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The Antagonisms of the Five Power Conference and the Perspective.

By R. Paine Duff.

The ceremonial opening of the Five Power Conference in London has ended. The fight has begun. It is expected that the Conference will sit for a considerable period, perhaps several months.

The Five Power Conference bears the character of a rehearsal of the future inter-imperialist war. All the antagonisms are laid bare more sharply than at any point since Versailles. The war aims and calculations are plain and scarcely concealed even in the public speeches, still less in the press comment and the sparring of the technical experts.

The strategic aim of every Power in the Conference is to injure the armaments of its rivals, and to strengthen its own position for future war. "Pacifism" has introduced a new technique into war-preparations. "Parity" itself becomes a new factor of discord. The clash of arms is now preceded by the fight over arms.

The Anglo-American antagonism is the hub of the Conference. These are the two principal imperialist antagonists for world-power, the strategic expression of which is sea-power. Just as German Imperialism before the last war, when it had reached the point of economically and financially challenging British supremacy, had also to challenge it in naval armaments, so American Imperialism has followed the same course since

the war, but this time on a far stronger basis. Before the might of America the weakened British Imperialism has had to abandon the old Two Power Standard and accept a One Power Standard in principle. This was enforced at Washington in 1922 in respect of battleships, at a time when British Imperialism was at its weakest with the first onslaught of the heavy economic depression and mass unemployment, and widespread revolts in the colonies, especially India and Ireland. But Britain yielded in principle only to fight to maintain its position in fact. In 1924, under the Labour Government, was begun a new race in ten thousand ton cruisers; and when in 1927 at Geneva America endeavoured to enforce parity here also, the British bourgeoisie, emboldened by their successes against the proletariat at home and against the colonies took up a fighting stand and refused. But this stand could not be maintained: the open threat of the American Naval Programme, and the critical weakness of the pound against the dollar during 1927-9 showed the danger of a premature break. A temporary settlement had to be reached, and there followed the MacDonald-Hoover negotiations of 1929, leading to the present Conference. Parity "in principle" is to be extended to all ships. But behind the forms of this, each side fights to secure the strongest position for itself.

This antagonism shows itself in the immediate issues of controversy, and in particular over battleships and cruisers. Britain proposes a programme of **non-replacement of battleships** as a grand measure of naval "reduction": and this cry is enthusiastically taken up by the British press, including the "left" "pacifist" **Independent Labour Party**. In fact, as the American naval experts hasten to point out, this would mean a position of immediate superiority for Britain, and reversal of Washington; since the Washington parity was in reality only to be reached eventually after a process of replacement, and the interruption of this process would leave Britain in unchallenged possession of the only types of the giant super-dreadnoughts of forty five thousand tons, the "Rodney" and "Nelson", without America possessing any equivalent. On the other hand, in **cruisers**, America presses for parity: Britain has succeeded in securing agreement to a superior total tonnage on the basis of a claim for more smaller ships to cover trade and colonial requirements; but America has secured acceptance of its naval building programme, and superiority in the ten thousand ton cruisers, which are widely thought to be the decisive modern type. These conditions afford plentiful occasions of extended conflict, not only before, but also after "settlement". In addition, there are a whole series of further issues, such as of naval bases, of the "freedom of the seas" etc., which have been raised already in the Hoover-MacDonald negotiations, and may appear in the conference proceedings.

The prolonged and secret preliminary Anglo-American negotiations have raised in the other Powers extreme suspicion of their aims and of the whole Conference. "The English and Americans" declared the French semi-official "**Journal de Débats**", have come to an understanding for the joint domination of the sea". And in fact the whole character of the settlement proposed is one that assumes an enormous superiority of strength of Britain and America over all others. Anglo-American "parity" is extreme **disparity** for the rest of the world. From this follows a sceptical and even hostile approach of the other Powers, and especially **France**, to the Conference, which is also seen as a threat to the French-dominated machinery of the **League of Nations**. It is even possible that a similar outcome to Washington may result, in which France and Italy do not participate in the final agreement. Here is one of the strongly explosive factors of the Conference.

The position of **Japan** is a peculiar one. Japan has officially stated an "irreducible" claim to a 70% proportion in place of the 60% accorded under Washington. Both Britain and America are officially stated to be in direct opposition to this. But it is more than probable that Britain will endeavour to use Japanese demands as a strategic weapon against America. At the same time, France has made approaches to Japan to make common cause in opposition to the Anglo-American demands, especially with reference to **submarines**.

The **Franco-Italian antagonism** has received the widest publicity in the European press, and still openly stands at "irreconcilable" in the declarations of the two Governments. Italy demands parity with France. France demands parity in the Mediterranean, and therefore superiority as a whole. These

conflicting French-Italian claims threaten to wreck the Anglo-American programme in respect of these two countries.

The **British-French antagonism**, which runs as a continuous thread, underlying the Entente, through the post-war European situation, shows itself with special sharpness in the issue of submarines. Here it is clear from the outset that no pressure can be successfully exerted upon France, and that the British position, which desires abolition for obvious reasons, will have to give way.

Nor do these direct leading antagonisms exhaust the tangle of conflicting forces and currents. It may be noted, for example, that in a recent article in the "**Daily Telegraph**", which commonly expresses views close to the Foreign Office, it was complained that **Spain** was proceeding to a battleship-building programme entirely outside Washington and the Conference proceedings, and that this threatened to upset the whole intended balance.

In view of all these deep-seated antagonisms, does it follow that the Conference must break down and end in a self-confessed failure? Such a suggestion would be in the extreme premature: for the political situation is not yet ripe. All the Powers in varying degrees, and particularly Britain and America, are interested in the **appearance** of success for the Conference. An open break would bring immediately to the front the issue of war, before preparations are ready, and would dangerously rouse popular feeling in opposition to the governments of war preparation. On the other hand a loudly proclaimed "successful" issue of the Conference, while covering in fact an intensification of armaments building and preparations, would cover these in a fog of pacifism, lull popular consciousness and permit the essential immediate aim of the period — the **peaceful advance of war-preparations**. The appearance of a "solution" can only be achieved by one means — by **mutual concessions**: i. e. by recognitions of claims, by agreements to maintain this and that class of ships, by agreements to maintain strengths, and even to build. Only theoretical "paper" ships will be scrapped amid resounding applause. Only obsolete types will be put on one side. The actual decisions will be decisions to build, and to build more effective fighting types than ever before. The outcome of the armaments "limitation" conference will be enormous armaments programmes: this much has already been made clear from the provisional Anglo-American agreement.

Put intense as are the antagonisms between the imperialist Powers, they are united in their common enmity to the **Soviet Union**. And every increase and intensification of armaments that will be mutually agreed and decided at the Five Power Conference will be in fact directed against the Soviet Union. To the extent that the Conference is successful, to the extent that even a limited armistice is temporarily established between the leading Imperialist Powers, to that extent the danger of war on the Soviet Union is intensified. This consideration is certainly strongly present to British Imperialism and to the British Labour Government. And it is in this direction that the attention of the **world proletariat** needs to be most sharply directed in relation to the significance of the Five Power Conference, and the prospects to which it gives rise.

The Rise of the Arab Working Class.

By **Mustapha Sadi**.

In Haifa (Palestine) there has taken place a historical event which has great importance for the further development of the Labour movement in the Arabian countries.

The Arab worker is waking up; he is beginning to realise under what hard conditions he has to live and is seeking after means in order radically to improve them. After a long tentative quest he has now succeeded in finding the means. It is the same means which the workers of other countries have tried with so much success, i. e. the creation of proletarian organisations, of mass trade unions.

This was the aim and purpose of the first Congress of the Arab Workers of Palestine which took place in Haifa. In all there were present 60 delegates, representing several thousand Arab workers in Palestine and the neighbouring countries.

Everywhere the workers awaited this first congress with tense eagerness. In Haifa itself the congress premises were

constantly besieged by workers who followed the proceedings with the keenest interest. On the opening of the Congress the delegates paid homage to the Arab workers who have fallen in the fight against British imperialism. There followed the reading of telegrams of greeting which had arrived from various European as well as Arabian countries. Particularly great enthusiasm was aroused by the message of greeting from the Arab Secretariat of the League Against Imperialism calling upon the workers to be the advance-guard of the anti-imperialist fight.

The speeches of the various delegates constituted a series of descriptions of the sufferings of the Arab workers: his oppression, his exploitation, his starvation wages, his 12 to 14 hour working day, the lack of any laws for the protection of labour, the appalling hygienic conditions under which the Arab workers live etc.

But the Congress was not entirely free from various in-

fluences which wished to work upon it from the outside. The Arab bourgeoisie, who played such a treacherous role in the recent revolt, is now endeavouring, under the pretence of "general national" interests, to penetrate the various Congresses which are being held as a result of the revolutionary mood of the population.

Thus one or two representatives of this class appeared on the platform in order to speak of the general "common" national interests. They encountered, however, the resistance of the class-conscious elements. Amidst the applause of the whole Congress the class-conscious delegates answered these representatives of bourgeois ideology, "no, there can be no understanding between the workers and the bourgeoisie. The nation is divided into two classes: capitalist and worker, oppressors and oppressed, and between them a fierce fight must be fought to the end."

But the agents of the nationalists were not abashed: they endeavoured to intimidate the Congress delegates, to threaten them with government repression and to allure them with hypocritical words. As a matter of fact certain results of national-reformist influence are to be seen in some decisions of the Congress; but as the following enumeration shows, the class-conscious elements captured the most important positions.

The most important demands and decisions of the Congress are: Eight-hour working day; improvement of wage conditions; founding of trade unions in Palestine and in the Arabian countries; law for the protection of labour; work for the unemployed; proclamation of strikes as often as necessary; founding of a trade union newspaper, to be called "Workers of Arabia"; protest against the government-levies on the Arab villages; protest against the new laws; complete independence for Palestine; special treatment for political prisoners; solidarity telegram to the Indian workers; protest against the concession of the Dead Sea; protest against the Jewish emigration; employment of Arab workers on government work according to the percentage of the Arab population etc.

After the adoption of the decisions a new Central Committee was elected which includes several class-conscious workers. The Congress concluded with three cheers for the Arab workers' Congress and a solemn pledge to defend the cause of the working class.

The Congress marked the hour of birth of the Arab proletariat as a distinct class—the foundation of the first proletarian mass organisation.

POLITICS

The Crisis of Fascism in Spain.

By Mont-Fort (Paris).

Since the following article was written news has arrived of the resignation of Primo de Rivera and the appointment of General Berenger, former High Commissioner of Morocco and chief of the Military Cabinet, as dictator in his stead. This news further confirms the seriousness of the present crisis in Spain. Whatever the immediate issue may be, there exists little doubt that the present dictatorial regime in Spain is profoundly shaken by mass movements among the population and may well be approaching its end. Ed.

The dictatorship of General Primo de Rivera in Spain is at present passing through a severe crisis. The insurrectionary movement is spreading in the army, the artillery officers are in revolt, the students of the universities are striking. A stream of pamphlets and leaflets against the fascist dictatorship is flooding the whole country. The resistance of the peasants to the enormous pressure of taxation is growing and has already led to bloody collisions. The strikes of the workers are increasing in extent and intensity.

The general crisis of fascism in Spain had already started during the course of the year 1929. The officers' revolts of Ciudad Real and Valencia which broke out in January and February 1929 revealed that the military basis of the dictatorship, which constituted its strength in the first years of its

existence, had vanished. The government of Primo de Rivera has, on the contrary, become an element of disintegration of the army. Civil war has broken out in the army. The more Primo de Rivera ceased to rule with purely military means and the more he attempted to serve the general interests of the bourgeoisie, the more he lost the support of the army. The rivalry between the officers of the various branches of the service has become a political one.

