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The German Government Crisis.

By Th. Neubauer (Berlin).

The Brüning Cabinet is in a state of chronic crisis, and nobody knows how long it will be able to hold together. The first rock on which the Brüning Cabinet could suffer shipwreck is the Communist vote of non-confidence in connection with the motion of the C.P. of Germany, that all payments of tribute under the Young Plan shall immediately cease. Should the national socialists and Hugenberg's German nationalists, as is likely, for demagogic reasons, vote for the Communist vote of non-confidence, then the Brüning Cabinet will obtain a majority only if the social democrats instruct at least a part of their deputies to vote for the Brüning Cabinet.

In the Cabinet itself, the position of the Foreign Minister Dr. Curtius has become very shaky. When Dr. Curtius returned from the last meeting of the League of Nations at Geneva, with over a dozen serious failures to his account, the crisis immediately assumed very acute forms. In the official communique on the Cabinet meeting at which Curtius reported on the proceedings at Geneva, it is stated that all members of the government approved the report of the Foreign Minister and that complete unanimity exists in the Cabinet in regard to foreign policy; but on the following day the "Berlin Börsenzeitung", which is closely connected with Trevarnus and Schiele, two members of the government,

contradicted the official communiqué so emphatically that it was impossible to conceal the differences on foreign policy.

The circles connected with the People's Party which desire the resignation of the Foreign Minister are the same which for weeks past have persistently advocated the participation of the national socialists in the government. Their attacks on Curtius and their advocacy of a coalition with Hitler are closely connected. They would like to push Curtius on one side, throw overboard his Young policy and conduct a new policy of fulfilment of the Versailles treaty with a Hitler coalition.

The Curtius crisis had already advanced so far that the Reichstag fraction of the German People's Party was about to adopt a decision demanding the resignation of the Foreign Minister. But the decision was postponed at the last minute as a result of the intervention of the big banks. Dr. Solmsen, the Director of the Deutsche and Diskonto Bank, who belongs to the new Reichstags fraction of the People's Party, and the President of the Reichsbank Dr. Luther, who is likewise a member of the People's Party, have pointed out very plainly to the fraction that if Curtius was thrown overboard at the present juncture it would bring disastrous results for the German money market. Thus the Curtius crisis was postponed.

But a day later a crisis broke out in connection with Herr Schiele. The Reichsland League, the chief organisation of German agrarian capital, as whose representative Minister Schiele occupied the post of Minister for Agriculture, has drawn from the victory of the national socialists the conclusion that it will be able to withstand the competition of the national socialist party in the rural districts only if it outbids the national socialists in nationalist phraseology. Therefore, the League demanded from Schiele that he openly oppose Curtius on account of his Young policy, and that he should resign in the event of Curtius remaining in the Cabinet.

There is no doubt that the discontent of the mass of the peasantry with Schiele has greatly increased. In spite of all the measures of the Minister for Agriculture, the agrarian crisis in Germany has become further aggravated in the last few weeks. Schiele's policy of bolstering up the price of rye, which has cost the nation more than 60 million marks, has resulted in a fiasco. He tried to shift responsibility for this failure by getting his "right hand", Dr. Baade, the social democratic Reich Commissar for grain policy, to commence a big campaign against the alleged dumping of Soviet corn. In addition, he raised the import duty on wheat to 185 marks a ton. But all these measures do not in any way alter the German agrarian crisis. They only serve to prove that this crisis cannot be overcome by such means. The situation of all the small and middle peasants is becoming more serious.

The disputes between Schiele and the Reichsland League have likewise, as a result of "higher influences", ended for the time being in a compromise. Schiele remains in the Cabinet, but he has given up his position as honorary president of the Reichsland League. This means that Reichs-Chancellor Brüning can no longer count on the 18 votes of the agrarian party, so that he is still more dependent upon the support of the social democracy.

Dr. Wirth, the Reichs-Minister for the Interior, is the third member of the Brüning Cabinet round whom disputes are raging, and his resignation has several times been announced as pending. The big trust capitalists reproach him with having too strongly opposed the national socialists and declare that he stands in the way of the formation of a bloc from Brüning to Hitler. It is certain that the heavy industrial and big agrarian circles of the Centre party will not hesitate to drop their Minister for the Interior so soon as they think the time for doing so has arrived. No matter how much they sympathise with the idea of the national socialists participating in the government, they have been compelled up to now to pay a certain amount of regard to the working class electors of the Centre, the more so as they saw already on the 14th September that a considerable part of the Catholic workers voted Communist.

The decision of the social democratic fraction of the Reichstag to tolerate the Brüning government has already called forth a serious revolt among the rank and file of the Party. The discontent of the rank and file found expression at the Conference of the Berlin social democracy, at which Hilferding quite cynically defended the attitude of the Reichstag fraction. The social democratic provincial press now finds itself compelled to open a discussion of this question. The "Leipziger Volkszeitung", in its issue of 7th October, published an article by Max Seydewitz, a Saxon member of the Reichstag, in which he says:

"The effect of an action which is so contrary to the promises made during the election will be devastating for the party and the trade unions, and would, in view of the desperate economic situation, bring about a crisis in the social democracy which it will be scarcely possible to overcome."

Among the leading crises of social democracy the opinion prevails that the danger of the greater part of the rank and file splitting away from the party was never so serious as at present. But the Central Committee of the party is determined to continue its policy of supporting Brüning.

Meanwhile the Minister without portfolio, Treviranus, the intimate friend of Reichs-Chancellor Brüning, has given another interview to the "United Press" which does not render it any easier for the social democracy to vote for the Brüning Cabinet. Treviranus said in the first place that the government intends to introduce compulsory labour in Germany. By this means the unemployed are to be set to work under military discipline and under military law as

forced labourers, in the public works and enterprises. The position of the Brüning Cabinet is decidedly shaky. It has fulfilled the role allotted to it by German finance capital of forming a bridge from the big coalition of Hermann Müller to the open fascist dictatorship. It is true, in all questions of practical politics it has suffered a miserable failure. More important even than the results of the elections is the fact that the resistance of the working masses to Brüning and his policy has tremendously increased. As a result of strong pressure from below, the free trade union functionaries of the Berlin metal workers have unanimously decided to strike against the arbitration award which provides for a wage cut of 8 per cent. If this strike of 160,000 Berlin metal workers breaks out, it can have very far-reaching consequences for the Brüning Cabinet. Out of regard to the world stock exchanges, German finance capital is still sticking to the Brüning Cabinet; but the question of its eventual successor is being eagerly discussed. It is clear that the overthrow of Brüning would mean a fresh accentuation of the political crisis in Germany.

Against the Young Plan.

Joint Declaration by the Communist Fractions of the French Chamber of Deputies and of the German Reichstag

On October 7 there took place in Berlin a joint conference of representatives of the Communist fraction of the French Chamber of Deputies and of the German Reichstag. The chief subject of discussion was the Young Plan and its effect on the German and French working class. After a full exchange of views both fractions issued the following declaration to the workers of France and Germany:

As representatives of the revolutionary proletariat of France and Germany the communist fractions in the French Chamber and in the German Reichstag will jointly conduct the fight against the Young Pact.

The Young Pact has exceedingly aggravated the devastating consequences of the world economic crisis for the German working class. The number of the unemployed already amounts to over three million and is increasing from week to week. The wages of the workers and the salaries of employees and officials are being brutally cut down. The institutions for the unemployed, the incapacitated and the war cripples and invalids are being continually worsened. The masses are being increasingly crushed under the burden of taxation and robbed by protective duties. Thus the whole of the toiling masses of Germany are being driven into frightful misery.

The German capitalist class are making use of the Young Plan in order to depress the wages of the workers, thereby intensifying the competitive struggle on the world markets. The French capitalist class, their profits threatened by the German capitalists, are reducing the wages of the working masses of France, rationalising the factories, increasing the number of unemployed, placing fresh burdens on the French working class (social insurance law) and thereby worsening the position of the French proletariat.

The French and the German Communists call the attention of the working class to the growing dangers of fascism and war, which are constantly increased by the Treaty of Versailles and the Young Plan. The bellicose speeches of the German imperialists, the speeches of Hitler and Treviranus furnished the French imperialists with a pretext for increasing the war budget by one milliard immediately after the election of 14th September. Thus the Young Pact is becoming a source of growing war danger to the working masses of France, Germany and of the whole world.

Just as the German social democrats are prepared to squeeze the Young tribute out of the working masses of Germany, so the French social democrats insist that this tribute shall be paid. While the social democrats of France and Germany are the keenest supporters of the Young policy, with all its devastating consequences for the working masses, the Communists declare in the name of the revolutionary working class of both countries: It is a crime to pay or demand the Young tributes.

The Communist fraction in the German Reichstag will therefore introduce a motion demanding the immediate cessation of all payments under the Young Plan.

The communist fraction in the French Chamber has already brought in an interpellation, which demands that no further payments of tribute shall be extracted from Germany and that all war debts shall be annulled.

No capitalist government in Germany or France, no matter whether under Hitler, Brüning, Hermann Müller, Tardieu, Herriot, or Paul Boncour, will do away with the Young Pact. Only the proletarian revolution will tear up the Young Pact, just as the Bolshevik revolution in Soviet Russia nullified the obligations to pay tribute incurred by the Tsarist Governments. The Communists of Germany and France, as members of the Communist International, will jointly carry on the fight for the annulment of the Young Pact and the Versailles Treaty.

POLITICS

The Elections in Fascist Poland and the Economic Crisis.

By J. Bratkovski.

The elections in Fascist Poland are taking place in a situation of profound economic crisis. The government press is trying to persuade the masses that the Polish crisis is solely the result of the world economic crisis, and that on the other hand the economic development in Poland has already taken a decided turn for the better. These official assertions are, however, completely contradicted by the actual facts. The present economic crisis in Poland is far more serious than the crisis of 1925/26, on the eve of the fascist putsch. A number of circumstances (the shrinkage of the inner market, a very restricted foreign market, remnants of feudalism etc.) are causing the crisis in Poland to assume far more acute forms than in other countries.

Agriculture in particular is in a very critical situation. The official economic institution points out that the market continues to be glutted with corn, a circumstance which, in connection with the decline in the sale of cattle, precludes any hope of larger purchases of industrial goods by the agricultural districts.

The fact that a whole number of works and factories have been closed down, especially in the metal industry, where the employers are carrying on a fierce offensive, indicates a further intensification of the economic crisis, particularly in view of the approach of winter. The deterioration of the position of the money market is a further factor tending to aggravate the general situation. Significant in this respect is the fall in the quotation of Polish loans. In the year 1928 the Dilonovska loan stood at 98,— in September 1930 it stood at 92. In October 1927 the stabilisation loan was quoted at 90.50 — in September 1930 it stood at 85. In December 1928 80.50 was paid for the 8 per cent dollar loan — in September 1930 only 72 was paid.

A further indication of the worsening of the economic situation is the decline of financial reserves. Thus for instance, the stocks of gold in the Polish Banks amounted on 30 th September 1929 to 664 million Zloty—on the 30th September 1930 they had sunk to 561 million. The metal cover for the note circulation amounted on 30 th September 1929 to 60.67 per cent, on 31st August 1930 to 58.15 per cent and on 30th September 1930 to 56.47 per cent. The gold cover at the same periods was 37.02 per cent, 44.03 per cent, and 35.96 per cent respectively.

In face of the approaching accentuation of the class struggle the Pilsudski government is carrying out an increased fascist offensive, the aim of which cannot be anything else but to bolster up the fascist regime, to strengthen the "Sanacja" (government bloc) which has been greatly shaken, of late, and to consolidate the hegemony of the "Sanacja" in the whole fascist camp. The complicated system of manoeuvres and strategical moves of the governing fascist group aims at strengthening its position in the fight with the only real enemy of fascism—the revolutionary workers and peasants movement—as well as at increasing the preparations for an attack on the Soviet Union. This counter-revolutionary and anti-Soviet offensive of Polish fascism is expressed in the punitive expeditions of the Polish military and police in the Western Ukraine, the pillaging of the property of the Ukrainian masses, the stifling of their fight for freedom in blood, and finally,

the wholesale domiciliary searches carried out of late in Volhynia and White Russia.

It is being attempted further to consolidate the fascist dictatorship by militarising the State apparatus, expressed in the appointment of a large number of colonels to the position of Vojevod (governor of district), as well as in the intended appointment of General Krzeminski to the position of President of the Supreme Surveillance Office (a post occupied up to now by Professor Wroblewski). This appointment is to be accompanied by a reorganisation of the Supreme Surveillance Office, by which its powers will be restricted. It will be remembered that the Surveillance Office in its time caused the Pilsudski government considerable inconvenience by refusing to sanction the budget for the year 1927/28 because the budget exceeded the estimates by 680 million zloty. By change of personnel and by the issue of new statutes the governing fascist clique intends to get rid of the last remnants of control of its budget.

The efforts of the "Sanacja" to unite in its hands the whole government apparatus and for this purpose to occupy all the positions hitherto held by its rivals in the other camp, is to be seen by the dissolution of a number of town councils and health insurance funds in with the fascist opposition have the majority.

The Pilsudski government is entering the election campaign with the slogan of winning an absolute majority. It wishes to achieve this aim with the aid of increased terror, election trickery, open administrative pressure and with the aid of various manoeuvres with regard to the bourgeois and social fascist parties, i. e., instigating various "splits" within the peasants parties and the different organisations of the P. P. S., Wyzwolenie and Piast.

The placing of Pilsudski at the head of the list of the "non-party bloc" is the best proof that the fascist government has decided to exert all forces in order to achieve an election "victory".

"The fact that Marshal Pilsudski has ordered his name to be placed at the head of the election list," writes the "Slovo Polski" (organ of the Sanacja), "gives the elections a clear character of a plebiscite in every way resembling the elections twice arranged by Mussolini."

The Sejm elections are, therefore, to be a fascist plebiscite. There exists not the least doubt that in the few weeks between now and the elections the fascist terror will hold regular orgies. Pilsudski, the bloody hangman of the workers of Poland, Ukraine and White Russia, will do everything in order to surpass his fascist prototype Mussolini. The increased arrests of leaders of the Centre Left, the numerous domiciliary searches on the premises of the P. P. S., the dissolution of town councils and health insurance funds with social fascist majorities all these are indisputable proofs of the ever increasing disputes and fights within the fascist camp. But in spite of the differences in the fascist and social fascist camp, they are united against the common enemy—the workers and peasants. They constitute one class front which is confronted by the anti-fascist front of the working masses.

The best proof of this is the attitude of the State Election Commission, which is composed of representatives of the eight largest fractions of the Sejm headed by an election commissioner appointed by the government. Thus in this commission the representatives of the P. P. S. of the Wyzwolenie and other "oppositional" parties have the majority. This commission, at its last session, confirmed all the election lists with the exception of the election list of the anti-fascist Workers and Peasants Bloc, i. e. of the Workers' and Peasants' Unity, the P. P. S. Left, the peasant self-aid (Pomoc), the Ukrainian Selrob and the White Russian Zmagania. In regard all the anti-fascist lists the election commission has postponed giving its decision and has instructed the election commissioner to carry out an investigation of the genuineness of the signatures and to "clear up other doubtful questions". The lists of the anti-fascist election bloc have been signed by thousands of workers and peasants. Now the State administration, on the instructions of the P. P. S. and the other "oppositional" parties is to ascertain the authenticity of the signatures. The Polish workers and peasants know very well what that means. Such "investigations" have already been carried out several times, with the result that the prisons were filled with those

who ventured thus to express their revolutionary convictions. A fresh orgy of deeds of violence is therefore pending, the aim of which is to be nothing else but to force the workers and peasants who have signed the anti-fascist lists to withdraw their signatures.

