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The Main Features of the Draft Fascist Constitution in Austria.

By G. Zamis (Vienna).

One can safely assume that this draft Constitution, which Schober submitted to the National Council, contains far more reactionary pitfalls than any of the previously announced programmes, even the most far-reaching which was recently announced by Minister Schumy in Carinthia. It is most striking how impudent fascism has become since the recent Party Congress of the Social Democratic Party of Austria. As a matter of fact the leaders of the Heimwehr had an interview with Schober immediately before the draft law was handed over to the printers, and there undertook a final revision. The draft contains the following provisions.

The age at which citizens are entitled to the vote has been raised from 20 to 21, and qualifying age for election from 24 to 29. For the elections to municipal bodies it is necessary to reside in a given district one year in order to be entitled to

vote. For all elections and referendums compulsory voting is introduced.

The Federal President receives the right to convene the National Council and to dissolve it at will. This means in practice that the Federal government is under no obligation to call new elections, as this Constitution gives it sufficient powers to govern as long as it likes without the National Council. Thus, for example, it can at any time itself approve a provisional budget, if the budget has not been passed in time by the National Council. It can also impose taxes without any special legal powers. The Federal President has the right to appoint and dismiss the government.

The right to issue emergency orders goes far beyond the provisions of the old Hapsburg Constitution of 1867. There is therefore, as was planned, a restoration of the absolutist police State of the Metternich period.

The Federal President is to receive power to issue orders amending the laws at any time when it is impossible to wait for the decisions of the National Council "without entailing irreparable harm to the community". These orders require the counter-signature of the Federal government and are to be immediately submitted to the National Council.

The immunity for members of the National Council on account of punishable actions consisting in the publication of printed matter is quite openly abolished.

The Federal President is not, as was originally announced, to be elected by the people, but by the "National Assembly", in which the fascist cliques of provincial and states councils will predominate. The election takes place in the following manner. First the people will vote. If no presidential candidate obtains an absolute majority (which will probably always be the case) the National Assembly will be convened, consisting of the National Council, the states and provincial councils, all members of the provincial governments, and the Vienna town senate. This body will then choose one of the three candidates who have received the most votes. This of course means that a candidate can be elected who at the first ballot received fewer votes than the others.

The provincial and states council consists of representatives of the various professions and the representatives of the provinces. Both the provincial council as well as the states council have the right to veto all decisions of the National Council. A very important provision of this new Constitution is that alterations of the Constitutions are no longer to require a two thirds majority. A constitutional decision of the National Council for which more than half of the members present have voted, needs only to be submitted by the Federal President to a plebiscite in order by a simple majority vote to come into force. In addition, the Federal President can submit to a plebiscite any decision of the National Council to which he does not agree.

Most characteristic of this "Constitution" are, however, the powers which the police receive under it. The clause in this connection says:

The authorities entrusted with the conduct of matters of public safety can in these matters which come within their sphere, so far as there do not exist special legal regulations, in the event of threatening disturbance of public law and order or for the defence of endangered bodily safety or property, adopt such measures necessary for the averting of this danger and declare non-compliance with the same to be punishable.

By a simple order of the government federal police authorities will be set up where they do not yet exist, following which the local police will be dissolved. This is particularly important, because the police will now control the lists of electors.

In addition, the police authorities are no longer subordinate to the provincial authorities but directly to the Federal Minister. Further, the police receive full and uncontrolled power to expel aliens.

The police also receive the right to carry out house-searches without a magistrate's order. For the press a preliminary police censorship is introduced which can suppress newspapers and prohibit the publication of any printed matter, and in fact can close down printing works. The police also take over the reintroduced censorship of theatres and cinemas.

The Federal government can at any time, when it is of opinion that public order and safety are considerably disturbed or endangered, proclaim by special order the old-Hapsburg state of emergency.

But even without a state of emergency an independent military intervention shall be permissible "when the authorities are rendered incapable by superior force to bring about military intervention or when it is necessary to repel attacks or in the event of resistance to a part of the Federal army". That is to say, when the commander of any body of troops gives demonstrating workers the order to disperse and the latter offer resistance, he is empowered to shoot them down to his heart's content.