The petty bourgeoisie is beginning to express its opinion. The revolts of the students, which already in Spring 1929 lasted several months, and have now broken out again, are witness of this tendency.

The working class is now intervening both in the economic and political sphere. The strikes in Barcelona, Seville, Bilbao and Asturia which took place during the last three years, prove this development. The working class is also politically expressing its opinion more and more clearly. Under the pressure of the masses the social democratic leaders had to abandon their intention to take part in the National Assembly, which was to have discussed the draft Constitution elaborated by Primo de Rivera. On the other hand the activity of the Communist Party is growing, which finds growing support among the toilers.

The fascist dictatorship, the chief aim of which was the taming of the working class, is now, after six years, rule, confronted by a growing movement of the proletariat. The Catalonian question also was one of the reasons of the coup d'état. But in spite of the furious persecution of the autonomist movement of Catalonia by the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, this movement has only become stronger and more radical. The number of the dailies appearing in Catalonian language in Barcelona has increased from one to four. The armed expedition to the Spanish frontier in the year 1926, of the Catalonian separatists who had fled to France, was already a symptom of the growth of the Catalonian movement during the dictatorship.

The currency crisis, the effects of which are being felt throughout the whole economy of Spain, is only the outward expression of the economic anarchy caused by the dictatorship. In the course of the last six years, Spanish fascism has incurred debts amounting to about 5,000 million Pesetas in order to maintain itself in power. At this price fascism was able to carry out some public works, which secured for it the support of the rich peasants and of the financial adventurers. Before all it was bank capital that supported Primo de Rivera, as his policy of permanent loans was an inexhaustible source of business possibilities for it. Now Primo de Rivera had to retrench in this respect as new loans would have depressed the currency still further. As the government has to abandon this policy the interest of bank capital in Primo de Rivera's dictatorship is also vanishing.

The Political Situation of the British Empire at the Commencement of the New Year.

By J. T. Murphy (London).

The year 1930 finds the Meerut case occupying the centre of the British Empire state telling all the world of the precariousness of the position of the Imperial Labour Government. For ten months this "preliminary trial" has dragged its weary way. It reveals at a glance how great is the fear of the Indian revolution in the hearts of the bourgeoisie. Papers have been suppressed, workers thrown into prison and military force used with such a frequency that the old Tzar governments must be restless in their graves to think how they are being left behind in these things by a Labour Government.

The year 1929 closed with turmoil in the ranks of the Indian bourgeoisie who thought that a good bargain could be struck with the British Imperialists over the heads of the workers. For twelve months they have chattered about "Dominion status", moralised against violence, and endeavoured to divide the ranks of the toiling millions of the cities. But to no avail. Although the Government had the fullest support of the pseudo lefts at home and the Ghandis and Besants of India the workers of India pushed ahead with mass political and economic strikes and fought back at the imported soldiers and armed police. Six million days of strike action stand to the credit of the Indian workers of the big cities in the last three months.

The National Congress of India in the face of the equivocations of the Imperial Labour Government had to manoeuvre afloat or lose contact and hold upon the masses. The Government proposed a Round Table Conference with the parties of Indian nationalism and the British but would go no further in their statement about Dominion status than the statement of the Viceroy and the I.L.P. Wedgwood Benn—that Dominion Status was "a far off divine event" but not in this age.

The Brockways and Maxtons and Lansburys welcomed the new spirit of co-operation between the Indian leaders and the Labour Government. In fact Lansbury sent his "love" to all comrades and told them that the Viceroy's declaration opened a new era of brotherly co-operation towards a common end. Undoubtedly but not the end which Lansbury was talking about, but that of a more powerful consolidation of British Imperialism in India.

The Indian masses saw through this manoeuvre and the leaders were forced to move to the "left" with phrases and set on foot a pacifist movement of passive resistance. Gandhi is trying to repeat his earlier performances although the most stupid must know that it will be met with violent repression. Nevertheless the Government has failed. The strikes of the workers are continuing. The Indian stocks are falling in value. British imports are falling off. The mass movement against the Imperialists is growing. The Conference of the British and Indian chiefs will aggravate rather than stifle the crisis. The Simon Commission report will then be thrown into the arena. Again the grand manoeuvre. And yet again it will fail because not a single provision that they will bring forward, will relieve the foul conditions of the Indian working masses or stop their intensive exploitation.

The New year begins with the Meerut case being sent to a higher court. Everybody regards the "trial" as a judicial farce. They look upon it as a means of putting public money into the pockets of unscrupulous lawyers knowing full well that the sentences are already agreed upon. Nevertheless the staging of the trial serves its purpose. It is held up to let the Indian masses know what is coming to them and to terrorise them against communism.

But India is not the only storm centre of the Empire. Palestine has been the centre of a white terror in the hands of the Labour Government who accepted the provocation of the Jewish fascists to step in with crushing forces against the Arab and Jewish workers and to behead the workers movement of its leadership. Law and Order prevails to-day with the aid of the British navy, army, air force.

Hardly had the Labour Government finished this surgical performance against the Jewish and Arab workers than the women of Nigeria had to face their guns because they ventured to protest in thousands against the intense robbery to which they were subjected. Scores were killed and wounded. But this is not all. In Kenya the Labour Government have had to crush a revolt of the natives who object to having their land stolen from them. And in Samoa once again the flames of revolt burn high and the battleship of the Labour Government sail away to crush it.

No one giving but a cursory attention to these facts can help recognising in them the evidence of a widespread crisis deeper and more extensive than any in the history of the British Empire. 1930 does not and cannot see the liquidation of the crisis but its intensification.

It is on the basis of these conditions in Britain and throughout the Empire that it is possible to understand the manoeuvres of the Labour Government in its international relations. It is perfectly clear that under these circumstances Britain cannot hope to yet make a frontal attack upon the USA, or take arms against a frontal attack, however sharp and acute the economic relations between them. Britain must manoeuvre for a breathing space in the hope of consolidating its position. This is the meaning of the attempt to establish an Anglo-American entente.

But it is equally clear that these same conditions make British capitalism increasingly scared of the proletarian revolution and more bitterly than ever the enemy of the Soviet Union. Simultaneously with the decline of British economy the socialist economy of the Soviet Union grows from strength to strength and challenges it more and more in the international arena. At the same time these very victories of the Soviet Union, accompanied as they have been by the liberation of the colonial masses that were in the frontiers of the Tzarist

Empire, inspire the colonial and proletarian masses of the whole world.

This big political fact strikes at the very foundations of the colonial empire of Britain. British Imperialism, headed by the Labour Government, feels that the Soviet Union stands in the forefront of all their problems. This is why the Meerut trial is directed against the Soviet Union and the Communist International. This is why the "Propaganda" issue has figured so largely in the discussions re the restoration of diplomatic relations between Britain and the Soviet Union.

The Communist Parties under Exceptional Laws.

Leading Article of the „Pravda“ of January 20, 1930.

The severe economic shakings which the capitalist world is now experiencing are accelerating the approach of big revolutionary struggles in all the important capitalist States.

In Germany we are witnessing an extraordinary accentuation of class antagonism and of the class struggle. The growing strike movement, the mass movement of the unemployed, the collisions with the social-fascist police, which now and then assume the form of barricade fights, the increasing discontent of the petty bourgeoisie in town and country, the regrouping of forces in the camp of the bourgeoisie in the direction of growing activity of the most reactionary wing of heavy industry, which is aiming at an open fascist dictatorship — these are the main features of the sharp social crisis in Germany.

Fascist Poland, which is passing through an epoch of severe political and economic crisis, is more and more frequently encountering the growing resistance of the revolutionary workers, who are obtaining mastery of the streets and, under conditions of a monstrous terror, are preparing for decisive revolutionary struggles. The agrarian crisis and the growth of revolutionary ferment among the peasants of West Ukraine and Western White Russia and the main masses of the Polish peasantry are rendering the social crisis in Poland more profound and acute. The fascist dictatorship in Poland will soon be experiencing severe shocks.

In Rumania and Czechoslovakia the unemployed movement is accompanied by mass demonstrations and collisions with the Police and Gendarmerie. In France the strike movement is growing and extending rapidly in the most important branches of industry. In Italy great demonstrations of workers and peasants are taking place, namely, in the North in industrial Lombardy and in the agrarian provinces in the South. The growing revolutionary movement in India, in China and even in the most backward colonies of the oppressed East completes the picture of the daily increasing new revolutionary wave. Finally, the economic crisis developing in the United States is not only a powerful factor tending to shake capitalist stabilisation, worsen the business position, and increase unemployment in the European countries. This crisis is beyond doubt causing an aggravation of the class struggle in the United States themselves. The intensification of the general crisis of capitalism is accompanied by a pronounced deterioration of the material situation of the working class. Finance capital is adopting measures for a fresh attack on the working class along the whole line by exercising the most various forms of economic pressure on the workers, such as new taxes, cutting down of social insurance and of unemployment benefit, discharging thousands and tens of thousands of workers, indirect attacks on wages etc.

The bourgeoisie, however, recognises the difference between the present situation and that obtaining in 1923/24; it sees the rapid revolutionisation of broad masses of the toilers and is therefore making feverish preparations for the approaching struggles. In Poland and Germany, for example, the entire State apparatus, before all the Police, a part of the army, the judicial organs and fascist groups, is being prepared at a forced pace for civil war. Very characteristic in this respect is the growing importance of questions of technique and strategy of street fighting, of barricade fighting, of methods of regular military besieging of entire working class districts etc., the system of military training of civilian armies, of the police and fascist cadres. Here of course it is not merely a question of "theory". The methods with which Zörgiebel

attacked the 1st of May demonstration of the Berlin proletariat, the recent shootings in Worms, all his shows that theory is immediately connected with practice.

The international bourgeoisie is of course aiming its chief blow against the revolutionary advance-guard of the working class, against the Communist Parties. In all countries, where the bourgeoisie up to recently considered it wiser to remain within the framework of formal "democracy", where they thought they would be able to stifle the revolutionary movement by bribing, corrupting and demoralising the social democratic leaders and the labour aristocracy, they are now going over, and in fact have already gone over to an open terrorist attack on the Communist Party. **Exceptional law against the Communists** — that is the most important slogan, that is the present political programme of the governments in the capitalist countries, of all groups and fractions of the bourgeoisie, including the social fascists.

In **Germany** the new law for the protection of the Republic, which is openly directed against the Communists has been personally drawn up by **Severing**. The worst times of Bismarck and his antisocialist law came beside the clauses of Severing's anti-Communist law. Zörgiebel directly issued the old and tried slogan of Treppov: "Don't be sparing with cartridges!" All preparations are being made in Germany in order to prohibit the Communist Party, to drive it underground. The apparatus of the Minister for the Interior, Herr Severing, is feverishly at work on this problem.

The new **Czechoslovakian** government commenced its term of office by issuing a number of special laws and administrative decrees against the Communists. The threatened complete liquidation of the workers' press, the draconic measures against the Communist fractions in Parliament and the Senate, the intensification of juridical repression which was announced by the new social democratic Minister for Justice — all this is only the first step towards the exceptional regime against the Communists.

In **Austria**, the fascist government of Herr Schober has, with the immediate co-operation of the Austro-Marxian variety of social fascism, carried out an alteration of the Constitution, which is nothing else but a first instalment of the anti-Communist exceptional laws. The second instalment is the press law.

In **France** the Tardieu-Briand government is hastily carrying out the investigation of the so-called "Communist conspiracy against the State". Hundreds of Communist workers have been brought up for examination as participants in this "conspiracy", while dozens, among them being Comrade **Monmousseau, Racamond, Marty** and **Thorez**, are already in prison. The campaign against the "Humanité" the organ of the C. P. and the workers' and peasants' bank are further links in the chain of measures, in preparation of an exceptional law against the Communists.

