Labour Office—the abode of the well-known forgers—admit that the working day is longer than eight hours in Germany with 27 per cent of the workers, in Poland—30 per cent, in Italy, 29 per cent and in 16 other countries, 24.1 per cent, of the total number of workers are employed for over 48 hours a week. These investigations do not include such countries as France, Britain, the USA., Japan and not a single word is said about China, India, and other colonial countries.

Information has appeared in the press shedding a new light on this problem. For instance, in the USA., two former students of the Boston University, at the request of the Federal Council of Churches, investigated into working hours in the steel and foundry industries and compiled the following figures concerning 250,000 workers.

16,000 workers work for 12 hours daily.

66,000 workers work seven days a week.

53,000 workers, work 10 hours and more a day.

There are workers on the job for 14 hours a day, on night shift at that.

There you have the uninterrupted week! This is the five day week of the former manager of the General Motors Company, at present the chairman of the Democratic Party, John Raskob and the president of the AF of L, William Green. But in the steel and foundry industry an exception? We doubt it. But another question arises here. Where is our Trade Union Unity League, and where are our revolutionary Trade Unions? Did they not see these facts? It was their duty to do so, was it not? Why did they leave work of this kind to the Federal Council of Churches?

The following is another striking feature of the conditions of the working class in the present period: social insurance does not exist in many countries, and, where it exists (Germany, Britain, Austria) in the name of economy a reduction of expenditure is taking place side by side with the growth of unemployment—the money is wanted for other purposes such as for the construction of naval and air fleets, armaments, and so on.

As the duties on the necessities of life are systematically being increased, and the fall of wholesale prices, thanks to the manipulations of the trusts and concerns, not only has no effect on the retail prices, but often takes place parallel with an increase in prices, the worsening of the conditions of the working class will be made quite clear to us, and we can fully realise the appalling misery and despair into which the world crisis is throwing the proletarian masses.

2. International Reformism in the Service of Capital

International reformism as represented by the second and the Amsterdam Internationals, simply denies the fact of the world economic crisis. No word was said about the economic crisis, about mass unemployment, etc., in the reports of Leipart-Eggert and Mertens at the Congress of the Amsterdam International in Stockholm, (July 7—11).

A year ago, during the session of the E.C. of the Amsterdam International, Leipart quite resolutely gave expression to his opinion on capitalist rationalisation:

"Rationalisation means economy of capital, labor and time (for whom?). If there will be more output, there will also be more to be distributed and the standard of living of the workers may be raised. The trade unions, do not deny the fact that, as a rule, rationalisation is accompanied by discharges of workers at the beginning;

but we must bear with it a while (!) for the sake of the advantages (for whom?) to be expected from rationalisation."

Leipart ought to have told the Amsterdam Congress at Stockholm of the "advantages" which the working classes of Germany, Britain and the USA. have received from capitalist rationalisation. But he just forgot to talk about it.

The economic programme of Amsterdam is so shamelessly bourgeois that even crooks of the band of Zhulavski (Poland) and Fluerad (Roumania) openly declared that they refused to vote on "a programme based on the principles of classical bourgeois economy".

But the Amsterdam gentlemen, though silent on one point, may boast of other "merits", especially in countries where they are in power by means of Social-Democratic and Labor governments. A few examples: The Hermann Müller Government and its friends in the All-German Trade Union Federation have rendered the following "services" to the German proletariat:

In the sphere of social legislation:

1) The social budget for 1929 was reduced by 44 million marks as compared with the budget of the bourgeois block in 1928. In 1930 the budget has been reduced by a further 180 million marks.

2) Re unemployment Wissell enforced a law on the insurance of the unemployed containing the following worsened conditions: a) the workers are paid benefits only during three weeks, b) seasonal workers are paid unemployment benefits only for six weeks, c) domestic workers are not paid any benefit at all.

3) Hilferding floated an obligatory loan of 165 million marks out of the insurance, invalidity, and old age funds.

4) Benefits of invalids and victims of the war were reduced by 5½ millions.

5) The maternity fund was reduced by the Cabinet from 20 to 15 million marks, and the invalidity fund from 40 to 20 million marks.

In the sphere of taxation: An additional 610 million marks of taxes were imposed on the working population as compared with the government of the bourgeois block. 1) The tax on wages was increased by 150 million marks, 2) the sugar tax by 10 million mark, 3) tobacco tax by 255 million marks, 4) Severing continued the subsidy to the "Technical Aid" (strikebreaking organisation) to the amount of 1.4 million marks per year, 5) taxes on staple commodities increased by 480 million marks in 1929, 6) a new tax of 1,370 million was imposed on the workers before the fall of the Müller Government, 7) the workers will have to pay another 45 million marks to the match monopoly.

This is far from a complete list of the social fascists' "services". We may add what Hermann Müller said on March 8, 1930 referring to unemployment demonstrations in the Reichstag: "We'll have to hit them on the head and hit hard—nothing else will help." Hermann Mueller's friends, Zoergiebel, Grzesinski, Severing and consorts have proved that they are masters of modern technique; they do not hit with sticks but use machine guns.

The activities of the Labour Government in England referring to social legislation are not less "fruitful". In spite of the tremendous growth of unemployment, the MacDonald Government is busily worsening the unemployment insurance law, while the Cabinet minister Thomas is persuading the unemployed to wait till the reorganisation of industry is begun on a scientific footing. The pre-election promises have proved not worth the paper on which they were printed. Baldwin's anti-union law is still in force. But in 1929 the Labour Government during the lockout in the cotton industry reduced wages of 500,000 workers by 6½ per cent. 200,000 wool workers were robbed of 9½ per cent of their wages by the MacMillan Commission; the same was practised in other branches of industry. It is true that the Labour Government has not yet used Zoergiebel's methods within Great Britain, because the bloodshed is chiefly in the colonies, where the Labour Government freely uses bullets to teach the colonial slaves reason.

What are the leaders of the biggest British trade unions doing in the meanwhile? They are begging the bosses to practice love of peace and charity and are admonishing the workers to be reasonable and bear in mind the unfavourable state of trade.