Fascism and social fascism have always put aside their family quarrels when it has been a question of fighting the revolutionary workers and peasants, and especially of gerrymandering elections. The working masses of Poland will reply to this new attempt of the fascist and social fascists to declare the anti-fascist lists invalid with a new wave of protests. The more the fascist terror increases, the higher the workers and peasants will raise the Communist banner, the banner of the fight for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Fighting Elections against Fascism in Austria

By E. Grube.

The news of the overthrow of the Schober government in Austria came as a surprise to most people because Schober was everywhere regarded as the representative of bank and industrial capital and of the fascist Heimwehr. After the burning down of the Palace of Justice in 1927 in Vienna, he caused the workers of Vienna to be ruthlessly shot down. Supported by big capital and the Heimwehr, he took over the government. His first act was the alteration of the Constitution in favour of reaction demanded by the fascists. By the alteration of the Constitution, the fascisation of the State apparatus, the occupation of leading positions in the army, the police and the judiciary by reliable fascists and the rushing through Parliament of the anti-terror law he did much to enable fascism to develop in Austria without hindrance. Schober had to go because he no longer possessed the absolute confidence of the Christian socialists and of the Heimwehr. After Schober, by his visits to Rome, Berlin, Paris etc. and by his negotiations in Geneva, had secured the partial revision of the Treaty of St. Germain and had obtained the approval of the most influential circles and decisive Powers to his fascist regime in Austria, the fascists pushed him aside and replaced him by more reliable people.

The extreme wing of the Heimwehr has never forgotten that Schober expelled Major Pabst, the murderer of Liebknecht, from Austria. As their first act the present government of Vaugoin, Seipel and Starhemberg immediately invited Pabst back and intend to appoint him head of the police in Vienna. The present government is the visible expression of the firm will of the bourgeoisie to hold down the workers with the aid of the most brutal fascist terror. As in all other capitalist countries, the Austrian capitalists see no other way out of the economic crisis. In Austria, out of a total population of 6½ million, there are at present about 350,000 unemployed, which number is being daily augmented by the further closing down of factories and wholesale discharges. The wages of the workers and employees still engaged in production are lower than those in Germany. In spite of all the cries of the Austrian Marxists to save bourgeois democracy, everybody perceives that this democracy is long since bankrupt. In the centre of political conflict there stands the question: fascist dictatorship or dictatorship of the proletariat. Scarcely ever before have the working population been so politically aroused as at present. The meetings of all parties are crowded. The workers want a proletarian solution. They are following with close attention the policy of the present government. In spite of all denials, this policy is clearly indicated in the declaration which the national leader of the Heimwehr, the present Minister of the Interior Prince Starhemberg, made on 3rd of October. He stated:

"If the Heimwehr has today taken over the helm of State, it has not done so in order to protect the christian socialist party, but in order firmly to hold the rudder for our movement, for the Heimwehr movement, with the determination not to let it be wrested from our hands by a red majority . . .

Today the Heimwehr is in the government; tomorrow the Heimwehr must capture Parliament, not in order to recline at ease on its benches, but in order to build up

the new State, the Heimwehr State, on the ruins of the Parliament of Party politics."

In order to weaken the impression created by this declaration among the strongest government party, the christian socialists, Starhemberg on the next day attempted to modify it. But only a day later Starhemberg delivered a speech in the Heldenplatz before the Heimwehr, in which he declared: "In the present fight the head of the Asiatic Breitner must roll in the sand." (Breitner is a socialdemocratic town councillor of Vienna.)

The social democratic party of Austria believe that they can check this fascist course by appealing to the christian socialists and complaining over the contents of the speech of the Minister of the Interior. But the christian socialist party is under the leadership of the Jesuit Dr. Seipel, who persistently advocated the inclusion of the Heimwehr leaders in the government. Seipel thereby wished to strengthen the front against Schober and those circles behind him. Seipel, who in Austria to some extent plays a role similar to that played by the Jesuit Dr. Brüning in Germany, is deliberately working in order to consolidate the most brutal fascist rule.

Experience has taught us that in the present situation, with the accentuation of the class struggle, the regrouping within the bourgeois parties are not a sign of weakness, as the Austro-Marxists are trying to make out. Even the formation of the so-called Schober bloc means a strengthening of the fascist camp. Schober will be ready after the elections to co-operate with the christian socialists and the other wings of the Heimwehr. The speculation of the social democrats that after the elections they will be able to form a coalition with Schober, will not, in view of the political development in Austria, be fulfilled.

The present behaviour of the Austrian Marxists shows once again that they only prepare the way for open fascism and are its best supports. After having, by their approval of the fascist Constitution, facilitated the "legal" taking over of power by the fascists, they now retreat in face of every threat on the part of the fascists. Instead of summoning the workers to fight, they fall on their knees at the slightest threat by the fascist Minister of the Interior. Because Starhemberg threatened to dissolve the Schutzbund, they declare that they are ready to do this themselves. It should be mentioned in this connection that the Schutzbund with its hundreds of thousands of members (for the greater part armed) is a force which, along with the rest of the workers, is capable under revolutionary leadership of smashing the fascists at any time. As on all former occasions, the Austro-Marxists are again coming forward as the saviours of capitalist society.

A great deal now depends upon the development and the power of the Communist Party of Austria. Scarcely at any time was there such profound ferment and discontent among the working masses of Austria as at the present time. The mood of the workers is clearly expressed at the meetings called by the Communist Party. In "red" Vienna, where formerly the Party, owing to the skilful demagogic policy of the Austro-Marxists, found it very hard to make any headway, the situation has completely changed. At the fighting demonstration against fascism called by the Party on Wednesday 8th October in Hernals (a working class district of Vienna), the hall was packed and a great part of the workers had to be turned away. The speeches of the representatives of the Party and of the Comrades of the Communist Party of Germany who were present, were received with tremendous enthusiasm. 78 social democratic and non-Party workers placed themselves at the disposal of the C. P. of Austria for the purpose of carrying on the fight. A great number of workers joined the Party.

Local groups of the Republican Schutzbund in Steiermark write that they will have nothing more to do with the treacherous policy of the social democratic party of Austria. They ask for instructions from the Communist Party as to how the fight against fascism and for the elections is to be conducted. The meetings held by the Party in the urban and rural districts are attended by the whole adult population. The leaflets and literature brought by the Party in previous cases do not suffice to meet the demand. The peasants are entering the Communist Party of Austria and demanding that Communist meetings be held in their localities. The fascists, who are aware of this mood among the working population, are skilfully endeavouring to take advantage of

Under the leadership of George Strasser they are conducting a great campaign in which they pose as fighters against capitalism and against the christian socialists. Their agitation is bound to collapse, like that of the Austrian marxists, if the other Sections of the Communist International come to the aid of the C.P. of Austria. The C.P. of Austria is confronted with tasks which it is incapable of solving alone. In Austria, just as in Germany, the question of national and social emancipation is on the order of the day. Only the Communist Party can show the way out. The 9th of November in Austria, just as the 14th September in Germany, will show that the proletariat, in spite of all hindrances, is proceeding in the direction of revolution and is ready to conduct the fight against fascism.

The Events in Brazil.

We have received the following contribution from a Latin-American comrade who is on a visit to Europe.

Editor.

Berlin, 9th October 1930.

The antagonism between Yankee imperialism and British imperialism over the hegemony of Latin-America has of late called forth "revolutions" in various countries.

The revolution which is victoriously advancing in Brazil under the leadership of the "Allianza Liberal" is a revolution prepared and financed by Yankee imperialism against the present government of the big landowners, particularly of the owners of the coffee plantations who are connected by the policy of the coffee monopoly with British imperialism.

The Brazilian coffee monopoly in the hands of the English, who are at the same time the sellers and partly the producers, led to a number of measures on the part of the Americans in order to shake this monopoly. Among these measures two are especially worth mentioning, namely, the establishment of fresh plantations in North and Central America and the boycott of all loans to Brazil which are destined to maintain the coffee monopoly.

One of the results of this monopoly of coffee is an accumulation of stocks of coffee in Brazil and on the international market amounting to about 23 million Bolsas. In these circumstances the coffee monopoly is no longer in a position to meet the financial requirements of the producers in order to maintain the monopoly prices, with the result that production is being restricted while at the same time a disastrous price drop has set in. A sack of coffee which in 1929 fetched from 40 to 48 milreis, now realises no more than 7 to 8 milreis.

To the coffee crisis — a crisis of monoculture, i. e. confining production to one article —, there is to be added the crisis in meat production (Rio Grande and Sao Paulo), in sugar production (in the North), the textile crisis and also the financial crisis (depreciation of currency).

As a result of this economic crisis the situation of the working masses is becoming unbearable. Wholesale unemployment is increasing in the towns and a fierce offensive against wages and conditions of the land workers is being carried on. The wages of the landworkers have been reduced by 40 to 50 per cent.

This situation has called forth general discontent in the whole country. It is estimated that of the 40 million inhabitants of Brazil more than 10 millions lead a nomadic life, maintaining themselves by wandering from one forest to another and living on fish and wild fruit in order to escape exploitation and starvation under the feudal yoke.

The economic crisis is causing great mass movements in the towns and in the open country. Numerous strikes have broken out in the towns and many peasants revolts have taken place in the coffee and sugar districts.

A part of the impoverished petty bourgeoisie has begun to organise itself and prepare for struggle under the leadership of the "Columna Prestes". This organisation was some years ago a revolutionary organisation of the petty bourgeoisie, but there recently took place a split which was the result of the separation of the reactionary petty bourgeoisie, which is allied with imperialism, from part of the petty bourgeoisie which wishes to fight on the side of the revolution.

Along with the "Allianza Liberal" there is fighting the "Columna Tavera", the organisation of the petty bourgeois elements which are dependent on "Columna Prestes". This means that they are deriving benefits from the imperialist penetration of Brazil. The "Columna Prestes", which has already condemned the reactionary character of the "Allianza Liberal", is, under the pressure of the embittered masses, siding with the anti-imperialist forces, although with all the vacillations characteristic of the petty bourgeoisie. In view of the more than ambiguous attitude of General Prestes in the past, the greatest caution is advisable in dealing with this petty bourgeois leader.

Carlos Prestes, who possesses great influence among the masses of the city and rural petty bourgeoisie and also among the working class, recently issued a programmatic manifesto calling — at least in words — for the agrarian revolution and the fight against imperialism.

On the other hand, the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade unions are at work in order to extend and strengthen the front of the revolutionary masses. They have been able to record remarkable successes of late. The development of the mass movement is rendering the agrarian revolution against the semi-feudal landowners a threatening danger to the ruling classes.

The "revolution" stirred up by the "Allianza Liberal" and led by Yankee imperialism is, therefore, endeavouring to avoid the agrarian revolution and to consolidate the rule of Yankee imperialism in Brazil. Consequently, the present "revolution" is not a fight by an advanced industrial bourgeoisie against the agrarian-feudal bourgeoisie, but a fight waged by those groups of the national bourgeoisie whose interests are opposed to those groups which are in power.

From the first telegraphic reports to find it is impossible to derive a clear picture of the situation. Even if the revolution has captured 19 of the 21 provinces, the movement is still encountering the fierce resistance of the government in the provinces of Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. There is, therefore, an English and American sphere of rule. The English, who possess strong positions in the interior of Brazil will not allow themselves to be ousted by Yankee imperialism without a series of fierce fights. Therefore there exists every prospect of a prolonged civil war, similar to the situation in China.

The telegraphic reports do not say anything about the fight of the working and peasant masses. They say nothing about the fight of the Communist Party nor of the "Columna Prestes". It is possible that both imperialist forces are endeavouring to suppress the revolutionary movement of the workers and prevent the masses from mobilising against both fronts for their own demands. The slogan of Soviets which the Party has already issued as the slogan of struggle for the workers' and peasants' revolution, can, in view of the crisis, the prevailing misery and the revolutionary mood of the masses, bring rapid results and lead to a success of the "third power", i. e., of the working and peasant masses who are fighting under the leadership of the Communist Party.

The "Allianza Liberal", an instrument of Yankee imperialism, provoked the "revolution" in order to avoid the revolution of the masses. But it is quite incapable of solving the present crisis in Brazil and fulfilling the demands of the working and peasant masses whose aim is the workers' and peasants' revolution.

The Terror Elections in Finland.

Stockholm, 9th October 1930.

The results of the Finnish "elections" cannot be described as completely satisfactory to the Finnish fascists. Last year they organised a "spontaneous" movement against communism with much noise and trumpeting. With aggressive pressure they secured the dissolution of parliament and conducted themselves at the elections as though they had the overwhelming majority of the people behind them, but they have not succeeded in obtaining the two-thirds majority necessary for altering the constitution.

With the exception of the forcible exclusion of the communists, who had 22 seats in the last parliament, the elections have brought no fundamental change. The Swedish and centre petty-bourgeois parties have maintained their strength

and the socialists have won about 60,000 votes and received the votes of about 37 % of the electorate. 12,000 votes were given for the communists as against 129,000 at the last elections, but first of all the votes were counted by the officials and whether 12,000 is the correct figure is a great question, and secondly the revolutionary organisations were first of all smashed, even the workers Temperance societies and sport organisations falling a victim to fascist destruction, the communist printing shops and other buildings were destroyed or handed over to the socialists, who have only profited by the White terror. Hundreds of workers leaders were murdered outright or beaten up and driven over the Soviet frontier, and tens of thousands of workers and radical peasants were simply struck off the electoral lists so that they could not vote at all. The revolutionary electoral propaganda was brutally suppressed. In most cases the lists of the revolutionary block were not accepted by the authorities and tens of thousands of revolutionary votes were declared to be invalid. Despite this frightful reign of administrative and physical terror the communists in Helsingfors succeeded in retaining about 40 % of their votes.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

Berlin Metal Workers Strike Begins.

By Paul Peschke (Berlin).

After nearly two weeks hesitation the Special Arbitrator, appointed by the Brüning government to put through a wage cut in the Berlin metal conflict, on the 10th October pronounced an award ordering an 8 per cent wage cut for all workers over 18 years, and a 6 per cent wage cut for all working women and young workers. This wage cut is to come into force on 3rd of November. Both the workers and the employers have to declare their attitude towards the award by the 18th October.

Under the pressure of the strike preparations initiated in the factories by the revolutionary trade union opposition, the arbitrator had to postpone the pronouncement of his award for a considerable time. Nor were the manoeuvres of the metal workers union leaders and of the employers' organisations in regard to a reduction of work time of any avail. The workers did not allow themselves to be taken in. Under the leadership of the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition they prepared the factories for the strike. The R.T.U.O. mobilised the unemployed for active co-operation and solidarity. The factories which are most advanced in regard to preparations for the strike undertook propaganda in neighbouring works. The factory meetings adopted decisions to the effect that should the employers dare to touch wages a strike will break out.