The Constitutional Court, which was hitherto elected by the National Council, shall from now on be nominated by the government, the Federal Council, the Administrative Court and the Supreme Court. The right of citizens to bring complaints before the Constitutional Court on account of violation of civil rights, a right which existed at the time of the monarchy, is now abolished.

The law on the abolition of the nobility is now removed from the Constitutional code in order to enable the nobility to be introduced at any time. The same applies to the law regarding the Hapsburg coat of arms.

The position of Vienna as an independent province is abolished. Vienna becomes a town immediately subject to the Federal Government. The Mayor of Vienna receives about the same powers as a district prefect.

In conclusion a very important provision should be mentioned. In addition to the police and gendarmerie, the Federal government can establish and organise, other bodies to maintain law and order, and can arm the same. A blind man can see that this refers to the Heimwehr.

We can only emphasise what the "Rote Fahne" writes of this Constitutional Reform:

"Every worker can be sure that the draft law means nothing else but a legalised fascist reign of terror.

If the Austrian workers, small peasants and town dwellers were to accept such a Constitution, then they would deserve to be treated as slaves of the fascist dictatorship.

This Constitution is nothing else but the disguise of a fascist coup d'etat carried out by legal means.

And the social-democrats? They have already declared that they are for the alteration of the Constitution. They will also agree to an alteration of the Constitution with a two-thirds majority provided it is carried out under the necessary democratic guise of a plebiscite majority obtained under fascist terror.

A mass storm of enormous force must arise in order to sweep away these fascist Constitution proposals. The working class must proclaim their determination to fight at mass meetings and in great demonstrations in the street and at factory meetings.

The moment is approaching when the working class will have to create workers' councils to lead them in the fight."

POLITICS

The Petition for a Plebiscite in Germany.

Who Shall serve the Master? Severing or Hugenberg?

By M. Krause (Berlin).

On the 16th October the petition lists for the Hugenberg Plebiscite were opened for signature, but the "struggle" between the parties of the "National Opposition" and the coalition parties commenced earlier and resulted in the last few days in numerous meetings, in activity in the various parliaments and in the columns of the various bourgeois and social-democratic newspapers, and in a wave of speeches, appeals and articles. The representatives of the bourgeois right-wing parties accuse the spokesmen for the Young Plan of treason, an offence punishable with hard labour. The so-called left-wing parties style the Hugenberg Plebiscite as an "attack upon the vital interests of the German people".

All this is only a demagogic game. The German nationalists, who are now all in favour of the Plebiscite, themselves voted in favour of the Dawes Plan and assisted in securing its acceptance by the Reichstag. Their representatives have repeatedly met the representatives of the "arch enemy" and discussed, besides the question of a military alliance between France and Germany against the Soviet Union, also the carrying out of the Young Plan. The bourgeois right-wing parties are just as much in favour of the acceptance and carrying out of the Young Plan as are the coalition parties. The most loud-mouthed representatives of the coalition parties are also aware of this. Their "struggle" against the right-wing parties in the question of the acceptance of the Young Plan is only a cover for inner-political differences which, compared with the whole development of Germany, are of minor significance.

What is the object of the struggle? In the past, and particularly in the recent past, the German social democracy has proved that in the service of the bourgeoisie it finds no means too bad in order to hold down the working class. It fights against the workers' struggles with the compulsory arbitration

tem, by organising strike-breaking and with open police force. It builds armoured cruisers. It taxes the mass articles consumption needed by the workers. It cuts down the workers' unemployment benefit. It dissolves the defence organisations of the revolutionary workers and, if necessary, it does not hesitate at organising bloodbaths a la Zoergiebel. The May days in Berlin represented a foretaste of what the social democracy is capable of in the service of the bourgeoisie.

But appetite grows from what it feeds upon. The most influential section of the bourgeoisie is not yet satisfied. If fascism, is not social fascism but real fascism! Since the May days, the Stahlhelm fascists, under the leadership of the German Nationalist Hugenberg, are becoming more and more aggressive. The acceptance of the Young Plan offered them a favourable opportunity for a thrust forward. The question is, who shall be the master? Braun, Grezinski, Müller, Severing and the Centre Party on the one hand, or Hitler and Seldte on the other.