The same policy is being pursued by their friends—Wil-

liam Green and the fascist Mathew Woll. The American trade union bureaucrats, in face of the unheard of crisis, could think of nothing else but launching, in alliance with the KKK, a slanderous campaign against the USSR. But the campaign proved to be so senseless and even harmful to the American bourgeoisie that Hoover requested William Green to repudiate Mathew Woll. The American trade union bureaucrats are also "concerned" for unemployment. The President of the fascist AFoIL, William Green, proclaimed the following:

"If the governments of the USA. and Canada, and the big owners, want to enjoy peace and quiet, they must unite with the organised workers in order to solve the problem of unemployment, which in causing much discontent and preparing the soil even for a revolution."

All these facts prove without doubt that the Amsterdam gentlemen and their American friends have become efficient weapons of capitalist attacks, that they are the bosses' lackeys. They very cleverly mask their servility with beautiful phrases about the interests of society, etc. The role played by "Die Arbeit", published in Germany by Leipart, is an especially repulsive example of this kind. The July issue of the journal contains an article by a certain Hans Mars headed "New Tasks of the Trade Unions". In order to justify the bosses' policy as practised by the German Trade Unions, a theory of three stages of the trade union movement is put forward. During the first stage 'the trade unions advocated an intensification of the productivity of labour to the limits permitted by culture'. During the second stage "the whole economic policy of the trade unions is subordinated to industrial policy", and the third stage is entirely taken up by scientific investigations into labour, the political education, industrial policy, etc. This "philosophy" closes with the following pompous verbiage:

"One could not do a worse service to the worker than persuade him that his labour does not possess any spiritual value. . . . It is high time to stop telling the worker that there does not exist any joy of labour, for him."

What can be said about such a defence of slave labour under conditions of capitalist rationalisation, of hunger, misery, unemployment and reduced working wages? It is bare-faced crookedness, calculated to whitewash the hopeless and drab capitalist reality.

From the theory of high wages for additional exertion and intensification of labour, through the stabilisation of wages to the slogan of the reduction of wages by means of lockouts. Such is the path of Amsterdam. Amsterdam is the organiser of the capitalist attack on the workers—this is the most outstanding feature of the present period of class struggles.

Are there really no people in the Amsterdam International besides these bosses flatterers? Where is the left wing? It is represented by stars like Cook and Fimmen. Even Cook found himself somewhat hampered by the crowd of bosses' lackeys he found in Stockholm and burst forth in two interviews, in which he severely criticised the policy pursued by the Amsterdam International. He said to the "Tass" correspondent the following:

"Amsterdam is a yellow international, defending and advocating the reform of the capitalist system. That is, it is trying to mend the system instead of doing away with it. . . . Afraid of Communism, Amsterdam cooperates with the fascist and Christian trade unions, which means close collaboration with capital. . . . Amsterdam represents the interests of the bourgeoisie, and supports rationalisation, though rationalisation is a curse to the workers."

Cook's criticism of the Labour Government was not less severe in the interview published in the Swedish syndicalist organ "Arbetaren". Cook frankly admitted that:

"Under the existing social system, the Labour Government cannot be anything but the henchman of the declining capitalist system. It is a very effective lightning rod for the revolutionary tendencies that are appearing here and there. . . ."

What Cook says is absolutely true but . . . one must not trust the left phrases used by this gentleman. He not only declared in the columns of the "Daily Herald"—after his return to England—that the Tass correspondent had misinterpreted him (Cook had handed the written interview to the correspondent) but also made several speeches at the International Miners' Congress in

Poland that quite evidently show that Cook even in words can rarely be distinguished from his social fascist colleagues. He talked about "progressive labour legislation" in Poland, he was "touched" by the reception of the "organised municipal authorities", he assured those present at the meeting that the crisis "hinders the Labour Government from taking the steps necessary for the emancipation of the working class", etc. Cook is a weather-cook, and a very interesting one. If a revolutionary wind blows, Mr. Weather-Cook immediately follows the lead. And what about Fimmen? Within, the four walls of his home, he is surely a left; but who needs such lefts? A man who for the sake of a fat salary, for the sake of his post of secretary, withdraws from political demonstrations, and is silent as a fish when even Balaam's ass — Zhulavski — begins to talk, such a man can be called a saboteur of the working class movement. His left phrases pronounced in the company of his boon companions are not worth a snap. The left wing of the Amsterdam International is one of the social-fascist detachments that cover the capitalist policy pursued by Amsterdam with left democratic phrases. Relentless struggle against social-fascism and its "left" camouflage — is the slogan of the international revolutionary trade union movement.

III. The Development of the U.S.S.R. and the Rising Standard of Living of the Soviet Proletariat.

The USSR was called by the Congress of the Amsterdam International the "country without democracy". George Hicks, who recently ardently defended the USSR, advises the trade unions of the USSR gradually to become democratic. The Soviet workers are very thankful for the advice, but want to know only one thing: what kind of democracy shall it be, proletarian or bourgeois. Reinstating bourgeois democracy means giving back the soil to the big landowners, the factories, mills and banks to the Russian and foreign capitalists, the abolishment of the 7- and 6-hour working day, the imposing of burden of social-insurance on the workers, the abandonment of the building of workers' homes at the expense of the State, the abolition of rent moratorium for the unemployed, the expulsion of workers and their children from the houses belonging to the bourgeoisie, the transformation of all the rest homes, back into private dwellings of the capitalists, the expulsion of tens of thousands of Red directors from the factories, the abolition of shop committees—in brief, the reinstatement of the former ruling classes that had been driven out and ousted, with their imperialism and national oppression, with their laws, their system of government, their tax policy and so on. For whose sake shall we do all this? For the sake of democracy? The case of the Amsterdammers is truly hopeless if they think that a Soviet worker could be won over to their side by such a programme. If the Amsterdammers were thinking with their heads instead of with other parts of their body, they might ask themselves why "their democracy" is suffering from a crisis of overproduction, while the USSR is increasing its industry to an unheard-of degree, building giant works and nevertheless is unable to satisfy the requirements of the population. Why is there in the capitalist countries a tremendous surplus of goods, though production is being reduced while, on the other hand, the USSR suffers from a shortage of goods even though industries are being rapidly developed? We shall cite a few figures in order to elucidate this point.