The allied enemies of the workers had not reckoned with the new force which has arisen, the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition, which has developed into a sharp weapon of the workers. Faced by the ever sharpening pressure of fascist government methods, by wage cuts and the betrayal of the trade union leaders, the workers are entering the factory groups of the R.T.U.O.

The blow delivered on 14th September, the day of the Reichstag elections, to the capitalists and their true lackeys, the social democrats, was only the first stroke against the wage-cutters. The second strike is still more painful for them. The strike preparations of the metal workers have shown them that the workers are not only casting their vote for the Communist Party, but that they are ready, under the leadership of the Communist Party, to resort to a strike against the dictatorship government. Hence the hesitation of the arbitrator, the uneasiness in the camp of the employers. They tried to manoeuvre in order to veil the fact that the trade union bureaucracy are losing the leadership of the workers. By arranging that the award shall first come into force in three weeks time, it is intended to enable the trade union leaders to shatter the united front set up by the R.T.U.O.

The trade union bureaucracy had with a radical gesture caused their functionaries to reject the award and to decide on a ballot vote to be taken in the factories. By this means the bureaucrats have prevented the functionaries, who were

unanimously in favour of the strike, from deciding to declare a strike. The bureaucrats want to gain time in order to arrange a new arbitration comedy and thereby to prevent the strike along the whole front.

In the ballot vote more than three-fourths of the metal workers decided for the strike. The Central Fighting Committee therefore decided on a strike and called a new conference of Berlin metal workers delegates for 14th October, to which every factory and works department has to send its delegates. At this Conference the strike committee will be elected.

At its meeting on 13th October the central fighting committee declared itself the provisional strike committee and called upon the factories to convene factory meetings during the work time, to elect strike committees in every works and to enter the strike for the following demands: Against all wage cuts! For the seven-hour day, the 40 hours week with full pay! For a 20 Pfennig wage increase! Equal pay for equal work for the working women and young workers! Bread and work for the unemployed!

The slogans of the workers are: united leadership of the strike by the elected central strike leadership of the R.T.U.O., against all disintegration attempts on the part of the employers and the trade union bureaucrats! Down with the starvation award! Down with the arbitration dictatorship! Down with the Brüning government!

The metal workers are replying to the shameful award of the Brüning government by the determined strike under the leadership of the R.T.U.O. They thereby commence the series of powerful mass struggles of the German working class against the brutal robber campaign of the bourgeoisie, which is preparing for the fascist dictatorship.



Berlin, 15th October.

The strike of the Berlin metal workers, which commenced yesterday morning when the workers of the firms of Flohr, Frister, Druckenmüller, Hass & Wrede, Norddeutsche Kabelwerke, Osram, Telefunken, Niles, Engels & Wegner and parts of the A.E.G. works in Brunnenstrasse and Ackerstrasse downed tools, is now complete. All the big enterprises in Berlin are at a standstill. According to official reports the number of workers on strike is 130,000, but according to our own information the figure already stands at 140,000. At the present moment demonstrations and parades of the strikers are taking place in various parts of the town in order to extend the strike front to the smaller undertakings, which have not yet joined in the strike. The mood of the striking workers is one of rare unanimity and confidence of victory.

THE BALKANS

The Fight in the Balkans and the Preparation of the Anti-Soviet Bloc.

By Kisium (Moscow).

On 5th of October the Conference of government representatives and representatives of the industrial and financial circles of Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Greece, Albania and Turkey was opened in Athens.

What is the economic situation of the Balkan States and wherein lies the nature of this federation? The world economic crisis is driving the economy of the Balkan countries into a cul de sac. Agriculture in the Balkans is experiencing a serious decline. The foundation of its existence is the export of corn. Owing to the competition of the Balkan countries among each other the prices of grain are at present below world market prices. A sack already costs more than the corn it contains. In selling grain the peasant loses 30 to 50 per cent of the cost of production.

In industry the situation is no better. Here the crisis is most seriously affected heavy industry, mining and the textile industry.

Out of 850,000 industrial workers in Rumania 300,000 are unemployed. Mining, the leather industry and forestry are in a very bad state. In the coal-fields of the Jiu valley 50 per

cent of all workers are out of work; in Reshitza the percentage is 37; in the lumber industry districts of Bukovina it amounts to 32 per cent. The naphtha industry is almost at a standstill; foreign workers are placed in waggons and conveyed under escort to the frontier. In Galatz, out of 5 leather factories only one is working; 8000 workers have been thrown onto the street.

In the Greek tobacco industry, the most important industry in the country, only half of the workers are employed. Of the total of 300,000 workers 100,000 are out of work. In Bulgaria there are 150,000 unemployed, 10,000 of these being in Philippopolis. Nearly half of the textile industry has closed down.

In Yugoslavia there are 250,000 unemployed. Many collieries and copper mines in Bulgaria have been closed down. The greater part of the workers who are still employed are working only 4 or 2 days a week. Many other examples could be cited, all going to prove the hopeless collapse of industry in the Balkan countries.

The big landowners and industrialists are trying to escape from this collapse at the cost of the working class and of the great masses of the working peasantry. In the Balkan countries the pressure of taxation has been increased to the utmost. The agricultural districts are at the mercy of the gendarmerie who collect the taxes with the aid of machine guns and suffocating gases. The Rumanian peasants of Bukovina, of the Banat and Transylvania are either abandoning their miserable holdings of land or, when they are lucky, selling them for an old song. The Yugoslavian peasants are setting fire to the corn fields; the Greek and Bulgarian peasants are organising "hunger marches". In Greece, according to the statement of the Finance Minister, 70 to 95 per cent of the unpaid taxes cannot be collected by any means.

In order to save the landowners from economic ruin the Yugoslavian government is organising a monopoly company for the export of corn, which is receiving large State subsidies. In Rumania the export duties on wheat have been reduced by a royal decree from 2800 Lei to 1000 Lei per waggon. The export duties on maize and a number of other cereals have been abolished altogether. At the same time, however, heavy taxes are being placed on articles of necessity consumed by the broad masses. Salt, sugar and matches are so heavily taxed that they have become a rare luxury in the family of the Rumanian worker and the Yugoslavian peasant.

As a result of the growing economic crisis and the way in which finance capital and the big agrarians are robbing the working masses in the Balkan countries, the class struggle is becoming more acute. In some countries the working class and the peasantry are going over from the defence to the attack. In Greece and Transylvania huge peasant demonstrations numbering 20,000 are voicing their hostility to the governments. In Rumania and Yugoslavia they are organising "Committees of Action" and "Green Cadres". Economic strikes of the workers are developing into political strikes. In the workers' quarters the sound of the machine-gun fire is heard more and more frequently. The terror of the peasantry and the political strikes of the workers directed against the government are causing the bourgeoisie to adopt the policy of physically annihilating their opponents. The first to receive the blows of the bloody terror are the members of the Communist Parties. In Yugoslavia membership of the Communist Party is being punished with prison sentences. In a number of countries the peasant and labour movement is under the leadership of the Communist Party and is developing in the direction which threatens to overthrow the Balkan bourgeoisie. The stirring up of national hatred, and especially of antisemitism no longer helps the bourgeoisie. The working masses have long seen through this manoeuvre. In Bulgaria, Professor Zankov, the symbol of barbaric repression, has again come to the front, and in Rumania and Greece a process of complete fascisation is taking place. The "historic mission of saving the Balkans" is to be fulfilled by the fascists along with the social fascists. "In the last few years", writes Topalovitch, the leader of Yugoslavian social democrats, "the social democracy in Yugoslavia has been playing the historical role of dividing the working masses from the revolutionary current; it has fought against Communism".

In every Balkan State the fascists are pursuing two aims: to crush the revolutionary movement in their own countries, and to redistribute the Balkans. The attempt being made in Athens to forge a bloc is bound to encounter the tremendous antagonism among these countries. Only a little while ago

Greece demonstratively cancelled a commercial treaty with Bulgaria and Rumania, as all the attempts of these countries to come to an agreement on the export of corn to Greece proved futile. All the States are complaining that "they are stifling within their own frontiers." Bulgaria declares that it will never agree to the annexation which Rumania, Yugoslavia and Greece carried out, and that its participation in a Balkan Federation would not mean that it agreed to these annexations. Yugoslavia aims at acquiring Greek Macedonia with the great harbour of Salonica, and "catching up" to Bulgaria.

Apart from the fact that every Balkan State desires a redistribution of the Balkans to its own advantage, the bigger robbers are also quarreling over the Balkan countries. The most popular cry in Italy is "Release Dalmatia from the Yugoslavian yoke", whilst France treats Yugoslavia as if it were one of its colonies. Whilst the banks and State undertakings in Yugoslavia are mainly in the hands of French, the greater portion of the private undertakings are in the hands of the British. The greater part of the iron, copper and zinc mines of Serbia and Macedonia are in the hands of the Americans. A fight is going on in all the Balkan countries between the English, French and American groups of capitalists.

If Great Britain, Italy and France do not yet feel sufficiently strong to enter on an armed conflict over the Balkan countries, they are all the more interested in the quarrel among the Balkan States themselves. This, however, does not mean that the Balkan countries are not threatened by a war. Greece, Rumania and Yugoslavia are feverishly arming. The armament industry is the only industry which is flourishing in the Balkans. Yugoslavia's military budget has been increased by 35 per cent. Thousands of rifles, tanks, machine guns etc. are coming into the country from Great Britain and France. Thousands of reservists have been mobilised in order to accelerate the building of strategic roads. But the arming of the Balkan countries is being carried out at the cost of Great Britain, France and Italy; and each one of these Powers is striving in order that the coming fight and the distribution of the Balkans shall turn out in its favour. America also has become active in the Balkans of late, and the fight for the economic domination of the Balkans is becoming more intense from day to day.

Nevertheless, it may be that the "historic powder barrel" will not explode so soon. Under the conditions caused by the profound economic crisis and the growing class antagonisms, the bourgeoisie is preparing for an armed attack against the Soviet Union, and the Balkan bourgeoisie is to serve as the front line troops of international imperialism. The Balkan countries are to be converted into a huge jumping off ground for an attack on the Soviet Union. Here, however, there is to be seen a new antagonism. Great Britain and France are each endeavouring to create an anti-Soviet Balkan bloc under its own leadership. Great Britain is building a fleet for Rumania and fortifying Constantza, while France is taking in hand the equipment of the Rumanian army. In Belgrade the French are building aircraft; in Salonika the English wish to build an aerodrome and a military port. Greece, which expends 40 per cent of its total budget on armaments, has been converted into a naval basis of Great Britain. All the resources of the Balkan countries are being mobilised for armaments. Greece, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia are being linked up with Rumania by strategic railways. Simultaneously with the military preparations, there is proceeding in all the Balkan countries an energetic "moral preparation" of the masses. The press, the church, the government and the social fascists are seeking to persuade the impoverished workers and peasants that the agricultural exports from the Soviet Union are responsible for the difficult economic situation.

Class hatred against the Soviet Union and the necessity of "saving the Balkans from the revolution" are to serve to unite all the Balkan countries at the Athens conference. With the participation of the reformist trade unions of the Balkans this Conference will, as the Rumanian "Luptu" writes, become the beginning of the united anti-Bolshevik front of the Danube countries and of the Balkans. Sinajia, Bucharest, Warsaw, Athens, these mark the different stages of the formation of the imperialist anti-Soviet bloc.

The tollers of the Soviet Union and of the Balkan countries must keep a close eye on the fresh danger with which the imperialists are threatening the work of socialist construction in the Soviet Union.

Hands off the Soviet Union

France Striving for an International Bloc against the Soviet Union.

By A. Bénier (Paris).

The Ministerial Council of the French bourgeoisie, at its meeting of the 3rd October, adopted an exceedingly important measure against the trade of the Soviet Union. A decree introduced by the Ministers for Trade and Agriculture renders the importation of a certain number of products, including corn, flax, meat, sugar, timber, etc., from Soviet Russia dependent in future upon special import licences. The government, as it officially states, will have the possibility of controlling the importation of such goods, of placing very high duties on them and, if necessary, prohibiting their importation.

The Minister for Agriculture declared to the press that the reason for this decree is that

"certain products from the Soviet Union are being sold at prices which are far under the costs of production in all other countries. As a result, all the measures which were adopted by the government about a year ago to improve the position of the French producers have been rendered ineffective, and the drop in prices threatens to bring a real disaster".

Already three months ago there commenced in the French press a fierce campaign against the alleged dumping of imports from the Soviet Union. It was a "Left" wing politician, Joseph Caillaux, who, in an article which appeared in "*Capital*" of 9th July, first set the ball rolling; in this article he strongly advised that the European countries should arrive at an agreement against U. S. A. and Soviet dumping.

The newspapers of all tendencies, particularly after the American measures which aim at prohibiting the importation of Manganese ore from Soviet Russia, joined in this cry of alarm.

The big peasants unions and the union of flax spinners then made representations to the government. M. Flandin, the Minister for Trade, in the name of the French government, at the recent meeting of the League of Nations, twice raised the question of a common fight against Soviet dumping—this "scandalous attack upon the economic life of the peoples", as the official report states. Finally, Caillaux, on 29th September, when he took over the presidency of the general council of the Sarthe département, delivered a fierce speech against "Soviet dumping", in which he accused the proletarian State of wishing to disorganise world trade.

The immediate causes of this united attack on Soviet exports are perfectly clear. Those products for whose importation from the Soviet Union a special license must be obtained are agricultural products, and in France the economic crisis has made itself most strongly felt in agriculture, particularly in regard to grain. The grain harvest in France this year has turned out very bad; in Paris a hundredweight of wheat costs 34 gold francs as compared with 15 gold francs in Chicago. In spite of the high import duty of 80 francs, there is an abundance of foreign corn which is able to compete with the home-grown corn. Such a state of affairs promotes the most shameful speculation on the Paris exchange. In less than 6 months grain prices on the exchange fell from 150 to 105, and then soared again to 170. The French government displays very great concern for what it calls the well-being of the peasantry. The speech delivered by M. Tardieu in Allenton was solely intended to prove that the well-being of the "peasant world" is most closely bound up with the general interests of the nation. The bourgeoisie, of course thinks only of the well-being of the capitalist agrarians, this foundation of the stability of the regime.

The government wishes at all costs to prevent a drop in the price of agricultural foodstuffs, at the same time arguing that if at certain moments certain commodities from Soviet Russia are sold below the market price, the difference is simply pocketed by the middleman and does not benefit the consumer. In addition, the Minister for Trade believes (and this precisely at a time when the exports of finished goods are declining every month) that purchases by the Soviet

Union from France are insufficient, and objects to the Soviet Union using the proceeds from the sale of its goods to France to purchase goods in competing countries.

The statement issued by the Ministry for Trade admits that the amount of goods coming from the Soviet Union is very small. In six months the Soviet Union has sold goods to France amounting in value to 441 million francs, whilst the total of France's purchases from abroad amounted in this period to nearly 2,700 million francs. The various articles published on the alleged "Soviet dumping" permit us to investigate more closely the manoeuvres of the French imperialists. The French bourgeoisie, which is trying to prevent the Soviet Union from selling its agricultural products in order to purchase with the proceeds machinery and tools to develop its industry, is endeavouring by every means to prevent the realisation of the Five-Year Plan, of which it stands in terror.