How far have things developed? Very characteristic of the situation is an article of one of the leaders of the People's Party, Kardorff: "The Need of the Hour", published in the "Berliner Arbeiterzeitung". In this article Kardorff demands a radical reform of the whole finance system, and at the same time a Reichsreform. He declares that it is the duty and task of the German People's Party to unite all bourgeois who are willing to carry out positive work to this end, in close co-operation in the Reichstag. The German People's Party, however, the party of Brüning, is the key-stone of the whole coalition.

The chairman of the Centre Party, the Prelate Kaas, made a speech in Dortmund in which he demanded that "the present certain situation should be abolished by the formation of a new coalition in order that a greater independence should be established from the incalculable hazards of parliamentary government". Kaas then said very clearly what was in his mind: "The happenings in Austria should be a sign for every objective observer that there are limits to the patience of a people".

The democratic press comments upon Kaas' speech with approval. The "Berliner Tageblatt" of the 18th October writes that "the speech should receive close attention in all camps".

The proclamation of the Reichspräsident Hindenburg which took the form of a letter to the Reichskanzler Müller, published on the day of the opening of the lists for the plebiscite, is still more characteristic of the situation. Hindenburg protested against his name being drawn into the struggle of the parties in connection with the petition for a plebiscite.

The proclamation reads inter alia as follows:

"With increasing disapproval I have been compelled to observe that my person and my supposed personal opinion with regard to the question of the so-called Young Plan is being drawn into the agitation in connection with the petition for a plebiscite both by the committee for the plebiscite and by the parties and groups which oppose the plebiscite".

Hindenburg declares that he gave no one power to announce his opinion with regard to this problem and that there was no occasion for assuming his opinion. He declares with special sharpness:

"On the contrary, I have always declared that I reserve my final attitude to the Young Plan up to that moment when this very important question is ready for settlement and is placed before me according to articles 70, 72 and 73 of the Reichs Constitution for a decision concerning the promulgation or quashing of a law arrived at upon the basis of the Constitution, and I maintain this attitude now as before."

This proclamation is clearly directed against the so-called right-wing parties which have inscribed Hindenburg's name upon their banner in the "struggle" against the plebiscite. Hindenburg forms public opinion that he is not in agreement with "the parties and groups which oppose the plebiscite". These "parties and groups", however, are the Reichs Government appointed by Hindenburg and the coalition parties themselves.

The politically most important point in Hindenburg's proclamation is the declaration that he does not intend to undertake to sign the Hague Treaty. He bases his standpoint upon these articles of the Reichs Constitution which give the Reichspräsident a right of veto upon all "laws arrived at upon the basis of the Constitution".

This is, of course, no abandonment of the Young Plan by Hindenburg. Hindenburg, who congratulated the Hague delegation upon the acceptance of the Young Plan, is no more an opponent of this Plan than is the social democracy. He is

determined now as before, to carry out the imperialist Young Plan, but he considers it necessary to draw the attention of the coalition parties, and above all of the social democracy, very energetically to the fact that they must limit their demagogic agitation against the fascists and that they must submit in all questions.

Outwardly regarded, Hindenburg takes up a "neutral" attitude in his proclamation between the parties of the "national opposition", who want to overthrow Hermann Müller, and the coalition government, which repeatedly used Hindenburg's name in its "struggle" against the plebiscite. This "neutrality" is, however, in reality a challenge to the Hermann Müller Government and an open support of the plebiscite. This "neutrality" is a sign to the fascist organisations to commence their attack upon the coalition government; it is a demonstrative support for the fascist bloc.

The object of the "struggle" in connection with the petition for a plebiscite is not the acceptance or rejection of the Young Plan, but the final formation of a united front in the camp of the bourgeoisie against the working class. The petition for a referendum is intended only as a jumping off board for further attacks of the fascist forces on the revolutionary working class. It is only a link in the chain of the increasing fascist offensive in Germany, expressed in Stahlhelm parades, in national-socialist terrorism all over Germany, in attacks upon the workers, etc.

