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CONTENTS

R. Palme Dutt: War Preparations at the British Imperial Conference	994	Economics	
Politics		A. Bosse: Eight to Nine Million Unemployed in U.S.A.	1001
R.: Mass Struggle against Occupation and Punitive Expeditions in Western Ukraine	995	In the Camp of our Enemies	
Oesterreicher: Austria Rapidly Becoming a Fascist Country	996	J. Berlioz: The Congress of the Radical Party of France	1002
Harry Gannes: The Election Campaign in the United States	997	In the Soviet Union	
China		J. Yenukidse: Before the Soviet Elections	1003
Central Government for the Chinese Soviet Districts to be Formed	998	The White Terror	
The Labour Movement		Giovanni Verdi: The Growing Reaction in Italy	1004
Paul Peschke: The Berlin Metal Workers Strike	999	Trade Union Movement	
J. A. Mahon: The Situation on the English Railways	1000	Harry Pollitt: The Annual Conference of the United Mineworkers of Scotland	1005
Hands off the Soviet Union		In the International	
Opening of the Conference between the Soviet Union and China	1000	J. Lenski: The V. Party Congress of the C. P. of Poland	1006
		Thirteenth Anniversary of the October Revolution	
		Slogans for the Thirteenth Anniversary of the October Revolution	1008

The Reichstag Decisions of 18th October.

Social Fascism Supports Brüning's Fascist Dictatorship.

By Th. Neubauer (Berlin).

The 18th October marks a new phase in the history of the inner political development of Germany. The Reichstag has abdicated; democracy has voluntarily stood aside in order to allow a free path to the dictatorship government of Brüning.

One must bear in mind at what a rapid pace this development is proceeding. On 27th March last the big coalition of Hermann Müller was overthrown. On April 1st Brüning took over the government and immediately announced his intention to govern by dictatorship by virtue of article 48. On the 15th July Brüning achieved the dictatorship of the Reichs-President. On July 18th the Reichstag was dissolved, because it had decided to veto the dictatorship decrees. The Reichstag elections of 14th September resulted in a serious defeat of the Brüning government. On October 13th the new Reichstag met for the first time. On October 18th Parliament was adjourned provisionally until the 3rd December, thereby excluding itself from all control of the government and leaving the field clear for Brüning's dictatorship government.

The decision of 18th October rested with the social democracy. With its 141 votes it saved the government by preventing the Communist vote of no-confidence being passed; but it also voted against the vote of no-confidence brought in against individual Ministers: against Schiele, Minister for Agriculture, against Dr. Curtius, the Foreign Minister, against Gröner, Minister for Defence. It caused the motion tabled by

the Communists demanding the immediate withdrawal of the dictatorship decrees to be defeated. It either voted against all the proposals of the Communists for the unemployed, the recipients of poor law relief, the incapacitated, for the striking Berlin metal workers etc. or, in co-operation with the government parties, caused them to be buried by having them referred to committees. This applies particularly to the Communist motion to cease at once all payment under the Young Plan. The social democracy, together with the parties of the dictatorship government, brought about a decision by which the Reichstag is adjourned until the 3rd December after having previously, by voting the credits of 530 million, provided the government with means by which it can if necessary carry on until 31st March next without Parliament.

These decisions of the social democratic Reichstag fraction are not only a violation of all the election promises, they are also completely contrary to the will of the social democratic workers as expressed at all party meetings, conferences, etc. of the social democratic Party of Germany held since the elections. It is to be expected that the indignation of the social democratic workers will be brought to boiling point by these votes of the Reichstag fraction of the social democratic party.

By its attitude on 18th October the social democracy has taken over full responsibility for the dictatorship of Brüning.

on account of which the Reichstag was dissolved on the 8th July. It has thereby given its sanction to the new government programme of the Brüning dictatorship which was designated even by the socialist party newspapers as "a monstrous attack upon the people". In particular it has supported the offensive against wages which is now being carried on throughout the whole country, and betrayed in the most infamous manner the 160,000 metal workers of Berlin who are engaged in a fight against a wage cut. It has — and this is the most important thing of all — given the fascist dictatorship government of Brüning unrestricted freedom of action to carry out to the end the development which began with the overthrow of the Müller government.

The *Germania*, the leading organ of the Centre Party, is full of praise for the S.P. of Germany. It writes:

"The social democracy, recognising the serious political situation, has adopted an attitude which deserves the fullest recognition.

In fact the social democracy has done more for the Brüning dictatorship than the Chancellor had even hoped. Whilst most of the government parties did not renounce their special wishes, whilst some of them placed the government in a dangerous situation, the social democracy without hesitation, in all points supported Brüning and thereby proved itself to be the most reliable prop of the Brüning dictatorship. And all this without receiving anything in return, without the Chancellor granting any concession to the S.P.G.

The social democracy really could not sell itself more cheaply! It could not more shamefully betray the millions of social democratic electors. In order, allegedly to avoid the open dictatorship of fascism, it has "legalised" the fascist dictatorship of Hindenburg-Brüning!

The contemptible treacherous role of the social fascists has rendered it possible for the national fascists to cover up their policy of fraud and betrayal of the masses by sham radical demagoguery. The national fascists were prepared for every sacrifice in order to be included in the coalition. Just as Hitler took the oath to uphold the Constitution, so the national fascist, Stöhr, Vice-President of the Reichstag, solemnly promised to conduct the business of the Reichstag according to the Constitution and to preserve the dignity of Parliament. The national socialists had no better candidate to put up for the Presidency of the Reichstag against the social democrat Löbe than the leader of the most outspoken party of trust capital, Dr. Scholz of the People's Party. This candidature was agreed

upon by them at a dinner with Dr. von Strauss, a bank magnate and People's party member of the Reichstag.

It was not until the national socialists saw that the Centre was determined not to accept them in the coalition — out of regard for the Catholic workers — that they tabled their motion for a vote of no-confidence, for withdrawal of the dictatorship decrees etc. They made no protest whatever against the anti-labour inner-political programme of the government; they voted for the increased import duty on butter, for the increases in the price of butter, cheese and milk. They demanded the introduction of compulsory labour for the unemployed, the formation of an army of work slaves, that should be set up for the purpose of depressing wages and serving as strike breakers against the proletariat. The National Socialist Strasser argued in support of these demands: "and even if they were good for nothing else, they would help to pay the Young tributes."

But at the same time the national socialists brought forward a number of demagogic motions by which they sought to conceal these infamous attacks upon the workers: a motion for the expropriation of the bank magnates and Eastern Jews, a motion against the flight of capital abroad, and so forth. For the Communist speakers it was very easy to point out the whole hypocrisy and lying character of this national-socialist demagoguery.

In the numerous fierce collisions between the Communists and the national fascists, which characterise this short meeting of the Reichstag, the national socialists were always the defeated party. The fight of Bolshevism against national fascism, in which the intermediate parties are being more and more ground between two millstones, is now proceeding with increased fierceness outside of Parliament.

Aided by the social democracy, the Brüning dictatorship government won a Pyrrhic victory. But by excluding Parliament it has at the same time destroyed the illusion which has hitherto hampered the fight of the masses outside of Parliament. Every day of the Berlin metal workers strike brings a further sharpening of the mass struggle outside Parliament; every day sees a strengthening of the revolutionary class front and its leader, the Communist Party, not only in Berlin but in the whole Reich. Never before was the influx into the revolutionary trade union Opposition and the C.P. of Germany so strong as at present. The German working class is preparing for the struggle which can only be won in the light of the masses, including the unemployed as well as the workers in the factories.

War Preparations at the British Imperial Conference.

R. Palme Dutt (London).

The present British Imperial Conference is a landmark in the intensification of world imperialist antagonisms. It expresses the supreme attempt of British Imperialism to overcome the centrifugal tendencies within the Empire and establish a stronger economic and political consolidation for conflict with other imperialist powers and for eventual war.

In British imperialist propaganda the issues of the Conference are treated as of a peaceful economic or constitutional character — the development of mutually beneficial trade relations and prosperity, the harmonising of the liberty of the Dominions with cooperation etc. The effects and reactions of these policies on the rest of the world are ignored. Nevertheless it is manifest that economic issues of closer union which are now brought so prominently to the forefront are in fact strategic-political issues of the highest order. Tariffs are invariably weapons against other powers. The closer Empire bloc which it is attempted to build up can only be a bloc against the United States and the penetration of its influence, against the proposed European Continental bloc, and against the Soviet Union. This character of the economic issues is still more manifest in the so-called constitutional issues, whose war significance is scarcely veiled. It is here above all that lies the significance of the Imperial Conference, as a step in the preparation of war.

MacDonald's opening speech showed already the conscious-

ness of this. While touching rapidly on the economic issues, he dealt mainly with the problems of foreign policy. On these he said:

"In the sphere of foreign affairs the great objective is to secure and maintain world peace and uphold the influence of our Commonwealth of Nations in world affairs."

Let us be quite frank on this matter. The strength of armaments in the world to-day and the general unwillingness of governments to advance the cause of a secured peace by a reduction of military material, unless checked, must soon lead to a new race in armaments to which the most pacific of nations cannot be indifferent. The outlook is disquieting, but should that calamity happen, it will not be the fault of the Commonwealth. . . . The members of the Commonwealth, acting simultaneously and together, can exercise an influence greatly exceeding any that can be employed by one member or series of members acting individually."

Here is expressed directly the advance to war and the necessity of effective common action of Britain and the Dominions. The "pacific" British Empire (which spends more on armaments than any other power) is compelled by the militarist tendencies of other powers to prepare for war-contingencies and organise more effective common action — "acting simultaneously and together".

But it is just here that British Imperialism is confronted with a problem of the first magnitude in relation to any future war — the problem of the growing divergence of the Dominions from Britain in foreign policy, and the uncertainty whether the Empire will stand the shock of war or split asunder. Up to the last war this problem was not yet serious. The British Government's foreign policy was the foreign policy of the Dominions; these were not yet strong enough to attempt any line of their own. But with the transformation since the war, with the growing strength of the Dominions, with the growing influence of the United States, and with the weakening of Britain, the Dominions have been able to extract increasing concessions of independence in foreign policy, or rather, to manoeuvre between Britain and the United States. It was Dominions pressure that played an important part in compelling the British surrender of the **Anglo-Japanese Alliance** at the Washington Conference in 1921-22. The Chanak crisis in 1922 showed that the British call to war would not be automatically followed by the Dominions. The Locarno Treaty of 1925 was signed by Britain separately, the Dominions expressly declaring themselves not bound by its obligations.

At the 1926 Imperial Conference it was attempted to solve this growing problem by finding a formula to cover the new situation. The famous formula was evolved, defining the Dominions as "autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown"; but that "in the sphere of foreign policy, as in the sphere of defence, the major share of responsibility rests now and must for some time continue to rest with His Majesty's Government in Great Britain".

But this formula has in fact solved nothing. The 1926 declaration has been widely acclaimed as the charter of Dominions independence, as the virtual dissolution of the bonds of empire between Britain and the Dominions, and the like. But in reality it has been abundantly clear that British Imperialism, while compelled in its hour of extreme weakness in 1926 to concede the formula, has never intended by it to relinquish its claim to effective supremacy and control. The formula is two-edged; the Dominions are nominally declared "autonomous" in foreign as well as domestic policy; but they are bound by "allegiance to the Crown" (i. e. the British Government), and "the major share of responsibility" in foreign policy and defence rests with the British Government. And the British jurists have been quick to argue that in international law, if the British King (i. e. the British Government) goes to war, the Dominions are automatically also at war.

Already in 1926, at the time of the reaching of the formula, the "Times" treated it with unconcealed contempt, declaring:

"It may have its uses for quotation to suspicious nationalists, but that is all." ("Times", 22. 11. 26.)

The only change was a "trifling change" in the title of the King. The well-known British foreign expert, "Augur", declared that the report meant the triumph of unity under British leadership, and did not fail to remind the Dominions that the King was "paid by Britain". The British Government legal expert, Professor J. H. Morgan, has since gone so far as to deny the validity of the 1926 declaration; "it certainly was not law. It was a political, not a legal act"; Dominion Status had never been defined by the Privy Council; there was no more question legally of the "sovereignty" of a Dominion than of a state in the United States;

"The Dominions were not legally independent sovereign states because they have not an independent right of making war. If war were declared by the King on the advice of his Ministers in Downing Street, nothing short of a declaration of independence could achieve the neutrality of a Dominion." ("Times", 16. 3. 29.)