In **Parliament** the Communist fractions are being gagged even more than formerly. In Germany, Czechoslovakia and in Poland, new and special rules, are being enforced which enable the bourgeoisie to exclude the Communist deputies for 30 to 60 sessions. The police has become a permanent appendage of the Parliamentary system. The Presidents of Parliament always have bands of police in readiness in order to remove inconvenient Communist deputies.

What is characteristic, however, is that all these measures of the bourgeoisie which serve to prepare for the prohibition of the Communist Party, are introduced and carried by the **social fascists**. In Germany and in Czechoslovakia, the social democratic ministers draw up and introduce exceptional laws. In Poland, Austria, Mexico, Scandinavia and France, the social fascists not only voted for these laws, but actively participated in the "Parliamentary" work connected with the passing of these laws.

Finance capital and its social fascist allies hope with the aid of the exceptional laws to exercise the red spectre of Communism embodied in the living masses. But these gentlemen and their lackeys are deceiving themselves. Just as they failed in the years 1918 to 1920 to overcome with their united forces the young Soviet Republic, in spite of intervention, white-guardist encirclement, hunger and economic collapse, so now no exceptional laws and no police technique will succeed in checking the growth of the revolutionary movement and annihilating the Communist Parties.

THE BALKANS

Against the Suppression of the Class Trade Unions in Greece.

Preparation of the General Strike

We publish below an appeal of the Executive Committee of the revolutionary Trade Union Federation of Greece to all workers and toilers and the young workers.
Editor.

The bourgeois court has ordered the dissolution of the revolutionary trade union federation of Greece, the only trade union class organisation of the Greek proletariat. The charge made against the trade union federation is that it organises strikes of workers and that it takes the lead whenever the workers demand wage increases, the eight-hour day, sickness and unemployment insurance, old age pensions etc.

All the witnesses for the prosecution, the triple holy alliance of the State, the employers and the social fascists, have with sacred indignation accused us before the court of the exploiters of having organised and led the strikes of Laurion, Eleusis, of the workers engaged in the fertiliser industry, of the women carpet makers, and the heroic struggles of the tobacco workers.

And the court of the home and foreign exploiters, surprised and shocked at the great crimes of the trade union federation, decided to dissolve it under the powers conferred by the terrorist exceptional law.

The revolutionary trade union federation does not deny any of these "accusations". On the contrary, they constitute its honour, these "crimes" occupy a proud place in the history of the revolutionary labour movement.

The trade union federation loudly proclaims that these struggles of the working class for the eight-hour day, for higher wages, for social insurance and pensions, the struggle against war which is being prepared by the Greek bourgeoisie along with world imperialism against the Soviet Union — that these are struggles for the overthrow of the power of capital, of the system of exploitation, of suppression and of war.

Venizelos, the agent of the native and foreign exploiters, declares that the capitalist undertakings are running the risk of being ruined even with the present starvation wages. Hence he puts forward the demand: "much work and less food"; hence he abolishes the annual bonus of the railway and street car workers. The representative of the bourgeoisie thus confesses that the present system needs for its maintenance the continual depression of the standard of living of its slaves.

And because the struggle of the working class is a struggle against the present system, the revolutionary trade union federation considers it its duty to fight for the overthrow of the power of capital, for the overthrow of the system of exploitation, suppression and wars. And because only the party of the working class, the Communist Party, is fighting for the overthrow of bourgeois order, the trade union federation loudly proclaims that it is necessary that strike struggles are organised under the leadership of the C. P.

The bourgeoisie intends, by means of the dissolution of the trade union federation, to stifle the struggles of the working class for its immediate economic and political demands and before all prevent the organisation of the general strike for the immediate economic and political demands of the proletariat.

The class trade unions and the revolutionary trade union federation were established in order to conduct the daily struggles of the working class against its exploiters. The social fascist trade unions and the social fascist trade union federation, precisely because they are not serving the struggles of the working class but on the contrary are organs for throttling its struggles, i. e. state and employers organisations, are not only not dissolved but are supported by the government and the Chambers of Commerce and Industry. For this reason the working class abandoned these trade unions, gathered together in the class trade unions and established the independent trade union federation. For this reason the working class will not allow Venizelos' courts to dissolve its fighting

organs, the independent trade union federation and its organisations. These class organs cannot be dissolved by order of bourgeois courts, they must and will continue their fight for the defence of the interests of the working class.

These organisations will not interrupt for a moment their persistent and determined work for the preparation of the general strike. The masses of the working men and women and employees will fight for the legality of their trade unions and of the trade union federation because they are convinced that these organisations are fighting for their economic interests. The class trade unions will reply to the decision of the court with the mobilisation of the working masses for the free convocation of the All-Greek Conference of the independent trade union federation, which will lay down the practical measures for the carrying out of the general strike.

The Greek working class has proved by heroic struggles that it possesses the power and the will to fight for its immediate economic and political demands.

The class trade unions must place themselves at the head of the masses, organise and lead their struggles and prepare the general strike. Thus the working class will render void the decisions of Venizelos courts.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The Failure of the Geneva Coal Conference.

By Gustav Sobottka (Berlin).

The Geneva Coal Conference began on January 6 and ended on January 13. The course of the conference has plainly shown how the mineowners and their governments in the various countries regard the question of regulating working hours in the mines. Every capitalist representative spoke in favour of a regulation of working hours, but a regulation such as he would like to have for his own country. It was the representative of German mining capital, Dr. Jungst, who declared most openly for a prolongation of the working day. He stated that only in the case of compelling necessity would the lengthening of the working day be considered, but that such necessity might arise. Germany does not yet know how the Young Plan will affect its economy, therefore, he argued, we could not tie our hands and renounce the employment of one of the means which in a given case would render it possible for us to fulfil the obligations laid upon us.

The representative of the Polish mineowners, Dr. Falter, declared that Poland is suffering from overpopulation, and therefore cannot accomplish so much as the other countries in the sphere of social policy. The representative of the Polish Government, Mr. Sokal also spoke to the same effect.

Mr. W. R. Smith, as representative of the English Government, declared that his government are urgently desirous that hours of work and also wages and other conditions in the mining industry should if possible be settled internationally in the near future.

A miserable role was played by the representatives of the Miners' International. They were all in favour of the seven-hour day, but this should be voluntarily granted by the mineowners and the capitalist governments. What the latter think of this proposal was shown by the vote taken at the end of the conference.

The proposal that a seven-hour day be fixed was rejected by all the representatives of the mineowners and governments. A further proposal in favour of a 7½-hour working day was likewise rejected. It was the German Government representative who was responsible for the turning down of this proposal. He declared that he could not vote for it as the underground lignite mines are included in this convention. This was not the real reason for the rejection as the lignite mines in Germany in which workers are employed underground are of quite minor importance. The real reason for the rejection of a 7½-hour day by the German Government representative is the desire to retain the 8 or 8½-hour working day in the mining industry.

After the 7 and 7½-hour working day had been rejected, the Dutch representative brought forward the proposal that hours be fixed at 7½. The vote on this suggestion proving a tie, it was not adopted.

Thus the comedy at Geneva reached an end, with which its reformist wirepullers are highly dissatisfied. The "Vorwärts", the organ of the German Social Fascists, writes that the conference was wrecked owing to the resistance of the mineowners, while the workers showed complete understanding. Quite right! The social fascist representatives of the workers showed a complete understanding for the wishes of mining capital, and mining capital wants an eight to nine-hour day and not reformist phrases.

The miners of all countries can, however, once again see that the conferences are intended to deceive them regarding the true state of affairs. The seven-hour shift cannot and will not come by means of international agreement, but the miners in the different countries must win it by determined fight both on a national and international scale.

STRUGGLE AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT

The Struggle of the Unemployed in Germany.

By Heinz Evers (Berlin).

Up to the middle of January the number of unemployed in Germany had risen to 3,250,000 thereby already surpassing the record figures of last year i. e. 3,229,000 in the month of February. Further reports, however, are already to hand of factories being laid idle or restricted in output, so that in the next few weeks some further thousands of working men and women will be dismissed.

The coalition government, under the leadership of the social fascists, is not moving a finger in order to alleviate the terrible misery of the unemployed and their families. On the contrary, the measures adopted by Wissel, the social democratic Minister for Labour, are leading to a permanent increase in the number of those who receive no unemployment benefit: in December 1928 this number rose to 715,000 and in December 1929, to 950,000. At present the number of these unfortunates is far over a million.

In spite of this appalling misery of the unemployed both the government and the Reichstag majority, from the national fascists to the social fascists, rejected the Communist motion to grant an extra allowance to the unemployed for the winter. In the town councils these same parties likewise rejected the proposals of the Communists for alleviating the lot of the unemployed.

The unemployed held demonstrations already in December, at which the police continually interfered. In the first January days the collisions with the police became fiercer and more frequent. In a whole number of towns bloody collisions took place, especially on the 14th and 15th of January. Thus in Neuss, in the Rhineland, after a very well attended meeting of the unemployed who then demonstrated in the streets, the demonstrators were ridden down by mounted police. The latter furiously attacked men, women and children with batons. Also shots were fired. The workers put up resistance and hailed down blows upon the police with sticks, palings and their fists. Similar events took place in Halle, Merseburg, Magdeburg and in Schneidemühl.

In Worms a regular street fight ensued between the police and the workers. On the 14th of January about three to four thousand unemployed and factory workers marched in the streets in support of their demands. The police proceeded against the demonstrators with great brutality. Numerous workers were wounded and hundreds arrested. Even Comrade Müller, member of the Prussian Diet, was seriously mishandled and arrested in spite of his immunity as deputy. The workers offered resistance until midnight.

The climax of police brutality was reached in Hartmannsdorf near Chemnitz. The unemployed had marched there from the whole neighbourhood in order to support the striking textile workers of the Recenia works in their struggle against the employers, the scabs and the class arbitration court. The police, who had occupied the factory, began to fire on the demonstrating strikers and unemployed. Three workers were killed outright, 20 workers seriously wounded, of whom two have died in the meantime.

These terrorist acts have aroused great indignation among the whole working class. The Chemnitz factories carried out a short mass strike. In Leipzig, Plauen, Dresden, Limbach etc. numerous demonstrations took place in which thousands and thousands of working men and women participated.

The fighting will of the unemployed and of the factory workers is growing. Under the leadership of the revolutionary trade union opposition and of the Communist Party the German working class is fighting against mass dismissals and mass misery, against police terror, for the seven-hour day and for adequate unemployment benefit.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Miners Strike in Australia.

By O. B.

The dispute in the coalfields in New South Wales began with the demand of the mineowners for a reduction of wages on the part of the mineowners last summer.

Last November, the Labour Government in Australia called a conference composed of mineowners, and the miners Trade Union leaders, and at which the Labour Prime Minister of Australia was present. The conference decided unanimously to reduce the wages of the miners by 9d a ton.

The miners in New South Wales, however, rejected the terms agreed to by their trade union leaders, and went on strike and the leaders thereupon hastened to assure the miners that they would stand by them in their fight, at the same time opposing the proposal made by the Sydney Labour Council (in which the Communists have considerable influence) to declare a general coal strike throughout Australia. On Dec. 12 1929, the N. S. W. State Government opened a bureau in Sydney for the enrolment of blacklegs, and on Dec. 16 opened the Rothbury mines with scab labour heavily guarded by police. The miners marched to the pit in order to start mass picketing.

The police fired on the miners and murdered one miner, and wounded many others. Three hundred police were rushed to the mines from Sydney. Scullin at once urged the withdrawal of the mass pickets in order to avoid further clashes with the police. The Trade Union leaders, following his admirable example of supporting the bosses urged the miners to "hold themselves in check". 30,000 workers demonstrated as a protest in Sydney and were beaten up by the police.