Total Output in the USSR. in Pre-war Roubles:

	Industry	Agriculture
1913	100	100
1921—22	23	70
1926—27	102.5	106.5
1927—28	122	107.2
1928—29	142.5	109.1
1929—30	180	114

This table testifies to the rapid growth of industry as well as to the backwardness of agriculture. The backwardness of agriculture is to be explained by the fact that industry is based on Socialist principles, while individual economy prevailed in agriculture up till 1929. This rupture between industry and agriculture was the chief stimulus to the collectivisation of agriculture in the USSR.

The Five Years' Plan plays a vast role in the life of the whole country, the Plan will be achieved in the different branches of industry in two and half to three years. The Five

Years' Plan for oil will be achieved in two and a half years, coal—three years, tractors—three years, machinery, including agricultural machinery—in two and half years, the electric industry—three years, iron and steel—four years. The principle reasons for the successful achievement of the Five Years' Plan are the creative enthusiasm of the wide masses, Socialist competition and the shock brigades movement. This means that the gigantic programme for industrialising the country will be completed for certain before the date appointed. These are the foundations of the Socialist organisation of labour.

The development of industry is accompanied by the rise of the standard of living of the working class. Average real wages amount to 167 per cent, the 1913 rate being taken as 100. The considerable decrease of unemployment and the shortage of labour felt in several districts are of great importance to the working class. At present there is a shortage of turners, fitters, engineers, stone-cutters, painters, plasterers, electrical engineers, etc. The building of a number of factories and buildings has had to be stopped owing to the shortage of labour. Special training schools have been organised in the different factories and mills, in order to cover the shortage, tens of thousands of workers and employees are being re-trained, but the number of skilled workers is still insufficient, though the number of unskilled workers decreased by 50 per cent during the last year alone. The social insurance budget reached 1,400 million roubles this year, and will be increased to 1,800 million roubles next year. The building of clubs and workers' homes is developing rapidly. Owing to the collectivisation the standard of living of the wide peasant masses has been raised as well. All the output of the factories and mills is directed into the workers' districts and collective farms. The workers and especially the peasants had never food enough before the revolution. Now they are masters of their country and want to satisfy all their requirements. If the same quantity of manufactured articles that is produced now in the USSR had been produced by the capitalist regime, the shops in Moscow and other towns would have been overstocked, but a very small part of these goods would have found its way into the workers' districts and villages. The requirements of the workers and peasants have risen by many times, while production increased only to double—this explains the shortage of goods and the queues. A great number of machines is necessary to industrialise our country. Foreign currency must be paid for imported machinery, but foreign currency may be attained only by exporting to the world markets. We are very often obliged to deny ourselves certain articles in order to sell them and import the necessary machinery. The petty bourgeois, who is blind to the great events, interprets the shortage of certain articles as a sign of "bankruptcy", "smash-up" etc. But difficulties never frighten the revolutionary proletarian. It must be understood that the USSR inherited a technically backward productive apparatus that had been torn asunder by wars, that the working class of the USSR is building up its economy without any financial assistance from the outside, that the proletariat has to resist the fierce attacks of both the whole capitalist world and all the capitalist elements in the town and in the country. It must be mentioned that Germany received loans amounting to 12,000 millions of marks for the reconstruction of its economic apparatus. But the milliards that we are investing have been created by the effort of the proletariat itself. A revolution, and all the more a Socialist revolution, is not like the smooth and polished floor of a ball room; whoever thinks that a country like the USSR, surrounded by capitalism, can be reconstructed in only ten years has no idea at all of the mechanism of the class struggle.

While international reformism is hissing and hooting at Socialist construction, the bourgeoisie begins to realise the force and significance of the Five-Year Plan, which is transforming the USSR from an agrarian into an industrial country. While the enemies of the Five-Year's Plan ridiculed it formerly, they have stopped laughing now; they are witnesses to the enthusiasm of the masses, and begin to believe that the working class by straining every effort will achieve the Five-Year Plan in four years—in spite of everything the Amsterdammers may say. Every delegate present must realise that the Soviet proletariat, by building up Socialism, is working not only for its own cause but also for the cause of the world proletariat. This is the reason why the international bourgeoisie and international reformism are ideologically preparing the masses for the attack on the USSR.

IV. Economic Struggles during the Crisis, Strikebreaking by Reformists, Our Tactics

1. Character and peculiar features of the Strike Movement since the Fourth Congress.

The economic struggles of the working class since the Fourth Congress have been stubbornly resisted not only by the bourgeois governments, and employers' organisations but also by the reformist trade unions. In all its strikes and economic conflicts, the working class and the revolutionary trade union movement were faced by the solid united front of the bourgeois State, the employers, the reformist trade unions; while operating differently (the division of labour) they pursued one and the same aim: **to prevent strikes and, if they occur, break them as soon as possible.** The struggle of all reactionary forces against the strike movement has acquired an extremely violent character during the last years. One of the most efficient weapons in the struggle is the coming to power of the different "labour" government that by means of promises, threats, compulsory arbitration and brute force are suppressing the economic struggles of the proletariat. This explains to a considerable extent why the strike movement did not keep to a steady upward course during the last years, but had its ups and downs. In some countries (India, Germany), the greatest number of strikes broke out in 1928, in others (Britain, France, China and so on) an increase of the movement was witnessed in 1929. The first half of 1930 is remarkable for the considerable increase of the number of strikes in most countries (Germany, France, Great Britain, Latin-America, China, the USA, etc.) which is the answer of the wide working masses to the further worsening of their standard of living.

The world economic crisis has created a situation which, on the one hand, hinders the development of economic struggles (fear of unemployment) but, on the other hand, pushes wide masses of the proletariat into the struggles, owing to their unheard of pauperisation and continuous attacks on their wages and working day. The Rights, on the basis of the falling off of strikes in several countries in 1929, are coming to the conclusion that the masses are not turning to the left. They are wrong, of course, as strikes, though important, are not the only index of the dissatisfaction and radicalisation of the masses. The new difficulties created by the crisis, and the systematic and organised attack of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat, serve to bring out the following outstanding features of the economic struggles during the last period: 1. the strikes become extremely violent on both sides; 2. all forces of the reaction, the police, the reformist trade union bureaucracy, are immediately mobilised for the struggle; 3. the revolutionary trade union movement and the Communist Parties are the only leaders of the economic struggles of the proletariat; 4. all struggles are of extreme political significance.