On the other hand, the Dominions no less definitely assert their independence. The Canadian, Australian and South African Governments have all at various times pledged themselves in their parliaments not to be bound by a British declaration of war, but only to enter a war with the sanction of their own parliament.

No less important would be the role of the enemy, especially if that enemy were the United States. In the treatment quoted above, "Augur" admitted that there was one danger, with regard to which "there are breakers ahead", and that

would be if other "powerful states" did not recognise the unity of the British system. And here the American view was speedily expressed in the "Washington Post" on the morrow of the 1926 declaration:

"The United States must deal separately hereafter with the nations of the British Commonwealth."

What, then, is the present position in the event of Anglo-American war? Canada almost certainly, and possibly Australia and South Africa, would declare their neutrality; and, despite all the British jurists' claims, the United States would certainly recognise it and seek to maintain relations, the diplomatic separate basis for which is already established. The outbreak of war would in that case mean the disruption of the empire.

This is the dilemma which confronts British Imperialism, and, so long as it remains unsolved, heavily paralyses its freedom of action in all issues, and especially in relation to the United States. But it is abundantly clear that it cannot be solved by a formula. New methods have to be attempted. An effective alliance has to be built up. Such an alliance can only be based on a common foreign policy; and this is now being attempted to be reached at the present Conference. But such a common policy requires a basis of closer common economic interests, to outweigh the growing divergence of interests. And to this above all the attempts of the Conference are directed.

The old bonds that tied the Dominions to Britain were in the main financial and strategic. London was the inexhaustible source of new capital; the British navy was the strategic guarantee for these relatively small garrisons of a handful of white settlers holding enormous undeveloped territories against the pressure of an overcrowded world. These bonds have weakened. The supply of new capital from London begins to dry up; the British Navy is no longer unchallenged in supremacy. New forms of closer economic ties have to be devised. For these, British Imperialism is prepared to make heavy sacrifices in the transformation of its own inner structure and traditional economic policy. These changes reflect the weakening of the British capitalist structure.

How far any important measure of success will be achieved in this attempted closer economic and political union of the Empire is doubtful. The present situation of the general economic crisis, and the pressure of the United States competition and new tariffs, makes the ground at the present moment favourable for an approach in this direction. But the basic antagonisms remain on an increasing scale. And whatever measure even of temporary agreements may be reached can only have the effect of very greatly sharpening imperialist antagonisms and the general crisis, and hastening the approach to war.

POLITICS

Mass Struggle against Occupation and Punitive Expeditions in Western Ukraine.

By R. (Lemberg).

From the Carpathians down to Volhynia the barns and storehouses of the big landed proprietors are in flames. 10, 12, 14, 18 fires in one night! A few days ago the damage caused thereby was estimated at about 7 million Zloty; today it probably amounts to 10 million. It is the century-old resentment and anger of the oppressed peasants which is spontaneously finding vent in these acts of incendiarism.

Here it is not a case of "sabotage", of individual action, but a class-war action of the toiling masses of the village. It is directed against the big landowners and against their bailiffs: the fascist military colonists and against the imperialist occupation. The mass character of these actions and the support they find among the suppressed peasant masses, imparts to these spontaneous outbreaks of fury the character of a revolutionary class struggle.

Thus the Polish fascist press reports that in the Buczac district it came to a bloody collision between the police and the "incendiarists". The "incendiarists" not only offered armed resistance to the police, but by ringing the church bells

alarmed two neighbouring villages from which there hastily issued a crowd of 2000 peasants who forced the police to retire. It was only after police reserves had been summoned that "law and order were restored". A similar case is reported from the village of Kolniewicz (district of Lemberg). Here the peasants disarmed a police officer who tried to force them to extinguish a fire on a big estate. We see here how the masses themselves are actively coming forward and — what is very significant — are encountering not individual exploiters, but the capitalist class as a whole, the executive organ of the capitalist class, the fascist bourgeois State.

Nothing would be more wrong than to ascribe to the U.W.O., the bourgeois nationalist "Ukrainian military organisation", the launching and leadership of this movement, as does the Polish and foreign and in particular the German bourgeois press. The U.W.O. did not desire this movement, either on a large or small scale. The only relation it has with this movement is that of the betrayer with the betrayed, the same which connects the social fascists of the P.P.S. with the political mass strike of the Warsaw workers.

The mass movement of the toiling peasants in the Western Ukraine is something quite alien to the U.W.O. of the Ukrainian bourgeoisie.

Whilst the Polish occupation adopted an attitude of contemptuous indifference to the deeds of the U.W.O., a wave of terror is now sweeping the country. Thousands of police have been sent into the district of Tarnopol, thousands to Bibrka and Berezany, several hundreds to Przemysl, whilst several regiments of cavalry have been let loose as punitive expeditions in the open country. Wherever they appear the cattle of the peasants are slaughtered, the peasants flogged, the Ukrainian cultural organisations dissolved, and their premises demolished and ruined. The way these punitive expeditions behave can be judged from the bare fact that the population of the threatened districts flee from their houses and seek refuge in the forests where they remain for weeks in order to escape the "guardians of law and order".

Wholesale arrests are taking place in the towns. In Lemberg 400 house searches were carried out in a single night; in Tarnopol three companies of police were employed in house searches. All the prisons are full. In Lemberg there is talk of converting one of the elementary schools into a prison. The prisoners are flogged in the most inhuman manner. Two prisoners, one of them a 17-year old student, have been shot "while attempting to escape", i. e. have been deliberately murdered. The number of the arrested runs into thousands.

The campaign is also directed at the same time against the pitiable remnants of the Ukrainian schools which have so far survived the fascist regime. The elementary school of "Ridna Schkola" in Stanislaw has been dissolved and its premises sealed on the pretext of its being "a nest of incendiaries". 22 pupils and 2 teachers of the Ukrainian high school in Tarnopol and about 20 students of the Ukrainian high school in Rohatyn have been arrested. The Ukrainian high schools in Tarnopol, Przemysl, and Rohatyn have been closed. All the other Ukrainian schools are threatened with the same fate. **In Lemberg fascist Polish bandits threw a bomb into the "Ridna Schkola" elementary school, wrecking the entire interior.**

The social fascists are doing their part to help fascism in all its terrorist acts. Along with the whole of the bourgeois press the P.P.S. press every day publishes tendentious and lying anti-Ukrainian reports, drawn from government communiqués, on the acts of "sabotage" and "brigandage" of the Ukrainian criminals against "Poland" and against "culture". The organ of the P.P.S. "**Robotnik**" of 26th September writes. "We understand the necessity of fighting against the sabotage movement." The P.P.S. theoreticians have endeavoured a hundred times to prove that the efforts of the Ukrainian masses to free themselves from the yoke of the Polish bourgeoisie are contrary to the interests of "international democracy" and threaten world peace.

The election Manifesto issued by the Centro Left, at the head of which stands the P.P.S., the manifesto which was written in the moment of the most unbridled exercise of bloody terror in the Western Ukraine, does not contain a single demand aiming at the settlement of the Polish-Ukrainian dispute. The Ukrainian social fascists, by their complete silence, also assist the terrorist campaign of the occupation authorities.

The Ukrainian bourgeoisie, it is true, do not maintain silence — they raise a very loud cry **against the movement**. For them the struggle of the peasant masses is anarchy and ruin.

Only the Communist Party of West Ukraina is unconditionally supporting the fighting peasants.

The question of leadership is being decided in the course of the fight between the C.P. and the U.W.O., which is endeavouring by terrorist acts to gain a reputation for being revolutionary, to win influence over the movement and to convert it from a class fight of the peasants into a national incitement against "everything Polish", including the Polish workers and peasants in the Western Ukraine.

The C.P. of the Western Ukraine is fighting against every attempt to smuggle bourgeois nationalism into the movement; it is opposing these attempts by propagating its proletarian revolutionary internationalism, explaining to the fighting peasants that only in alliance with the Polish, White Russian, Jewish and German toilers in the whole of Poland will they be able to win their social and national emancipation. It is mobilising the workers in the towns, especially the Polish and Jewish workers, for solidarity actions with the fighting peasants.

Austria Rapidly Becoming a Fascist Country.

By Oesterreicher (Vienna).

The Christian socialist party has just published its election Manifesto. It concludes with the words: "Now for the fight! Heads erect, look ahead and hold the fist ready!" This appeal to the law of the fist best characterises the aims of this party which constitutes the backbone of the fascist dictatorship. For the rest, there is not a word about the economic crisis, no mention of unemployment, not a word about the dire misery of the peasants — instead of all this there is only "fight against Marxism!"

In a word, it is a clear acknowledgment of fascism. A call ruthlessly to bludgeon the masses, under the slogan of the "fatherland", without any "anti-capitalist" phrase as is usually employed by the national socialists and the Heimwehr.

In order not to give rise to the opinion that there is a conflict with the Heimwehr, which is entering the election with its own lists, prominent Heimwehr leaders are included in the lists of the Christian socialists, as for example, **Major Fey**, the leader of the Heimwehr in Vienna.

Secret connections are also being established with the national socialists. Thus for instance, **Hueber**, Minister for Justice, recently delivered a speech in which he made the following remarkable confession:

"I have negotiated personally with Hitler. It is not true that Hitler demanded the withdrawal of the two Heimwehr Ministers. The negotiations failed solely owing to technical reasons, which we regret very much, as in every respect we have the same views, aims and objects."

To the national socialists, who are seeking a basis for their existence in the discontent and disappointment of the broad masses with the parliamentary parties, this indiscretion was very disagreeable and they tried to gloss it over. It became obvious, however, that the greatest difficulty lay in settling the question as to who shall have the leadership in the bloc of the national socialists and the Heimwehr.

The policy of the Vaugoin government during this election campaign is one of open provocation. It wishes thereby to demonstrate its strength.

It commenced with confiscations, which are still continued and which are directed not only against criticism of the policy of the government, but also against criticism of the Heimwehr. Thus, for instance, the police removed from the walls a social democratic election placard which depicted a member of the Heimwehr, threatening an unemployed worker with a pistol in order to rob him of his unemployment card. The reason given for the suppression of the placard was that it amounted to "spreading of disturbing rumours". Even such big bourgeois papers as the "**Neue Freie Presse**" and the "**Neues Wiener Tagblatt**" have been subjected to similar confiscations. One remembers the way in which Mussolini treated the "Corriere

della Sera", when Senator Albertini failed to adapt himself with sufficient rapidity to the fascist course. Of course, these acts of repression are directed before all against the "Rote Falne" and the Communist press in general.

As is known, the first act of the Vaugoin government was the appointment of **Strafella**, the agent of Italy and the Heimwehr, to the post of General Director of the Austrian railways. In view of his appeal against the judgement pronounced against him by the Vienna District Court, he had been granted a leave of absence without pay. As this act could now be regarded as a retreat in face of the opposition, Strafella was summoned back from his "vacation" and formally installed as general director. Strafella began his activity by issuing an order forbidding any election agitation on the railways.

In Austria there exists on the basis of the army law a Parliamentary commission at the War Ministry, which constitutes there a sort of Parliamentary control. It must be composed of representatives of three of the strongest Parliamentary parties. Vaugoin has now dissolved this Parliamentary Commission and caused his press to declare that the new army law which is now being prepared will put an end to the work of this Commission altogether.

The social democrats have lodged a complaint against this action with the Court which decides matters affecting the Constitution.

As is known, there exists in Vienna a prohibition of all parades and demonstrations. In spite of this the Heimwehr announces that in the coming weeks it will hold parades nearly every day, and expressly in the workers' quarters. The social democrats are hastening to warn the workers against being provoked to "imprudent acts".

Almost every day witnesses a fresh act of violence on the part of the fascist regime, which is invariably followed by an attempt on the part of social democracy to gloss it over and divert the attention of the workers from it.

It is obvious that after the elections fascism will pursue its course even more openly. The cloak of democracy is rapidly falling in tatters; the undisguised dictatorship is becoming more plainly visible.

Election Campaign in the United States.

President Hoover's Speaking Tour.

By Harry Gannes (New York).

With congressional and state elections drawing near on Nov. 4th throughout the United States, **President Herbert Hoover**, after a long period of silence, decided to make four speeches in one week. His previous public utterances had met the fate of ridicule. He had predicted the end of the economic crisis in short order, in prepared statements for the press, on no less than four occasions. On each occasion the stock market reacted by dropping to lower levels; unemployment increased, and production in basic industries declined.