On the other hand, the crisis in France is steadily growing: it is extending every day to new branches of industry and has already caused considerable short-time work and increased the profound discontent of the small peasants. The French bourgeoisie realise the necessity of diverting the excitement of the masses and duping the proletariat and also the poor peasants by persuading them that the Soviet imports are responsible for the falling prices and also for the growing unemployment. Caillaux declared in his speech: "The Soviets wish to disorganise world economy by creating unemployment and ruining agriculture."

The strong participation of the Left politicians in this campaign is intended to serve to influence the petty bourgeoisie and peasants, who still adopt a hesitating attitude with regard to the Russian revolution, and bring them into the anti-Soviet bloc.

French imperialism is making a drive for an economic war against the Soviet Union. It wishes to set the example to the other capitalist countries in Europe; already at Geneva it officially proposed the creation of a united front against Soviet exports and against the Foreign Trade Monopoly of the Soviet Government in order to prepare a blockade against the Soviet Union, which is to be quickly followed by an armed attack. France believes that it here has the opportunity of taking over the European concert.

The French General Staff has of late been paying increased attention to the question of arming Soviet Russia's Western neighbours; French instructors are paying frequent visits to Warsaw, Prague and Bucharest; trains and steamers are transporting aircraft and munitions from France for the shocktroops of the anti-Soviet front. The Minister for Trade has just undertaken a circular tour through Central and East Europe in order to prepare the agrarian conference at Bucharest and the united front of the vassal states of French imperialism.

War-preparations are at present being carried on on an enormous scale, and the old story is being continually repeated that the fascists and Communists in Germany are both horrid for a war of revenge, and that if Germany makes war it is practically certain that Russia will join in on the side of Germany.

The unrest in Indo-China furnishes the French politicians with a welcome pretext for raising the question of breaking off diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia, arguing that the movement for freedom among the colonial peoples can only be the work of Moscow.

The decree issued by the Minister for Trade represents an important link in the war-reparations against the Soviet Union which are being made by the French capitalists with the active support of all bourgeois parties, including the socialists. France wishes to set up a European front against the revolution, with itself at the head. It is necessary to increase the vigilance of the workers and peasants so that they will be ready at any moment to come to the defence of the Soviet Union.

Before the Bucharest Economic War Conference.

By Rudolf Auerhahn.

The governments of Rumania and Poland have convened for the 18th October in Bucharest a new "Conference of the East European Agrarian States", the fourth meeting of this kind during the last few months. The first Conference was that held in **Bucharest**, participated in by Rumania, Yugoslavia and Hungary; there then came the Conference of **Sinajla**, at which was laid the foundation for a Rumanian-Yugoslavian economic bloc. This was followed by the **Warsaw** Conference called by the Pilsudski government, which represented a quite open attempt to organise an anti-Soviet economic and military front extending from the Black Sea to the Baltic Sea. And now the Bucharest Conference has the task of summing up the results of the negotiations held at Geneva and making practical proposals for carrying out the line of action decided on in Warsaw.

The "pause" between the discussions in Warsaw and the new meeting in Bucharest has been usefully filled by the meeting of the **League of Nations**. In particular the Pan-Europe debate at Geneva gave the various government representatives the desired opportunity to proceed a step further to the formation of a bloc against the **Soviet Union**. One need only call to mind the fiery anti-Soviet speech of the Rumanian Minister **Madgearu** and the proposal of the French Minister for Trade, **M. Flandin**, for "combating Russian dumping".

When the French government, with words and deeds, with appeals for the rallying of all anti-Soviet elements, and with its own economic war measures against the Soviet Union, took over the patronage of the new Bucharest Conference, the object and purpose of this conference became clear. If the Soviet government already warned the capitalist States from participating in the Warsaw Conference owing to its outspokenly anti-Soviet character, the Bucharest meeting will be definitely regarded as an action for immediately organising an international economic war against the Soviet Union.

The organisers of the economic war believe that they have already advanced so far as to be able to abandon even the traditional "diplomatic reserve" and the usual camouflage manoeuvres. French imperialism has sent the specialist in anti-Soviet propaganda and action, the notorious **Flandin**, on a central European tour to **Prague**, **Vienna** and **Budapest**, ending up with a visit to **Bucharest**, where he will be received as the honoured guest of the government which initiated the Conference. **Flandin's** stay in **Prague** immediately produced visible results: the leading government party adopted and published a decision to create a corn trade monopoly, giving the following reasons:

"In view of the abuse of the law of supply and demand (!) and in view of the organised supply of goods by Soviet trade, we are ready to take part in all international negotiations dealing with the general causes and results of the agrarian crisis and at which means for a solution will be sought."

The capable **M. Flandin** already had the "means" to hand. He declared that his government was ready to back an anti-Soviet economic bloc by financing the whole of the agrarian exports of South Eastern Europe amounting to about 2½ million tons of grain. France will also organise the disposal of this grain. In France itself the preconditions for this organisation of the supply and disposal of grain have been created by the special measures against imports from the Soviet Union; Czechoslovakia is ready for a monopolist organisation of the import of corn. Therefore **M. Flandin** proceeded from **Prague** to **Vienna**, as **Austria** with its big import requirements of agrarian products plays a particularly important role in all the plans of the anti-Soviet Bloc. In **Austria** the preparatory work for participation in the action led by France has already been performed: the Austrian National Council, on the motion of the social democrats, decided already in Summer to set up a foreign trade monopoly for corn.

In **Vienna** **M. Flandin** expressed himself quite openly. In an interview given to the extreme fascist "Neues Wiener Journal", he called upon all European countries to follow the example of France and to proceed with the sharpest measures

against Soviet dumping. It is true, the new Austrian Heimwehr government will only act in close agreement with Hungary. But France will cleverly co-ordinate **Seipel's** policy, which is aiming at close economic co-operation with Hungary, in the larger anti-Soviet bloc. From **Vienna** **Flandin** is proceeding to **Budapest**. There, however, his visit has been preceded by demonstrative speeches of leading politicians in the government camp, in which participation in the united front against Soviet Russian exports is vehemently demanded.

Now the leading agrarian politicians of the capitalist countries are only too well aware that even a successful exclusion of Soviet grain from certain markets will not do away with the world agrarian crisis, and in fact will not even serve to alleviate the depression on the corn markets. Huge quantities of unsold corn, partly left over from last year's harvest, are piled up in the harbours of the United States and Canada ready for export; in **Argentina** and **Australia** record harvests are waiting to be cut — the surplus of unsaleable wheat amounts to many million of pounds.

How will such a banal means as a campaign against Soviet wheat exports, which even according to bourgeois reports this year amount to scarcely a million tons (only a fraction of the pre-war exports!) — how will a furious incitement against the Soviet Union provide a way out of the crisis, which has quite other causes than the resumption of the export of corn by the Soviet Union. As a means for the higher purpose, for organising the war front against the Soviet Union, the incitement against Soviet dumping may render good service — but not to the agrarian countries which are suffering from the crisis, but to the imperialist wirepullers of the new campaign, who are to be found not only in **Paris**, **London** and **Washington**, but also in **Warsaw**, **Bucharest** and **Belgrade**!

Thus, the Bucharest Agrarian Conference bears a thoroughly political stamp. And even if to the participants in the Warsaw Conference there should be added a guest from **Lithuania**, the antagonisms among the participants in the Conference itself will constitute an obstacle not easy to overcome. A certain reserve in regard to the proposals of **M. Flandin** is to be expected from **Hungary**, which besides its intention to conclude a special alliance with **Austria**, would also probably have objections to being included in a bloc in which **France** and the **States of the Little Entente** play the leading role.

Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to reckon on the failure of the French efforts to form a firm bloc against the Soviet Union. Such facts as the reformation of the **Rumanian government**, the bloody intensification of the dictatorship in **Poland**, the successful negotiations of the French Minister for Trade in the capital towns of central Europe, undoubtedly constitute stages on the way to a capitalist war against the Soviet State. The Bucharest economic war conference must be followed with the keenest attention by the workers of all countries.

AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

A New Imperialist Advance in the Near East.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

According to the latest reports, a long prepared and carefully worked out imperialist project, namely, the railway connection between the Mediterranean Sea and the Persian Gulf by a line running from **Port Fuad** (a new harbour town on the East coast of the Suez Canal), to **Baghdad** and **Basra**, is now approaching realisation. The building of this railway line means a complete change of conditions in the Near East. It is one of the most important parts of the land bridge to India, the preconditions for which Great Britain created by conquering Arab territory; it is destined to change the whole strategic, economic and political conditions between the Nile and the Euphrates.

The building of this railway was already planned at the time when Great Britain acquired the mandate over **Iraq**, **Transjordan** and **Palestine**. The carrying out of the project, however, was continually postponed, as doubts again and again arose as to whether British power was sufficiently stable in

the territories through which the railway line is intended to pass. The establishment of better relations with Ibn Saud, the conclusion of the Transjordanian-British and the Iraq-British Treaties (1928 and 1930), the advance of the building of the harbour at Haifa and, on the other hand, the necessity in view of the ferment in the Arab countries of giving the British troops the possibility of more rapid manoeuvring, as well as the increasing prospects of war, provided the immediate stimulus to the realisation of this exceedingly important project.

The means for the building of the railway are to be provided partly by the governments through whose territory the line will pass, partly by subsidies from the oil companies exploiting the oil wells of Mosul (the pipe line is to run parallel with the railway line) and partly out of the recently created "Colonial Development Fund". Surveying and measurements have already begun on Iraqi territory. The work, it is true, will take not less than five years, as the whole desert has to be crossed and great difficulties have to be overcome.

If the great importance of the railway for linking up the British Middle Eastern Empire is obvious it is no less clear against whom this railway line is directed:

1. In the first place against **India**. For Great Britain the approaching decisive fight for its rule in India can be won (this is speaking only from the military point of view, for there can be no doubt as to the final political defeat of imperialism, no matter what military forces may be employed) only if the constant forwarding of troops is secured, if there exist possibilities of quick connection with the Persian Gulf, and if the flanks are protected against the attacks which may be expected from Mohammedan tribes.

2. Against the **Arab** independence movement. Whatever the paper treaties may say—the fight of the Arab masses against British imperialism will not be ended by the conversion of mandates into protectorates, by the conferring of titles and orders on Arab princes. This fight is only in its initial stage, as the workers of the towns and the masses of the fellahin are in a state of ferment. The English know this very well. Therefore the railway line from Port Fuad via Haifa to Baghdad, which runs along the whole Northern border of the Arabian peninsula, is to serve to strengthen the British strategical positions both against insurrectionary movements within the territory ruled by British vassals as well as against an eventual revolt by Ibn Saud.

3. Against **France**. The French mandatory territory of Syria will be economically completely cut off and crippled by this line. It was not without cause that the Syrian press and also that part of the Paris capitalist press which is interested in Syria, has commenced a fierce campaign against this railway project. The whole of the traffic between East and West will run in two parallel lines: the line of the old Baghdad railway—over non-Turkish territory—in the North, and the Haifa—Baghdad line in the South. Syria remains isolated in between and will be deprived even of that part of its transport trade which it has been able to maintain since the war. If French imperialism does not wish to capitulate altogether, the construction of the Haifa—Baghdad railway line will result in a fresh aggravation of the Franco-British antagonism in the Near East.

4. Last, but not least, the new railway line represents part of the war-preparations against the Soviet Union. Like all actions of Great Britain—no matter whether a Conservative or a "Labour" government is in power—the construction of this railway line is closely connected with the plans for attacking the Soviet Union from the South. This is specially emphasised by British military circles, to whom it has long been clear that the North of Iraq will be one of the most important points from which to launch an attack in the coming war against the Soviet Union.

It should also be noted that the completion of this line, while it will not, as some English newspapers assume, deprive the Suez Canal of all importance for England, will at any rate reduce its importance to a minimum. This will facilitate for British imperialism the solution of the difficult Egyptian question.

The Port Fuad—Haifa—Baghdad railway project deserves the greatest attention. It provides the key to an understanding of many acts of imperialist policy in recent times.

The Situation in Indo-China.

By A. n.

Of late the French capitalists have been compelled to admit that changes are taking place in Indo-China. The revolts of the Annamites against French domination are increasing from day to day.

Since the revolt of Yen-Bay it has to be admitted that the constant increase in the value of the shares of the rubber and coal companies and of the banks is accompanied by the extermination of thousands and thousands of Annamite coolies and workers, an increase in the quantity of exported rice increased misery and hunger of the peasants and by the sale of the children of the poor peasants. It has to be further admitted that the population, of whom it was formerly said that they were loyal and submissive to France, are now rising openly and in armed masses in order to demand land and freedom.

The imperialist exploiters are afraid of losing the 350 millions of capital they have invested in various industrial trading and agricultural undertakings; they are afraid of losing their military and naval base, which is necessary to them in the event of their launching an attack on the Soviet Union from the Pacific Ocean, and which they also need in the peaceful or warlike competition with their rivals, the imperialists of Japan, Great Britain and the United States, and before all for the occupation and division of South China.

They are trembling at the rising wave of the revolutionary movement in Indo-China. They are therefore demanding cruel and bloody repression.

But in spite of the fact that Governor General Pasquier has caused the blood of the Annamite revolutionaries to flow in streams, the fight in Indo-China is becoming ever fiercer. It suffices to glance back at the events of the last few months in order to perceive the importance of the development of the revolt in Indo-China. On the occasion of every demonstration, every movement, the workers and peasants participate in thousands and thousands and welcome the slogan of the Communist Party, of the revolutionary trade unions and of the Peasants Leagues.

After the bold military action at Yen-Bay, which was undertaken by courageous nationalists, the Communist Party of Indo-China drew from it the appropriate lessons and strengthened the anti-imperialist fighting front. At Yen-Bay the slogans of revolt were issued without the participation of the great mass of the population. During the night some few hundred persons participated in various attacks. A few months afterwards thousands of peasants in Cochinchina held demonstrations with red flags and the sign of the Soviet Union and for the slogans: the land for the peasants, against taxes, down with the imperialist terror, defend the Soviet Union.

The revolt in Indo-China thereby entered on a phase of mass action under the leadership of the Communist Party. But later the situation became even more tense. In North-Annam the movement has assumed the character of a mass insurrection. Special reference must be made to the rapid class differentiation which is taking place. Whilst the movements in Tonking were directed solely against imperialism, in North-Annam, where the situation of the native population is exceedingly wretched, the peasants march to the attack against the imperialists and also against the big landowners, the Mandarins and the local officials. At every demonstration it came to bloody collisions resulting in killed and wounded.

In addition to these various revolts, which were ruthlessly and cruelly suppressed with the aid of aircraft and hired troops of the French government, attempts were made to occupy the capital towns of several provinces.

The government announces that "the Governor-General of Indo-China, in order to rid Annam of the unruly elements still to be found there, has decided with the approval of the government of Annam to form a police column out of the native guards, which shall search the district and arrest agitators".

The international proletariat must not only proclaim its solidarity with the revolutionaries, but must also remember the 21 revolutionaries from Saigon, Phu-Tho and Ha Noi who are under sentence of death and threatened from one moment to another with execution. The solidarity of the international proletariat is all the more necessary as the fight is only in its first stages and will become still more fierce and difficult.