The violence with which struggles are fought was witnessed during several strikes in Germany (metal workers in the Ruhr, plumbers in Berlin, dockers in Hamburg, metal workers in Hennigsdorf and Mansfeld, etc.), in France (the textile workers' strike in Halluin, the metal workers in Boucau, miners, dockers and others), in England (the metal workers strike in the Austin plant, the miners of Dawdon, the wool workers of Bradford, etc.) in Japan (tram workers in Tokyo, the textile workers of the Kanagafuchi mill), in India (the two textile workers' strikes in Bombay, strikes of railway workers and jute workers, etc.), in Australia (miners and wood-workers), in the USA (textile workers in Gastonia, miners in Illinois, trainworkers in New Orleans, etc.), in China (tram-workers and coolies in Peking, textile workers in Shanghai, etc.), in Italy (the Fiat concern), in many strikes in the Balkans, in Scandinavia, in Latin America, in the Arabian countries and all over Africa. It would take hours only to enumerate the whole number of strikes, lockouts and to explain the reasons of their outbreak. But the following must be noted: the year 1928 shows a great number of strikes and strikers, but 1929 stands out as an example of the quality and violence of the strikes. Struggles are becoming very sharp, the strikes last longer than usually, clashes and bloody encounters between the workers and the fascist and social-fascist gangs are the order of the day. The workers more quickly and sharply repel the attacks of the owners, and answer them with counter-attacks. Scarcely any of the

strikes proceeded peacefully. In all countries, even in the so-called democratic countries, the whole power of the ruling classes was brought into action to crush the resistance of the workers. The bourgeoisie sent out police and soldiers, made mass arrests, murdered the leaders, openly or in the dark, shot at pickets, brought car-loads of strike breakers under police protection to the plants, organised special gangs and used special anti-strike legislation and compulsory arbitration to crush the movement.

2. Strike Breaking Tactics of the Reformists and the Reasons for their Success.

The most disgusting role in the violent suppression of the strike movement is played by the social-fascist bureaucracy, which has worked out a complicated system of strike breaking and the smashing-up of the strike movement. The reactionary trade union bureaucrats are influencing the workers chiefly by means of their various organisations and supporters in the factories, in order to quench the discontent of the masses and divert their attention to appeals and petitions. They avoid struggles and explain to the workers in periods of prosperity that strikes violate the interests of society and undermine the economic power to compete on the international market; while during a crisis, they say that strikes are hopeless, that the workers should agree of their own free will to reductions of wages for the sake of the interests of the national industry.

Whenever the discontent of the masses rises to its highest pitch, the reformist trade union bureaucrats begin to take ballots for months on end, going on with their agitation and propaganda against the strike and advocating the acceptance of demands proposed by the owners and arbitration committees. Whenever the vote fails to be favourable to capitulation, the reformist leaders propose to postpone the struggle till the economic situation improves and, at the same time, carry on negotiations behind the scenes with the employers in order to jointly break up the movement. The social-fascists and owners, in order to disorganise the masses, dismiss the most active workers who favour a strike from the factories and mills, thus trying to behead the movement even before it begins. If the workers, nevertheless, insist on their demands and defend the dismissed comrades, the strike is declared to be unofficial, and the members of the union are refused any benefits, though they may have paid their dues for years. If these measures are of no avail, the trade union bureaucrats call on the members of the unions to break the strike, and quite openly recruit new workers that are to take the place of the strikers. Arrests are made, pickets are smashed and strikebreakers are given the open support of the police and military. In order to bring the struggle to a rapid end, the reformists send out their gangsters against the workmen; reinforced by the fascist gangs, they terrorise the workers. While the police and the volunteer corps of the fascists and Social-Democrats smash up the strike, the trade union bureaucrats are fawning upon the ministers, organise meetings with the owners, and appeal to the government to "impartially" settle the dispute by means of arbitration. The bourgeois government, of course, introduce a compulsory reduction of wages, and the trade union bureaucracy for and on behalf of the workers agree to the conditions that were made up with their own support and call off the strike. If the workers are classconscious enough and refuse to swallow this manoeuvre, dissension is sown among them by endless ballots and, if they are still obstinate, a whole mass of reprisals is put into practice, for which purpose the reformists don't grudge the union funds.

I cannot enumerate all the strikes that were smashed by these methods, but I shall mention a few. The lockout of 500,000 cotton textile workers in England, where the reformist tricks ended in a 6 1/4 per cent. reduction of the workers' wages; the miners' strike in Dawdon; the wool-workers' strike, which ended with a 9 1/4 per cent. reduction, and so on. In Germany: the lockout of the metal workers in the Ruhr, the strike in Munich, Gladbach, the dockers' strike in Hamburg, the strike in Hennigsdorf, the miners' strike in Waldenburg, the textile workers' strike in Silesia, the metal workers' strike in the mills of Pharmazit Terma, Bamag, the strike in Mansfeld, the dockers' and shipbuilders' strike in Hamburg—all these strikes were smashed owing to the combined attacks of reformists and owners. All methods were used from persuasion to expulsion of the leaders and the hiring of strike breakers. The result was the same everywhere, a reduction of wages. In France: the dockers' strike in Bordeaux, the miners' strike

in the Loire, St. Etienne, Aveyron, the strikes in the Upper Seine district, in Belfort, in Boucau, the dockers' strike in Nantes, the strike against the social-insurance law in the North, the shoemakers' strike in Pienne, etc. **India:** during both textile workers' strike in Bombay and the strikes of the railway workers and the jute workers, the reformist trade unions used every effort to sabotage the movement. — The result was a reduction of the wages and the dismissal of tens of thousands of workers. **Japan:** during the strike in the General Motors Plant the left reformists expelled the most active comrades, stopped the publication of the strike bulletin and broke up the strike committee. As a result the strike was lost and 300 workers were dismissed. The reformists again supported the employers during the strike of the 40 000 textile workers of the Kanagafuchi Mill. In Latin America, China, the Philippines, Australia, Canada—everywhere the same tactics are applied, the only difference being that in Spain and in several Latin America countries (Argentina, Mexico) the anarchists are in alliance with the reformists to support the employers.