The Communist Party opposes both camps of the bourgeois reaction with the same deadly enmity. It has always said to the masses that the reparations problem could only be solved in a revolutionary fashion by the overthrow of the German bourgeoisie. It has appealed to the whole working people for a real struggle against the Young Plan, and declared in its recent appeal that the petition for a plebiscite inaugurated by the bourgeois right-wing parties against the Young Plan, cannot prevent the carrying out of this Plan and is only intended as a preparation for the open fascist dictatorship.

The political proclamation of Hindenburg confirms as a whole the correctness of the communist attitude to the plebiscite.

The New Crisis in the British Coal Industry.

By G. Allison (London).

The Coal Industry in Britain is rapidly running into a new crisis comparable almost with that which led to the General Strike and Miners' Lockout of 1926. There are, however, big changes in the relation of forces as compared with the earlier struggle, since in the present situation the whole of the Trade Union Bureaucracy including that of the Miners Federation of Great Britain, is now openly on the side of the employers. Moreover the Labour Government is in Office, pledged to a mining programme, that cannot be put through because of the anti-working class policy of the Government.

Economically the industry remains stagnant. The end of the lockout in 1926 witnessed an all round increase in the working day, and in most districts, wage reductions. Since that time the application of Rationalisation to the Industry has cheapened the cost of production, primarily by increasing output per man shift.

Costs of production per ton have decreased from 22/10 in 1921 to 18/1½ in 1926, and 13/4 in 1929, (first quarter). Simultaneously, output per man shift has increased from 18.16 cwt. in 1922 to 18.49 in 1926, and 22.13 cwt. in the first quarter of 1929.

These economies have not however, had the effect of improving the state of the Industry. Total output of coal and exports shows no increase except for a brief period at the beginning of 1929. The man power employed in and about the mines has decreased from 1,230,246 in 1924 to 1,037,391 in 1927, 951,632 in 1928 and 935,400 in Sept. 1929.

The proposals of the Coal Owners are in brief, No change in wages, hours, and district agreements, and the adoption of District marketing schemes for the regulation of output and prices, coupled with more intensive application of rationalisation. The Labour Government are behind the marketing schemes, and a Special Cabinet Coal Committee is preparing legislation on this and the hours problem. It is proposed that the 7½ hours day be introduced early next year, and provisions be made for the seven-hour day, when the state of the Industry can stand it.

The assurance given by the Labour Government that wages are not to be reduced "in spite" of the shortening of the working day is, however, an empty promise, as the owners are interested in a certain temporary limitation of production by reducing the working hours only if wages are likewise reduced.

While large masses of the miners are losing faith in the Labour Government and acting contrary to the industrial peace policy of the M. F. G. B., the need for a new and militant leadership is made apparent.

It is in this situation that the Party and the Minority Movement has initiated a mining campaign around the demand for:

1. The 7-hour Day.
2. A guaranteed daily wage of 12/—, 11/—, and 10/— for the different grades of workers, and a guaranteed weekly minimum of £3, £2, 15. 0, and £2.
3. Adequate protection of young workers and equal pay for equal work.

On the basis of this programme the Party and the M. M. works for the creation of all-inclusive Committees of Action at the Pits, linked up in a Council of Action in the respective districts and leading up to a **National Council of Action** that will lead the struggle against the Coal owners, the Labour Government and the T. U. Bureaucracy. The existence of the revolutionary Miners' Union in Scotland provides the revolutionary working class with the possibility of demonstrating practically how the fight for all the demands of the miners is to be conducted. Technically the fight is due to start with the automatic termination of the South Wales agreement at the end of the year, but the miners must be ready for action at any moment.

Already Committees of Action are in the process of formation in the S. Wales and Scotland, and the movement is gaining in other districts. Through the persistent exposure of the role of the Labour Government and the M. F. G. B. leaders, by taking the leadership of the local struggles and by preparing for mass action on the vital question of wages and hours, our Party and the M. M. can make a real advance in the struggle for the independent leadership of the masses, the more so as the reintroduction of the seven-hour day was one of the most important election promises with which the Labour Party at the last election won the votes of thousands and thousands of workers who are now beginning to realise the deception which has been practised upon them.

A Fresh Attack on the Latvian Working Class.

By Valentin Olberg.