Scullin hastily summoned a compulsory conference under the auspices of the Arbitration Court of all parties concerned in the dispute (except, of course the miners themselves), which the New South Wales Government refused to attend. Mr. Justice Beeby, the President of the Court proposed that a temporary subsidy be given to the mineowners of the 9d. per ton, by which it had proposed to reduce wages. Both the N. S. W. Government and the mineowners refused this proposal and are taking the matter into the courts.

Mr. Scullin, in a manner which would not disgrace Mr. Ramsay MacDonald himself, said that he failed to understand the owners' rejection of the proposal, but urged the men's leaders to use their influence for the maintenance of law, — "force was neither justified, nor would it succeed".

The New South Wales Government and the coal owners continued their application to the law courts against Justice Beeby's recommendation for the reopening of the mines at the old wages and a subsidy equal to the reduction of wages demanded. The miners themselves had previously rejected the suggestion of the subsidy as that meant accepting in principle the wage reduction.

While these legal wangles were going on, the miners were taking up the struggle even more fiercely in the coalfields, the murder of one of their comrades had aroused their fighting spirit and mass pickets were organised to stop the transport of blackleg coal. The Government thereupon declared mass picketing and assemblies unlawful, sent more police into the district and declared that miners taking part in "obstructing the police" should have their food relief stopped.

The miners answered by withdrawing the safety men from the Northern pits and organising a "Labour Defence Army" which at Cessnock already numbers 2000 men. Armed police

attacked the miners from Cessnock on the 15th of Jan. and injured 12, then raced to Kurri, (another coalfield) by motor where they made a baton charge on the men of the Labour Defence Army, 1000 strong and injured many of the miners. Ten were arrested.

On the 20th a demonstration in Sydney in favour of the miners and as a protest against the murder of one of the miners by the police, was again beaten up by the police. Scullin, the Australian "Labour" Premier once again put forward the proposal that the miners should return to work at the original rate, with a subsidy of 9d. per ton, until a Royal Commission had examined the situation and given its findings. The owners rejected this proposal and insisted on the immediate reduction of wages. The miners have rejected once more the employers' terms.

The courts have now given judgement in favour of the N. S. W. Government and the mineowners, and against the award of Justice Beeby, for the subsidy. The courts have also decided in favour of a reduction of wages for the miners.

The Miners Federation of Australia has played the same game that reformists play all over the world.

At the beginning of the dispute the Federation agreed to the reduction in wages — unanimously, but when the mass meetings of the men rejected the terms, the Federation, in order not to lose their hold over the men, said that they would support the strikers, at the same time fighting the demand for an extension of the struggle and thereby sabotaging the fight.

The shooting down of the miners by the police who were guarding the blacklegs in the Rothbury pit roused not merely the miners but the masses of the workers in Australia. The Federation therefore, were forced to make some show of discussing the extension of the strike to other areas, and a demand for an increase of 9d a ton in wages for the coal fields in Australia, is now before the Arbitration Board; this is a characteristic way of the reformists to prevent the extension of the strike, at the same time putting forward a demand for increased wages for the whole industry, which it is safe to say will be rejected by the Arbitration Court.

Under the pressure of the masses the Federation were forced to give the strike its official sanction, at the same time engine men were supplied by the Federation in some collieries to replace those who had come out in support of the strikers, thereby acting completely as strikebreakers as the engine or safety men are one of the strongest weapons in the hands of the miners against their employers. Further the Miners Federation has now officially dissociated itself from mass picketing. Its real role as strikebreaker is quite clear.

The miners have formed an unofficial "Red" executive which is carrying on the struggle against the Trade Union, the employers and the "Labour" Government of Australia as well as the New South Wales Government itself, and the struggle has not yet finished. With the decision of the courts in favour of the reduction of the wages, and the action of the N. S. W. Government in opening the pits with blackleg labour and lower wages, the fight will be even more intense.

The open use of the forces of the capitalist State to reduce wages has made the workers realise the real nature of the capitalist State, and the role of the Labour Party. Many States in Australia have had Labour Governments and for the first time a Federal Labour Government is in power openly using that power against the workers in support of wage reduction and police suppression of working class activity.

The New Strike Wave in France.

By Pierre.

In France there is every indications that a new phase of intensified strike struggles has set in.

In Belfort, Tardieu's stronghold, there is an extremely tense situation. 8000 workers employed in the Alsthom metal works, have been conducting a fierce fight there for three days. In all the other Belfort factories the atmosphere is very tense, and 3400 textile workers have already taken up the fight. The movement is strongest among the gas workers, the railway workers and the building workers. As was to be expected, Tardieu, who is the member of Parliament for this town, has flooded it with police and mobile guards. The situation is very serious and it is possible that a general

strike will break out in the town, in which the strikers will be confronted by the united front of the employers, the authorities and the social fascists. Before the strike the position of the working class was very bad and its demands for wage increases met everywhere with sympathy.

In Paris and in the Paris district the movement in the metal industry is growing. The strike of the 4000 workers of the telephone factory of Boulogne is being continued and the workers in many other factories are following this struggle with great attention, especially the workers of the Alsthom factory in Paris and of the Thomson-Houston works, which only recently was the scene of great strikes and lock-outs. In addition many partial struggles are taking place: a few days ago three conveyors were laid idle at Citroen in Javel, 300 joiners downed tools in the Farman aircraft factory, as well as 250 joiners in a small factory in Boulogne and 200 joiners in Meudon. These partial struggles are indubitably the forerunners of still greater movements, and the revolutionary trade union federation is busy at work in order to co-ordinate these movements to organise and prepare them.

In Morez (Jura) 1200 optical workers have gone on strike; in Bordeaux 2,700 street car workers. The Burgomaster of this latter town is M. Marquet a social fascist and unscrupulous politician, who is completely in the service of the government and of the employers. The latest news from Bordeaux shows that the strikers are not to be intimidated and have taught the blacklegs a very good lesson.

In addition to these movements there is the growing unrest among the railway workers the sporadic struggles in the building trade and numerous isolated movements such as the struggle of the typographic workers in Lyons (which was "led" and sabotaged by the reformists), all of which enable us to get an idea of the extent and the importance of this phase of the strike struggles in France. The immediate causes of these movements are mainly wage demands, the resistance to the heavy pressure of rationalisation the discontent with the high prices of food etc. and the numerous other measures against the working class. But this wave of strikes, embracing at present 25,000 workers who will soon be reinforced by further tens of thousands is at the same time the expression of the fighting will of the French workers against the anti-proletarian policy of the fascist "National Unity" against the persecutions of the Communists and against the war preparations.

ECONOMICS

The Crisis in the Automobile Industry of the United States.

By Harry Gannes (New York).

One of the main pillars of American capitalism is the automobile industry. It has woven itself into every thread of the fabric of the economic structure. A severe depression in this section of the productive machine of U. S. imperialism would have tremendous effects. At the present time we witness, not only an admitted slump in the automobile industry, but a crisis of the entire structure of capitalist economy in the United States.

In order to show how deeply rooted the automobile industry is in the economic life of U.S. imperialism. Ray B. Prescott worked out the following table showing what per-

centage of the total production of the leading industries the automobile plants absorbed:

Material	Per Cent of Total Production Used in Automobile Industry
Steel	20 %
Rubber	85 %
Plate glass	75 %
Leather	62 %
Lumber: Hard	20 %
Soft	13 %
Copper	16 %
Tin	25 %
Lead	27 %
Zinc	5 %
Nickel	30 %
Textile: Upholstery	58,000,000 yards
Curtain	22,000,000 yards
Paint and lacquer	16 %

Hence a decline in production in the automobile industry necessary carries with it a sharp drop in the production of all of the above industries.

What are the prospects of production in the automobile industry for 1930? A continuation of the production of 1929, of 5,600,000 cars, is completely out of the question. Not one capitalist authority contends that anywhere near last year's production can be maintained. What is the proportion of this admitted decline?

Alfred Reeves, general manager of the national Automobile Chamber of Commerce, an active publicity agent for the automobile trusts, says that if 3,000,000 cars are produced and absorbed in the home market, and 1,000,000 exported, the capitalists in the automobile industry will be doing pretty good. This is an admitted drop of 1,500,000 by a publicity agent who is doing his best to make things appear rosy and to give heart to the automobile distributors.

Ray B. Prescott, a recognized authority in this line, says: "After a very careful survey of the motor industry and an analysis of the figures, it is the writer's opinion that the most probable production of cars and trucks in 1930 will be about 15 per cent below 1929, and at the outside 20 per cent."

For the 4,000,000 workers in the automobile industry it means 20 per cent of them will be unemployed — that is, if the bosses maintain their present rate of speed-up. That wages will be cut is a foregone conclusion based on the fact that the automobile bosses all agree they must make a stronger fight for the European, Latin American and Asiatic markets.

The home market is saturated with automobiles of all makes. In spite of their smooth phrases about the fundamental stability of American industry, the automobile manufacturers know that all the factors point to a tremendous shrinkage in the home market for at least 1930. Used cars glut the market; automobile financing is involved and at a dangerous point. The stock market crash in itself affecting 1,000,000 petty bourgeois eliminates a great slice of the possible home market.

It is no accident that there is unanimity among the automobile manufacturers that their best saviour is the foreign market. Alfred Reeves says they export 1,000,000 in 1930. All the other leading executives in the automobile business echo this idea. This means an increase of 100% in the exports of automobiles from the United States. The problem is not so easy as it sounds in the roseate statements of automobile publicity agents.

Despite all the efforts of the Hoover regime to stimulate exports, especially since the sharp crisis, the latest figures of the department of commerce show that there has been a decline in U.S. Exports ("Merchandise exports from the United States to all grand divisions in November were considerably under those of the same month in 1928.")

The struggle for world markets is not restricted to the United States alone. Other capitalist powers are involved. The automobile manufacturers of Europe have united against just this proposal of the American automobile bosses to ship out 1,000,000 cars.

The French automobile manufacturers have organised a "committee of defence". They have behind them the entire support of the french capitalist government. The government proposes a tariff increase of 90% on American cars, and a tariff increase of several hundred per cent on American automobile parts.

Change of Address

The address of the "Inprecorr"

is now:

BERLIN C 25

Barflossstrasse 1-5 III. Germany.

As a defensive measure, the automobile manufacturers in a majority of the European countries back the French capitalists in their determined fight against the drive of the American automobile manufacturers for a greater slice of the European market.

If the proposed tariff law is passed, it will be a smashing blow to the European market hopes of the American automobile capitalists.

A Paris cable to the "New York Times" (Jan. 16) said that the Federation of German Motor Manufacturing Industries had concluded an agreement "with similar organisations in France, Italy, Belgium, Austria and Czechoslovakia for joint action by Continental motor manufacturing concerns against the increasing American penetration into their markets".

In a statement issued by the representatives of the American automobile bosses in France they show the crushing effect that the action of the French government will have in curtailing imports of American automobiles and parts. The say ("New York Times" January 12, 1930):

"If the proposed laws are voted, the following consequences may be expected: First, almost complete destruction of the American automobile business in France."

That the law will pass in some modified form is a certainty. The automobile bosses in other countries will see to it that their governments take similar measures, as further shipments of automobiles to England, France, Germany or Italy would aggravate the sharp crisis these countries are suffering especially in their automobile industries.

What are the prospects for the workers in the automobile industry? The bosses admit, if their well-laid plans do not go astray, there will be at least 800,000 unemployed for 1930 in the automobile plants alone. Drastic wage-cutting will take place, in spite of the Ford dramatic publicity gesture of increases in wages. In order even to continue exports at the present rate, the automobile bosses will have to cut their prices. The first thing they cut is wages. They will invent new methods of speed-up torture to increase production with less workers. Ford is already doing this.