In the Camp of Our Enemies

The British Labour Party Conference.

By J. T. Murphy (London)

Before the Labour Party Conference opened, indeed as soon as the agenda of the Conference was published, it was clear that the discontent in the ranks of the working class with the Labour Government was finding open expression in the Labour Party itself. There were not less than forty five resolutions and more than twenty amendments to these resolutions dealing with the question of unemployment. And these resolutions and amendments in one form or another criticised and expressed discontent with the Government. Unemployment was the overshadowing question because the Labour Party had promised so much and performed so little.

The Conference was well staged managed, in that the Executive of the Party placed no resolutions on the agenda clearly defining its political policy. It allowed, as is customary in the Labour Party and Trade Union Conferences, resolutions to pour in from the locals and the unions and then leave it to the standing orders committee to find a composite resolution which would express the general body of opinion in these resolutions. This composite resolution is then placed on the order of the day either to supplement a statement from one of the leaders or to be the means of critical opposition to the leader's speech. Nobody knows beforehand what the leaders are going to say. No resolution is examined in such a way as to indicate its full significance either with regard to past policy or future policy. It amounts to a generalisation leaving room for all kinds of interpretations in application etc.

This kind of procedure therefore leaves the platform in an admirable position for manipulating a conference, to keep it talking on things that matter very little, to crowd the most important things into a short time under the control and influence of the leaders of the Conference. Henderson is a past master in this business, the most skilful manipulator of conferences of this kind. Never once leaving the platform during the sessions of the Conference he kept complete control and by Thursday had got the Conference to the remarkable position of having to dispose of forty five resolutions in five and a half hours. And these resolutions included such subjects as disarmament, rationalisation, unemployment benefits, control of finance, question of confidence in the Labour Government, Parliamentary reform, pensions etc.

Boldly the chairman announced that the Labour Government had no apologies to make and then proceeded to make a speech of apology. The theme of this apology consisted of "we are a Minority Government facing a world economic crisis". "Had it not been for these facts we would have had a different report to make." Every thing had to be explained away on these two grounds. No explanation at all as to why the Labour Party had not seen the world economic crisis coming. No questioning of the stupidity of being a Minority Government if it was not possible to get across what they wanted. The facts are of course that they were blind to the oncoming economic crisis on the one hand and on the other hand they went into a Minority Government willing to co-operate with the Tory and Liberal Parties because there was no fundamental difference between them and these parties. All of them whatever their so-called ideals want to restore British capitalism, and this they have endeavoured to do.

But this fact of the common basis for co-operation it was the aim of the leadership of the Labour Party to hide under the glamour of socialist aspirations. Hence, in marched Mr MacDonald, with a weary, sorrowful look on his face, "dreading" the limelight as always, also declaring he had no apologies to make and then proceeding to explain away the reasons for not having fulfilled expectations. He also talked of the world economic crisis, then turned on the critics and told them that the party has its "hand to the plough" at one moment, is "laying brick on brick and sword in hand" at the next, pleading patience, assuring everybody how necessary it was to go slowly without the slightest attempt at analysis. Then a peroration which Mr. Maxton regarded as his own. It was very similar to the perorations of Lloyd George who could always see the sunrise of the new day over the Welsh mountains.

Then the "opposition" got its chance and here the Standing orders committee had already took the sting out of it by forming a composite resolution which washed out the I.L.P. resolution and thrust them back on to the "Labour and the Nation" programme. Of course the I.L.P. supports this programme but Maxton and his followers had already opposed it in the Birmingham Conference and then swallowed it. Nevertheless this is not of much importance. It was not the resolution that mattered on this occasion as the ventilation of the discontent of the rank and file against the Government.

Here Maxton showed the role he and his followers are playing. The opposition was proven to be not an opposition at all. Maxton simply embraced MacDonald whilst saying a few words complaining that the Labour Government was not going in the direction of socialism. All this amounted to a complaint that the Labour Government was not going fast enough in the direction it was taking. He "would not change the personnel of the cabinet" if he had the opportunity. He was a friend of the Labour Government, a friend of MacDonald. It was quite clear that the I.L.P. was a back number. Its strategy has fallen to pieces. Maxton, Stephens, and the others have been looking for an opportunity to become an independent party cherishing the idea that there is room for such between the Labour Party and the Communist Party.

In this ambition they have missed the bus entirely. Had they had the courage to present British politics with this phenomenon their opportunity came at the time of the Liverpool conference when masses of workers were being disaffiliated from the Labour Party because they wanted a working class policy. But Maxton and his merry men were afraid that this meant coming too close to the Communist Party. They saw the fate which awaited a centre party. And to-day they know it too. There never was any place for such a party for any length of time. But to-day, when the chasm between the classes has become deep and wide, such a proposition is hopeless. The choice is clear and sharp—either with the Communist Party or with the fascist party. Maxton and company were fumbling and in this conference to find a basis which would widen by the time he thought things were ripe for a break. Never being sure that the time has come to break with anything or anybody, he and his supporters have been and are the safety valves for the Labour Party chiefs. Thus they are always groping for an alternative programme to the Labour Party but which retains the essentials of the Labour Party. This they never find and they are left without the means to become the leaders of the Labour Party though ever posing as if they were an alternative leadership. Splendid tools for the MacDonalds who slam them or coax them as occasion demands.

The Conference had no time for them. And their cup must be full to running over. Here are the men that have said "Ah if we were not hampered with the Communists in the Conference then we could be the reasonable, the 'practical alternative' and the workers would listen to us." Well there were no communists in the conference and where was the I.L.P.? Simply washed out. Without a plan of action. Without guts. Not a man of them dared to raise his voice in protest against the treatment of the Meerut prisoners. How could the I.L.P. break the formalities, challenge the standing orders, voice indignant protest? It could not be done. So Maxton, Brown, Horrabin, Stephens, Wise, silently let the conference sweep on and not one had the guts publicly to proclaim what they privately think.

Brockway made a speech on India, claiming the right of India to independence through the Round Table Conference, deploring violence, supporting Ghandi. And not one word about the Meerut prisoners. The platform manoeuvred. Kenworthy came on deck with the theme that "the Indians did not really want independence, they wanted to be part of the British Empire, separation was the last thing they thought about. Had he not been to India? Did he not know all there was to know on this subject? Has he not the ambition to become a Viceroy? Don't be carried away by Brockway". And then

the Government tout Graham Pole walked up and suggested it was wrong to discuss India. It would influence the Round Table Conference. Up jumped Cook, the government hand rag, and moved that the conference proceed to the next business. And he is a member of the I.L.P. And his motion was carried. And not one protested. And this is all that was said and done against imperialist oppression.

The Conference discussed **rationalisation**. Everybody said it was a nasty thing. Bevin said so. Tillett said so. Wise said so. Maxton said so. The platform said so. But of course inevitable. The brains of the I.L.P. got to work and proposed that it should only go forward on conditions guaranteeing certain things for the workers. So said they all. So there was nothing to separate the I.L.P. from the conference on this question. It was a strange denunciation which gave room for the ventilation of some nasty remarks about capitalism. This allowed the conference to relieve itself. A spate of resolutions came forward as to improvement of the conditions of the workers, pensions at 60 etc. The platform said it was not much use but let it go forward because it would at least give the appearance to the workers that the Labour Party was in favour, "as an ideal of course", of doing something for the workers.

Bevin and the chairman of the Trades Union Congress made violent speeches about the Trades dispute Act and the necessity for its repeal. But the resolution they got the conference to pass and to which they were speaking said not one word about repeal but about the "amending of the 1927 Act", a typically MacDonald modification. On this question the conference was completely tricked.

But the new slogan of the Labour Party for **unemployment** is the most interesting reversion to the slogans of the old capitalist parties "Back to the Land, gentlemen, back to the Land". There's a pretty picture for you. A country thoroughly industrialised. Thousands of workers driven from the land every month. The agricultural situation utterly hopeless from the standpoint of competitive development in the direction of cereal growing, and which has been, and is being, rapidly turned into a grazing ground. Does that stagger the Labour Government? Not in the least. It will push back the wheels of history and drive the industrial proletariat back to the land: "every worker his own cabbage patch." And mark you without changing the system, without chasing the landlords, without even nationalising the land, the Labour Government is going to develop the large modern farm. And the Congress cheered.

But of course any old scheme that said it would employ two or three men for five minutes and give the appearance of the Labour Government being able to do something to make the unemployment figures look less would be cheered. The one thing that the Conference would not face was the **class struggle**. Everything they wanted must come from legislation and without struggle. This was the theme of the old men's conference. This fact was turned cleverly to account in the debate on the question of **family allowances** and social services. The I.L.P. put forward this demand. It had also been the subject of discussion between the General Council of the Trades Union Congress and the Labour Party Executive. The Trades Union Congress turned it down on the plea that family allowances and social services would enter into the consideration of the regulation of wages. This led to the argument being developed by Hayday and Bevin into an attack on social services adroitly covered by talk of future co-ordination and development of all schemes of social insurance. This discussion will be most appropriately used when the Three Party Committee comes in with its report on the Insurance act. Then we shall be told, as in this debate, that the workers must organise in trade unions to fight for what they want. Hayday declared there was a danger of those who were advocating the development of social services becoming anti-trade unionists. If the workers, he said, could get everything through social insurance then workers would be thinking trades unions unnecessary.

On no occasion was there a vote of censure on the Government. The most striking event of the Conference was the defeat of J. H. Thomas who stands discredited as the Minister of Unemployment. This of course is a demonstration to the Party in answer to the many resolutions expressing the sentiment of the Party and the workers with the Labour Party's record on unemployment. But I think it would

be a mistake to interpret this as a leftward tendency of the Conference itself.

This was evident in the discussion on the **Mosley memorandum**. It is of significance to observe that Mosley did not participate in the debate on the I.L.P. motion of censure on the Government. This dissociated him from the I.L.P. But when he did speak on the question of his memorandum coming before the Executive of the Labour Party for consideration, he explained why he left the Government. He then turned on the Government, denounced it as Government without a policy in the face of the greatest crisis of British history. He played up to the Trades Union Congress Empire memorandum, talked of "insulating" this country "from foreign dumping", gave a friendly gesture to tariffs, another gesture to the raising of the social standards, raised the national banner "the nation calling for a lead as never before", parliament an encumbrance, outworn. "Change it", he cried. It was the most typically nationalist fascist speech I have heard. With all the demagoguery at his command he roused the Conference as it had never been roused. He had touched the ground movement of dissatisfaction in the conference and given it an outlet under the banner of "National Socialism".

The I.L.P. before this was literally washed out. But here is the new significant movement within the ranks of Labour and the Trades Unions. Mosley is finding a mass basis for his leadership; new developments are taking place. The open fascist declarations in the ranks of the bourgeoisie, the Melchets, the Morris' etc. have now their counter-part appearing in the ranks of the Labour Movement. Fascism is in its stride and we must be ready for striking developments.

The Conference was imperialist, nationalist, in favour of rationalisation for saving capitalism. It reflected the pressure from the masses. Loud in its protestations against apologies it was a conference of apologies. Pathetic in its appeal for a majority in Parliament which it sees fading further away. The I.L.P. has no further positive role even for the Labour Party. And the new fascist danger has arisen sharply and openly in its midst.

ECONOMICS

The Coal Crisis in Britain and the Coal Mines Act

By J. A. Mahon (London).

The British coal industry which during the autumn of 1929 and the spring of 1930 experienced a slight revival, is now confronted with an ever deepening chronic depression which is intensifying the problems of the Labour Government and forcing the coal owners to harsher measures against the workers.

Coal production for the first six months of 1930 showed a decrease of approximately 2 million tons as compared with 1929 (129 millions — 131 millions). This despite the fact that the revival in trade continued into the second week of April and that the returns up to that time were greater than the corresponding period of last year. The coalowners were quick to realise that the collapse of the temporary revival ushered in a new and more fundamental crisis in the industry. The "Colliery Guardian" for July 25th stated; "During the past half-year the British Coal Trade has undergone a retrogression and at the present time optimism is at a discount." Similar opinions to the one quoted were expressed by other leading industrial journals and by representatives of the Labour Government. That these opinions and gloomy predictions were perfectly justified is indicated by the latest available returns of production. Output for the 12 weeks 1st July to 20th September was 51,604,000 tons as compared with 57,625,900 tons in the corresponding period for last year. The year's production to date is approximately 180 million tons as compared 188 million tons last year. Thus the decrease for the 38 weeks ending September 30th is roughly 8 millions, 6 millions of which has accrued during the last 12 weeks.

The new crisis in the industry is further reflected in the rapid growth of unemployment in the minefields. The following figures of persons employed in and about the mines are culled from official sources:

	1930			
September 1929	Jan.	Feb.	March	Sept.
935,429	954,801	958,500	956,972	884,500

These figures show that the number of persons employed in and about the mines in September of this year has decreased by 6 per cent compared with a year ago and over 8 per cent with the highest point reached this year.

Furthermore, the trade outlook remains as gloomy as at any other period, and according to all indications increased winter trade and forward buying will not counterbalance the steep decline in demand, or to any appreciable extent maintain production figures.

In response to this crisis situation the coalowners throughout the country have been intensifying their drive against the miners, resorting to more and more methods of speed up and neglect of existent meagre safety precautions.

It is in these circumstances that the Labour Government is driving ahead with the Coal Mines Act which is essentially a measure suited to Finance Capital and intended to consolidate coal capitalism in the further drive against the workers. Part I. of the Act which provides for a central scheme and district schemes for the control of production supply and sale of coal will be launched on November 1st. Part III of the Bill which provides for the 7½ hour day and the 90 hours optional spreadover is to operate as from the 1st December and at the present time the Board of Trade are taking steps to establish the Coal Mines National Industrial Board which is provided for in Part IV of the Act and is intended to decide upon all questions of wages and working conditions referred to it from the various districts by the coal owners and the representatives of the miners. The National Coal Mines Industrial Board which is supposed to include 6 representatives of the coalowners and 6 representing the miners together with another 5, does not meet with the full approval of the Miners Association and as a result that body has refused to co-operate with the Board of Trade in the appointment of their side of the Industrial Board.

Nevertheless, the intention of the coalowners is perfectly clear. The present critical situation compels them to utilise to the full those parts of the Coal Mines Act which facilitate the rationalisation drive and at the same time to retain the greatest amount of freedom in launching the attack upon the miners in the various districts when the agreements come up for readjustment.

The first definite step in this direction has been taken in **South Wales** where representatives of the coalowners and the reactionary South Wales Miners Federation officials met on September 30th. At this meeting the mineowners put forward the proposition that the 7.1 % increase in pieceworkers wages consequent upon the reduction of hours from 8 to 7½ would not be granted under any consideration and that they would demand a corresponding reduction of 7.1 % in the wages of day wagemen. In addition they demanded abolition of the extra payments for double shift work, serious consideration to the discontinuance of the bonus shift, and reduction if not complete abolition of the subsistence wage. As against this the S.W.M.F. demanded an increase in the present minimum wage from approximately 8/9d to 9/9d, 7.1 % in respect of the decrease in hours, and no reductions for surface workers. A committee of 8 from either side was established to investigate the question. There can be no doubt as to the meaning of these negotiations. The demands of the South Wales coalowners are in effect for the spreadover, for the abolition of the bonus shift system, and for a further attack on the subsistence wage. The alternative demands put forward by the S.W.M.F. officials are a belated gesture to retain their declining influence amongst the miners and are counter-balanced by their wholehearted support for the Coal Mines Act in its entirety and their open support for the rationalisation drive of the owners against the miners. The attitude of the S.W.M.F. bureaucracy is in line with the entire policy of the M.F.G.B. reaffirmed by the bureaucracy at the Annual Conference held in July.