Hoover's speeches were preceded by a campaign of glorification in the entire capitalist press. "Have faith in the president and in our system", was the keynote preceding the president's addresses.

His speeches are sharp class expressions. He first spoke to the **American Bankers Association** national convention in **Cleveland, Ohio**, on Oct. 2nd. Over 5,000 unemployed workers, under the leadership of the Communist Party, battled the police in an effort to present their demands for relief to the president. Hundreds were clubbed down, including women and children. At the very moment Hoover began his speech, capitalist reports state, the din of the angry demands of the unemployed could be plainly heard in the bankers' hall.

In his speech before the bankers Hoover admitted American capitalism was in a crisis, and he added, "This depression is world-wide". "Because the present depression is world-wide", he went on to exhort the bankers, "and because its causes were world-wide, does not require that we should wait upon the recovery of the rest of the world. We can make a very large degree of recovery independently of what may happen elsewhere." This is exceptionalism with a vengeance. Hoover tells the American bankers they can tear American capitalism from the sphere of world capitalism and cure its crisis. There was a deeper idea contained in this expression. Hoover issues the challenge that American capitalism will endeavour to pull itself out of the crisis by its bootstraps at the expense of the

other capitalist powers, let it lead where it may, and it directly leads to war.

That American imperialism is definitely preparing for war, was clearly brought out by Hoover in his next speech on Oct. 6th in **Boston** at the convention of the **American Legion**, a Fascist aggregation of officers and soldiers who served in the World War.

President Hoover told the Legionnaires that capitalism the world over was faced with the perspective of revolutionary struggles. "Even today", he said, "nearly one-half of the population of our globe is in a state of great unrest or a state of revolution". What conclusions did he want these Fascists to draw from this fact?

He went on to praise them for their efforts in the last war and proudly declared that "we demonstrated not only our military power but also our ability to quickly organise it and the valour to use it". This was just a preface to the reasons he was to give for the necessity again to "quickly organise" this military power and valour for an imperialist war.

"Our national income has expanded to embrace more than one-third of the whole commercial world", Hoover said. "As a result we have become a dominant economic power. Our citizens have spread their trade and finance into every corner of the earth."

After a few of his usual phrases about "maintaining peace", he came to the real point. "We have assured the maintenance of an efficient navy as the first line of defence... One of the primary obligations of citizenship is national defence... The nation needs a regular army, highly developed in training and technical services, as the nucleus for the training of citizen soldiers and to lead them in times of emergency."

Then he told the Fascists they would have to create "better industrial mobilisation" for war.

On the same day he went over to the 50th, "Golden Jubilee" Convention of the **American Federation of Labour**. Some time before, he had a conference with **William Green**, president of the A.F. of L. "In his invitation that I should address you on this occasion", said Hoover, "President Green spoke in terms of high praise of the benefits to labour from the nation-wide co-operation initiated at the White House last November for mitigation of the effects of the present depression."

Hoover was referring to the famous "agreement" of the bosses and the A.F. of L. Leaders which was summarised in the words "no strikes and no wage cuts". Four months following this "agreement" wages were cut in 48 major industries, ranging from 10 to 20 per cent. The fascist A.F. of L. leaders, of course, kept their strike-breaking agreement.

Hoover praised the A.F. of L. misleaders for their efforts in keeping back strikes, saying: "For the first time in more than a century of these recurring depressions, we have been practically free of bitter industrial conflict."

Then he called for co-operation in increased rationalisation and speed, and thanked the A.F. of L. officialdom for helping the bosses out in this respect in the past.

His most open attack against the American workers, and the 8,000,000 unemployed who are daily becoming more militant in their demand for unemployment relief, was left for his final speech in the series, which he delivered on Oct. 7th on the 150th anniversary of the revolutionary battle at Bear Mountain, South Carolina. He followed up his war speech at the Legion convention and his praise for the A.F. of L. leadership with a broadside against "violent bolshevism". He repeated capitalism's fear of the rising tide of revolution. "The world about us", he stated, "is tormented with the spiritual and economic struggles that attend changing ideals and systems". Then he issued a Fascist challenge against Communism. "Our institutions are a growth", he said. "We can not abandon them without chaos. Our problems are the problems of growth. They are not the problems of decay."

Hoover's four speeches portend increased attacks on the American workers. The American capitalist class knows that at least 9,000,000 American workers will be jobless this winter facing the severest conditions ever known in the United States. The promise of even a seasonal upturn in the autumn turned out to be a complete illusion. All basic industries restricted their production still further. The more outspoken Wall Street Press envisages a long period of decline. One of the leading writers

In the influential Wall Street organ, the *Journal of Commerce* (Oct. 6th) says:

"...a major business upturn is thought likely to begin in the spring of 1931 by many observers. This view is far from being unanimously held, however, and in other well-informed quarters full-fledged business improvement is not thought likely before the fall of 1931 or the beginning of 1932."

In this situation the Communist Party has been carrying on an enthusiastic election campaign in every State in which the Party had sufficient forces to put Communist candidates on the ballot. The major task has been to carry the election campaign into the basic industries, into the shops and factories.

CHINA

Central Government for the Chinese Soviet Districts to be Formed.

"The Chinese Workers Correspondence", which appears illegally in Shanghai, published the following in its issue of September 26 last.

In various provinces in China the Soviets now cover more than 200 districts embracing a population of over 30 millions (equal to the entire population of France), whilst those masses who have been directly influenced by the Soviets are innumerable. In these Soviet districts all the counter-revolutionary elements have been cleared out and the masses have secured power, attained possession of works and factories, food stores and land. On the other hand the masses in the non-Soviet districts are subject to massacres and oppression by the imperialists and the Kuomintang and starvation. They are therefore urgently demanding the Soviet regime and fighting most determinedly for it. In order that it will be in a stronger position to summon all the workers and peasant masses in the whole country to fight for the Soviet regime, and in order that it will be better able to concentrate the revolutionary power and leadership in China, the Presidium of the All-China Soviet Congress held in May last decided to call the first National Soviet Congress on November 7th, the anniversary of the October Revolution, and to organise the preliminary Central Soviet Government.

In the meantime, in view of the rapidity of the collapse of the Kuomintang militarist regime, the radicalisation of the workers' struggles, the tremendous development of the Red Army and the imminence of the revolutionary upsurge, the Presidium, who felt that the preparatory work of the National Soviet Congress was very pressing, summoned delegates of nine revolutionary organisations in Shanghai, such as the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the C.C. of the Y.C.L., the All-China Federation of Labour, National Red Aid etc., to a conference on July 23rd at which the preliminary Standing Committee of the Central Preparatory Committee of the National Soviet Congress was set up. As soon as this committee was organised it set energetically to work. It at once began to organise the various local Preparatory Committees, of which the lowest organisations are based on the factory committees, poor people's associations in the cities and on the peasants committees in the villages; to propagate widely among the masses the significance of the tasks of the National Soviet Conference, with various appeals on revolutionary occasions, issue of a regular press, including illustrated papers and to prepare the plenum of the Central Preparatory Committee of the National Soviet Congress called by the Presidium and held on September 12th.

Warmly supported by the broad masses, the Plenum Preparatory Committee met at the time appointed. Although communications were interrupted owing to the militarists' wars, and although the red districts were blockaded by the white forces, 75 delegates attended the meeting of the plenum. All of them were elected by the large masses of the various Soviet districts and important cities. After thorough discussion the following decisions were made: 1, that the Central Preparatory Committee be transferred to the central part of the Soviet districts in order openly to call upon the broad masses to prepare the National Soviet Congress, and that offices of the Central Preparatory Committee be established in the non-Soviet districts; 2, in order to be able to carry out the

preparatory work more satisfactorily, the date of the opening of the National Soviet Congress shall be postponed from the 7th November to December 11th, the anniversary of the Canton uprising; 3, in regard to the election of delegates to the National Soviet Congress it was decided that all toiling producers and those who work for the public welfare have the right of electing and being elected, whilst all exploiters are to be denied this right; 4, the agenda of the forthcoming Congress was drawn up; 5, the organisational programme of the preparatory committees for the National Soviet Congress was drawn up.

Finally, 25 members were duly elected to the Central Committee, all of them being leaders of the masses in the revolution. Seven members of the standing committee were elected from among the members of the Central Preparatory Committee, including a chairman, a chief of the board of propaganda. Another five members were elected to organise the first office of the Central Preparatory committee in the non-Soviet districts, and under this office there was established a propaganda and an editorial committee. Since the organisation of this office it has been performing very positive work such as directly leading the preparatory work of the various revolutionary mass organisations in Kiangsu, calling upon the broad masses in the whole country to organise the national Soviet Congress election campaign, and in particular to support the Soviet regime in connection with the celebrations on October 10th, the anniversary of the Chinese revolution in 1911.

At the same time the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has issued a special appeal to the entire Party to propagate widely the significance and the tasks of the National Soviet Congress, and for this purpose to employ all its energies and adopt the most effective measures, carrying on a broad propaganda among the large masses, getting them to recognise correctly the struggle for the Soviet regime and inspiring them with the strongest determination to fight for the establishment of a Central Soviet Government. Simultaneously the preparations for the National Soviet Congress in various factories, villages, barracks and streets and in all the revolutionary mass organisations in various places are to be intensified in order that the delegates elected by the masses shall attend the National Soviet Congress in time. During the election campaign a great many proposals emanating from the workers and peasant masses in the whole country regarding the land laws, labour laws, economic policy etc. must be widely collected and handed over to the national Soviet Congress through the delegations as material for reference.

The Chinese revolution is developing so rapidly that the National Preliminary Soviet Government will be formally established on December 11. When this government is formed it will be certainly far more able to summon and arouse the broad masses all over China to fight vigorously for the Soviet regime, to hasten the end of the rule of the Kuomintang and more thoroughly accomplish the Chinese revolution, which will provoke the world revolution. The beginning of the success of the Chinese revolution is the beginning of the death of imperialism. Therefore, numerous imperialist warships, guns and aeroplanes in various parts of China are desperately attacking the Red Army in order to suppress the revolution. The Chinese revolutionary masses are daily engaged in bloody fights with the imperialists. All proletarians in the world must immediately render material aid to the Chinese revolution and increase their fight for the overthrow of international imperialism.

The Revolutionary Measures of the Soviet Government in West Fukien.

The "Chinese Workers Correspondence" of October 1st 1930 reports as follows on the measures adopted by the provisional Government of the Soviet Districts in West Fukien.

The revolutionary leaders have laid down the following principles to be observed in the distribution of the landed estates to the landless and smallholding peasants:

- 1) The division of the land shall proceed according to the number of members of the family who have to be fed.
- 2) The land is cultivated collectively.

The distribution of the land was carried out on this basis.

with the enthusiastic approval of the working peasants. All disabled persons and old people, as well those families the able-bodied men of which are fighting in the Red Army and are therefore unable to till the soil, are supported by the Soviets. All extortionate taxes and duties have been abolished; the peasants pay a tax amounting to five per cent of their harvest, while the rich peasants pay between 15 and 30 per cent. The traders pay a uniform progressive income tax.

The broad masses of workers and peasants are carrying on energetic work in order to clear out the reactionaries. Nearly all the reactionaries were arrested with the aid of the masses, thus the landlords were arrested by their own oppressed tenants. Following their arrest the reactionary elements were tried by the Committee for Exterminating Reactionaries, the proceedings of which are conducted before mass meetings. When one of the accused was proved guilty of actual counter-revolutionary activity, he was executed straight away.

All male and female workers from the age of sixteen to forty have joined the Red Guards and all children from the age of 6 to 15 years have joined the Children's Band and the "Youth Vanguard". The Red Guards and the "Youth Vanguard" serve to protect the local Soviet power and at the same time are the reserves of the Red Armies.

Although at present there is a lack of competent teachers and suitable textbooks, every effort is being made to establish Lenin schools for the children of the workers and peasants, and even a Lenin University is being set up for training political and military leaders. In addition there are many public hospitals where the working population receive free treatment.