The intensification of class struggles in Latvia has brought a new offensive of the bourgeoisie and, as an answer thereto, the general strike of the workers.

The parties of the Right have introduced a measure to amend the law on the progressive tax. At the same time they are endeavouring to bring about an alteration of the customs duties. The heaviest import duties are to be placed on corn and rubber. Not content with this the reaction is endeavouring to prolong the working hours of the civil servants without granting any increase of wages. It is hoped by this means to obtain the possibility to discharge about ten per cent. of the civil service staff and thus to get rid of the oppositional elements. The Government is diligently working at the preparation of a Bill according to which the employers will be under no obligation to pay for overtime or for holidays. All these projects have aroused the greatest excitement among the workers of Latvia. It is just at this moment that the Government, which fails completely to realise the true state of affairs and feels assured by the peaceful declarations of the social democrats, has decided to carry out a reform of the Sickness Insurance Funds.

The Latvian bourgeoisie has long wanted to exclude the expenditure for the sick-insurance from its budget, to reduce the employers' contributions and to cut down the amount of sick-benefit. The sickness insurance funds are to be deprived of a third of their means. The administration of the funds by the

workers is to be liquidated and the funds are to be placed under the control of the employers. The bourgeoisie designates this reform as an "improvement of the control". According to the proposed law the heading "expediture for public health" is to be struck out and the workers will have to pay all costs of their own pockets.

The law is demanded by fascist circles. Arved Berg Reinhard, the leaders of the fascists, submitted these demands to the Minister for Labour Rubuls. The Minister expressed his agreement thereto and now the axe is being applied to the insurance funds.

Nevertheless, there still exists fear of the working class. The democratic constitution has foreseen such an eventualities and cleverly left a loophole for fascist actions. Paragraph 81 of the Latvian Constitution provides that in exceptionally important cases the government has the right to issue laws during Parliamentary recess. The fascist government is making use of this clause and thus the new reform is to be proclaimed by paragraph 81.

The social democratic leaders have now got a tough job. It is not so easy to damp down the indignation of the workers in a country with good revolutionary traditions. The social democratic press is publishing long articles on the new danger to the working class and advising the workers to wait until Parliament meets. They have not issued a single fighting slogan. The central organ of the social democratic party of Latvia "Social Democrat" only advised the workers to give expression to their discontent. But how? In what way? That is left unsaid. At the same time they warn the workers against possible intervention of the Communists. At the protest meetings where the social democracy called as a result of the powerful pressure on the workers, the party leaders spoke of the necessity of reasonable action. They attempted by all means to prevent a strike, but was all in vain. The discontent of the workers is too great. In spite of the sabotage of the social democracy, the Latvian workers have entered on a general strike.

* * *

Riga, 20th October 1934

The one-day protest strike of the Lettish workers organisations against the new law regulating workers health insurance was carried out everywhere. In Riga harbour the tramway workers, the municipal workers and up to 70% of the factory workers took part in the strike. The governmental buildings, telegraph and telegraph offices, the gas, water, and electricity works were guarded by detachments of the armed fascist organisation "Vaisargen". 80 persons were arrested in Riga. Despite the pressure of the social democrats and despite the furious terror of the fascist authorities, 1,500 workers took part in a demonstration with flags and placards bearing communist slogans. The demonstration was finally dispersed by the police who proceeded against the workers with the utmost brutality.

* * *

Riga, October 20th, 1934

The Left trade unions have called upon the workers to break off the protest strike against the new sickness insurance law. The most important trade unions influenced by the social democrats, such as the railwaymen's union, the unions of the telegraph and telegraph workers, of the civil servants and the teachers have not taken part in the strike. The breaking off of the strike is due to the treacherous manoeuvres of the social democrats who claimed to be for the strike but in actual fact instructed the members of their trade unions not to join in the strike. They hoped thereby to weaken the position of the Left trade unions and deliver over revolutionary strikers to police repression. In Riga alone about 150 strikers were arrested yesterday and handed over to the court. 60 railway workers were discharged.

In spite of the treachery of the social democracy, in spite of the savage police terror, the strike shows the strength of the revolutionary proletariat, and this may well be a warning to the social fascists.