Hoover, in order to lessen the effect of the present sharp crisis, is more than willing to lend the full support of the government to the concerted drive for new markets. This entails sharpening world rivalries and intensifies the war danger. It is no idle gesture when Stimson demands 18 more cruisers for the United States navy. "You must take our automobiles", says U. S. imperialism, to its prospective markets "or we will force them down your throat in the form of molten shells".

In Detroit, the workers are answering mass unemployment by organising Unemployed Councils to fight for relief. The wage cuts are being fought by organising the unorganised into the Auto Workers Union, under the leadership of the Trade Union Unity League.

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

The Question of Liquidating the Kulaks as a Class.

By J. Stalin

Number 16 of the "Krasnaya Sveysda" contains an article which, while undoubtedly correct on the whole, nevertheless give two inexact formulations. I think it is necessary to correct these inexactitudes.

In the first place the article states:

"In the restoration period we carried out the policy of restricting the capitalist elements in the town and in the village. With the commencement of the reconstruction period we went over from the policy of restricting to the policy of ousting the capitalist elements."

This statement is incorrect. The policy of restricting the capitalist elements and the policy of ousting them are not two

different policies. It is one and the same policy. Ousting the capitalist elements in the village is an inevitable result and an essential part of the policy of restricting the capitalist elements, the policy of restricting the exploiting tendencies of the Kulaks. To oust the capitalist elements in the village is not to oust the kulaks as a class. To oust the capitalist elements in the village is to oust and overcome individual groups of the kulaks which are unable to withstand the pressure of taxation and the restrictive measures employed by the Soviet power. Of course the policy of restricting the exploiting tendencies of the kulaks, the policy of restricting the capitalist elements in the village is bound to lead to the ousting of individual groups of kulaks. The ousting of individual groups of the kulaks cannot, therefore, be regarded as anything else but an inevitable result and essential part of the policy of restricting the capitalist elements in the village.

With us this policy was applied not only in the restoration period but also in the reconstruction period, in the period since the 15th Party Congress (December 1927), in the period after the 16th Party conference (April 1929), as well as after this conference until the summer of 1929, when there commenced the period of compact collectivisation, when the turn to the policy of liquidating the kulaks as a class began.

If we examine the most important documents of the Party, beginning with the 14th Party Congress in December 1925 (see resolution on the Report of the Central Committee) and ending with the 16th Party conference in April 1929 (see the Resolution on "The ways to raise the level of agriculture"), we are bound to notice that this thesis on "Restricting the exploiting tendencies of the kulaks", or "Restricting the growth of capitalism in the village" always stands beside the thesis on "Ousting the capitalist elements in the village", on "Overcoming the capitalist elements in the village".

What does that mean?

It means that the Party does not separate the ousting of the capitalist elements in the village from the policy of restricting the exploiting tendencies of the capitalist elements in the village.

The 15th Party Congress and also the 16th Party Conference stood wholly and entirely on the basis of the policy of "restricting the efforts at exploitation on the part of the agricultural bourgeoisie". (Resolution of the 15th Party Congress on "Work in the Village"); on the basis of the policy of "employing new measures which restrict the development of capitalism in the village" (Ibid), on the basis of the policy of "decisively restricting the exploiting tendencies of the Kulaks" (see the resolution of the 15th Party Congress on the Five-Year-Plan), on the basis of the policy of "attack on the kulaks" in the sense of the "transition to a more extensive systematic and energetic restriction of the kulaks and of private property". (Ibid), on the basis of the policy of "still more determined economic squeezing out" of the "elements of private capitalist economy" in town and country (See resolution of the 15th Party Congress on the Report of the C. C.).

Therefore, a) the author of the article in question is wrong when he represents the policy of restricting the capitalist elements and the policy of ousting them as two different policies. The facts declare that here we have to do with one and the same policy of restricting capitalism, an essential part and result of which is the ousting of individual groups of kulaks.

Therefore, b) the author of the article in question is wrong when he maintains that the ousting of the capitalist elements in the village first commenced in the reconstruction period, in the period of the 15th Party Congress. In actual fact the ousting of these elements took place both before the 15th Party Congress in the restoration period, and after the 15th Party Congress, in the reconstruction period. In the period of the 15th Party Congress the policy of restricting the exploiting tendencies of kulak economy was only reinforced by new additional measures, whereby the ousting of individual groups of kulaks was bound to increase.

2. The article states:

"The policy of liquidating the kulaks as a class entirely

corresponds to the policy of ousting the capitalist elements, it is a continuation of this policy in a new stage."

This sentence is inexact, and therefore incorrect. Of course the policy of liquidating the kulaks as a class could not drop from the sky. It was prepared by the whole preceding period of restricting, i.e. also of ousting the capitalist elements in the village. But that does not mean that it does not differ **fundamentally** from the policy of restricting (and ousting) the capitalist elements in the village, that it is, so to speak, a **continuation** of the policy of restricting. To speak as the author of the article speaks is to deny the existence of a **turn** in the development of the village since the summer of 1929. So to speak means to deny the fact that in this period we have carried out a turn in the policy of our Party in the village. So to speak means to create a certain ideological loophole for the Right elements of our Party, who are now clinging to the decisions of the 15th Party Congress against the new policy of the Party, just as Comrade Franklin clung to the decisions of the 14th Party Congress against the policy of extending the collective and Soviet Farms.

On what presumptions did the 15th Party Congress proceed when it announced the reinforcement of the policy of the restriction (and ousting) the capitalist elements in the village? It proceeded from the presumption that in spite of this restriction of the kulak, the kulaks are still **bound to exist as a class** for some time. Upon this basis the 15th Party Congress kept in force the law regarding the leasing of land, although it knew very well that the tenants consist in the main of kulaks. Upon this basis the 15th Party Congress allowed to remain in force the law on wage labour in the village and demanded its exact observance. Upon this basis there was once again declared the impermissibility of dekulakisation. Do these laws and these decisions contradict the policy of restricting (and ousting) the capitalist elements in the village? Certainly **not**. Do these laws and these decisions contradict the policy of liquidating the kulaks as a class? **Most certainly!** These laws and these decisions must therefore be abolished now in the sphere of compact collectivisation, which is growing and extending not daily but hourly. Moreover, they have been already abolished in the sphere of compact collectivisation by the course of the collectivisation movement itself.

Can one maintain after this that the policy of liquidating the kulak as a class is the **continuation** of the restriction (and ousting) of the capitalist elements in the village? It is clear that one cannot say that.

The author of the article forgets that we cannot oust the kulak class, as a class, by taxation measures and any other restrictions, while leaving in the hands of this class the means of production, with the right to free use of the soil, by our retaining in practice the law regarding wage labour in the village, the law regarding the renting of land and the prohibition of dekulakisation. The author forgets that with a policy of restricting the exploiting tendencies of the kulaks one can only reckon upon ousting individual groups of kulaks, which not only does not contradict the retention of the kulaks as a class for a certain time but presupposes this. The policy of restricting and ousting individual groups of the kulaks does not suffice to oust them as a class. In order to oust the kulaks as a class the resistance of this class must be **broken** in open fight, and they must be deprived of the sources of production of their existence and development. (Free use of the soil, property in the means of production, leasehold, the right to employ wage labour etc.) That is the **turn** in the policy of liquidating the kulaks as a class. Without this, the words regarding ousting the kulaks as a class is idle chatter which is only useful and agreeable to the Rights. Without this any serious, still less a compact collectivisation of the village is unthinkable. The poor and middle peasants of our villages who are crushing the kulaks and realising compact collectivisation have fully realised this. It is obvious, however, that some of our comrades do not understand this.

Therefore, the present policy of the Party in the village is not a **continuation** of the old policy, but a **turn** from the old policy of **restricting** (and ousting) the capitalist elements in the village to the new policy of **liquidating** the kulak as a class.

The New Features in the Working Class of the Soviet Union.

By V. Molotov.

What I have seen in the locomotive and waggon works of Kolomna deserves most serious attention and is probably characteristic not only of this factory.

On the 6th anniversary of Lenin's death a great meeting was held in which the overwhelming majority of the staff, numbering 10,000 workers, took part. This meeting reflected the growing activity of the working masses, of which the following facts from the life of the factory will give some idea.

The Kolomna works was supposed to supply 100 active workers for work in the village. But not one hundred, but several hundred workers followed the call of the Party. After a careful selection the group was formed, and really the best proletarians have been sent. Out of these 100 workers, one third is non-party. Before their departure they declared that they did not want to go to the village as non-party; they all demanded acceptance of their application to enter the Party.

In the workers there are 370 shock brigades embracing 3000 workers; the number of these workers is growing. It is true, the production programme has not been quite fulfilled in the first quarter; it is true, the productivity of labour lags behind the increase of wages; finally there are still many shortcomings in the organisation of production and in the work of the technical staff. But the energy of all local organisations is directed towards carrying out the production programme, and there is no doubt that the obstacles in the way of the carrying out of the production tasks can and will be overcome. All the comrades here maintain that the workers are firmly determined not only to carry out the production programme, but to surpass it.

In regard to the growth of the Party organisation in the works of Kolomna things were none too good up to recently. A few months ago not more than 10 per cent of the workers in the factory were Communists. But soon a great change took place. In the last few months over 200 workers entered the Party, and in the Lenin week 300 new admission forms were filled. But that is only a beginning.

On the occasion of the reporting campaign of the Party functionaries, the entire staff of 12 shops of the Kolomna works declared their readiness to enter the Party. The following table contains the exact figures:

Works department	Number of Workers
Machine installation	740
Locomotive makers	} 678
Carriage makers	
Spring and stamping department	
Hydraulic press	
Boiler makers	457
Acetylene welders	120
Steel casting	843
Mechanic Waggon works	210
Waggon mounting	175
Wood working	325
Varnishing	65
In all 12 works' Departments	3613

These 3613 workers applied for admission to the Party. It must be added that in the shoe works near-by, two works departments have also unanimously decided to enter the Party.

It is a matter of course that among these are workers, who voted for this decision out of solidarity. But the fact of the application of whole factory departments, including several thousand workers, for entry into the Party is remarkable. This is something new.

Our workers are wont to look upon entry into the Party as a very serious matter. This was again confirmed at the time of the Party cleansing, when the non-Party workers proved by their whole attitude, that the Party possesses in their eyes a great authority which they have to defend against all doubtful „Party people“. The same attitude is to be observed with the Kolomna workers.

The works departments of Kolomna which resolved to enter the Party, at the same time declared themselves in favour of shock brigades. The workers know very well that by joining the Party they are under the obligation to exert maximum activity in production. Hence the Communist works

departments constitute themselves as shock brigades and pledge themselves to fulfil and even surpass the production programme. In this way we observe the conversion of our factories into shock brigade works. Before our eyes there arise Communist works departments; tomorrow there will arise Communist factories.

All these facts entitle the leaders of the factory organisations to declare that in the working masses there is an upsurge hitherto unparalleled in history. Socialist competition in the factories and the setting up of workers' shock brigades are not entirely new phenomena. But the new upsurge of the working masses assumes new, hitherto quite unknown forms. The case of the Kolomna works only serves to characterise the changes which have recently taken place within the working class.

Hence there can be no doubt that the appeal of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union to set up new Leninist shock brigades embracing half a million workers will be realised. The leading workers brigades will, in the form of a new "Lenin recruitment", greatly consolidate our Party.

The new feature of the working class movement is closely linked up with the change in the village. In the last few months there has occurred a determined change within the peasant masses. The peasant is turning his face to Communism. The collective undertakings are rapidly developing out of the peasant undertakings, thereby uprooting the kulaks. The spring seed campaign will therefore constitute not only an economic, but also a political task.