On August 1st there was held in **Lungylea**, a district of West Fokien, a demonstration such as has never been seen before in this, one of the oldest Soviet districts. The masses of peasants from the surrounding villages, some of them twenty miles distant, came together bringing their weapons with them. The total attendance at the demonstration was well over seventy thousand. Speeches were delivered by the Secretary of the District Committee of the Communist Party, the leaders of the Red Army and about ten representatives of various workers and peasants organisations.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Berlin Metal Workers' Strike.

By Paul Peschke (Berlin).

The fight in the Berlin metal industry has now been going on for over a week. The metal workers of Berlin entered on the strike proclaimed by the Red Trade Union Opposition and sanctioned in the last minute by the bureaucracy, with a unanimity and élan terrifying to the bourgeoisie. The strike has aroused an enormous fighting enthusiasm among the workers of the whole of Germany. The workers are filled with a new consciousness of power. The workers in a number of factories not affiliated to the employers' association have joined the strike with their own special demands. Some chemical factories have also been seized by the movement. One of the first groups of workers who were seized by the strike movement, was the young milk drivers of Bolle Dairy Company. The Berlin taxi-drivers carried out a solidarity demonstration for the metal workers, at the same time voicing their own demands. The Limbach metal workers, led by the local branch which is in the hands of the opposition, have likewise gone on strike. There is a ferment in all factories and branches of industry. The workers are of the opinion that a favourable time has now arrived in which to take up a common fight with the metal workers against wage cuts and against the programme of the Brüning government.

Broad solidarity actions extending far beyond the frontiers of Germany are being carried out. The Central Strike

Committee of the R.T.U.O. has already received hundreds of telegrams of greeting. Thousands of factory meetings in Germany are discussing the strike and expressing their solidarity. In face of this militancy of the workers, which is growing like an avalanche, and their solidarity, the trade union bureaucracy is desperately fighting with lies and vilifications, with a monstrous incitement against the revolutionary workers in order to remain at the head. They characterise as swindlers the collectors for the striking workers, who are obtaining munitions for the fight from the working population who are giving gladly. They want to prevent all strikers from being rendered capable of holding out in the fight. Although the trade union bureaucracy at the outset refused to grant any strike pay to the unorganised workers, numbering about 90,000, they are now, under the pressure of the workers, carrying out a manoeuvre by having the unorganised registered by their functionaries. Among themselves they openly admit that this manoeuvre is only intended to quieten the workers and to awaken in them the hope of receiving strike pay. They are inciting the police against the R.T.U.O. strike pickets in the most brutal manner and are preparing to betray the strike.

Just as they broke all election promises, supported the Brüning government and helped to pass the dictatorship taxes, so they are now seeking a way in order to get the metal workers to return to work. The gentlemen in the Ministries and on the boards of directors are becoming frightened in face of the growing power of the R.T.U.O. In the fight for the leadership of the strike more and more factories are deciding in favour of the R.T.U.O. At the last conference of the strike committees held on 19th October, 28 new factories which have placed themselves under the leadership of the R.T.U.O. were represented. Under this tremendous pressure the Minister for Labour deemed it inadvisable to declare the arbitration award to be binding. Fresh negotiations are proceeding for the purpose of obtaining a new arbitration award imposing a wage reduction of 3 to 5 per cent. The government and the employers are making manoeuvres in order to persuade the workers that prices are being lowered. All this talk about reduction of prices is intended to get the workers to accept a wage cut. In order to quieten the workers for the time being they are talking of prolonging the present collective agreement for a few weeks in order thereby to get the workers to return to work. One thing however is certain: a wage cut is coming. The bureaucracy agree to this. They expressed themselves in favour of carrying out Brüning's government programme for placing Germany's finances on a sound basis. They must, therefore, betray the strike of the workers against the wage reduction in order to facilitate the carrying out of the Brüning programme.

The Berlin metal workers clearly recognise that their strike, which is still "officially" recognised, will in the next few days enter a decisive stage, that it will be broken off by the bureaucracy, whereupon all the watchdogs of the capitalists will be let loose against the strikers. The metal workers, under the leadership of the R.T.U.O., are preparing for this emergency. They are setting up factory defence corps for the fight against the fascists. They are arranging for mass picketing. They are organising a firmly formed strikers' defence force in which the factory defence corps will form the main cadres. They are removing the vacillating elements from the strike committees and replacing them by revolutionary elements who are determined to fight against all enemies of the strike. Under the revolutionary leadership they are strengthening and extending the proletarian united front, in which the social democratic workers are taking their place. The majority of the Berlin metal workers are determined to fight against any wage reductions. No new arbitration award or talk about falling prices will cause them to abandon this fight. They are streaming into the R.T.U.O. in masses and are thus creating in the fight the foundation for a powerful trade union mass organisation of the metal workers. The Berlin metal workers, organised and led by the R.T.U.O. and supported by the mass solidarity of the workers, are standing ready to reply to any attempt to weaken their front in order to carry out the wage cut by an intensified fight for their demands against the metal industrialists, the Brüning government and its programme and against the treacherous trade union bureaucracy.

The Situation on the English Railways.

J. A. Mahon (London).

A new attack upon the standards of living of the British railway workers is imminent. A consistent propaganda has already been carried on for some months in the press of finance capital, and such organisations as the British Association of Chambers of Commerce have adopted a declaration or issued inspired articles demanding that the wages of the so-called sheltered industries and in particular, those of the transport workers, shall be **reduced**. The arguments used are twofold: first, that the wages of the basic industries, mining and textile in particular, are already far less than those of the sheltered trades, and that it is a gross injustice that this should be so, and secondly, that the high charges for transport, primarily due to the wages paid, add considerably to the cost of British goods, and thereby lose a great deal of trade in foreign markets; thus adding to the number of unemployed.

The present agreement expires on November 13th and there is no doubt that this propaganda of the capitalists will be developed into definite demands for reductions before that date.

The present economic situation of the British railways is one of considerable financial difficulty. By the Railways' Act of 1921, many hundreds of competing companies were amalgamated and there are now four giant concerns which act in cooperation one with another, and to all intents and purposes constitute a monopoly. This Act of 1921 made elaborate regulations for safeguarding the interests of the shareholders, and established the figure of £50,000,000 as the standard annual dividend. Unless this figure is reached, therefore, the railways are regarded as running at a loss. Since 1921 there has been a terrific campaign of centralisation, speeding up, cutting out every post which could be abolished, and taking a number of so-called economy measures. During this campaign the number of workers employed has fallen from 700,000 in 1924 to 642,000 in 1929. The amounts paid in dividends were approximately 1923, £50,000,000; 1924, £50,000,000; 1925, £49,000,000; 1926, £42,000,000 (this was the year of the General Strike); 1927, £46,000,000; 1928, £45,000,000; 1929, £48,000,000. The reserves have also risen to £79,800,000. As a result, therefore, of the savage reorganisation and speeding up the companies were able to extract in 1929, a profit almost as high as that of 1925, with 60,000 less workers employed.

In 1930, the rapid development in the general economic crisis, sharply intensified the decline in traffic receipts, especially on the L. N. E. & R. and the L. M. S. which serve the big industrial districts of the country. While there has been a steady decline in the receipts since 1923 the fall in the first six months of this year was catastrophic. The "Times" in its City notes in the first week of August stated "The L. M. S. is making an interim dividend of only 1%." This is the smallest interim payment that it ever made, and the market signalled the event by the price of ordinary stock going down to the lowest point yet touched. The L. M. S. figures of receipt and expenditure reveal that despite the reduction in working expenses of £700,000, the fall in the traffic receipts of £1,700,000 together with a further drop of £200,000 means that if it is continued throughout the next half-year, the sum available for dividend will again be reduced by another million, and a further fall in the shares prices will not be surprising."

This means that the fall in receipts due to the spreading crisis has swept away the gains made by the steady encroachment upon the workers, and has brought the company to the position where a frontal attack upon wages and conditions is on the agenda. Immediately this fall in prices took place in August the L. M. S. and the L. N. E. R., took a decision to dismiss a minimum of 10 percent in certain grades of the workers, and indicated that this was a preliminary measure.

The Railway T. U. leaders ever since 1921 have pursued a policy of increasingly close collaboration with the employers, the railway companies and the government. After the turn in the policy of the T. U. Congress following the General Strike, this collaboration has assumed the most shameless and blatant form. For example in the Autumn of 1928, the Railway T. U. leaders handed over to the railway companies for the asking the amount of 2½% of the wages of all workers as a temporary voluntary contribution towards easing the

financial situation. At first this was to last for six months, but it finally lasted for 19 months. When the dismissals were announced in August, the leaders of the N. U. R. to whom most of the dismissed men belong, announced that they accepted the necessity of dismissals in principle, but were prepared to see to it that the men with juniority service were dismissed first. They did everything possible to damp down the discontent of the workers, and at certain depots such as King's Cross, Bishopsgate and Marylebone in London where the workers took direct action, the T. U. officials immediately intervened in an endeavour to get them back to work. In spite of this the workers in several cases were enabled to force the withdrawal of the dismissal notices. It is quite clear that the general economic crisis is getting worse, and that therefore, the forebodings of "The Times" in regard to railway receipts will be fully realised. It is also clear that the dismissals, at any rate in the traffic and operating grades cannot be carried beyond a certain point. The fall in receipts does not necessarily mean that there is less work to be done, since it is mainly heavy mineral traffic and transport of machinery, and similar heavy machinery, which are falling, while passenger transport and the transport of the lighter types of goods, in varied quantities requiring additional train working are increasing. Very heavy reductions in the wages bill must be made at the expense of those who are working, in order to maintain the £50,000,000 dividend level. In this attack the Labour Government stands pledged to the support of the railway companies as do the railway trade union leaders. A Special General Meeting of the largest union, the N. U. R. has been called for October 24th and this indicates that the leaders of this union are negotiating behind the scenes and will come forward at this conference to endeavour to put across some new betrayal, and will put forward the cancellation of the number of dismissals in return for wage cuts as a victory, just as they did with the 2½ per cent reduction when the company demanded 5 per cent.

Only the **Railway workers Minority Movement** is consistently carrying on a campaign of preparation for struggle against these reductions. Small in numbers and lacking direct station organisation the R. M. M. is nevertheless putting on an energetic fight against the trade union bureaucrats and is winning increasing support. It has called a Special National Conference to which all militant branches and groups of railwaymen are invited to send delegates, to be held in London on November 1st and 2nd and is preparing for this conference by the issue of propaganda material and a series of district and local meetings.

HANDS OFF THE SOVIET UNION

The Opening of the Conference between the Soviet Union and China.

The following is taken from the leading article of the "Isvestia" of 13th October 1930.

The opening of the Conference between the Soviet Union and China marks a new stage in the long and complicated task of regulating the relations between the Soviet Union and China which were subjected to a very severe test during the conflict on the Chinese-Eastern railway last year. This conflict ended with the signing of the protocol of Chabarovsk on 22nd September 1929, which restored the former situation on the Chinese-Eastern Railway and in Manchuria and provided that all questions in dispute in connection with the relations between the Soviet Union and China should be settled at a special Conference. According to the protocol this Conference was to have met in Moscow on 25th January 1930; but for reasons for which the Soviet government are in no way responsible and in spite of its firm determination to arrive at an agreement as quickly as possible, the Chinese delegation did not arrive in Moscow until 9th of May and the Conference could only be opened on 11th October, 8½ months after the stipulated time.

The information organs of the Nanking government, which wished to cast from itself the responsibility for the long delay,

ried to represent the continual postponement of the conference as being due to the "insincerity" of the Soviet government, and as the result of the putting forward by the Soviet government to China of impossible demands such as the demand that the Soviet Consulates in China be provided with a military guard. This contemptible lie has been repeatedly exposed by the Soviet press. There is no need to say that the Soviet Union did not and could not put forward conditions or demands which would have prevented the Conference from meeting at the time fixed by the protocol of Chabarovsk. The delay in the meeting of the Conference was solely and entirely due to the obstinate refusal of the Nanking government to recognise that basis of negotiations upon which alone the negotiations at the Conference can be conducted in order to deal with the questions specified in the Protocol.

In its declaration of 8th February the Nanking government actually attempted to declare the Protocol of Chabarovsk to be invalid, putting forward the ridiculous plea that its representative in Chabarovsk exceeded his powers. In the same declaration it is stated that the Nanking government is only prepared to discuss questions concerning the Chinese-Eastern Railway at the Moscow Conference.