The result is everywhere the same—the smashing-up of strikes, reduction of wages, a worsening of the conditions of labour. Thus we see that all these cases are not isolated strike-breaking actions of "bad" reformists: quite the contrary. It is the policy of the whole reformist trade union movement—to break off all and any struggles and to enslave the working class.

Social-fascist tactics are not so simple as they appear to be at the first glance. In order to keep their hold on the masses, they prefer to use finer and less visible forms and methods of breaking strikes; only in extreme cases they openly break strikes. Whenever withdrawal from the strike would be followed by the loss of their influence the social-fascists from the first take the lead of the movement and intentionally steer it to defeat in order to cure the workers of "strike fever". The social-fascists, in order to hasten defeat appoint fake strike committees, ordering the workers to stay at home until called for; in the meanwhile they carry on feverish negotiations about arbitration, the conclusion of new collective agreements, etc. Having come to an agreement behind the scenes, they declare the strike to be ended by the trade union. Wherever revolutionary trade unions exist (USA, France, etc.), the reformists, in agreement with the employers, sometimes declare a pseudostrike, with the only aim of concluding a collective agreement after a couple of days without and against the revolutionary trade union, and to dismiss its members from the plant. The provocative garment workers' strike in New York, organised by the Schlesinger union with the assent of the employers, is a striking example. Our comrades were taken unawares by these tactics and lost several positions. This is additional proof that the social-fascists are using not only methods of crude strike-breaking but often break strikes by means of declaring a strike, the moments most favourable to the employers being chosen for actions (the slack season, large reserve stocks, unpreparedness of workers, etc.).

It is not sufficient for us to place on record the strike-breaking methods of the reformists—we must enquire into the reasons for the success of their tactics, and ask ourselves why the reformists succeed in defeating the little and great struggles of the working class. As soon as we understand this, we shall find the way for cutting out this cancer that is sapping the strength of the workers' movement of the world.

Let us look more closely into this matter.

a) Amsterdam is based on the whole bourgeois State apparatus. In China, Rumania, Hungary, Yugo Slavia, Poland, Greece, etc., the Amsterdammers exist only thanks to the severe persecution of the revolutionary workers by the State. In alliance with the police they are stronger than the revolutionary wing of the workers' movement. Whenever the workers succeed in breaking through the police barriers, the Kuomintang and Amsterdam are repulsed. Repressions are widely practiced in other countries (Germany, Japan, USA); the State apparatus begins to act most violently whenever strikes are to be suppressed. The State, especially the democratic kind, uses not only force but also bribes, trying to rob the working class of its most energetic elements.

b) The Amsterdammers have organised a wide net-work of trade union organs outside and inside the enterprises. Trade union bureaucracy has a well trained hired and elected apparatus in Germany, Britain, Austria, USA; a considerable number of persons in the different enterprises is directly

connected with the apparatus (dues collectors, representatives, shop committees and other middle and low officials). This apparatus functions like clock work; all intercourse with the employers referring to wages, labour conditions, etc. is concentrated there. This apparatus is the most important political weapon in the hands of social-fascism.

c) The Amsterdammers are winning over part of the workers by guaranteeing permanent jobs. The Amsterdammers are utilising their political and organisational influence to grant the best positions and the highest wages to the active supporters of their policy. It is not difficult for them to enforce certain privileges for their active supporters owing to the open political and technical support of the employers. This statement is however very far from comrade Varga's opinion who says that only counter-revolutionaries and spies have permanent jobs at present. In fact the majority of the workers are employed in spite of mass unemployment. Why then present such formulas?

d) The Amsterdammers utilise the craft interests of various groups of workers to the detriment of the working class. The reformist unions, even when they have unskilled workers among their members, first of all defend the interests of the skilled workers. The principal attention in the fixing of price lists and the conclusions of collective agreements is paid to the craft interests of small groups of workers, while the majority of unskilled workers, women and young workers are entirely neglected. The Amsterdammers are sticking to craft traditions (let me remind you of the British trade unions!) and thus win over all those to whom these traditions promise to be profitable.

e) The Amsterdammers reflect and defend the interests of the workers' aristocracy, opposing it to the majority. The same policy is pursued here as in the preceding paragraph. The aristocracy of labour consists of the most highly paid skilled workers, and the Amsterdammers, instead of fighting the greed and egoism of various groups corrupted by imperialism, support these tendencies and cause splits in the working masses. This should not lead us to the hasty conclusion that all skilled workers are hopelessly lost to the cause of revolution (Czecho-Slovakia) or to affirm that there is no labour aristocracy in the enterprises and that, therefore, the bourgeoisie cannot gain any foothold there. Lenin repeatedly spoke of the "economic splitting off of a section of the Labour aristocracy into the camp of the bourgeoisie". Though the base of the labour aristocracy owing to capitalist rationalisation, has been narrowed, this class of workers, though not numerous, stays in the enterprises (the workers' bureaucracy being outside), and plays a most important part forming the driving force of reformist policy and tactics. (See for information on this question comrade Lapinski's interesting book: "The Crisis of Capitalism and Social-Fascism", pp. 141—154.)

f) The Amsterdammers are playing off one group of workers against the other during strikes. This is achieved in the following way. The Amsterdammers during the negotiations suggest that the employers satisfy the demands of a small group of workers who are playing an important role in the industrial process. Granting of the demands of this group of workers is generally the signal for discord among the strikers themselves. The workers, the demands of whom were granted, supported by the trade union and with its consent, return to work—and the strike is broken. And ancient proverb: "Divide and rule" is frequently used by the trade union bureaucracy by splitting the united front of the strikers into separate groups which defend their own petty craft interests.

g) The trade union bureaucrats, having arisen from among the workers, know the weaknesses of the movement and thus can more easily split it. The most dangerous enemies of the workers are those within the working class itself. This is why the bourgeoisie so highly values former workers and pays big salaries to all these Jouhaux, Leiparts, Greens and Citrines, Mussolini's political headquarters are recruited from former socialists, anarchists and syndicalists. The bourgeoisie fully utilises the faith that the workers are putting into their former comrades in order to keep the working masses in check. As soon as this faith is exhausted, these gentlemen are simply employed in the employers' organisations (Frank Hodges, Farrington, etc.).