There is no need to prove that in the twelve years of the Soviet Power the work of the Party, the Soviets, the trade unions and the co-operatives has prepared this change. The Soviet system and the Leninist policy of the Party have brought about, in the 12th year of the proletarian revolution, this turn of the peasant masses to Communism. But in the last resort our great successes in the reconstruction of industry, our achievements in socialist industrialisation, were of decisive importance for this turn. The peasant (not only the poor but also the middle peasant) declared in favour of the collective undertaking, when the Soviet Power, in its efforts to secure bread for the workers and the Red Army, intensified its attack upon the kulak, and when at the same time large Soviet estates with a high machine technique and big collective undertakings formed of the most advanced peasants, showed to the peasant masses the practical path of the transition to socialist agriculture. It is now clear that our agriculture is being transformed on a socialist basis along the whole front.

This change in the village is bound to have its effect upon the working class. It has aroused the workers to new activity, which assumes new and hitherto unknown forms. How enthusiastically the workers react to the collectivisation of agriculture is to be seen from the fact that 25,000 workers have been mobilised for work in the village.

The events in the Kolomna works throw light upon the new phenomena in the working class. In other factories the shock brigades follow the same path by entering the Party. The new development of the working class finds its expression in the stormy influx of working masses into the Party, the powerful development of the shock brigades of the proletariat in the factories. The Communist movement is getting hold of the proletariat.

The new development of the working class confronts the proletarian organisations, and especially its leaders, with new tasks. The change in the Party work, the renewal of the trade union and Soviet apparatus, the purging of the organisations from all rotten, decayed elements, while at the same drawing into the work the rising new cadres of workers — all this is now more necessary than ever. The new upsurge of the working masses requires considerable changes in all forms and methods of our work.

We have much to learn from the lower organisation, from the working masses. New forces, new and hitherto unknown possibilities of achieving socialism in our country are revealed not only in the work of the shock brigades in the factories, but also in the mass collectivisation movement in the village.

These successes are successes of the international revolutionary proletariat. More attention should be devoted to these new phenomena in the working class!

IN THE COLONIES

The Egyptian Bourgeoisie in Power.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

When one thinks of the enthusiasm with which the population greeted the first "People's Ministry" of the Wafd under Zaglul Pasha in the year 1924 and the many illusions which even broad strata of the population entertained regarding the power of the Wafd party, then the cool reception accorded the present Cabinet of Mustafa Pasha Nehas, pompously described as the second "People's Ministry", is particularly striking. The Egyptian bourgeoisie, both during the Zaglul Ministry and during the following coalition-opposition period, did everything in order to destroy the illusion regarding its revolutionary role.

While the Zaglul Ministry of the year 1924 was still to a certain extent swept into office on the wave (already ebbing) of the revolutionary movement, the present Nehas Ministry is the fruit of a prolonged bargaining with the British resident. If Mohammed Mahmud was a creature of the Conservatives, of the Churchill-Lord Lloyd wing, Nehas Pasha is a creature of Henderson and of the new British representative in Egypt, Sir Percy Loraine.

That the Wafd is able to support itself formally on "Parliament" and the "Constitution" is solely due to its splendid apparatus. This apparatus, however, is entirely in the service of the bourgeoisie. If one reads the programme of the victorious Wafd, one finds there repeated almost word for word the same promises which Mohammed Mahmud formerly made — without however keeping them. There is the same demagogic allusion to the needs of the "peasants", whom the government must hasten to help. No mention, however, is made of the fact that those chiefly responsible for the present situation of the peasants are no other than the same pashas who occupy posts in the Wafd Ministry and who live privately from the sweat of the fellahin toiling on their estates.

Regarding the workers the programme states:

"The Government will give attention to labour laws and also try to meet the demands of hygiene."

On the other hand, a great deal is said regarding the creation of favourable conditions for trade and industry, regarding reform of the stock exchange and, above all, increasing the state revenue.

The bourgeois Wafd party goes even further. If it does not yet openly approve the British Draft Treaty, it nevertheless says that this treaty must form the basis for the Anglo-Egyptian agreement. What is particularly remarkable is the circumstance that the whole press, before all the British, loudly expresses its satisfaction with the "moderate" programme of the Wafd. No, the second "People's Ministry" of the Wafd, in spite of the fact that it includes a few leaders who pose as being radical, is anything but a "dangerous" Ministry. It will not only faithfully serve the Egyptian bourgeoisie but also English imperialism.

But the negotiations with England will put the Wafd to a very severe test; in order to be able to justify the complete betrayal of its original independence programme, the Wafd must endeavour to achieve some, even if only formal, improvements in the original draft. This will involve the raising of some points which are very delicate for England, such as the Sudan question. If the Wafd capitulates however in this sham manoeuvre, it will undoubtedly create disappointment with its methods both among the masses of the Egyptian fellahin and the working classes of the towns. Already an attempt (it is true a very modest and cautious one) is being made to found a fellahin and another labour party. The Wafd realises that itself, and certain followers of the Wafd wish to get this movement into their own hands.

The new Wafd Ministry therefore, in no way serves to bridge over the Anglo-Egyptian antagonisms or even the profound antagonism of the classes in Egypt itself. These conflicts are much more likely, particularly in view of the approaching economic crisis, to become greatly aggravated in the near future.

HANDS OFF THE SOVIET-UNION

The Real Situation in the Caucasus and Soviet Republics.

By D. Saslavsky (Moscou).

The trial of the Chervonetz forgers which created such a sensation in Berlin, has again directed the attention of the international proletariat to Soviet Caucasia. Among the accused were the two Georgians, **Karumidze** and **Sadathlervshvili**. They have acted not as ordinary criminals but as "politicians". The trial served to expose the preparations for the new attack on the Soviet Union. Behind the Georgian emigrants were to be seen German Generals, English statesmen and at the head of the whole crowd the well-known English oil king, Sir Henri Deterding. Plans for a military campaign against the Soviet Union were exposed: a huge military organisation was working with a view to taking Transcaucasia by military force and giving back to Deterding the oil wells of which the socialist revolution had deprived him.

The Georgians who sat in the dock pose as high minded champions of their native home, who in forging Soviet money have been actuated by purely patriotic motives. The Georgian Mensheviks have forged Chervonetz. In addition they are engaged in the task of falsifying Caucasia — a favourite task not only of Georgian emigrants but of all other varieties of white guardist. No other part of the Soviet Union is so falsified and misrepresented as the Transcaucasian Soviet Republic.

The heroes of the Berlin trial are false Georgians. There exist among the emigrants such false "Russians", false "Ukrainians". They are strenuously endeavouring to make out to the public that the real Georgia, the genuine Ukraina are in emigration, in the restaurants and taverns, while the Soviet Republics are not the "real" Georgia or Ukraina. That is just as much an act of forgery as the forging of Chervonetz.

Let us take a glance at Soviet Caucasia. Let us see how life runs there whilst in Berlin the bourgeois public is served up with Menshevik falsifications regarding Caucasia: If we go through the streets of the towns of Caucasia we see everywhere signs of progress and development. There is hardly a corner in these towns where either new buildings or the scaffolding of buildings in course of construction are not to be seen. If by some miracle or wizardry the heroes of the Berlin trial were suddenly transported to present-day Tiflis or Baku, they would not be able to recognise these towns, so rapidly have they changed their appearance. Where formerly huts stood on the outskirts of the town, factories are now springing up out of the ground. What was the whole of Caucasia before the Bolshevik revolution? It was nothing else but a huge village. The Russian bourgeoisie deliberately throttled Caucasian industry, and Tsarism filled the towns with Russian officials, engineers, technicians, agronomists, doctors; the whole of the intelligentsia was either Russian or had been trained at Russian universities.

All that is now a thing of the past. In all the centres of Caucasia the most burning question is the speedy training of their own technical cadres from the ranks of the proletariat; their own engineers from the ranks of the workers, for industry is developing at a fabulous rate.

We will mention one or two of the great works in course of construction and which are transforming the whole appearance of Caucasia: Electrification work is proceeding in the mountain pass of Suram: the railways, telegraph posts and all the other equipment necessary thereto are produced in Tiflis itself. Behind Baku a new gigantic water power works is being constructed and a new railway line from Baku to the Kafansk copper district. A new town is springing up in the centre of Kachetin, with houses, hotels, schools etc. all in the most modern style. In Baku the building of the aqueduct is completed and a new electric power station is being constructed. In Kutais a new electric railway is under construction which in turn will cause new branches of industry to spring up; new areas are being opened up which hitherto were shut off from the outside world by high mountains. In Armenia is situated lake Sewan at an altitude of two kilometres. Up to recently this was a glorious wilderness enjoyed by only a

few tourists. Now huge refrigerator stores and preserving factories are rising on the shores of the lake, while steamers and motor boats plough its waters. The products of the factories have already reached the European market.

Deterding is casting greedy eyes at the oil wells. But in vain! Socialist economy is managing quite all right without the capitalists. The production of oil has not only increased considerably, but the whole industry has been mechanised and the out-of-date plant and equipment of the capitalists scrapped. Huge pipelines are being laid through which the oil will flow direct from Baku to Batum. This big undertaking is possible solely because the entire production of oil is united in socialist hands. New oil deposits are also being discovered. An old worker wrote to the papers calling the attention of the economists to the district of Gori in Georgia. The capitalists had given up exploiting this area in order not to compete with Baku. Socialist industry need pay no regard to such considerations which characterise capitalist economy.

That is the situation in the towns. And how is it with the rural districts? News is continually arriving regarding the collectivisation of whole regions. The poor peasants are finally driving out the kulaks and even the big landowners who were supported by the Mensheviks in every way. Collective farms are growing everywhere, in spite of the fierce resistance of the kulaks. The papers are full of reports of ever fresh districts which are being collectivised and combined in a vast agro-industrial enterprise (Combinate) extending over hundreds and thousands of hectares, the aim of which is to alter the former system of agriculture and, by means of tractors and machinery, to lay the foundations of a powerful textile industry. This is the first combine of its kind, and will be followed by others so that in two years time the Transcaucasian village will no longer be recognisable.

Thus the great work of socialist construction is proceeding at a feverish pace. From district to district, over mountains and valleys, the workers and peasants, speaking the most diverse languages — Georgian, Armenian, Turkish etc. — are working together in friendly co-operation, and where under the rule of the Mensheviks there existed uninterrupted national friction and perpetual hostility, the peoples are engaged in the common task of building up socialism.

THE WHITE TERROR

New Bloody Sentences of the Yugoslavian Hangmen's Regime.

By V.

Belgrade, 23rd January, 1930.

About the 1st of May last the bloody terror of the military-fascist dictatorship in Yugoslavia increased tremendously. Not a day passed without mass arrests and bestial tortures of political prisoners; the regime wished to annihilate the revolutionary advance-guard of the proletariat, the C. P. of Yugoslavia and the Young Communist League.

In addition to Zagreb, Osseik, Belgrade and other places the white terror was also raging in Nish (Serbia). Of the numerous persons arrested on the 1st of May, only now, after nine months of tortures and agony, have 20 persons been brought before the Exceptional Court. The trial lasted four days. The murder machine of class justice worked systematically and quickly; witnesses for the defence were not admitted, the "Defence" had only very limited rights.

Fourteen of the accused received the following sentences: **Stanko-Paunovitch**, functionary of the Y. C. L. was sentenced to 16 years' hard labour; **Milan Marinkovitch**, charged with duplicating leaflets, to 15 years' hard labour; **Savka Tassitch**, charged with copying leaflets, 10 years' hard labour; **Risto Kofitchisch**, on account of having distributed the leaflets, to 6 years' hard labour; **Dimitrije Stojilkovitch** and **Illa Milovanovitch**, charged with being members of the C. P. of Yugoslavia to 6 years' hard labour each; **Kosta Marinkovitch**, on the same charge, to 5 years' hard labour.