Later on the Nanking government abandoned this attitude and the Chinese delegation came to Moscow, whereupon the Nanking government agreed to the extension of the power of its delegates and that the Conference should also deal with all questions in dispute in the relations between the Soviet Union and China. This step on the part of the Nanking government, however, did not in any way clear up the cardinal question of the recognition of the Protocol of Chabarovsk as a whole.

As Comrade M. L. Karachan declared in his opening speech, the Chabarovsk protocol in fact liquidated the conflict on the Chinese Eastern Railway, created peaceful relations on the frontier and led to normal conditions on the railway as they existed before the conflict. It was precisely this Protocol which created the basis for the Conference. Finally, the question of this Protocol acquires special importance in connection with the fact that the Chinese authorities, who in practice are fulfilling a greater part of the provisions of the Chabarovsk Protocol, are at the same time obstinately sabotaging the fulfilment of precisely that point of this Protocol which pledges the Chinese government to liquidate the white guardist bands and expel their organisers and instigators from Manchuria. As is known the white guardists in Manchuria, who are direct agents of the foreign imperialists who are the enemies both of the Soviet Union and of China, have increased their anti-Soviet activity of late. The obstinate sabotage of the fulfilment of point 4 of the Chabarovsk Protocol created a situation through which the non-recognition of this Protocol on the part of the Nanking government is seen to be not only a wrecking of the Soviet-Chinese Conference but also a diplomatic covering of the white guardist provocations.

In the question of the validity of this Protocol there must be not the least vagueness. In his speech at the opening of the Conference the delegate of the Soviet government made a perfectly plain declaration in this sense, pointing to the necessity of the strict fulfilment of the obligations undertaken by both parties both in regard to the agreement of 1924 and the question of the Chabarovsk protocol. He expressed the hope that the delegate of the Chinese Republic would agree with him in this respect. Unfortunately, in his reply the Chinese delegate confined himself to vague assurances that "China intended to fulfil the pledges arising from the treaties concluded in a legal manner between China and the Soviet Union". When the Chinese delegate was directly asked whether he recognised "the necessity of a plain and unambiguous recognition of the Chabarovsk Protocol", he attempted, instead of giving a direct answer, to start a prolonged discussion, which was carried over to the next meeting.

There is no need to point out once again that the Soviet Union is today, as in the past, filled with a serious desire to settle all questions in dispute between itself and China and to create a firm treaty basis for the relations between the two countries. The policy of the Soviet Union towards China, the policy of abandonment of unlawful privileges, the policy of maintenance of the principle of equality and mutuality and of

sympathy for China in its fight for its liberation from the unequal treaties, remains unchanged in spite of all acts of aggression against the Soviet Union on the part of those who speak in the name of China. The Chabarovsk Protocol does not contain a single point which is in any way injurious to the sovereignty or interests of the Chinese people; it does not contain any measure which can be objected to by public opinion in China. Precisely therefore we have the right to insist upon the unconditional recognition and the observance of this Protocol on the part of China, as only upon the basis of this recognition can the Conference between the Soviet Union and China yield any fruitful result. There is no need to say that public opinion in the Soviet Union, in the interests of friendship between the Soviet Union and China, wishes the best results from the work of the Conference.

ECONOMICS

Eight to Nine Million Unemployed in the U.S.A.

By A. Bosse (New York).

There are now from eight to nine million unemployed in the United States, and the number is steadily mounting, with no end in sight. Although the crisis in the U.S. is pretty far advanced, it still intensifies, and as it deepens in practically all other countries, this reacts again upon the U.S. Foreign trade continues to decline, the tariff war is just beginning, and governments fall throughout South America as the international struggle rages for markets and semi-colonies, particularly between the U.S. and Great Britain.

American capitalism is frankly worried about the ravages of unemployment, although the Hoover administration continues to shout prosperity and optimism. It realises, however, that disemployment is chronic and increasing, as mechanisation and rationalisation drive on like Frankenstein's creating a potentially revolutionary ferment. One of the chief imperialist labour lackeys of Wall Street, **William Green**, president of the A. F. of L., admits this fear when he says that "... there is nothing so disastrous to the social order as unemployment, which provides a fertile field for discontent and even revolution".

Let us examine the development and extent of unemployment during the past few months, in the light of bourgeois statistics. Industrial employment during August, the last month for which statistics are available, shows a decline of 1.4 per cent, and payrolls a drop of 2.6 per cent. During the year ending August (the crisis began in July, 1929) employment dropped 19 per cent, and payrolls 28 per cent. This according to official government statistics, while the actual situation is even worse. (N. Y. Times, Sept. 16.)

Of the 13 groups of industries tabulated, all but 4 showed declines in employment in August. These 4 were purely seasonal (canning — 47 per cent, soft coal mining — 1.4 per cent, hotel — 0.26 per cent, and power, light and water — 0.5 per cent). Of the other 9 groups some of the decreases were as follows: hard coal mining — 12.5 per cent, retail trade — 3.06, crude oil — 2.4, electric railways — 2.2, and manufacturing — 2.1 per cent. Of 54 manufacturing industries all but 3 declined during August, and the increases for the 3 were each less than 1 per cent. Of the drops in employment, tobacco showed 4.5 per cent, iron and steel 4.2, vehicles — 4, etc. Auto plants dismissed 5.9 per cent of their workers, machine-tool shops — 13.6, agricultural implement works — 13, sugar refining — 7.2, etc.

The following table shows the decline in employment and wages during the past 4 months:

	Industrial		Manufacturing	
	Employment	Payrolls	Employment	Payrolls
	(in per cents)			
August	1.4	2.6	2.1	2.6
July	2.6	7.1	3.6	9.8
June	1.8	2.7	2.5	4.0
May	0.9	1.2	1.6	2.4
Total	6.7	13.6	9.8	18.8

(N. Y. Times, Sept. 16, Aug. 16, July 17, June 17.)

William Green tried to do the administration a good turn by announcing a decrease in unemployment among members of A.F. of L. unions—from 22 per cent unemployed in July and in August to 21 per cent in September, stating that this showed an "improvement in business"; however, the figures themselves are so bad that they offer little consolation:

	Sept., 1930	Aug., 1930	Sept., 1929
	(in per cent of union membership)		
All trades	21	22	10
Building	38	39	21
Metal	23	20	7
Printing	8	8	3
All others	14	16	—

(Times, Sept. 1925.)

To realise on what a scale workers are being dismissed, we need only know that Ford put all his plants on half time at the end of September—affecting 120,000. At the end of July 150,000 workers in Detroit auto plants alone were forced to take "vacations" without pay, and with no jobs to return to, or at lowered wages. The Western Electric Co. forced 69,000 of the 75,000 workers at its 3 plants to take such vacations.

Let us try to estimate the number of unemployed in the country, and see at the same time how capitalist statisticians work. Towards the end of June Secretary of Commerce Lamont, whose department conducted the census on April 1, 1930, announced that the number of unemployed on that date was 2,298,588. He came to this total by taking largely rural counties with $\frac{1}{4}$ of the total population of the country and "finding" in them 574,647 unemployed, or 2 per cent of the population. He interpreted this figure for June by stating that "there has been the usual increase in employment in various seasonal occupations" since April, and reinforced his contention by issuing detailed figures to show that retail store employment was greater in April of this year than of last year, when "prosperity" was at its peak. (Times, June 27.)

This was too much even for that sturdy supporter of imperialism, Green, who foresaw complete discrediting of the Government, and announced A.F. of L. union unemployment for June as 122 per cent larger than in June, 1929. He guessed that the total unemployed in the country numbered 3,600,000, excluding office workers, and farm and other labourers. This he had to do to preserve consistency with the figures he had been issuing.

To follow up this interesting trail, we find that on August 11 Prof. Charles E. Persons, connected with the census from November, 1929 to April, 1930, disclosed further how the hocus-pocus was perpetrated. He had quit in disgust, unable apparently to reconcile his scientific conscience with the crude political fraud of the census. He stated that the official regulations for the enumeration stipulated that the number of "jobless", and not the number of unemployed was reckoned. Workers who had been working but had been laid off were not counted because they "had" jobs, even though they got no wages, had not worked for months, and were starving with their families. Thus the actual number of unemployed was cut in half. Also the figure of the government was based upon 117,000,000 population, although it is now 122,700,000. The section of the country upon which the 2,298,599 were based was given populations which were entirely fictitious. Thus it gave the population of one-fourth of the state of New Hampshire as 640,000, when that of the entire state was only 465,000. In short, the report was full of what Prof. Persons euphemistically calls "blunders" which operated to minimize the reported jobless". (N. Y. World, Aug. 11.)

With attacks upon labour intensifying, as a result of the crisis, with drastic wage slashes and wholesale dismissals as the whip, the "friends" of labour are fully in evidence. The A.F. of L. urges Hoover to build more battleships to provide work, to ban all labour immigration to "relieve" unemployment (Times, Sept. 10). These jingoes are all too glad to use the excuse of unemployment to further militarism for their masters. The renegade I. W. W. (Industrial Workers of the World) urges company unionism to prevent wagecuts. (Seattle Industrial Worker, April 5.) The S. P. would like to see an end to unemployment because it is aesthetically repugnant to its patriotism: "The grim specter of breadlines must not again (!) disgrace our State." (Times, Aug. 28.) A united front from William Green to Herbert Hoover attacks unemployment and social insurance, the former as a "pater-

nalistic step toward the dole", the others for any or all reasons. (Time, Sept. 7.)

The Communist Party is trying to mobilise the workers of the country to combat unemployment in an organised and militant way. It is urging and leading in the formation of Unemployed Councils. Its street demonstrations and mass meetings have been outstanding successes, and have incited the police to numerous murders of workers in an effort to stop them. It is acknowledged as the leaders of whatever movement of militancy there is. The social insurance bill it has formulated has been passed by many workers meetings and organisations, and will become the rallying point for the fight against wage cuts and sellouts, against breadlines, evictions and the steadily lengthening list of suicides.

On the other hand, the Party is admittedly falling short of the possibilities. Organisationally, its efforts to organise the unemployed have been weak, especially between the great mass demonstration, after each of which practical work largely stopped. Actual Unemployed Councils are few and weak, and progress is not being made. The election campaign of the Party (aided by the Trade Union Educational League and Unemployed Councils) will provide an opportunity to overcome these weaknesses to a great extent and to put in the forefront of its work the question of unemployment, to mobilise the suffering masses not only politically, but organisationally.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

The Congress of the Radical Party of France.

By J. Berlioz (Paris).

In June of this year France became definitely involved in the world economic crisis. The bourgeoisie of France is thereby faced with the inexorable question of finding the best means of safeguarding the interests of French imperialism which are threatened by the development of the crisis. The subordinate interests of various groups of capitalists may be sharply opposed to one another, but these differences of opinion regarding the choice of the most favourable means of overcoming the crisis at the cost of the working masses are disappearing more and more in face of the common necessities of the ruling class.

The proceedings at the Congress of the Radical Party which took place from the 9th to 11th October in Grenoble must be regarded from this point of view if one wishes to understand the important change of policy which was undertaken there by the greatest left party of capitalism.

Inheritors of the past in which they represented the middle classes, the poor and middle peasants and a certain section of the working class, which stills support them at the elections, the Radical Party, especially since the profound changes which the war and the post-war crisis have brought about in the structure of French economy, have always well understood how to play their part as safety valve. According to whether or not the big bourgeoisie was in danger, it has gone over from co-operation with the Right parties to a sham opposition to it, from the national bloc of the year 1919 to the Bloc of the Left in 1924, then to the National Union in 1926, and then to the retreat to the Aventino in November 1928.

At the Party Congress at Grenoble it proved itself to be once again a government party of big capital, which is striving to be an essential element of a future Ministry, in collaboration with representatives of the Centre, a Centre tending very much to the right.

The Party Congress dealt with two main questions: home policy and foreign policy. In both questions the resolutions submitted were adopted unanimously.

The closing declaration of the Radical Party shows that it intends to continue opposition to any government of the Right, such as the government of Tardieu. It proclaimed its determination "to reject any alliance with the clerical, nationalist and conservative Right", welcomes "the necessary

agreement of the Left forces, which is due to its initiative', but in the first place emphasises that "the Party remains ready if necessary, to take over responsibility of government, and to carry out the union of all sincere Republicans who are against the Church and in favour of social reforms".

The Radicals thus announce their intention, and will even make a show of increasing their Parliamentary opposition to the present Cabinet because it has not kept its promises in regard to the well-being of the country. In this manner the party will attempt to maintain the illusion that it could have managed things better. Should the Cabinet be overthrown they demand that they shall be included in the next, which should be a concentration ministry.