Under the prevailing district agreements huge deficits have been piled up to the credit of the owners amounting in the case of South Wales to over 14 million pounds, in Durham to nearly £ 8,000,000 and in Scotland to approximately £ 7,000,000. On the plea of redeeming these deficiencies the coalowners will press for further wage reductions, the

M.F.G.B. in the various districts will offer feeble resistance, and the matter will be ultimately referred to the National Coal Mines Industrial Board which in consideration of the economics of the industry and in accordance with the arbitration policy of the Labour Government, will adjudicate in favour of the owners.

While this represents the aim and intention of the Labour Government, the coalowning interests and the reactionary Federation, there is no doubt that these forces are fully cognisant of the serious situation prevailing in the coalfield. The disappointment of the miners in the Labour Government has turned into deep and widespread discontent and an increasing desire to engage in conflict with the owners. In South Wales, where this new militancy has been most manifest, the reactionary Federation officials have launched a campaign for 100 % trade unionism in order to divert the attention of the miners from the need of preparing for struggle under a new leadership with an uncompromising policy. The **National Minority Movement Charter Campaign** is meeting with a magnificent response in all the mining areas and is drawing new forces under revolutionary leadership and influence. The Miners M. M. is now confronted with the task of focussing the attention of the miners on the new crisis and the threat of worsened conditions and of preparing and organising the struggles of the miners under its own leadership. This struggle is summarised in the **National Programme** put forward: against the Spreadover, for the 7-hour day, for a National Minimum wage of £3 per week, against the speed up, for increased safety precautions and against all forms of rationalisation. Around this programme and accompanied by the creation of the correct forms of organisation for struggle as well as intensified activity within the trade union apparatus against the reactionaries, the Minority Movement can confidently look forward to mass actions of the miners under its own leadership, against the pro-capitalist Labour Government, the mineowners, and the social fascist bureaucracy of the M. F. G. B.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Resolution of the C. C. of the C. P. of Poland on the Situation in the Western Ukraine.

1. Polish imperialism is aiming at the greatest exploitation of the conquered territories and their extension by fresh conquests, by a new march on Kiev. The most abominable national and colonial oppression is part and parcel of the Polish occupation policy in the West Ukraine and West White Russia.

The imperialist rule of Polish fascism in the West Ukraine and Western White Russia has subjected the toiling masses of town and country to the most shameful exploitation and suppression. The unheard-of exploitation of the agricultural workers and poor peasant masses working on the landed estates, the fascist liquidation of the feudal remnants, the military colonisation (which is a robbery of the main masses of the peasantry) of the land which has been taken away from the Ukrainian peasants, the usury of the private and State banks, the pressure of taxation for occupation purposes, the national suppression and the police terror exercised against the broad toiling masses,—all this has converted the life of the toiling masses in the Western Ukraine into a regular hell.

The profound economic crisis which shakes the foundations of the capitalist rule in Poland, caused a further worsening of the situation under which the toiling masses in the occupied territories are living. The masses realised that for them there is no other way out but the revolutionary fight in order to drive away the big landowners, the Polish police, gendarmes, spies and the Polish usurpers from their land and the fight for land without compensation. The usurpers have replied to this struggle with military and police punitive expeditions, with pogroms against whole of the Ukrainian villages.

The wholesale incendiarism on the big landed estates and kulak farms and the mass struggle against the Polish fascist administration are manifestations of the revolutionary fight of the main masses of peasants and broad sections of the toiling intelligentsia against Polish imperialism.

The whole of the Ukrainian bourgeoisie and all Ukrainian

petty bourgeois parties have right from the beginning opposed with the greatest hostility the struggle of the Ukrainian peasantry. The Ukrainian bourgeoisie licks the boots of the fascist conqueror and condemns the revolutionary mass movement.

All fractions of Ukrainian nationalism are concluding pacts with Polish fascism regarding a common advance on Soviet Ukraina.

The Ukrainian military organisation (U.W.O.) is attempting to shatter the united front of the fighting toiling masses of Western Ukraine and to beat up their struggle by depriving this struggle, which is directed against the yoke of Polish occupation and against the exploitation by the big landowners and capitalists, of its social content.

All fractions of the fascist camp in Poland, from the "Sanacia" up to the P.P.S., "Wyswolenie" and the peasants party, are showing their solidarity with and helping Pilsudski in suppressing the revolutionary movement of the Ukrainian masses and in preparing a new march on Kiev.

2. The Communist Party of Poland is, together with the Communist Party of the Western Ukraine, the only Party which recognises the present struggle of the Ukrainian masses against the big landowners and against the Polish kulak colonists and against the Polish administration of occupation as its own struggle. The Communist Party of Poland is the only Party which is fighting against Polish imperialism, for the annulment of the Versailles Treaty and for the right of Western Ukraine to self-determination up to its separation from the Polish State and its incorporation in the Soviet Ukraine. **The C.P.P. and the C. P. W. U. show to the suppressed Ukrainian people the only way out of the present hell of exploitation and suppression:** the common struggle of the toiling masses of Poland, the Western Ukraine and Western White Russia in order to overthrow fascism by means of an armed revolt of the workers, peasants and soldiers; the common struggle for the workers' and peasants government.

The revolutionary fight of the toiling masses of the Western Ukraine against the Polish occupation is part of the general revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and of the poor and middle peasant masses of the whole of Poland to overthrow the fascist dictatorship and to set up in its place the dictatorship of the proletariat, the workers' and peasants government.

It is the task of the whole C.P.P. to mobilise the toiling masses in town and country for the support of the heroic struggle of the Ukrainian masses against the occupation, for the right of the Western Ukraine to self-determination up to separation and incorporation in the Soviet Ukraine, for land for the peasants and agricultural workers without compensation. The Party must show the masses that the overthrow of fascism is impossible without a life and death struggle against Polish imperialism, which is suppressing the Western Ukraine and Western White Russia and is preparing for a march on the Soviet Ukraine and Soviet White Russia.

The struggle which Pilsudski is conducting against the Ukrainian toiling masses must be replied to by the Party with the organisation of meetings, demonstrations and mass manifestations in the streets and political mass strikes in the whole of Poland. The example of the heroic struggle of the Ukrainian peasantry must evoke a greater struggle of the poor and middle peasants of the whole of Poland against the capitalists, the big landowners and kulaks, for land without compensation, for the overthrow of fascism, for the workers and peasants government.

The election campaign in Poland must be made use of in order to draw the attention of the toiling masses to the heroic struggle of the workers and peasants of Western Ukraine.

3. It is the task of the C.P. of the Western Ukraine to combat all passivity in view of the growing mass movement in Western Ukraine, to redouble all efforts in order to get the leadership of the present spontaneous mass movement into its hands and to guide it in the direction of the revolutionary mass struggle up to the overthrow of fascism, for the workers and peasants' government, for land without compensation for the peasants and agricultural workers, for the right of Western Ukraine to self-determination up to separation and incorporation in the Soviet Ukraine.

It is necessary to launch mass struggles against the pressure of taxation on the part of the usurpers under the slogan: "Not a penny in taxes for the fascist government!", against the loss of feudal tenants rights, against the fascist

distribution of land, against the payment of fines imposed by fascism on the insurgent villages, against performance of guard duty on the estates of the big landowners and State farms.

In the villages where the struggle against the taxes has already spread to broad masses, the Party must organise a mass tax boycott. For the leadership of this struggle it is necessary to set up in every village peasant committees, formed on the basis of the united front from below, embracing the masses of poor and middle peasants and the agricultural workers.

It is the task of the C.P.W.U. to link up the present struggle of the peasant masses with the struggle of the proletariat in the towns, and in particular of the Polish proletariat, for a common struggle against the occupation and in order to overthrow fascism.

The workers must reply with political mass strikes and demonstrations to the punitive expeditions of the usurpers, the fines imposed on the Ukrainian villages, and the wholesale arrests. Workers demonstrations into the neighbouring villages are of special importance in strengthening the revolutionary workers' and peasants' bloc.

Joint workers and peasants committees, embracing the town and the neighbouring villages, must be set up for a common leadership of the struggle.

The Party must devote particular attention to the organisation of a mass defence brigade in the factories and villages.

For the further development of the revolutionary movement in Western Ukraine we must increase our work in those detachments of the Polish army intended by fascism to be sent into the districts which are the scene of the struggle of the Ukrainian toiling masses. The fraternisation of the population with the army, the drawing of the soldiers over to the side of the fighters is the task of the moment.

The mobilisation of the toiling masses in town and country in the Western Ukraine for the struggle against Polish imperialism, against the occupation, against fascism and social fascism, the taking in hand of the present spontaneous movement of the peasant masses and its linking up with the struggle of the proletariat, the development of the programme of the dictatorship of the proletariat — these tasks must constitute the content of our election campaign in the Western Ukraine.

We must explain to the masses that the votes cast for the anti-fascist workers' and peasants' bloc are a demonstration against Polish imperialism, for the overthrow of fascism, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the workers' and peasants government.

The election campaign must serve to expose thoroughly the common front of the Ukrainian nationalist groups with the fascist usurpers.

Wynkoop's Declaration in Parliament.

Amsterdam, 10th October 1930.

Wynkoop made the following declaration in the Dutch parliament a few days ago:

"Now that the Party which put me up as its candidate has dissolved itself and recommended its members to join the Communist Party of Holland, which is a section of the Third International, I feel that I owe the Dutch working class a statement.

I have also requested to be admitted to the C. P. because I approve of its policy and accept its discipline. It is clear that with this declaration I admit that the struggle I have conducted against the Dutch Communist Party was the result of a wrong policy on my part. It is clear also that this wrong policy was expressed in my parliamentary activity.

This policy led to tactics in parliament with regard to Indonesia, the trade union mass movement, the struggle of the unemployed, the strike conflicts, the revolutionary united front, the struggle against imperialism, war and fascism, which developed objectively from international communism to reformism.

Very correctly the Communist International fought against this false policy sharply and it was correct in all points both as regards the objective historical development and also my person. For this reason my party was dissolved and I capitulated. I request you to note that from now on I shall appear in this chamber as a member of the parliamentary fraction of the Dutch C. P., Section of the III. International."

Thirteenth Anniversary of the October Revolution.

Thirteen Years of Socialist Construction.

Material of the Agitprop Department of the ECCI. for the Thirteenth Anniversary of the October Revolution.

The Thirteenth Anniversary of the October Revolution coincides with enormous success in the construction of Socialism in the Soviet Union and a growing severe crisis in the capitalist world. It coincides with a deep sharpening of the class antagonism of capitalist society, a sharpening of the antagonism between the imperialist States and the Soviet Union, the fatherland of the workers of the world.

On the Thirteenth Anniversary of the October Revolution the working masses of the world will strike the balance of the struggle between capitalism and Communism. For thirteen years on end the bourgeois and social-fascist prophets predicted the downfall of the Soviet Union and its economic collapse. For thirteen years on end they spoke of the recovery of capitalism, the welfare of the working masses and the plentitude of work, the peaceful overcoming of class antagonisms and the recovery from the post-war crisis.

But what is the picture to-day? What do we see when comparing the situation in the capitalist countries and in the Soviet Union after thirteen years of Socialist construction, after thirteen years of uninterrupted struggle of international capitalism for the destruction of the Workers' State?

We see in the Soviet Union splendid progress, whereas capitalism is at the same time experiencing a profound economic crisis. Thus for instance we witness the following decline of production in the United States:

Index of Production.

	Crude Iron	Crude Steel	Automobiles	General.
July 1929	127.4	131.2	137.1	108.5
January 1930	89.9	86.7	100.3	93.3
August 1930	84.3	77.1	59.6	82.1

A general decline is obvious.

In Germany we see the following drop:

(In thousands of tons).

	November 1929	January 1930	August 1930
Anthracite	14.157	14.398	11.471
Bituminous	15.493	14.008	12.285
Crude Iron	1.091	1.092	739
Steel	1.287	1.275	1.168

Also here we see a rapid decline in 1930. The output of iron in August was 68 %, that of steel 67 %.

In the British mining industry which has been in a chronic state of crisis for many years the output of coal has dropped from 24,150,000 tons in January 1930 to 16,936,000 tons; the output of iron has dropped from 660,000 tons in July 1929 to 417,000 tons in August; steel has dropped from 818,000 tons to 451,000 tons, etc.

All these figures indicate the same sharp drop in production. The capitalist countries as well as the colonies are gripped by the crisis.

This great drop in production has a very bad effect on the proletariat. It causes great unemployment, part-time work, general wage cuts, etc.

In the United States where no unemployment statistics are available, the number of unemployed is estimated at about nine to ten million; in Great Britain unemployment has considerably exceeded the two million mark; in Germany there are over three million unemployed. Similar reports are given by all capitalist countries.

The international agrarian and raw material crisis has similarly caused mass unemployment in such countries as those of South America and Asia which never knew any unemployment before.

A rapid increase in the number of unemployed is threatened for the winter in such industries as building, agriculture, etc. No end of the economic crisis is so far in sight.

Side by side with this mass unemployment we witness a general sharp attack of the employers on the wages of the

working class, social insurance, unemployment benefits, etc., which calls forth the energetic resistance of the revolutionary workers.

This crisis similarly ruins multitudes of the middle class, artisans and farmers. No improvement is to be foreseen in this process.

This leads to a great sharpening of the class antagonisms and to a rapid rise of the revolutionary movement. The results of the general elections, the monster demonstration in Hungary on September 1st, the growing counter-offensive of the workers against the capitalist offensive, incendiarism in the rural areas of the Eastern part of Poland, the extension and intensification of the revolutionary struggles in the colonies, bear witness to this rapid rise of the revolutionary movement.

In several countries the economic crisis has already turned into an acute political crisis. This is the case in China, India, Argentine, Peru, Bolivia, Egypt, Spain, Poland and the Balkans.

In Germany, one of the largest capitalist countries of the world, the recent election results also point to the imminence of a political crisis.

The present crisis is growing in a period of a general crisis of capitalism and it is therefore of an unusual character. It is the result of a great accentuation of all the contradictions of present day capitalist society. Capitalism is looking for a way out of the crisis on the one hand in the destruction of the forces of production and in a general attack on the standard of living of the working class, and on the other hand in the conquest of new markets which unconditionally lead to new imperialist wars and especially to a war against the Soviet Union.

The Gigantic Sweep of Socialist Construction in the USSR.

In this situation wherein the millions of workers in the capitalist countries are freeing themselves of the illusions of permanent prosperity, of capitalism without any crisis, and are losing their faith in the reformist promises, the successes of Socialist construction are particularly outstanding. Here one can sum up the results of the first two years of the Five-Year Plan, give an account to the working masses of the capitalist countries of what has happened and of how the workers of the Soviet Union are triumphantly engaged in the building up of Socialism and thus performing their duties to the international proletariat to do their utmost in assisting in the overthrow of international capitalism.