The following were condemned on account of their having received a packet of communist literature: **Kostadin Nedelkovitch** to 2 years' hard labour; **Jovan Krstitch** to 18 months'

hard labour; Manojli Djordjevitch to 12 months' hard labour, Svetomir Maritsch, a boy, of 16, and Zivojin Tomashevitch each to three years at a reformatory. The remaining prisoners were acquitted.

This trial is the first one in a series of monster trials which will be heard shortly. At present there is taking place the trial of 10 accused from Maribor, and on the 28th February the proceedings against 20 accused from Kumanovo will commence. Mass trials of workers and intellectuals, from Zagreb, Belgrade, Sarajevo, charged with Communist propaganda, will shortly take place, as well as the trials of the national-oppositional elements arrested on the occasion of the discovery of the so-called "black-yellow conspiracy" and of the Croat terrorist organisation (Raditch people). The military-fascist dictatorship wishes by these means to get rid of all the "subversive elements". But it has had no success in this direction: the increasing pressure upon the workers, peasants and suppressed nations is leading to growing resentment among the population, and ever fresh strata of the toilers are gathering round the C. P. of Yugoslavia and the Young Communist League.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Open Letter of the E. C. C. I. to the C. P. of Denmark.

(Conclusion.)

The Party must and can find in collective cooperation of all its members the path which leads to Bolshevik activity. Before all the shortcomings and weaknesses of the Party must be laid bare with the sharp knife of **Bolshevist self-criticism**. It is necessary to commence such a Party discussion as will bring to light all the opportunist mistakes of the Party, all the reasons for the standstill in its development and its influence upon the masses. Sharp measures must be adopted against everybody who wishes to cloak over the opportunist mistakes of the Party, sabotage the development of Bolshevik self-criticism, but at the same time all fractional activity must be frustrated if necessary by organisational measures.

Every comrade must today remember the following words of Lenin:

"The attitude of any political party to its mistakes is one of the most important and surest means of judging the earnestness of the Party and whether it is really fulfilling its duty towards its class and the toiling masses. Open acknowledgment of the mistakes, exposure of their causes, investigation of the situation out of which they arose, careful discussion of the ways and means to remove them — these are the tokens of an earnest party, this is real fulfilment of duty, this is education, first of the class and then also of the mass." („Left Wing Communism".)

The Party discussion must not confine itself to the previous mistakes and shortcomings. It must find means to make the Party active, and before all establish new cadres, with the help of which the Party can increase its activity. A Central Committee consisting for the greater part of active factory workers, will become an important factor in promoting the activity of the Party.

The Party must thoroughly discuss the tasks and methods of its work in the factories. The slogan: „Into the factories!", and before all in the big factories, must become the central slogan of the Party in its struggle for the masses. In the course of the discussion the question of the immediate tasks of the Party must be raised quite concretely (for instance the setting up of factory nuclei in 5—6 big factories in Copenhagen).

Firm Communist fractions in the trade unions are necessary in order to enable the Party to come forward as an independent factor. Every trade union organised Party member, and before all every Communist trade union functionary must be perfectly clear regarding the role of the C. P. and of every Communist in the trade union movement. There must be an end to the traditions of personal influence and individual policy of Communist trade union members.

The Party has a broad field of activity in a number of trade unions. By developing a certain activity it can become the leader of the trade union opposition, the centre of attrac-

tion for all truly Left elements of the trade union movement, and place itself at the head of the revolutionary minority movement. While rejecting the theory of the possibility of capturing the central trade union organisation, the Party must at the same time develop a great activity for capturing such important positions as factory and trade union functions. Thereby all the possibilities in the trade union movement must be taken advantage of for the development of economic struggles, which must constitute the focus of the whole mass work of the Party. If the Party wishes to be a mass organisation, it must before all realise that this aim is to be reached only through active participation in the economic partial struggles of the proletariat. The Party must become the active participant in the struggle of individual groups and branches of industry for the revision of the collective agreements in the coming Spring, for the abolition of the long-term collective agreements. It must take the initiative in the wage struggles and strikes in the various factories. It must mobilise the masses for the struggle and make clear to them at the same time that they can only rely upon themselves by electing fighting committees and appealing, over the heads of the trade union bureaucracy, to the workers of the other factories for support.

While the chief attention of the Party must be directed to the initiation of partial economic struggles, it must at the same time approach the trade union masses and the unorganised by an exhaustive programme of partial demands; for instance, repeal of the hard labour law, social insurance at the expense of the employers, increase of unemployment benefit.

The Party must immediately and determinedly frustrate all the attempts to sabotage the trade union tactic and policy of the economic struggles which is laid down in the decisions of the X. E. C. C. I. Plenum. The Party must ruthlessly exterminate all capitulation moods towards the trade union bureaucracy, all illusions regarding the possibility of conducting economic struggles in a bloc with it. The matter stands so: either the Party finds strength to overcome the Right deviations, the opportunist passivity in the trade union work, or it remains indefinitely outside in a state of stagnation.

Closely linked up with this struggle is the second chief task of the Party, the fight against the Stauning government. The Party must systematically expose the social democratic legend of the possibility of „peaceful growing into socialism". It is of importance to compare the promises which social democracy always makes before it comes „into power" with the role which the Stauning government actually plays as the lackey of finance capital. The C. P. must oppose to the lying promises of Stauning the real socialist construction in the Soviet Union. The popularisation of the Five-Year Plan of socialist construction must become a constituent part of Party work. Every Party member must become an agitator, who displays before the masses the imposing picture of socialist transformation of society in the Soviet Union. The slogan of the brotherly alliance between the Danish and Soviet-Russian proletariat, the slogan of the defence of the first proletarian State must be opposed by the Party to the hypocritical lauding of the League of Nations, the lying phrases on „fraternisation of nations".

The Party must, day in and day out enlighten the masses on the true vocation of the Stauning government, which consists in preparing Denmark for participation in the war against the Soviet Union. The Party must expose Stauning's pacifist deceit. It must oppose the disarmament swindle by the idea of the arming of the proletariat, the conversion of the imperialist war into civil war, no matter whether Denmark will participate in a war against the Soviet Union or in a war between the imperialist States. Lenin's teachings on war and imperialism must become the common property of all Party members.

Anti-war agitation among the broad masses of workers and among the soliders and sailors is a permanent task in the struggle against the war danger. The youth and the working women, whose enlightenment on this important question is a task of the whole Party, must be drawn in every way into this work. The attention of the Party must be directed much more than hitherto to mobilising the women and the youth. It is necessary actively to support the Young Communist League. The lower wages of working women compared with those of men, their organisational separation in the trade unions, as well as the inadequate protection of mother and child under the Danish

social legislation indicate where the Party should set to work. Owing to its whole historic development the Danish proletariat, and with it also the C.P., is suffering from national limitedness. The Party will overcome this narrow provincialism, which hinders the development of revolutionary consciousness of the masses, only when it itself realises that the immediate future of the Danish labour movement depends upon the fate of the revolutionary development in Europe and to a great extent of the next great neighbour—Germany. The Communist Party must see this connection in order to be able to make the Danish workers understand that in connection with the growth of the revolutionary upsurge in the decisive European countries also the Danish proletariat and its Communist advance-guard is confronted by great historical tasks.

The E.C.C.I. expects that every Party member will exert his whole force in order to bring about a decisive turn in the policy of the C.P. of Denmark in the shortest possible time.

If the Executive Committee of the Communist International is calling upon you, Danish Party Comrades, in this hour to practise hard, Bolshevik self-criticism, it is because the aggravation of imperialist antagonism, the increase in war danger against the Soviet Union, as well as the intensification of the class contradictions, are visibly advancing in the whole of Europe at an accelerated pace.

It is also therefore necessary for Denmark not to lag behind the masses even before these revolutionary events take place, in order to be able to mobilise the proletariat to solidarity actions with its brothers in the other countries. This is the historical task which the third period of post-war development imposes on the C.P. of Denmark. The fulfilment of this task requires the greatest effort on the part of every Party member. Great obstacles stand in the way of its fulfilment. Every Party member must be aware that without struggle for the masses, without the capture of the proletarian masses there can be no success in the preparation of the proletarian revolution.

The Presidium of the E.C.C.I.

SOCIAL FASCISM

Dutch Social Democracy and the Struggle for Emancipation in Indonesia.

By A. de Vries (Amsterdam).

On 29th December last the Dutch colonial government mobilised the police in the whole of Indonesia and had searches carried out in the houses of many leaders and members of the nationalist party. In Batavia alone 50 house-searches took place, in Bandoeng 41, in Semarang 30, in Medan on Sumatra 25 etc. In Bandoeng 53 persons were arrested, in Soerabaya 18, Semarang 28 etc.

The government gave as a reason for this terror that rumours were current according to which the National Party of Indonesia intended to carry out a revolution at the end of the year. These rumours were of course spread by the government spies.

On the 9th of January the government issued a declaration in which it is said that the material found during the house searches „confirms in many respects the presumptions“ of the government. But no concrete facts were mentioned.

The government further emphasised that by these measures it only wanted to deal a blow to the National Party of Indonesia and not to the groups and parties which are more to the Right. The government wishes to annihilate the „destructive“ elements and promote the „productive“ ones.

The aim of this policy on the part of the colonial government is clear: to crush all the militant elements of the national movement and to corrupt those who can be bought. While the revolutionary fighters of any tendency are hung, exiled, arrested and persecuted, the government tries at the same time to promote and to breed „National reformism“.

In these efforts it is supported by the Dutch social democracy. This Party does not possess any influence in Indonesia, its small organisation consists for the greater part of government officials, among them being such prominent people

as **Mahlenfeld**, director of the so-called „Home administration“ and **Middendorp**, member of the „Volksrad“ (Peoples' Council).

Dutch social democracy is, however, eagerly endeavouring to get points of support within the national-reformist wing of the national movement; this was the object of the special Colonial Congress which Dutch social democracy recently held in Utrecht.

The Congress had to deal with a draft of a colonial programme. It is the first time that a party of the Second International has elaborated a special colonial programme. Already before the war Dutch reformism was prominent in the colonial question, and its leader, **Van Kol**, was the first persistent fighter in the 2. International for the reformist policy with regard to the colonies.

The programme is very demagogically drawn up. In order to split the Indonesian liberation movement and to support treacherous national-reformism in the interest of Dutch imperialism, Dutch social democracy considered it necessary hypocritically to display great sympathy for the oppressed masses of the colonial country. The programme contains 12 points. Point 10 says: „social democracy unconditionally recognises the right to national independence.“

This phrase sounds very „radical“; but the swindle was soon exposed, when the „left“ opposition proposed to the Congress that the social democracy shall pronounce itself for the unconditional right to immediate independence. This motion was fiercely combated by the Party Executive and rejected by an overwhelming majority.

The whole hypocrisy of this „unconditional recognition“ of the right to national independence is strikingly proved by a number of clauses of the programme. The third thesis says for instance:

„The means for promoting the distribution of indispensable raw materials is an international agreement having the tendency to smooth out the contradictions between the necessity of a purposeful supplying of the economic requirements of humanity and the right of every nation, which is ready to share in it, to determine its own destiny.“

This is a very tortuous formula aiming at deceiving both the European workers and the Indonesian fighters for their emancipation.

The international division of labour here mentioned in a very involved form, bears all the features of imperialist exploitation and suppression.

Indonesia produces all sorts of useful things such as sugar, oil, tobacco, tea, coffee, tin.

The reformist leaders say to the Indonesians: „You want to be free. Very well, you have the „right“ to be free, but you must guarantee that the production of sugar etc. is not thereby „hampered“.

What is the basis of all these colossal profits from the sugar, tea and other plantations? **Cheap labour power and cheap land.** The decline of the colonial production of the natives, the impoverishment of the millions of the population, these furnish the foreign capitalist with cheap soil and cheap labour power in the persons of millions of ruined peasants. It is perfectly clear that without this frightful exploitation the production of these „indispensable raw materials“ of which the S. P. programme speaks, would be quite unprofitable. The profit of foreign capital is unthinkable without this progressive deterioration and impoverishment of the colonial people.