That is the main idea of the Grenoble Congress. The phrase as to welcoming the agreement of the Lefts is only a usual formula which was tacked on to the text of the resolution at the last moment. On the contrary, whilst hitherto hostility to the Right and their allies has been emphasised, this last expression has now been dropped and the vague formula "union of Republicans" has been introduced. The last attempts of the followers of a Left Cartel only met with scorn and ridicule. Very great care was taken in order to disassociate from socialism and to approach the Moderates who support Tardieu. It was no other than the "Left" Daladier who intervened at the conclusion of the Congress in order to reject the old formula of the "allies of the Rights". Herriot expressly demanded that the Party Congress should not set too strict limits beforehand to the coming majority but leave the leaders freedom of action.

It is obvious that the programme of the new government coalition will be just the same as that of the present government. The Party Congress has in this respect issued quite empty formulas: large-scale social policy, reform of economic policy, active and energetic agricultural policy, democratic financial policy etc. The Radical Party know quite well that every government is dominated by the urgent necessities of the economic situation and of the foreign political situation: in other words, by a relentless fight against the proletariat and against the Soviet Union and against the rival imperialisms.

Regarding the last named points the participators in the Party Congress at Grenoble clearly defined its attitude. They naturally declare themselves to be passionate defenders of peace and in favour of Pan-Europe, but at the same time express their absolute devotion to the interests of the national defence of the country, only demanding that security be guaranteed with the best means "in accordance with the development of science".

From opposition (for the consumption of the masses, whose will to fight against poverty and war must be diverted into safe channels), to the concentration of the "Republican" parties which are most conscious of the common interests of the capitalist class, that is the meaning of the party congress of the Radicals in Grenoble. Several organs of the big bourgeoisie express the opinion that the Radicals have not yet furnished sufficient guarantees, and are demanding that they give up their pacifist phraseology and their remnants of social demagoguery. They all desire the concentration cabinet, but they are of the opinion that they must reckon on those who still possess a certain amount of credit among the petty bourgeoisie and the toiling masses in order finally to dispel the last remaining illusions regarding a large-scale social policy and disarmament. They are urging that the Radicals support this rallying round the imperialist demands, which would secure to these demands a larger social basis.

It is left to the Socialist Party to play the inevitable role of sham opposition. Even the Radical Party has endeavoured to disassociate itself from the Socialist Party and to cause the latter to appear as something which has no understanding for the higher interests of capitalism. The social democracy has to maintain the illusion that it is fighting against the concentrated bourgeoisie and that it can improve the position of the working class as soon as it comes into power. At the same time, however, it is breaking strikes, becoming more and more fascisised and fiercely fighting against the Communist Party and the Soviet Union. By weakening in this way the élan of the workers it will be an auxiliary force of the concentration

with the expectancy of being admitted into this concentration Cabinet in order the better to destroy the fighting will of the masses, if it were not for the fact of the Communist Party, which is striving for closer contact with the masses and more effective leadership of their fights.

IN THE SOVIET UNION

Before the Soviet Elections.

By Y. Yenukidse.

The coming campaign in connection with the Soviet elections will be conducted on the basis of the great successes in the sphere of industrialisation and the development and extension of Soviet and collective farms, on the basis of the constantly increasing tempo which is demanding an ever greater exertion of all the forces of the working population.

This election campaign will take place under conditions of increasing class struggle, in which all capitalist elements and in particular the kulaks are offering active resistance to the socialist attack and are endeavouring, by penetrating the Soviets personally or by their agents, to hamper the rapid growth of socialist industry and collectivisation of agriculture and to disorganise the work of the Soviets. These attempts of the anti-Soviet elements must encounter the determined resistance of the working class, supported by the poor peasants and members of the collective farms and in alliance with the middle peasants.

The election instructions, which were confirmed on 3rd October last by the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union, call upon all local and central organs of the Soviet authorities to organise to the utmost extent the proletariat and the working masses for victorious socialist construction and the continued attack upon the class enemy, in order that no elements from the exploiting classes shall be able to penetrate our organs of power. In this respect the newly confirmed election instructions strictly observe the principle laid down in the election instructions of 1926, and not only withholds from exploiters the right to vote but even forbids them to take part in election meetings.

The election instructions do not extend the category of persons who are deprived of the franchise. At the same time, however, they specify more exactly what constitutes membership of the kulak and other exploiting classes which are not entitled to vote. Having regard to the experiences of the former election campaigns, and especially having regard to the attacks on the middle peasants which occurred at the beginning of 1930 and which especially found expression in the wrongful deprivation of middle peasants of the franchise, the election instructions devote greater attention to that section setting forth the cases which are to be exempted from disenfranchisement.

These and a number of other less essential alterations in the section specifying those who are entitled to vote and those who are deprived of the suffrage, follow on the practice of the two election campaigns which were carried out in 1927 and 1929 on the basis of the election instructions issued in 1926. The instructions proceed from the conditions of production in the village as they are at present, when the middle peasants are joining the collective farms and becoming supporters of the Soviet power, and provide that in addition to landworkers and poor peasants members of the collective farms should be included in the election committees.

A new feature of the election instructions as compared with those of 1926 is the following: the election commissions receive the right to grant the vote to a number of foreign workers and foreign peasants who do not employ wage labour, as well as to citizens of the foreign countries occupying positions as clerks and employees, provided they give sufficient proof of their loyalty to the Soviet Power. The election instructions specify for the first time the difference between "restoration of the right to vote" and "removal from the list of persons who are not entitled to a vote". This distinction had to be made because the first case applies to persons who had been rightfully deprived of the vote. The second case relates to persons who have been wrongfully placed on this list and who according to the law are entitled to vote.

Section 4 of the instructions provides that those persons

who have been previously punished and those who have been sentenced by the court to loss of the right to vote, are granted the franchise from the moment the sentence has expired, provided they have not lost it for other reasons.

The demand that the provisions of the election law of the Soviet Union be strictly observed is in order to ensure the exact and definite carrying out of the Leninist policy in the village. The carrying out of this policy must be reflected in all phases of the election campaign, beginning with the preparatory work and concluding with the election of the deputies to the Soviets. In preparing the elections and delivering the reports of the Soviets to the electors, we must strive for a maximum organisation of the workers, agricultural labourers and poor peasants; we must endeavour to bring about that all the organisations of the working class in the village shall be really capable of guiding the Soviet elections and drawing the middle peasants over to our side in the fight against the kulaks. Only under these conditions will it be possible successfully to isolate the capitalist elements and to realise the 100 per cent liquidation of kulaks as a class; only by this means shall we be able to consolidate the organs of the proletarian dictatorship, the Soviets.

The New Advance in the Production of the Soviet Union

Moscow, 20th October 1930.

The newspaper "Industrialisation" publishes the following concerning the progress made by soviet industry in September:

The appeal of the Central Committee issued on the 3rd September stirred up the whole of the working class. At the beginning of September it had already become clear that our difficulties were only temporary. The end of September and the beginning of October confirmed this still more clearly. In the last month of the economic year a great spurt was shown in almost all industries. The oil, engineering and other industries show a considerable increase of production. The Don Basin in particular has fine progress to show. Towards the end of September the daily production was raised from 70,000 tons to 89,000 tons, and by the middle of October it had grown to 103,000 tons daily. The manufacturing industries also show considerable improvement. In September the production of the cotton industry increased by 66.3%. The original plans are being exceeded in the electrical industry. The production of agricultural machinery increased by 36.5%. The total level of production for the year 1929/30 is 24.2% higher than in 1928/29.

The increase of the productivity of labour in September is noteworthy. The daily productivity per capita increased 5.5%, a level which was not touched at any time during the year. It is no longer a question of stopping the deviations from the original plans, but of forcing the pace along the whole industrial front.

„Moscow News“.

One of the most recent additions to the vast periodical literature in the Soviet Union is the "Moscow News", "the five day weekly for English-speaking people in the Soviet Union", the first issue of which appeared on 5th October last.

The founding of this paper, "the first English newspaper in the first socialist state of the world", is an interesting and welcome event. Its brightly written columns not only give valuable information regarding the advance of industrialisation and collectivisation and progress generally in the Soviet Union, but also contain vivid pen pictures from which the reader obtains a clear insight into every day life in the workers State. In this respect special mention should be made of the article by Miss A. L. Strong, which appeared in the second issue, in which she gives a humorous account of the numerous and almost insuperable difficulties encountered in connection with getting out the first issue—all of which, however, were happily overcome thanks to the heroic efforts and the shock brigade work of the printers, and also Falkowski's article, "A Neighbourhood Court in Moscow", giving a picture of the very human proletarian atmosphere which prevails at the Soviet Courts and the exceedingly democratic and informal

procedure, in which the public seem to participate as much as the judges. A further interesting feature of the paper is the picture page, containing photos of the new and gigantic industrial works and undertakings which are springing up with indescribable rapidity under the Five-Year Plan.

To English speaking people outside of Russia who wish to have regular and first hand news of current events in the Soviet Union the "Moscow News" is to be recommended. Its editorial offices are Moscow, Strastnoi Boulevard, 11, "Ogonek". The subscription rates are three dollars or twelve shillings a year.

THE WHITE TERROR

The Growing Reaction in Italy.

By Giovanni Verdi.

The reaction of the fascist terrorist bands let loose ten years ago by Italian capitalism and the legalised fascist rule of Mussolini which followed, far from becoming milder have shown a clear tendency in the last few months to become more rigorous. The drastic application of repressive measures of fascism after the enactment of the exceptional law and the open return to the earliest forms of fascist terror (action groups and punitive expeditions) prove this assertion. In the past year the Special Tribunal has dealt with a great number of cases and passed the most cruel class sentences, of which the latest and most barbarous was passed in the month of September in Trieste on 18 Slovenes, 4 of whom were sentenced to death (the sentences were immediately carried out) and the remaining were, sentenced to terms of imprisonment amounting in all to 30 years. In Milan and other places the fascist groups of action are just as active as they were in 1922 in carrying out punitive expeditions against the anti-fascist workers.

Such events and terrorist actions of the white armed bands are to be recorded in all districts of Italy, from the North to the South and on the big islands. Thus there are reports of workers and peasants being beaten and wounded as a result of the fascist authorities and newspapers inciting and encouraging the black-shirts to employ force and of the system of the "first-hour" (first period of fascism). Mussolini was one of the first to declare that the black-shirts must nail with lead to the wall the enemies who still exist and that it is time to remove the dust from the bludgeons.

The revival of fascist black shirt-terror, however, is taking place in a situation quite other than that which existed in 1922. The armed fascist bands are now encountering a lively resistance on the part of the workers. In Faenza the fascists were put to flight by the population; in Milan they fared still worse and were forced to retreat leaving behind a group of their leaders; in Puglia, in Sicily and in other places the masses have won the upper hand over the fascists. It is obvious therefore that fascism will either seek to intensify its system of terror or it will encounter determined masses who are not to be intimidated, but on the contrary are preparing for a counter-attack with weapons in hand.

The reaction exercised by the Special Tribunal is in full swing. In the present year already before the Trieste trial, the following important trials have been held: the trial of 15 Slovenes of the Venetia Julia; the trial, which created a great stir, of the Communist Donati in Faenza, who killed two fascists and who has only the activity and solidarity of the working masses to thank that he has not been shot; the trial of 15 Milan Communists, the trial of 35 Communists from Abbiategrosso, of 8 Communists from Florence, of 9 Communists from Turin, of 12 Slovenian workers from Gorizia, of 12 workers from Sicily, and numerous minor trials. Other trials are pending; the accused will be brought before the Special Tribunal during the Autumn. There are 17 Slovenes belonging to the national minority of Carso, Trieste and Istria, 12 Communists from Milan, who have been under arrest since April 1928 on the charge of taking part in an attempt upon the life of the king. Further there is the trial of the Communists Camilla Ravera, Ergenete Gilli, and Pietro Tosia, which is specially important as the government wishes by this trial to strike at the Communist Party and is preparing to

deliver a blow to the revolutionary activity of the Party.

There is a great number of other trials, chiefly against Communists and workers and also against peasants who have taken part in the fight of the Communist Party.