h) Strikebreaking is organised under the banner of Socialism and in the name of trade unions. Trade unions have gained the reputation among workers of being organs for the defence of their interests. The majority of the workers consciously,

and even instinctively hate scabs. The trade union that were organised by the employers, had therefore always a very small membership. The members were obviously corrupted and had sold themselves. The masses cannot enter such trade unions. At present it is the reformist union that carry out strike breaking activities, but they do it under the flag of Socialism. There are always some wavering elements among the strikers who care more for their own private interests than for those of the whole body. They do not dare to scab openly; but matters are different if the trade union or the social-democratic party are calling them back to work. It is always easier to disorganise a movement than to organise it; whenever hunger visits the families of the strikers, appeals to return to work fall often on fertile soil during a strike.

ii) Reformism still enjoys some influence on considerable numbers of workers. We should be near-sighted if we denied the influence that the reformists still have among the masses: on the contrary, they still have much influence on the most politically backward elements among the workers, attracting them by propaganda, agitation, theory and practice. Reformism promises to improve the workers' conditions in a peaceful way and without any bloodshed. It promises Socialism without

revolution, liberty without struggle and utmost happiness without misery and sufferings. There are millions of workers that are quite honest in their mistakes; it is these that we must and can win.

Adding to all these reasons the wide network of mutual benefits in the reformist trade unions, and the natural desire of every worker to keep the rights that he gained by regularly paying dues for a whole number of years, and further the compulsory arbitration used to browbeat part of the workers we arrive at the sum of reasons why the workers very often follow the trade union bureaucracy, and why the latter so often succeed in breaking the strike movement in most of the countries. Capitalist rationalisation, the economic crisis and the violent attack of the bourgeoisie supported by the reformists against the standard of living of all classes and groups of workers, are undermining the influence of the reformists. We rely on this objective factor in our struggle for the majority of the working class; but subjective factors are also necessary as much as favourable objective circumstances, which leads me on to the last, but not the least important, reason why we were defeated in a number of economic struggles.

(To be continued.)

Discussion on the Report of Comrade Losovsky.

(Continued.)

Comrade Lis (Leningrad):

The Soviet proletariat has issued its fighting slogan: The Five-Year Plan in four years! You must take the power into your hands countries, and form workers' and peasants' councils. In doing this you must profit by the experience gained by the Russian workers in their struggle against Tzarism. You must study this experience and apply the results to your work. Your most important work is the winning over of the masses.

On behalf of the International Red Aid, the woman comrade Stassova greeted the Congress:

The III. Congress of the R. I. L. U. devoted special attention to the I. R. A. in a special resolution pointing out that the I. R. A. is one of the most important weapons of the revolutionary labour movement. The IV. Congress of the R. I. L. U. passed a resolution putting even greater stress on the importance of the I. R. A. for the labour movement, and recommended all its sections to ensure the closest contact with the organisations of the I. R. A.

The I. R. A. came into being in November 1922 on the initiative of the Society of the old Bolsheviks. The I. R. A. possesses 52 organisations, 27 of which are legal and 25 illegal. In the capitalist countries there are 29 Sections, 17 legal and 12 illegal; in the colonial countries 22 Sections, 9 legal and 13 illegal. These sections count 8,450,766 members—6,053,299 individual and 2,397,467 collective members. Of the non-individual members 4,841,688 fall to the Soviet Union, 1,211,616 to the other countries. Collective members are the trade unions, parties, co-operatives, sport organisations, freethinkers societies, etc.

During the last five years, from 1925 to 1930, 619,979 champions of the cause of the proletariat have been murdered, 228,861 injured, 555,819 arrested. 50,711 executed, and 70,577 sentenced to various punishments. To this vast army of the victims of capitalist terror we must add the many political refugees. Between 1923 and 1930 the I. R. A. expended 25,970,130 marks in aid of political prisoners and their relations, for legal help, for children's homes, and for the relief of political emigres. The I. R. A. organised the defence in the great political trials of Sacco and Vanzetti, Rakosi, Szanto, Vadi, in the trial of the Meerut prisoners, in the proceedings against the C. C. of the C. P. of Italy, the trial of the "52" in Bulgaria, of the Gastonia prisoners, the members of the White Russian Hromada in Poland, etc. etc.

Comrade Stassova called upon all delegates to spread the influence of the I. R. A. to the utmost of their power, and to aid it to consolidate its organisations all over the world.

Comrade Emmerich (Germany):

In Germany the Brandler group made a sharp attack upon the decisions of the IV. Congress. Their attack was especially violent upon the theses on the Fascisation of the reformist trade unions. But precisely these theses have been fully confirmed in the period since the IV. Congress. The liquidators so anxious to liquidate us have liquidated themselves. They are now a perfectly bankrupt group of generals without soldiers.

What are the hampering factors in our revolutionary trade union work in Germany? The following are the essential ones: In the first place there are many workers, who see the Fascisation and anti-labour policy of the reformist trade union apparatus, and conclude that it is of no use to continue to work in the reformist organisations. In the second place, our revolutionary fractional work has an inadequate political content. In the third place, our ranks are permeated by trade union legalism. In the fourth place we have the "Left" sectarian deviations. And fifthly we must admit an insufficient organisational system of reaching all adherents of the revolutionary trade union opposition in the works and factories. A really firmly established leadership of the revolutionary trade union opposition is lacking.

Comrade Emmerich brought forward a number of facts showing that the work of the RILU. in the reformist unions has been inadequate. We shall have to combat with Leninist severity, on the basis of the resolutions of the V. Congress, all deviations of an opportunist and sectarian nature. Despite all faults and shortcomings, we can, however, state that during the past years we have had much success, both in political and organisational regards. The balance drawn of the competition between the revolutionary trade union opposition and the Central Council of the Russian Trade Unions proves this. We fulfilled the competition to 75 per cent. We are not yet satisfied with the result, and shall work energetically for the attainment and outstripping of the goal set. Amsterdam is a rampart of counter-revolution. In all probability the decisive battle between Amsterdam and the RILU. will be fought in Germany. We are arming to defeat both reformism and capitalism. We will and must conquer all the foes of the proletariat, and we shall conquer them.