The facts and figures concerning the Five-Year Plan to be seen from the results of the first two years of the fulfilment of the plan provide the best answer to those who are still doubtful as to the question now on the order of the day, namely, capitalism or Communism, fascism and social-fascism or Bolshevism?

It is not so long ago that the bourgeoisie and socialdemocrats regarded the five-year plan of Socialist construction adopted two years ago as a utopia. To-day it is clear that the original Five-Year Plan has been left far in the background by the rapid rate of actual development. What we see to-day in the Soviet Union is a strenuous effort to carry out the Five-Year Plan in four years. This will strike a death blow to the enemies of the Soviet Union, to the opponents of Socialism; it will be a great accelerating factor in the progress of the general crisis of capitalism.

The first year of the Five-Year Plan has resulted in a 24 % increase in production as against 21.4 % called for by the Plan. The second year which has just ended has given an increase of about 25 % as against 21.5 % called for by the Plan. Next year an increase of about 47 % is expected as against 22 % stipulated in the Plan. In this general rise,

heavy industry, which is the foundation of the whole system of Socialist construction, has shown unparalleled strides; its output has increased almost 40 % in one year and will increase about 60 % next year. No capitalist country in the world has as yet experienced such development. While the general development and technique of Soviet industry is still behind that of the big capitalist countries it is certain that the present rapid rate of development leads to the fulfilment of Lenin's slogan, namely, that the capitalist countries must be caught up with and surpassed.

The following will illustrate the carrying out of the Five-Year Plan:

According to the Five-Year Plan the industries directly under the control of the Supreme Economic Council should have developed as follows:

1928/29 . . .	21.4 %
1929/30 . . .	21.5 %
1930/31 . . .	22 %

The actual development was as follows:

1928/29 . . .	23.7 %
1929/30 . . .	25 %
1930/31 . . .	47 %

In this we see that heavy industry develops even faster than other industries, and it is this that shows the consistency of the Soviet policy of industrialisation. Thus the development of heavy industry during the first three years should have been:

1928/29 . . .	25.6 %
1929/30 . . .	26.2 %
1930/31 . . .	25.7 %

The actual development will be:

1928/29 . . .	29.8 %
1929/30 . . .	37.7 %
1930/31 . . .	59.8 %

By this the Five-Year Plan of production of the means of production is actually being carried out in three years.

This industrial development transforms the Soviet Union from an agrarian into an industrial country. Industrial output is gaining the upper hand over agriculture. The following figures illustrate this:

Prior to the war: Industrial output . . .	42.1 %
Agricultural output . . .	57.9 %
1927/28: Industrial output . . .	45.2 %
Agricultural output . . .	54.8 %
1928/29: Industrial output . . .	48.7 %
Agricultural output . . .	51.3 %
1929/30: Industrial output . . .	53.0 %
Agricultural output . . .	47.0 %

This extraordinarily rapid growth of industry necessitated a revision of the Five-Year Plan from the point of view of its extension. The results of the revision can be seen from a comparison of the tasks undertaken now with the clauses stipulated in the Five-Year Plan.

Production for 1932/33	According to 5-year Plan	Revised Plan
Coal	75 million tons	125 million tons
Oil	22	40
Agricultural Machinery . . .	610 million rbls.	1,110 million rbls.
Tractors	65,000	192,000
Iron	10 million tons	17 million tons

"We are rapidly marching forward and we shall overtake the most advanced capitalist countries from the point of view of their economic development."

"Our economic development proceeds along the line of industrialisation, along the line of strengthening and expansion of our heavy industries." (Stalin.)

We see a similar increase in the productivity of labour: 25 % in 1929—30 and 28.6 % in 1930—31 as against 14 and 16 % respectively stipulated in the Five-Year Plan.

Wages should have increased in 1930—31 — 9.3 % nominal, and more than that in actual earnings.

Industry is developing along Socialist channels.

Take for instance, the large scale industry and you will see the following picture:

I. Socialist industry has given:

1926/27 . . .	97.7 %	of total output
1927/28 . . .	98.6 %	" " "
1928/29 . . .	99.1 %	" " "
1929/30 . . .	99.3 %	" " "

II. Privately owned:

1926/27 . . .	2.3 %	of total output
1927/28 . . .	1.4 %	" " "
1928/29 . . .	0.9 %	" " "
1929/30 . . .	0.7 %	" " "

As is to be seen, the capitalist elements have come down pretty low in large-scale industry.

"It is clear that the question as to who will beat whom, as to whether Socialism will defeat capitalism in industry or vice versa, has in the main already been decided in favour of Socialism. It has been definitely and irrevocably settled" (Stalin).

No less epochal than the success of the Five-Year Plan in industry is the victorious march of Socialist construction in agriculture. The Leninist policy pursued by the Communist Party and its Bolshevik leadership in the matter of collectivisation of agriculture was met by the bourgeoisie with the same ridicule and by the Right wing opportunists with the same pessimism as the industrial plan. But to-day such terms as Sovkhos and Kolkhos which stand for State farms and collective farms have become part of the international vernacular. These terms stand for enormous success which the bourgeoisie can no longer deny and which shows the lie of all pessimistic predictions.

According to the Five-Year Plan the Soviet State farms were to have an area of five million hectares by the end of the five years. Actually, they possess this year an area of 3.8 million hectares and will expand to eight million next year. The Five-Year Plan will be more than carried out in three years. According to the Five-Year Plan the collective farms were to have an area of twenty million hectares at the end of the period, actually they possess this year 36 million hectares. The Five-Year Plan of agricultural collectivisation has thus been by far more than carried out in two years.

Side by side with the rapid growth of collective and government farming the area under cultivation has been considerably expanded. The area of the collective farms alone has increased by 12 million hectares in 1930. This year there will be a general increase of 15 million hectares. How enormous a jump this is may be seen from the fact that the cultivated area in America which employs modern machinery has increased in a period of fifteen years, from 1914 to 1929, only by about four million hectares.

If the rate of development in such a technically backward land as the Soviet Union, which is surrounded by capitalist States which are preparing for war against that country, is so great, the victory of the proletariat in a few countries technically and economically more highly developed, will make human progress and improvement even much more rapid. The Five-Year Plan proves the advantageousness of the Socialist system as compared with capitalism.

Side by side with the development of industry and agriculture the material and cultural conditions of the workers and peasants are improving. Whereas unemployment is on the increase in almost all capitalist countries and counts on its records from nine to ten million in America and about 4—5 million in Germany for the winter, it is totally disappearing in the Soviet Union thanks to the rapid enlargement of the members of the working class. The number of workers employed has increased more than three million in the last four years. Large scale industry alone has increased its number of workers by 400,000 this year. There are practically no unemployed workers to be found among the industrial proletariat. Hundreds of thousands of unskilled workers are being trained and taught trades and yet the demand for labour power cannot be fully satiated. Real wages are now 139 per cent of pre-war. If we add to this the various social insurance benefits, wages are now 167 per cent of pre-war. The social insurance budget has increased in the last three years from 980 million roubles to

1,400 million roubles; 1,900 million roubles have been invested in housing; 1,500,000 industrial workers are already working on the five-day week system; 40 per cent of the industrial workers have a 7-hour day; more than 1,700,000 workers have been to sanatoria and rest homes in the past three years.

In the midst of the whole of the system of socialist construction a prominent position is occupied by the cultural revolution. The latest achievement in this sphere is the introduction of compulsory universal education. This year there will be 15,000,000 in the schools. Hundreds of thousands of workers are being sent to universities where the leaders of socialist construction are being trained. Science and art are blooming in the Soviet Union while they are on the decline in the capitalist countries.

In view of the rise of the Soviet Union and the bankruptcy of the capitalist system the workers are confronted with the question as to what are the reasons for progress in the technically backward Soviet country which through a period of 13 years has been going through the greatest difficulties, what are the reasons for the growing crisis and the decline of capitalism in technically advanced capitalist countries?

This question was answered by Comrade Stalin at the XVI. Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. He said:

"The reason is to be found in the advantages of the Soviet economic system over the capitalist system. . ."

"What is the Soviet economic system?"

"The Soviet economic system means that:

"1. The power of the capitalist class has been overthrown and displaced by working class power."

"2. The instruments and means of production, the land and the factories, etc., have been taken away from the capitalists and made the property of the working class and the peasants."

"3. The development of production is not governed by the principle of competition and assurance of capitalist profit, but the principle of systematic control and systematic improvement of the material and cultural conditions of the workers."

"4. The distribution of the national income is not in favour of the exploiting classes and their numerous parasitic flunkys, but in the interests of a systematic improvement of the material conditions of the workers and peasants and the enhancement of Socialist production in town and country."

"5. The systematic improvement of the material conditions of the workers and the constant rise in the demand and the buying power which has become a permanent source for the expansion of production, which protects the working class from over-production and from unemployment, etc."

"6. The working class is ruling the country, it does not toil for the capitalists, but for itself."

That is the system upon the basis of which Socialist construction progresses. This, the Soviet system, is the work of the October Revolution, the work of the victorious Soviet dictatorship. The successes in Socialist construction demonstrate to the international proletariat the advantage of the Soviet system. The October Revolution points to the workers the only way which leads to the building up of Socialism, which promises a better future to humanity; it is a the self-sacrificing heroic way of the proletarian revolution, the establishment of the Soviet system in their own country. The October Revolution marks the beginning and the prelude of the world revolution, it was its first step and is a powerful basis for its further onslaught. The Five-Year Plan of Socialist construction embodies a mighty appeal to the workers of the world to follow the example of the October Revolution and to march towards Socialist construction on its basis.

The Difficulties of Growth in the Soviet Union.

In order to understand and appreciate the magnificent work of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union, the international proletariat must also know of its difficulties and of contradictions to be found in its development.

The difficulties now experienced are due to the heritage of old, the heritage of the tsarist regime, the cultural and technical backwardness of the country, the lack of new cadres, the tremendous task of completely reorganising the whole of agriculture on the basis of collectivism, etc. But they are also due to the fact that Socialist construction, which roots out the last vestiges of capitalism and the last support of the counter-revolution in the rural areas, which destroys the kulaks as a class, meets with the desperate resistance of the capitalist elements. The counter-revolutionary sabotage which has but recently again been discovered is allied with the sabotage of the alien, corrupt and bureaucratic elements to be found in the Soviet machine and with a frantic terroristic struggle of the kulaks against collectivisation in agriculture. The testimony of Ryazantsev and his accomplices clearly show in what criminal way the counter-revolutionary bourgeois specialists for example have determined to upset the delivery of food supplies to the urban population, i. e. to the working class, and to drive the workers into starvation.

How the internal foes of Socialist construction endeavour to hamper by every means its progress is further illustrated by the activities of the "Toiling Peasants Party" which has recently been discovered by the GPU.

The class struggle in the Soviet Union has become more intense. That intensity is due to the expanded Socialist offensive all along the line; it is inseparable from the policy of liquidation of the kulaks as a class; it is due to the fact that the capitalist elements desperately resist the further progress of Socialism and consequently the process of their own extinction.

The difficulties are furthermore conditioned by the capitalist environment of the Soviet Union. They result from the unbridgeable antagonism between the socialist and the capitalist economic systems, and they are bound to increase as socialist construction progresses and the capitalist system declines. The growing and basically irreconcilable contradictions between the two economic systems find their expression in raging anti-Soviet campaigns and in frantic efforts to set up a united front of the capitalist countries.

The nature of the difficulties caused by the commodity famine are fundamentally different from the difficulties experienced by the capitalist countries. Called forth by a colossal increase in the demand the difficulties in supplying the population with sufficient goods in the Soviet Union are difficulties of growth which contain the means of their own solution, whilst in the leading capitalist countries we witness the difficulties of stagnation and decline. The bourgeois and social-fascist enemies of the Soviet Union rejoice over such difficulties in the Soviet Union and they speak of them in exaggerated terms in their press. If the index of production is a few units below the enormous figures of the year's plan they already proclaim the collapse of the Five-Year-Plan. But they seem to "forget" that the figures of the original Five-Year-Plan, which the social-fascists have only a year ago declared to be madness and a utopia, have been more than carried out so far.

The international proletariat welcomes the ruthless self-criticism with the help of which all defects and shortcomings are being discovered and combated in the Soviet Union and which the enemies of the Soviet Union use for their mean and malicious ends. It sees in the ruthless and open struggle against the difficulties a new weapon to be used in the fight for a firm Leninist line in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Through Creative Effort and Enthusiasm of the Masses—to the Overcoming of Difficulties.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union proceeds with the overcoming of difficulties by continuing its policy of the Socialist offensive on the capitalist elements all along the line, by breaking down with an iron fist the resistance of the class enemy and by pitilessly fighting the opportunists in its own ranks. Part of this Bolshevik aggressiveness is the mobilisation of revolutionary activity of the masses against capitalist elements, the stimulation of the creative initiative and self-activity of the masses, which is very important.

There is a big campaign along the lines of self-criticism against bureaucracy, for the combing out of undesirable elements from administrative institutions, from the co-operatives. The shock brigade movement and socialist competition have in the course of one year become a mass movement and there is to be witnessed a sweeping change in it in connection with the 13th anniversary of the October Revolution. That movement contains the inner reserves, the attraction and mobilisation of which has already resulted in the elimination of many shortcomings. The shock brigades and socialist competition movements extend from the cities to the villages and from the factories to the collective farms.

Simultaneously, the Soviet Government is taking energetic measures in order to get out of the difficulties in the matter of food supplies for the workers (it organises huge collective cattle ranches, huge dairy farms, etc.). These difficulties will be overcome just as the question of bread has been settled.

The difficulties are being overcome under the guidance of the Leninist Communist Party, which in an untiring and self-sacrificing work and ruthless struggle on two fronts, against Right wing opportunism which is the main danger, and also against "Left" deviations, is guiding the construction of Socialism with the greatest discipline in its ranks. The successful work now done by the Party greatly increases its influence among the workers in town and country and makes its position even stronger and better.

The Struggle of Capitalism Against Socialist Construction.

The internationale economic crisis and the Five-Year Plan give the struggle of imperialism, which has been going on for 13 years with varying means of intervention, economic blockade, economic and political support and financing of counter-revolutionary groups, a new impetus. The fear of international capitalism before the economic consolidation of the U.S.S.R. and the fear of the social-fascists caused by the success of the Five-Year Plan, which will greatly stimulate the swing of the working masses in the capitalist countries to the side of the Revolution, make their interests more and more common and bring them ever closer together in the anti-Soviet campaign. The long series of international campaigns of calumny and crusades against the Workers' State, from the papal crusade down to the interventionist appeal of the Second International and the present international struggle against the so-called Russian dumping and Russian compulsory labour, etc., display a close ideological united front against socialist construction which leads to the support of the systematically increasing and direct military preparation for war against the U.S.S.R. This preparation has the most active support of the social-fascists. Briand's anti-Soviet bloc is strongly backed by the social-democrats; the military preparations of fascist Roumania against the Soviet Union are most actively backed and assisted by British imperialism and its MacDonald Government (the British naval demonstration in the Black Sea). The social-fascists of all lands are in the front ranks in the ever-more threatening armaments against the Soviet Union. They stimulate armaments by taking active part in the work, by hushing up the truth about the success of Socialist construction, by spreading lies, by exaggerating the difficulties of Socialist construction in the interests of the enemies of the Soviet Union, by bringing before the masses fake slogans such as democracy and economic democracy with the purpose of sowing pacifist illusions and in order to divert the workers from the revolutionary path and make them willing tools of international finance capital in the anti-Soviet front.