A political trial will take place before the Corte d'Assisi in Milan, in which the accused are a group of workers who in Cascina Claretta repulsed the punitive expedition of the fascists with armed force and killed its leader, Porcu. This trial has been referred to the usual judges in order to minimise the political importance of the events in Cascina Claretta and to prevent an outbreak of indignation of the masses against the Special Tribunal. At the same time it is certain that the judges of the ordinary court, who are likewise fascists or people devoted to fascism, will not show any mercy to the victims who have fallen in their hands.

The year 1930 also shows a great increase in the number of deportees. At the end of 1929 and at the beginning of 1930 the government made extensive use of the right to "pardon" deportees (who had not asked for this favour and in many cases even refused it). The government wanted by this means to place the deportees in a bad light in the eyes of the masses. But on their return the "pardoned" Communists took their places in the ranks of the fighters; and the fight was all the more effective as it coincided with the period of the general revival of the class struggle. The numerous events in connection with the mass activity in Italy, the continued intensification of the economic crisis and the prospects of the fight of the proletariat have resulted in hundreds of Communists and revolutionary workers being sentenced to deportation. The deportation islands are thickly populated by new exiles and old ones who have been sentenced for the second time.

One must also bear in mind, however, that the news regarding all these sentences is very incomplete and that it can give us only a faint picture of the real state of affairs in Italy. It is known, for example, that the proceedings at the Special Court are held in camera, and that it imposes sentences of imprisonment of which it is impossible to keep any check. One can say that in the year 1930 there have taken place approximately over 40 trials, of which about 15 were of great importance. Of the 300 accused, about 200 were sentenced to terms of imprisonment amounting in all to over 600 years, 250 to a total of 800 years deportation, and 300 to about 100 years police surveillance. These sentences passed in the present year are to be added to those which were passed up to the end of 1929, making altogether about 2500 persons sentenced to 10,000 years imprisonment and 1600 year' deportation, and 5000 persons to about 12,000 years of police surveillance.

It would be fairly safe to say that 95 per cent of those who have been sentenced to imprisonment are Communists or participated in the work of the Communist Party of Italy. Of the deportees, 70 per cent are Communists and the remaining 30 per cent are members of other parties. Of those placed under police surveillance 60 per cent are Communists. This shows that the fight against fascism is being waged in the first place by the Communist Party.

The reaction in Italy is really appalling. The situation of the Italian proletariat is exceedingly hard and difficult. One can truly say that Italy is a gigantic prison in which every town, every village and almost every workers' family has its victims. The fascist reaction in Italy is becoming more and more savage; it increases to the extent to which the working class and the Communist Party increase their action against the capitalist order of society. In view of this situation it is absolutely necessary that every revolutionary outside of Italy realises that the thousands of victims of fascism require his support and solidarity.

Save Kagan, Sosnovitch and Niebiecki!

Warsaw, 15th October 1930.

Comrades Kagan, Sosnovitch and Niebiecki are in grave danger. They have been sentenced to death in Biala-Podlaska and they may be executed at any moment. The report that their sentences have been reduced to terms of imprisonment is incorrect. The international proletariat must continue its protest action with all energy or the Polish fascists may face us with an accomplished fact.

The basis of the report that the three have had their sentences commuted, is that the three young workers Hirsch, Proper and Jugend on whose behalf the workers of the world organised a great protest campaign, have succeeded in their appeal against the death sentences. The frivolous brutality of these sentences can be seen by the fact that one of the accused was acquitted whilst the others were sentenced to 12 and 18 months hard labour respectively. It will be remembered that the three young workers were sentenced to death for no other crime than that of having engaged in the distribution of communist literature.

TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

The Annual Conference of the United Mineworkers of Scotland

By Harry Pollitt (London).

The Second Annual Conference of the U.M.S. was held in **Edinburgh** on Sunday, October 12th. In spite of tremendous financial difficulties there was a representation which indicated the determination and strength of the union members to overcome all difficulties in order that the whole coalfield could be represented. There were present 56 delegates from U.M.S. branches, 7 delegates from women's guilds, 19 organisers and members of the Executive, and 9 fraternal delegates from the N.U.W.M., Minority Movement, and W.I.R.

The conference was opened by President Comrade **Kirk** whose speech dealt with the present economic crisis of capitalism, and in particular the crisis in the mining industry.

The report of the Executive Committee's work for the past year was given by the General Secretary **W. Allan**, who reviewed the many strike activities of the Union, and showed how in other spheres of activity such as compensation claims, etc., the U.M.S. was responsible for many important gains so far as treatment of injured workers was concerned.

In the discussion which followed, in which many of the delegates participated, the outstanding thing which was noticed was the terrible picture they painted of the conditions that obtain in the Scottish coalfield. One delegate crystallising this when he declared that "the Scottish miners are going through hell, suffering the torments of the damned", and this was eloquently confirmed by the speech of one of the women from the Women's guild who showed the terrible situation that exists for their menfolk, and in this connection how important it was that the work of the women's guilds should be given great prominence in order that they could mobilise the miners' wives effectively behind all the miners' current struggles.

After an exhaustive discussion the report of the Executive was adopted unanimously.

The main resolution dealing with the mining situation and the tasks of the U.M.S. was introduced by Comrade **Young** on behalf of the Executive, who outlined the character of the crisis facing the mining industry to-day, and what steps the U.M.S. must take in order that it can win the decisive leadership of the mass of the miners.

The whole of the tasks enumerated in the resolution to be carried forward on the basis of a wide recruiting campaign around the following programme of the U.M.S.

1. Fight for the Seven-Hour Day, a guaranteed wage of 12/- a day for hewers, stonemen, machine-men, etc., 11/- a day for all underground workers, 10/- a day for surface workers.
2. A guaranteed weekly wage of £ 3. 0. 0., £ 2. 15. 0., and £ 2. 10. 0. for the respective grades.
3. Adequate protection for young workers, and equal pay for equal work.

Com. **Harry Pollitt**, fraternal delegate from the Minority Movement, brought greetings to the conference, and showed the necessity for the U.M.S. closing its ranks and making a tremendous step forward in its activity throughout the whole coalfield, particularly in adopting practical measures to strengthen the inner life of the Union, to ensure more effective strike preparation, to develop women's work, and bring about a closer personal touch between the leaders of the U.M.S. and the membership in the pits and branches.

Com. McShane, fraternal delegate from the N.U.W.M., made a speech showing the necessity at this moment above all others for securing the unity of the unemployed and employed workers, and indicated the role that the U.M.S. could play in this connection, particularly in supporting the coming Scottish march on Edinburgh of the unemployed workers.

Com. Proudfoot moved an emergency resolution on the Workers' Charter and effectively pointed out the tremendous weapon this placed in the hands of the U.M.S. in its future work in the coalfield; the resolution pledging support to the fight for the Workers' Charter, and to mobilise the miners for demonstrations on the eve of the opening of parliament, and to secure a mass representation at the National Charter Conference in January was adopted with acclamation.

Com. J. Stewart in a very effective speech moved a resolution supporting the "Daily Worker", pledging the conference to assist in developing Friends of "The Daily Worker Committees", securing "Daily Worker" correspondents in the coalfields, and raising money for "The Daily Worker" Guarantee Fund. This resolution was also carried unanimously.

Great enthusiasm was created by the receipt of a telegram from Com. Gallacher the Communist candidate at Shipley wishing the U.M.S. every success, and amidst stormy applause it was decided to send the greetings and wishes of success from the U.M.S. to Com. Gallacher in his fight in the Shipley byelection.

The conference then gave its attention to various amendments which had been proposed to the rules, and after decision had been reached on these points, a motion was put by Com. Kirk that for the remaining period of his office he should be relieved from the duties of president in order to enable him to devote the whole of his time to organising work in the Lothian coalfields, and the Executive unanimously recommended the conference to elect David Proudfoot to the presidency of the U.M.S.

In spite of various shortcomings which have been noted and will be obviated in future, it is a fact that this Second Annual Conference of the U.M.S. has witnessed a closing of the ranks, a keen recognition of the opportunities that lie in front, and a determination on the part of all present to go forward with confidence and optimism in the daily work of building up the union and making it the most powerful organ of the Scottish miners' daily struggle.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The V. Party Congress of the C.P. of Poland

By J. Lenski.

The V. Party Congress of the C.P. of Poland which was held in the second half of September marks an important stage in the revolutionary development of Poland.

The working masses are beginning to break through the barriers of the fascist dictatorship and to overcome the hindrances which social fascism has placed in their way. The profound ferment among the masses of the peasantry is leading to bloody collisions with the police, to fierce encounters in the village. Elements of civil war are to be perceived in the national emancipation struggle in Western Ukraine and West White Russia.

The tremendous tension within the revolutionary masses synchronises with disputes in the fascist camp as to the best methods of overcoming the crisis and regarding participation in the government in order to save the capitalist stabilisation on the basis of the fascist dictatorship.

The present situation demanded of the Party Congress a thorough analysis, a clear perspective and unambiguous tactical instructions. The V. Party Congress came up to the mark in this respect.

The composition of the Party Congress—overwhelmingly proletarian elements steeled in long fights and in prison—showed the maturity of the Party. Nearly all the districts were represented, the majority of the delegates being elected by district conferences.

In analysing the situation in Poland the Party Congress pointed to the accentuated character of the economic crisis,

which is further aggravated by the existence of feudal remnants and the fascist methods of their liquidation, which increase the hunger for land, by the impoverishment of the peasant masses, by the usurious debts to foreign capital, by the uninterruptedly growing military expenditure and expenditure on the fascist State apparatus.

The most important task of the Party is to capture the majority of the working class and the decisive masses of the peasantry for the socialist revolution. Events are developing at a tremendously rapid rate. The tactics of the Party must be, to mobilise the millions of toilers, to show them, on the basis of their daily experience, the revolutionary way out of the crisis, to develop a concrete programme of the Soviet power, to dispel the democratic illusions and frustrate the counter-revolutionary manoeuvres of the social fascists.

Hence the necessity of increasing the activity of the Party in the struggles of the masses (against unemployment, rationalisation, increased prices, fascist terror etc.), as well as strengthening the Party organisations in the course of these struggles. These tasks constituted the basis of the deliberations and decisions of the Party Congress, which subjected to a severe criticism the insufficient activity of the Party, the enormous disparity between the influence of the Party and its organisational status, the weakness of our influence in the revolutionary trade unions and the unsatisfactory state of the Party cadres.

The Party Congress worked out directives for the united front tactics, which are more than ever an important means for winning the majority of the working class. The possibility of winning the masses away from the social fascists was never so great as it is now, when there exists a great contradiction between their words and deeds, between the fighting spirit among the rank and file of the social fascist party and the oppositional manoeuvres of the leaders.

The Party Congress devoted particular attention to the question of strengthening the leading role of the Party in the economic struggles. On the basis of the decisions of the V. Congress of the R.I.L.U. the Congress laid special emphasis on the development of the revolutionary trade unions and the trade union opposition, upon the organisation of fights which are increasing in the most important industrial centres, upon drawing the unemployed into these struggles and converting them into political fights against the fascist dictatorship.

The intensification of the class struggles in the factories which are encircled by the police and fascist armed gangs, creates favourable preconditions for the organisation of political mass strikes, solidarity strikes and protest strikes against the terror in connection with political demonstrations. In this connection the fundamental task of the Party consists in extending these strikes over whole districts in connection with the course towards the general strike.

The Party Congress issued the slogan: "the face to the big factories" in connection with the second slogan: "the face of the Party to the million masses of toiling peasants". If we succeed in leading the peasant masses in an organised struggle for land without compensation and for a workers' government, then the victory of the proletarian revolution is secured.

At the same time the Party Congress issued directives for the work among the agricultural labourers who form the most important prop of the Party in the village.

The national question occupied a prominent place in the deliberations of the Party Congress; it was pointed out that the intensified class struggle of the nationally oppressed toiling masses is no longer directed only against the Polish bourgeoisie, but also against the bourgeoisie of their own nation. The Party Congress issued directives for the work in the national emancipation movement in order to strengthen the hegemony of the proletariat under the leadership of the Party and to link up this emancipation struggle with the general revolutionary movement in Poland. Against the anti-German incitement the Party Congress emphasised the fighting solidarity of the Polish and German proletariat and placed in the foreground the slogan of the right of Upper Silesia to self-determination up to complete separation.