Comrade Dahlem (Germany):

The policy of the German bourgeoisie, aiming at thrusting onto the workers the burdens of the crisis and the Young plan, encounters the growing resistance of the working class. The latest strike conflicts in Germany have been political in character, and bear witness to the rightness of the slogan "class against class". The revolutionary united front from

below is forming against the united bloc of the employers, the government, the social Fascists, and the Fascists.

In Germany we must develop the revolutionary trade union opposition with the greatest energy and firmness, aided by the experience gained in these conflicts, and on the basis of oppositional groups in the works and factories. We must admit that our inner trade union work stagnates, mostly as result of sectarian theories and deviations, whose representative in Germany has been Comrade Merker. The trade union opposition must correct these errors.

Great possibilities for successful work exist in the trade unions. This has again been proved by the Mansfeld strike. The resolution on Comrade Losovsky's report states that the slogan "Join the trade unions" must be abandoned. As a matter of fact such a slogan has not existed among us in actual practice for more than two and a half years. Were such a formulation to be retained in the resolution, it might awaken the impression — especially in view of the strong anti-trade union tendencies among many of the workers — that they need no longer be members of the reformist trade unions. We should rather issue such positive slogans as: "Workers, join the ranks of the revolutionary trade union opposition!"

Comrade Dahlem further welcomed Comrade Anzelovitsch's speech (Soviet Union), which pointed out that under Lenin's leadership the Bolsheviks worked in the Subatov police trade unions, in order to win over the masses of the workers. The experience gained by the trade unions of the Soviet Union with regard to work in the reactionary trade unions must be made use of by the other sections of the RILU, in order that these may learn to do efficient work in the reactionary trade unions.

In conclusion Comrade Dahlem stressed the necessity of the internationalisation of the work of the RILU. The greater the internationalism in our ranks, the more speedy the victory of the working class.

Comrade Agrews (England):

dealt with the question of winning the masses. The speaker pointed out the necessity of a clearly defined line, easily made comprehensible to the workers in plain words. Work among the masses must deal with the concrete questions of the day. In Great Britain, for instance, a speech has been published, by the Home Secretary, Clynes, in which this "labour minister" preaches capitalist rationalisation and the re-establishment of capitalism at the expense of the workers. For the textile workers this is an especially urgent question, and we must build up our agitational, organisational, and enlightening work in this branch of industry. At the same time it is necessary to strengthen relations with the international labour movement. The workers of Lancashire must know, for instance, how the Indian and Chinese workers live and work, and how they struggle against the yoke of British capitalism. This will give them a clear idea of the tasks and methods of their struggle.

Comrade Jensen (Denmark):

Denmark is a country in which reformism holds powerful positions. The strong influence of the reformists is partly due to the inadequate work of the revolutionary trade union opposition. The workers are being forced into the struggle by the pressure of capitalist rationalisation and capitalist offensive. The opportunists at the head of the revolutionary trade union movement sabotaged the line laid down by the IV. RILU. Congress. The decisions of the IV. Congress and of the Strassburg Conference were not explained to the workers.

A delegate from the Philippines

described the wretched conditions of living suffered by the workers and peasants of the Philippine Islands. Out of 2 million workers 400,000 are out of work. Last year's struggles among the dock labourers and tobacco workers showed that the working masses are approaching our programme.

Comrade Galvest (Argentine):

spoke on the influence of the revolutionary trade unions in the Argentine republic. The revolutionary wood workers' union

came into being as a result of a strike carried through by the revolutionary elements against the will of the reformist leaders of the old union. Under the leadership of the RILU, the Argentine revolutionary trade union movement will attain further successes.

Comrade A v d e y e v a (Soviet Union)

spoke on the part played by working women in the economic struggles of the proletariat. The recent conflicts in Great Britain, France, Denmark, Germany, etc., have proved that women can fight heroically. The revolutionary trade union organisations do not yet lead the activities of the masses of the working women to a sufficient extent. The working women of all countries must hear of the achievements of the women of the Soviet Union. Three million women are members of the trade unions of the Soviet Union. In the Soviet Union there are many women in responsible positions. Trade union activities cannot be designated as satisfactory unless including energetic work among the women. Hence this question must be taken up in all countries.

A representative from the United States

reported on the revolutionary trade union movement in the Southern States. A great achievement is the united front of white and coloured workers in the economic struggles of the South. In view of the fresh attack of capital on the working class, great conflicts are impending. The revolutionary trade union movement in the Southern States must prepare carefully for these conflicts.

A representative of the Chinese seamen:

enthusiastically greeted. stated: We know that in the Soviet Union the rationalisation is bringing about a reduction of the costs of production of the most important articles of consumption, the position of the working class is improving, wages are rising, working hours are being shortened, and social insurance extended. In the capitalist countries, especially in the colonies and semi-colonies, the results of capitalist rationalisation are very different. The wages of the Chinese seamen have fallen by 18 per cent, the working hours have been increased to 12 or 14, the intensity of labour increased. The rising prices press the real wages ever lower. The price of rice has risen by 80 per cent. 40 per cent of the Chinese seamen are out of work, and in China there is no unemployed or sick insurance. The seamen are carrying on an energetic struggle against the existing regime. In China numerous meetings have been held under the slogan of the defence of the Soviet Union. When the events on the Chinese Eastern Railway began, a demonstration took place in Hongkong on the initiative of the seamen, participated in by the workers of other branches of industry. At one of these meetings the seamen expressed the desire to volunteer for the Red Army. We are all strengthening the struggle against reformism and the Kuomintang. The Council of the Red Unions of China comprises a number of local groups in Shanghai, Hongkong, Canton, Singapore, Tientsin, and other important ports.

A representative of the Negro workers, Comrade Bell,

stated that decided battle must be given to white chauvinism in the ranks of the revolutionary trade union movement, and the Negro workers admitted to the revolutionary unions, in order that these may fight side by side with their white brothers in the victorious struggle against capitalism.

Comrade Devaux (France)

reported on the strike in Belfort, and related how she, as non-party and unorganised working woman, had become convinced during this strike that her place, and the place of all working women fighting against capital, is in the ranks of the revolutionary unions.

Moscow, 21st August 1930.