The exploiters and their anti-fascist agents are carrying on a fight against Socialist construction also by financing and organising counter-revolutionary groups in the Soviet Union. In the sabotage organisations discovered by the vigilance of the Soviet Government — organisations the purpose of which was to overthrow the Soviet regime and to disrupt its economic basis — there were Mensheviks such as Bazarov, Zukhanov, Sokolovsky and others together with counter-revolutionary professors Kondratyev, Ryazantsev and consorts, all of whom carried on their work with the aid of money received from foreign capitalists and in a political alliance with the international social-democracy.

Such is the chain of the united front of banking and stock exchange capitalists, social-fascism, fascism and the church, as well as bourgeois science, against socialist construction, against the existence of the Soviet Union.

The Defence of the Soviet Union — The Revolutionary Struggle in the Home Country.

The anniversary of the victorious October Revolution is a revolutionary celebration of the workers of the world during which they recall to their minds the achievements of the proletarian dictatorship, from which they gather new courage and new energy for the struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist class and renewed faith in Socialism. Year in and year out revolutionary workers undertake to help in the Socialist construction of the fatherland of the working class and to defend it by every means.

The same will be done by the class-conscious workers also on November 7th of this year.

The 13th Anniversary of the October Revolution is occurring at a time when it no longer suffices to declare solidarity with the Workers' State by means of demonstrations of sympathy. The fate of the working class throughout the world is now more than ever bound up with the cause of the October Revolution. Each success in the sphere of Socialist construction constitutes a victory of the international proletariat: each failure is a blow to the life interests of the workers of all countries. The same forces which threaten to disrupt Socialist construction in the Soviet Union by means of espionage, sabotage and boycott and to destroy the country through war are also delivering blow after blow to the workers of town and country in the capitalist world and in the colonies.

Hence the defence of the Soviet Union on the part of the workers becomes more and more the defence of their own life interests. Protection of the Soviet Union means also the defence of the proletariat against the capitalist starvation offensive, against wage cuts and unemployment, against terrorism on the part of the fascist dictatorship.

The lessons of the October Revolution are becoming of new and greater importance for the international proletariat now when the revolutionary spirit is rising in the labour movement and when great class struggles are about to break out.

The celebration of the October Revolution this year will occur at a moment of a severe economic crisis, of a great breach in the whole of capitalist economics, of mass unemployment which impoverishes all workers in town and country. The millions thus affected are seeking a way out of the situation, a way which is totally opposite to the way sought by the bourgeoisie. The Russian proletariat and the toiling peasantry found in 1917 a way out of the catastrophe caused by the imperialist war in the proletarian revolution. Similarly to-day the way out of the most serious economic crisis ever experienced lies for the international working class and the working farmers and peasants in the proletarian revolution. The sympathies of the working masses in favour of Socialist construction are constantly growing. Ever-larger sections are realising that the proletarian revolution, under the leadership of the Communist Parties alone can be the way out of the crisis, and that this fully coincides with their own interests.

In the struggle for their immediate demands, in the struggle for their daily bread, against wage cuts, against the capitalist starvation offensive, against the attacks on social insurance, unemployment benefits and insurance, etc., in the struggle of the working farmers and peasants against ruin against exploitation by the landlords, usurers, banks, merchants the financial oligarchy, the same lesson is learned, and that is that only the violent destruction of the capitalist system under the leadership of the Communist Party constitutes the revolutionary path of ultimate improvement of the conditions of the workers and peasants. In the struggle for their daily bread the workers and peasants are finding out more and more the treacherous and counter-revolutionary character of the Socialist Parties of the various lands. In these struggles for their daily bread the unity of the revolutionary proletariat and the working farmers and peasants is growing and being cemented.

The conduct of the daily struggles, the linking up of economic and political struggles, the organisation of political mass strikes will create the necessary conditions for the mastering of the main issue now confronting the Communist Parties, the winning over of the majority of the working class. The October Revolution, which is an international test of the correctness of Lenin's theory of proletarian revolution, serves now as a beacon light in the mighty struggles of the working class.

This struggle of the proletariat and the working farmers and peasants for their own proletarian revolution constitutes the best form of defence of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union.

The millions of oppressed and exploited are rallying throughout the world to the standard of the triumphant October Revolution, to the banner of the Soviets. The Soviet banner is now waving over a territory with a population of more than 60 million in China. This territory is expanding and holding its own in spite of the vicious attacks of the Chinese counter-revolution and in spite of imperialist intervention.

Millions of working farmers and peasants are already moving; there will be other millions following them. At the same time the Soviet slogan captivates the heart and the brain of the working masses in the capitalist countries where the foundations of the existing system are collapsing more and more as a result of the economic and political crisis. Over four and a half million German workers have cast their ballots during the Reichstag elections for the Communist Party which advocated a Soviet Germany, which inscribed during the election campaign its programme of the German 7th of November on its banner. There will be additional millions of working men and women following their example in Germany, people who have still been the victims of social-fascist lies and fascist demagoguery. The example of the Russian workers points the way and the aim of the millions of working men and women in all capitalist countries, in all colonial and semi-colonial countries.

November 7th is a day of revolutionary struggle. Organise powerful demonstrations everywhere for the defence of the Workers' Fatherland. Establish your militant united front of the proletariat from below in the factories against the starvation and war policies of the international bourgeoisie! Fight with multiplied energy for the annihilation of fascism and social-fascism! Demonstrate your solidarity with the revolutionary fighters in China, India, Indo-China and in all colonial countries! Join Lenin's Party, the Communist Party!

Long live the Soviet Union!

Long live Socialist Construction!

Long live November 7th of the International Proletariat!

IN THE SOVIET UNION

The Fight against Alcohol in the Soviet Union.

By Dr. Wilhelm Swienty.

In the year 1921 it was found necessary to do away with the general prohibition of the production and sale of alcoholic liquor. From the year 1925, the production of spirits containing 40 per cent alcohol was undertaken by State monopoly. In spite of draconic threats of punishment and severe penalties the number of illicit stills (Samogons), according to the estimate of the central statistic office of the Soviet Union, increased in the year 1924 to between 2½ and 3 million.

The Soviet government is endeavouring with all means to check the consumption of alcohol and to combat drunkenness effectively. As the general prohibition of alcohol which existed up to the year 1921, that is, during the civil war, proved incapable of being carried out in practice, after the conclusion of the reconstruction period in the Soviet Union, the Soviet authorities proceeded to propaganda against alcohol and to carry this propaganda into the remotest parts of the Soviet Union. In this work a leading role is played by the "Society for Combating Alcoholism", which was set up in the year 1928.

The different sections of this society, which receives an annual government subsidy of 100 million roubles, have in the short period of their existence performed a great work. During three months of the year 1929 there were held in the town of Moscow alone more than 1000 temperance meetings attended by more than 100,000 persons. Two weekly magazines "Abstinence and Culture" and "For Abstinence" are published in Moscow and Kharkow respectively. During the past year there have been published 45 pamphlets against alcohol, with a total edition of 722,000; 15,000 leaflets in more than 2 million copies; 22 placards and about 4,020,000 copies of other literature against alcohol. In connection with these efforts special mention should be made of the wall-newspapers in the factories and in the villages. They enjoy general popularity on account of their contents, which are easily understood and are drawn from real life. It is no exaggeration to say that in numerous localities these newspaper constitute the chief source of information of the population. All the inhabitants take part in this work; everyone has the right to express his opinion (in the big factories, in the barracks, offices etc. the factory newspapers frequently appear as printed daily organs). The editing of the wall-newspapers is in the hands of a commission appointed by the village or factory Soviet. In nearly every number there appears a popularly written article on the harmful effects of alcoholic drinking. These articles are mostly drawn from the Correspondence issued by the "Society for Combating Alcoholism". But the so-called health nuclei in the factories and in the villages (voluntary societies which are connected with the People's Commissariat for Health), also see that wall-newspapers are regularly supplied with material against alcohol. These health nuclei make it their task to carry on and promote the instruction of the population in health and hygiene and arrange discussions with those of their workmates who are known to have fallen a prey to drink. Occasionally anti-alcohol propaganda is carried on by means of small theatrical performances, at which, as before a court, a drunkard is confronted by an enlightened worker, while the audience has to pronounce judgment, which in most cases is very severe.

The propaganda of the whole year reaches its highest point during the "Week against Alcoholism". At this time, under the leadership of the Communist Party and of the Trade unions and with the cooperation of the Red Army and the workers- and peasants' organisations, there is carried on right throughout the whole Soviet Union, from the largest towns down to the smallest mountain village numbering hardly 100 inhabitants, a huge campaign against alcohol consisting of lectures during the working time, meetings in the factories and trade unions, theatres and cinema performances, performances by agitprop troops, the whole of the daily press, broadcasting and traffic being placed in the service of anti-alcohol propaganda. Demonstration processions consisting of members of the cultural organisations, meetings, propaganda cars with placards, bands of music, travelling lectures, all seek to influence the population. The number of bills and leaflets distributed during this week runs into many millions. The sale of alcoholic liquors is forbidden.

Anti-alcohol propaganda plays an important role in connection with and in support of the large-scale anti-religious propaganda. The leading part of the Russian people are of the opinion that the amount of religious superstition rises or falls in accordance with the consumption of alcohol. Some of the appeals which were posted up at every street corner, in every motor bus, in every restaurant, during the last anti-alcohol week read as follows:

"The friend of Vodka is the enemy of socialist construction".

"The fight against religious superstition and against alcoholism, which fosters religious superstition, is just as important as the fight against infectious diseases".

"Vodka leads us back to capitalism and not forwards to socialism".

"Through socialist competition we shall lead the workers to the fight against drunkenness and its consequences".

The legislative measures for combating alcoholism are the laws of 11th September 1925, of 4th March 1927 and 29th January 1929. The laws are categorical: they forbid the

opening of fresh premises for the sale of alcohol and give the workers and peasants soviets full powers to forbid the sale of alcoholic drinks in their locality. No alcohol of any kind may be served in workers' clubs, at railway restaurants, theatres and public places of rest and recreation. Young people are not allowed to enter places where alcoholic drink is sold. The sale of alcoholic drink is forbidden on pay days. In place of the taverns and bars which are closed, the decree provides for the establishment of centres where persons addicted to drink are given advice and treatment; for the opening of tea rooms, reading rooms, libraries, homes for inebriates (Narkodispensaires) in which drunkards are restored by means of influence and self-education etc.

The scientific preparation of the material necessary for the propaganda against alcoholism is carried out in the Central Institute for Investigation and Combating Social diseases. Here speakers and lecturers from the ranks of the workers and peasants are trained, and the press and the broadcasting stations are regularly supplied with anti-alcoholic material. This work is supported by the Central Statistical Office of the Union of Soviet Republics, which in the whole Union has a staff of co-workers numbering over 40,000.

The consumption of spirits has fallen from 8.4 Liter per head of the population in the year 1913 to 3.6 liters in the year 1927/28, i.e. 57.2 per cent.

In spite of the fact that the Soviet Union covers a good deal of its budget with revenue derived from the spirit monopoly, the practical combating of alcohol is one of the most important tasks of the present time. The Five-Year plan provides for the regulation of the production of alcohol. At the end of the Five-Year Plan, i.e. in the year 1932, at the latest, the production of alcohol for drinking purposes will be reduced by 70 per cent. A considerable lessening of production is already to be seen. Whilst in the year 1928 vodka amounting in value to 1000 million roubles was produced and consumed, in the year 1929 production had been reduced by 15 per cent. In the interests of the well-being of the population, it will be possible in the not distant future by systematic enlightenment and instruction, to convert the Soviet Union into a country which will be free from alcohol.

TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

The Founding of the International of Revolutionary Seamen and Dock Workers.

By G. Mink (San Francisco).

The founding of the International of the revolutionary seamen and dock workers was an urgent necessity for the seamen and dock workers and had been repeatedly demanded by them. It is precisely in the seafaring profession that international solidarity and action is necessary. But the International co-ordinating these actions has not existed up to now. It is true, there formerly existed an institution calling itself the "International of Seamen" which was headed by the British social fascist and blackleg leader **Havelock Wilson**. Its aim was to uphold British command of the seas, and therefore the reformist seamen's leaders of France and other imperialist countries already some years ago scuttled this British "International".

The reformists then attempted to convert the "International Transport Federation" (I.T.F.) into an international centre for the European and American seamen. Even revolutionary seamen placed some hope in this International when its secretary Edo Fimmen, in the year 1923 placed himself at the head of the movement for unity within the Amsterdam International; but from Fimmen's present development it is obvious that his intention was not to revolutionise the Amsterdam International by an alliance with the Soviet trade unions, but to corrupt the latter by this means. He is now attempting to split the transport workers in the Far East and to catch them for reformism by means of left phrases.

At the last Congress of the I.T.F., which almost synchronised with the foundation Congress of the revolutionary International of Seamen and Dock workers, the question of supporting capitalist rationalisation was dealt with just as at all other Congresses of the Amsterdam International.

38 delegates from 26 maritime countries, namely of the United States, Great Britain, Canada, France, Germany, Poland, Italy, Holland, Belgium, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Greece, Algiers, India, China, Japan, Korea, Indonesia, Peru, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, Brazil and the Soviet Union met in Hamburg on 3rd October last and founded the International of the revolutionary seamen and dock workers. It was a **truly international conference**, attended not only by representatives of the imperialist countries, but also by those of the colonies and semi-colonies and of the Soviet Union.

The presidium consisted of Comrades **Walter** (Germany), **Thompson** (Great Britain), **Toussaint** (USA.), **Hardy** (Great Britain), **Mink** (USA.), **Dumay** (France) and **Centurion** (Latin America).

Comrade **Hardy** reported on the international political and economic situation and the necessity of founding the new international. This report will be published as a leaflet for mass distribution among the seamen and dock workers.

In the discussion on this report the delegates of all countries declared that in their countries the seamen had for a long time demanded the founding of a revolutionary International of the seamen and dock workers and that this International is an urgent necessity.

In the name of the seamen of the American, British, French and Chinese delegations, Comrade **Ray**, the representative of the U.S.A., seamen, moved a resolution on the founding of the International. This resolution was enthusiastically approved by all the delegates.

In the name of the Chinese, Scandinavian and French delegations a **Chinese** delegate moved the provisional statutes of the International. Thereupon a delegate from Italy proposed an appeal to the international seamen and dock workers. This appeal was adopted by the Conference and it was decided to publish it in all the most important languages. The delegates were instructed to circulate this appeal in their countries.

The **Executive Committee** was elected, consisting of representatives of Great Britain, Germany, France, U.S.A., Latin America, China, Japan, Scandinavia, Italy, India, Philippines, the Arab countries, Greece and the Soviet Union. Comrade **George Hardy** was elected chairman and Comrade **A. Walter** (Hamburg) its secretary.

At a demonstration of the Hamburg seamen and dock workers which was held the same evening, the decision to found the new fighting International was enthusiastically welcomed.

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The Business Manager.