The social democracy, by demanding that political independence be granted only if economic suppression continues (thereby only following the example of many bourgeois scientists and politicians) actually denies both the political and economic emancipation of the colonies.

The remaining portion of the programme is on a par with the above mentioned clauses. Needless to say, the fate of the colonies is placed in the hands of the imperialist League of Nations. A motion submitted to Congress demanding that the S. P. should support the emancipatory struggle of the Indonesians even in the event of the latter resorting to the means of revolt and passive resistance, was of course rejected by a large majority.

Reformism has quite a different perspective: **decolonisation!** Stockvis, the colonial politician of Dutch social democracy, made it quite clear when he said:

„We shall throw off the colonial burden. Every improvement which we bring the coolie, every cent higher

wages and every cent less taxes, the improvement of the soil of the Javanese peasant means a disadvantage to colonial capital."

But the plain question remains: where in Indonesia is to be found this wage increase, this tax alleviation, improvement of the soil — not for small, favoured groups but for the main mass of the population? The exact contrary is true: the great mass is deteriorating, the pressure of taxation is becoming unbearable, famine and pestilence are raging — and without this basis colonial exploitation is unthinkable! The future does not bring the „slow advance“ of which reformism speaks, but sharper collisions between the interests of colonial exploitation and the development of colonial productive forces — a contradiction which can only be solved by revolutionary means.

There was also a „left“ opposition at the Congress, headed by Schmidt, who after his shameful betrayal of the League Against Imperialism is now kept by the party executive as a tame „opponentist“ in order to retain the restless spirits in the party. The Congress gave this opposition full opportunity to expose itself and then rejected its contradictory proposals by a great majority.

The Colonial Congress of the Dutch social democracy has fulfilled the task which the Dutch bourgeoisie set it. It has worked out a very imposing and cunning swindle in the form of a programme.

It is therefore necessary that the Communists expose before the masses these phrases of „unconditional recognition“ behind which there is hidden the unconditional defence of the interests of imperialist exploitation.

AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

Austria Systematically Increasing its Armaments.

By Oesterreicher (Vienna).

That the fascisation of Austria means also increased armaments could be taken for granted even if there were no figures to hand which prove this, for fascism and imperialistic tendencies are inseparable.

Let us see, in the first place, how much Austria expends on her army. The budget estimates for 1930 provide 103.6 million shillings for the army. This is certainly a considerable sum when it is remembered that the total amount expended by the Austrian State on the public health service is only 40,200,000 shillings. At the same time it must not be forgotten that expenditure on the army has been steadily increasing for years, as is to be seen from the following table:

Expenditure on the Army in million shillings

Year	Amount
1925 Actual sum expended	69.2
1927 Actual sum expended	84.8
1929 Budget estimate . .	98.8
1930 Budget estimate . .	103.6

According to the usual practice, items of expenditure on armaments are of course smuggled in under other headings in the budget estimates, so that the actual expenditure is considerably more than 103.6 million. A typical case in this respect is the expenditure on the Air Service. As is known, Austria, like Germany, is forbidden by the Peace Treaties to possess any air force. Nevertheless the Austrian War Ministry takes good care that all the prerequisites exist for making use of one in case of need. For example, it has officers trained as pilots with the private air service companies, and the public knows nothing of this until one of these officers meets with an accident, as for example happened to a lieutenant just before Christmas. Naturally the State has to repay the private air service companies in other ways. In view of the great military value of

the air ports and of the air service generally these outgoings also must be designated as expenditure on armaments. All in all the air service will cost 3,400,000 shillings in 1930 as compared with 2,750,000 last year.

Of course a great part of the expenditure on the Gendarmerie and the Police must also be regarded as expenditure on armaments. The expenditure on the two services has been increasing from year to year.

Under the Peace Treaty Austria is restricted to an army of 30,000 men, which in proportion to the population is three times as much as Germany whose army must not exceed 100,000 men. As is to be seen, the social democrat Karl Renner, the leader of the Austrian peace delegation at St. Germain, got as much as he possibly could in this respect for the Austrian capitalist republic.

The social democrats Julius Deutsch and General Körner, who in the first years of the Republic were at the head of the War Ministry, created an army, which by its whole organisational extension should be nothing else but the framework for a so-called „levy en masse“ in the event of war. And even today the worst thing with which the „Arbeiterzeitung“ reproaches the Christian socialist Minister for War, Vaugoin, is that he neglects the training of the Federal army into a cadre army for the sake of traditional outward show and trappings.

The character of the Austrian federal army as a cadre army is seen most clearly when one compares the number of officers and non-Commissioned officers with the number of privates. Under the peace treaty the army of 30,000 men shall include 1500 officers and 2000 non-Commissioned officers. Outwardly these figures are not being exceeded. But what is most striking is the extraordinarily high number of staff officers. We possess 103 officers of the „higher service“, which is equivalent to a General Staff which is forbidden by the peace treaty. Among them are 3 generals and 27 major generals. As among the 1353 officers immediately in command of troops there are 3 major generals, while among the officials of the War Ministry 19 hold the rank of general, apart from a general occupying the place of director of war archive, it is to be seen that the little Austrian army has 53 generals. Among the officers in command of troops there are 43 colonels, 130 over lieutenants and 576 majors. In all there are 1461 officers on the Army List.

As the government has now „demilitarised“ all officers in the War Ministry, that is, declared them to be civil servants, in order to arrive at the actual number of officers one must include the officials in higher ranks of the War Ministry. If one considers only the ranks from captain upwards, one finds there are a further 809 officers. If we also include the 35 officers in the war archives we arrive at a total of at least 2305 officers!

In all 1324 officials are employed at the War Ministry.

It is quite clear from all these figures that we have here a pure cadre army, which in the event of war, as the „Arbeiterzeitung“ so beautifully expressed it, could be easily raised by a „levy en masses“, i. e. by the calling up of the masses of workers and peasants who have acquired military training in the Heimwehr and in the Republican Corps, in the fascist and social democratic gymnastic organisations, to the level of 300,000 men.

It would also be a great mistake if in order to ascertain the military forces of the Austrian Republic one were to reckon only the officially recorded 21,500 members of the Reichswehr. One must also include the whole „black Reichswehr formations“, which embrace in their military training a far larger number of persons than belonged to the army reserve before the war.

Mention should also be made of the secret stores of arms, possessed not only by the regular formations but also by the provincial governments, the police and the military commands. In addition, there is the increased activity, particularly noticeable of late, of the military auxiliary organisations such as the „Red Cross Society“, the „Austrian Auto and Motor Auxillary Corps“, the „Air and Gas Protection Society“ etc. All this together presents a picture of feverish preparation on the part of Austria for the coming imperialist war.

PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

The Propaganda of the National Socialists among the Proletarian Women in Germany.

By Lene Overlach (Berlin).

The national socialists (fascists) are winning influence among the women, even among the working women of Germany. This was proved among other things by the election results of the municipal and diet elections. In some places the national socialists polled as many female as male votes.

What is still more significant is the fact that the national socialists have gained ground in the factories. It is, for instance, reported from a big concern of the metal industry in Berlin that the nucleus of the national socialists comprises **more working women than men**. Hitler, the leader of the fascists reports of 45 000 women members. The national union of patriotic workers' associations claims to have 20 000 women members out of a total 100,000 members.

At the same time the attitude of the national socialists towards the proletarian women is **absolutely reactionary**. The national socialists openly oppose the tariff agreements and advocate "free" agreements with the employers, profit-sharing, against any fixing of wages and the working day.

The working women let themselves be caught by these slogans. The reformist trade union bureaucracy, when concluding tariff agreements, always delivered them over to the exploitation of the employers. They therefore consider it to be more advantageous for them to negotiate directly with the employer. It is only in a few cases that the working women have been able to make the practical experiences that the national socialist leaders also sell them in the negotiations with the employers. They are still full of illusions and hopes, they consider payment by results to be a just recompense of especially diligent workers and profit sharing as a means of improving their economic position.

The national socialists are openly opposed to the employment of women in industry. They say that the man should earn, while "women's place is the home". They know how to mask this reactionary standpoint by describing to them an idyllic picture of the future. They say to the working woman: Demand of your husband that he takes up the fight for you and your child and that he earns your keep. He must fight against the Young Plan, which enslaves us and compels us to go into the factories, he must fight against Jewish capital which is the cause of our misery.

The weary working woman who has to bear a triple burden allows herself to be caught by these words. **She herself is against the employment of married women**. She lets herself be led to fight against her husband, her class comrade, and to drive him on to more and more intensive work. The abstract propaganda of the Communists cannot yet convince her that professional work of the women is a social advance.

Consistent with this reactionary attitude the national socialists are also against all political activity on the part of women, against women being in Parliament, as speakers, or in the State administration. They are in favour of the "Men's State".

The national socialists are deliberately opposing the radicalisation of the working women, their political enlightenment, their inclusion in the revolutionary class front. By making the women the house slave, a breeding machine and at the same a wage slave, they actively support the exploitation plans of capital.

Of course the national socialists are also in favour of

a strong army, by means of which Germany is to become strong and powerful again. They are for **compulsory national service** without pay, to which also the young women are to be liable. In this most shameless form of exploitation of young working men and women they see a remedy for unemployment.

The national socialists are working very skilfully. In the big towns they are using other arguments than in the small towns and in the country. They make very radical gestures and are thereby winning the masses of working women who turn away in disappointment from social democracy. **It is only the C. P. of Germany which can wrest the working women from the clutches of fascism**. Insofar as the Communist Party proves itself able to work in the factories among the working women and to lead them in the struggle, it will succeed in exposing and defeating the national socialists as the hirelings of the employers. The masses of working women are seeking for a way out of their misery. Lenin's Party will show them the way of the revolutionary class struggle and lead them to victory over capital!

The Italian Working Women are not to be Intimidated.

By Mint.

In the Italian anti-fascist paper "Fronte Antifascista" there appeared an article dealing with the conditions of the working women of the "Tobacco Company" in Trieste. The article describes in detail the working conditions, wages, hygiene of the factory etc. The wage of 9,30 Lire (about 2 shillings) per day is only paid to working women who have been already a long time in the factory. Working women who have only recently entered the factory, receive only 8,30 or 7 Lire. It should be further mentioned that those working women who now get 9,30 Lire formerly received 11,50 or 10,50 Lire.

The women employed in the tobacco factory did not quietly accept this reduction of wages. They sent their delegates to the management in order to protest against this action. The answer of the management was: "Either you agree to this reduction of wages or you can leave your job! There are enough working women who are prepared to work for 6 and even for 5 Lire a day". The indignation of the working women was so great that they intended to set fire to the stores.

The working women of other factories also received wage cuts; thus for instance in the stores where coffee is cleaned, the women who have been working there for 20 years, had to accept a wage reduction from 16 Lire to 13,50 Lire. These working women also protested against it, but without success. Five women who made a protest in the name of the whole staff, were arrested and received sentences from 15 days up to six months' imprisonment.

But there are factories where women receive a still lower wage. Thus for instance the factory of Modiano, the "Jutficio Triestino", Fabbrica di Lejet Gatti" are paying only 3,50 to 7,80 Lire a day. Several hundred women are working in the "Jutficio Triestino": the working day is eight hours. The women tend two machines in unsanitary, dusty work rooms, where fainting is a daily occurrence. The women receive for this arduous work 7,80 Lire a day.

We see therefore how great the exploitation of the working women is and, on the other hand, we see that the working women have not lost courage, that they are fighting against fascism and against the employers in spite of the terror and the danger of dismissal.