An Indian worker,

heartily received, brought warm greetings from the workers of India to the V. Congress and the workers of the Soviet Union. He stated that whilst the

American workers demonstrated their sympathy for the Indian workers, the comrades of the Minority movement have helped them more by words than deeds. We must carry on a concrete struggle, for if we overthrow imperialism in India, we thereby help to transform Great Britain into a Soviet country. The V. Congress of the RILU must awaken an echo not only in the Soviet Union, but all over the world. The overthrow of imperialism in India is a struggle for the overthrow of imperialism all over the globe.

A Latvian delegate

reported on the bourgeois Terror raging in Latvia. In 1928 the government disbanded 19 revolutionary associations. We have however, gathered these together again, and are keeping up our courage. We are threatened by a Fascist coup like that in Finland. We are preparing the counter offensive, and hope for the help of the world proletariat.

Comrade Wedrow (Canada):

The workers in Canada have very hard lives, especially the working women. I have seen how the women workers in the Soviet Union live. Whilst in Canada wages are being reduced by 10 per cent, in the Soviet Union they are rising steadily, and unemployment has almost vanished. I have now become fully convinced that there is no other way for us but to fight for the final victory of the workers under the leadership of the RILU.

Comrade Chalut (France)

delegate sent by the metal workers of the Paris district and the workers of the Citroen Factory, described the organisational weaknesses of his union, which does not always express the interests of the workers or win over the workers. The workers frequently act independently. In the struggle against the new insurance law the right demands have not always been advanced, or the meaning of the wage deductions made clear. The workers are awakening again. On 1st August, in spite of the weakness of the union, most of the Citroen factory workers stopped work and demonstrated in the streets.

Comrade Sverma (Czechoslovakia)

discussed the question of the lack of progress of the Red unions in Czechoslovakia. He attributed this to the Ghent system, which sows dissension between the organised and the unorganised workers. Unemployed benefit and high prices bonus are paid only to the organised. Had we been able to utilise the radicalisation of the masses, and understood how to organise the unemployed in a common struggle with the workers, we should have overcome the difficulties. The glass workers' and textile workers' strikes were insufficiently prepared, and were isolated. Mass work in the works and factories must be more energetic.

Comrade Auer (Germany)

spoke on the extent and the significance of the monopoly of the reformist trade unions in the conclusion of wage and working hours agreements. The monopoly of the reformists has been brought about by the deceptive ideology which puts faith in tariffs, and which discredits any strike not sanctioned by the reformists. We call upon the proletariat to defend its sole possession, its labour, for itself, and to elect its own fighting leaders. Only in the Soviet Union does the proletariat enjoy to the full the values which it creates.

A representative of the Japanese youth

described the frightful exploitation and low wages of the Japanese factory workers, two thirds of whom are juvenile workers. The Left unions do not accord sufficient attention to work among the youth. The young workers are actively revolutionary. The reformist leaders prevent in every possible way the demonstrations and struggles of the young workers. The revolutionary workers' union has undertaken the organisation of a youth section, but

very unskillfully. The special demands of the youth have not been taken into account. The Youth Secretariat of the R.I.L.U. last two years have been distinguished by strike struggles. must devote greater attention to the East. Only then will it be possible to win over the masses of the young workers for the revolutionary united front.

A representative from Persia

stated that Persia is considered an economically and politically backward country. In Persia there are about 500,000 workers, of whom 182,000 are employed in the carpet industry, 45,000 in the naphtha industry, etc. The last two years have been distinguished by strike struggles. In 1929 the workers of the oilfields went on strike. The arrest of the strikers was replied to by the workers by a mighty protest demonstration attended by nearly 40,000 persons. The management was forced to make certain concessions. The next strike in the oil district affected 20,000 persons, and could only be suppressed by military force. In the same years the railmen went on strike in Masanderan. The Red trade unions played a leading role in this strike, and therefore reaction attacked them. The Red unions were prohibited, and forced to work illegally. In spite of the difficulties of illegality, the Red unions continue to lead the labour movement. In the future we must maintain closer contact with the R.I.L.U., and work under its guidance.

Comrade Lapoum (France):

The danger of an imperialist war against the Soviet Union was never so great as at present: the many "peace" conferences, etc. only serve to bring about a better united front of the imperialists against the Soviet Union. France plays a very active part in this anti-Soviet campaign. It is an open secret that the Fascising of Rumania is the work of French imperialism. Under pressure from France, and with its financial aid, Poland has built a new harbour. Czechoslovakia is preparing to supply the countries on the frontiers of the Soviet Union with war material. Thus French imperialism seeks to push forward its outposts to the borders of the Soviet Union. At home, too, the French imperialists seek to influence public opinion by slanders against the Soviet Union. The Unitary Trade Unions have not yet devoted adequate attention to the struggle against the war danger and the attack on the Soviet Union. Anti-military work is one of our most important tasks.

Comrade Tunnel (Sweden):

The whole front of the bourgeoisie maintained that Swedish capitalism was stabilised, and possessed enough power to resist the world economic crisis. Yet the crisis has overtaken it. In Sweden there are hundreds of thousands of unemployed, mostly young people, receiving no support. The reformist trade union bureaucrats are still fairly strong, and supported by the bourgeoisie. The Finnish revolutionary refugees were not permitted to enter Sweden, but the Swedish bourgeoisie welcomed with open arms the Amsterdam representatives attending the Stockholm Congress. The speaker referred further to capitalist rationalisation and its effects, and described the struggle of the revolutionary opposition against the renegades. The revolutionary trade union opposition in Sweden must be built up in the midst of struggle against the reformist trade union bureaucrats, and the opportunist Right and "Left" deviations.

A delegate from Rumania

stated that the steadily intensifying crisis, whose results are thrust upon the working class by the ruling class, is radicalising the masses in Rumania. Spontaneous strikes are becoming frequent, even among the peasantry. The opportunist leaders of the Unitary Trade Unions have committed many and grave errors. The delegation of the Unitary Trade Unions of Rumania approves the report and theses submitted by Comrade Losovsky. The delegation is fully convinced that the Unitary Trade Unions of Rumania, with the help of the R.I.L.U., will be successful in transforming their organisations into mass organisations of the working class.