The Party Congress focussed the attention of the Party on the fight against all anti-Soviet preparations for war, the obvious war provocations by Polish fascism and its allies.

the fight for the defence of the Socialist fatherland, the U.S.S.R.

Finally, the Party Congress dealt thoroughly with the organisation questions. The adopted resolutions contain a number of instructions in regard to the organisational building up of the Party, the setting up of a network of Party nuclei and points of support in the strategically important districts, the setting up of Party cadres, the organisation of self-defence, work in the army and finally the bolshevik approach to the organisational-technical tasks of arming the masses and the organisation of the armed revolt, the propaganda of which as the only way out of the crisis has been designated as the foremost task of the Party.

The Party Congress exercised Bolshevik profound self-criticism, exposing all the shortcomings and weaknesses of the Party and thereby creating the basis for a determined change in the practice of the Party.

The V. Party Congress was the first Bolshevik Party Congress of unity, which was attained in a persistent struggle on two fronts: against the Right deviation, the main danger in the present period, and against all forms of ultra-Left opportunism, of sectarianism, which usually assists Right opportunism.

The Party Congress subjected the opportunist views of the Warski-Kostreva group to a fundamental criticism, and thereby emphasised that the struggle against this group must be continued and connected with the fight against all forms of opportunism in practice, in particular against the policy of following in the wake of social fascism.

The Right opposition of the Central Committee, after unsuccessful manoeuvres against the Party leadership and as a result of the concentrated fire of criticism on the part of the whole Party Congress, capitulated at the last moment as a group of bankrupt officers without an army. Comrades Pruchniak, Stefanski, Krajewski and Gwiazdowski declared that they now abandon all their reservations regarding the decisions of the VI. and VII. Plenum of the Central Committee, as well as of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The Party Congress stated that the declaration of these comrades does not constitute a real guarantee for their return to the Party policy. Only through their thorough self-criticism and their consistent struggle against the views of comrades Warski and Kostreva, who did not attend the Party Congress, as well as their complete disarming could they supply the guarantee for their going over from the position of a Right fraction to the standpoint of the Party.

The Party Congress drew up directives for the Programme of the Party as a basis for discussion and for a draft to be elaborated by the Committee.

The results of the two weeks' work of the Party Congress undoubtedly constitute an important factor in the reanimation of the Party and unification of its ranks round the leadership elected by the Congress. In the period of the rapid maturing of the revolutionary situation the Party must become the instrument for the mobilisation of millions in the struggle for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship, for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Polish Soviet government.

Resolution of the Politsecretariat of the E.C.C.I. on the Swiss Question.

The Polit-secretariat declares that the inner-Party development in the C.P. of Switzerland has fully confirmed the estimation given in the July resolution adopted by the Polit-secretariat on the situation of the C.P. of Switzerland. In this Party a group of Right opportunists has now been formed which openly pursues a policy aiming at splitting the Party. The Right opportunists in the C.P. of Switzerland have gone over to open fraction work by convening a fraction meeting of representatives from Schaffhausen, Zürich, Basel etc. The Right opportunists have converted the Schaffhausen "Arbeiterzeitung" into their fraction organ; they refuse to publish the decisions of the E.C.C.I. and of the C.C. and are conducting an open fight against the tactical line of the V. Party Congress of the C.P. of Switzerland.

The Right opportunists who until recently, under the flag of "a fight for inner-Party democracy" and "for a normal inner-Party regime", combated the C.C. which was elected at the Party Congress and possesses the full confidence of the

C.I., have now openly displayed their opportunist colours. In the "Arbeiterzeitung" of 22nd September they openly declared that they deviate from the V. Party Congress and the line of the C.C. in the following questions: "1. Estimation of the economic and political situation; 2. estimation of the nature and role of the social democracy (Erb and his followers regard the social democracy as being a workers party which is defending the interests of the workers); 3. trade union tactics; 4. inner-Party fighting methods and application of democratic centralism."

These declarations of Erb and his followers show that the Right opportunists in the C.P. of Switzerland have been a Brandlerist renegade clique, who by their approval of the Party decisions wished to mask their true countenance before the rank and file of the workers in order to be able better to conduct their sabotage and disintegration work in our ranks in favour of the social fascists.

The Polit-secretariat of the E.C.C.I. approves of the determined struggle which the C.C. of the C.P. of Switzerland is conducting against the splitters and notes with satisfaction that the majority of the Schaffhauser organisation and before all its factory nuclei have dealt a severe blow to the Right opportunists by electing a new district committee at the recent district conference, and thereby furnished the guarantee that the majority of the new district committee should consist of supporters of the Central Committee and of the C.I.

2. The Polit Secretariat takes note of the written and verbal declarations of Comrade Bringolf, according to which he realises that the Erb group and its followers are proceeding from Brandlerist conceptions and conducting a policy aiming at splitting the Party: that the path of separation from the C.P. is the path of political bankruptcy and is bound to lead to social democracy; that he emphatically condemns the editorial declaration published in the "Arbeiterzeitung" of 22nd September and that he will energetically defend the general line of the V. Party Congress of the C.P. of Switzerland; that he considers the "Arbeiterzeitung" to be the organ of the Party and that he demands that the Communist Press Union shall transfer all its juridical rights in the paper to the Party in the shape of its Central Committee or its district committee, and that—after his return to Switzerland—he will, under the leadership of the C.C., actively fight against all attempts at disruption and for the unity of the Party on the basis of the decisions of the C.I. and of the V. Party Congress.

The Polit Bureau takes note of Comrade Bringolf's declaration that he severs himself from his former comrades who have consistently pursued the path of splitting the Party, and abandons his old opportunist views. The further activity of Comrade Bringolf will show to what extent the turn to which Comrade Bringolf referred to in his negotiations with the representatives of the Polit-secretariat, is to be taken seriously. It will depend upon the extent to which Comrade Bringolf, in agreement with the C.C., combats the Right opportunists and splitters, how far confidence in him as a leading functionary of the Party is restored.

3. The main question in the inner Party life of the C.P. of Switzerland now is to mobilise the Party as a whole, and every Party member in particular, against the Right opportunists who wish to split the Party. Every organisation and every nucleus must thoroughly discuss the differences of opinion between the Party and the Right opportunists and at the same time lay down the concrete tasks in the struggle against the increasing fascist danger, against the developing offensive of capital by means of mobilising the masses for the economic and political struggles on the basis of their daily demands. The attempt of the renegades in Schaffhausen and their fraction comrades in other parts of Switzerland again to start a discussion on the old Right theories which were emphatically condemned by the Party Congress in Basle and the Comintern, shows that not all members have yet realised the importance of the turn. The fight against the renegades must therefore be made use of in order to prove to the last member the correctness of the Basle decisions and to propagate our Party line before the whole working class of Switzerland. At the same time the Party, while ruthlessly combating the splitters, must endeavour to win every vacillating member of the Party by conviction.

The Polit-Secretariat is ready to conduct a comradely discussion with every Party member or every group of Party

members on condition that they submit to the discipline of the Party and of the Comintern. The Polit-secretariat is ready to accept declarations of individual expelled members of the Schaffhausen organisation in regard to their attitude, on condition that they will not prevent the paper created by the Party from being handed over to the Party in the shape of its C.C. or its district committee.

The Polit-secretariat does not doubt that the C.P. of Switzerland, just as other Sections of the C.C. have done, will close its ranks on the basis of the Bolshevik line of the C.I., the correctness of which has been clearly confirmed by the economic and political development in general and by the development in Switzerland in particular.

THIRTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

Slogans for the Thirteenth Anniversary of the October Revolution

The world economic crisis heralds the approaching doom of capitalism. Under the banner of the Five Year Plan, victorious socialism wins position after position. Long live the Five Year Plan!

Every success achieved in the Five Year Plan is a mighty blow at the world bourgeoisie. Long live the third year of the Five Year Plan! Success to the Five Year Plan in four years!

Against the united front of the foes of the Soviet Union, we shall form a united fighting front of the workers in defence of the Socialist Fatherland.

Defend socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. by fighting for the dictatorship of the proletariat in your own country.

War is capital's way out of the threatening catastrophe. The workers will save themselves by converting imperialist war into civil war and by the victorious proletarian revolution.

Refute the bourgeois and social-fascist slanderers of the Soviet Union. Let the knowledge of the enormous successes of the Five Year Plan spread through all the world as a call to struggle for world revolution.

Let us energetically stand up against right wing opportunism which impedes the socialist offensive and revives the hope of the international bourgeoisie for a restoration of capitalism in the U.S.S.R.

Long live the Leninist line of the C.P.S.U.! Long live Leninism!

Death to the counter-revolutionary wreckers of socialist construction. Long live the proletarian dictatorship, the iron hand which defends socialist construction from wreckers and counter-revolutionaries.

Working men and women, show your enthusiasm by competing with the heroic shock brigades of Soviet Russia. Form shock brigades on the revolutionary class front in your own country.

Bourgeois rule brings starvation, unemployment and the horrors of war. Soviet rule will win for the workers freedom, peace and plenty.

Capitalism robs the workers, ruins the peasants, increases oppression in field and factory. The Soviet Government is the government of the toilers. It is building a new society without slaves and without masters. Long live the Soviet Power throughout the world!

Down with the social-fascist Second International, which is calling for wars of intervention against the first Workers' State and is laying the foundation for a fascist dictatorship. Long live the Communist International, the general staff of the international proletarian revolution!

The workers of all countries send on the occasion of the October anniversary, their Bolshevik Greetings to the working class of Germany and to the German Communist Party which

held high its banner of struggle against Fascism and Social-Fascism during the elections. Long live Soviet Germany!

Down with the rapacious Treaty of Versailles! Workers of Germany, break the chains of the Young Plan by means of a revolutionary struggle! Workers of France, England and America, fight shoulder to shoulder with the German proletariat against the Young Plan.

A merciless struggle against the fascist hirelings of finance capital, the instrument of exploitation and enslavement of the toiling masses! Toilers! Join in the mass fight against Fascism.

Combat the terror of the fascist gangs by forming militant anti-Fascist organisations. Organise proletarian self-defence corps.

In reply to the brutalities of white terror, raise still higher the banner of revolution in fascist Yugoslavia, Hungary, Finland and Rumania.

The heroic struggle of the peasants of Western Ukraine and Western white Russia threatens to overwhelm Pilsudski's fascists. Long live the social and national freedom of Western Ukraine and Western White Russia! Long live Soviet Poland!

Organise a wide proletarian counter-attack to the capitalist offensive, fight against mass unemployment and wage-cuts. Long live the strike of the metal workers of Germany!

The successes of socialist construction have abolished unemployment in the U.S.S.R. Workers and unemployed of all countries! Combine your forces and prepare for the victory of the world revolution.

Smash the counter-revolutionary plans of fascist dictatorship by mass political strikes.

Transform the Red Trade Unions and the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition into the general staff of the mass struggle for work and a decent standard of life. Long live the R.I.L.U.I.

Working men and women, convert the factories into citadels of Communism, wrench them from the influence of the Social-Fascists, and allow no Fascist bands to penetrate into works and factories.

Strengthen the ranks of the Communist Party, the only Party which leads the masses in their daily struggle for the necessities of life and the sole leader of the proletarian revolution.

Workers of capitalist countries! In every workshop build up strong contacts with your class brothers in the Soviet Union. Actively assist socialist construction by your technical knowledge and your labour power.

Success to the revolutionary struggle of oppressed colonial nations. Hail the Indian Revolution! Long live the Chinese Soviets!

Negro workers, Indian workers, take your place in the revolutionary struggle of the workers and peasants, strengthen your connections with the fighting proletariat of all countries. Only in this way can you achieve your social and national liberation.

Working peasants! The victory of the October Revolution brought the peasants on to the broad road of collective farming and the development of agriculture. The collective farms of the Soviet Union are showing you the true path to liberation from poverty and oppression.

The October Revolution liberated the women workers and women peasants. Working women of all countries, rally to the banners of the Revolution, the banner of Socialism.

Young workers and peasants! Imperialism is preparing a bloody slaughter so as to forge new chains for the future generations. Mobilise your ranks for the revolutionary fight in Lenin's cause; under the banner of the Y.C.I. march forward to the victory of Communism.

Working men and women toilers of all countries, on November 7th., demonstrate as one voice against imperial wars, in defence of the Soviet Union, for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

The thirteenth anniversary of the October Revolution is the day of struggle for the victory of the world revolution.

Agitprop. E. C. C. I.