THE BALKANS

The Political Significance of the New Administrative Division of Yugoslavia.

By P. Dragashevatz.

Now that the new map of Yugoslavia and the statistics regarding the new administrative distribution have been published, this blow of the Great-Serbian dictatorship against the oppressed nationalities in Yugoslavia is apparent in all its brutality and ruthlessness.

The administrative re-distribution of the country has done away with all the old national frontiers. Croatia, which no one hitherto dared to ignore and which possesses national traditions of a thousand years' standing and a national culture of its own, has simply been extinguished as a state by the new regulations. Montenegro, which for centuries preserved its independence and liberty against the attacks of the Turks and the Western Powers, has now been eliminated from the map of the world. Kosovo, a purely Albanian province which after the Balkan wars was violently separated from the rest of Albania, has now been divided into three fractions so as to facilitate the work of ousting and exterminating the Albanians. Bosnia with its century-old traditions has ceased to exist.

The main object the dictators have in view in this connection is the arbitrary establishment of a Serbian majority in most of the provinces. This object has been attained in five provinces out of nine, viz. in the Danube, Drina, Morava, Vrbas, and Zeta areas. To attain this end, recourse was had to the most arbitrary combinations.

The Danube province has been made to embrace the Vojvodina and a large part of Serbia, so as to establish the preponderance of the Serbs, Germans, Magyars, Rumanians, Croats, and other non-Serbian nationalities inhabiting the Vojvodina, Banat, Batchka, and Barania in great numbers in a sense favourable to the first-named. Official statistics show a total of 1,380,413 inhabitants of the Vojvodina to have consisted of 514,124 Serbs and Croats and 866,289, or about 78 per cent., other nationals (328,123 Germans, 382,070 Magyars, 74,094 Rumanians, 67,886 other Slavs, etc.).

The Drina province, which has a Serbian majority, has been made to include the purely Croatian district of Vukovar, which is too small to disturb the said proportion. This district might have influenced in such a way as to give it a Croatian-Moslem character. Parts of Bosnia and Croatia have been very cleverly pieced together to form the Vrbas province and to give it a Serbian majority of 406,500 against 394,000 Croats and Moslems. This province has also been deprived of the purely Croatian district of Travnik, which has been replaced by the addition of the purely Serbian district of Dvor, so as to strengthen the Serbian majority.

The purely Croatian district of Travnik, eliminated so that it should not disturb the Serbian majority, has been added to the Litoral province which is a purely Croatian area the character of which was in any case not to be altered.

So as to destroy the Albanian majority in Kosovo and at the same time paralyse Montenegro, the province of Zeta has been formed of part of Kosovo and the whole of Montenegro, so that the Serbo-Montenegrin element should be in the majority. So as to enhance this effect, the Albanian districts of Dubicitrn and Podajevo were excluded and added to the Morava province, which is purely Serbian and cannot be harmed by such an addition.

The historical designation of "Banovina" which has been given to the new provinces is in itself a trick to dupe the Croats, Croatia having while under Austrian rule for centuries been divided into "Banovinas" and governed by "Banuses". But while this expression in former times stood for something typically Croatian, nay, for Croatia itself, the present "Banovinas" are nothing but administrative districts in which the national Croatian characteristics have been obliterated, while the "Banuses" are administrative officials subject to the

Ministry of the Interior, of which, like the prefects, they are merely executive organs.

By this division of Yugoslavia, the dictatorship has not only abolished national territories; in the artificially formed Serbian provinces it has managed to comprehend the most important economic regions of the country. These five Serbian "Banovinas" comprise the most important mining areas and the largest timber industries and are also the most fertile agricultural regions. Besides this, they are linked up by the strategically valuable railway line from the Danube to the Adriatic.

The outcome of this administrative reform of the dictators may be summed up as follows: Croatia has been deprived of more than half of the purely Croatian territory, which has gone to make up "Serbian" provinces. Montenegro, the Vojvodina, and Albanian Kosovo have been nationally destroyed. Macedonia has been united with part of Kosovo and with the Serbian district of Vranje, the whole making up the "Serbian" province of Vardar.

Statistics in regard to area and population best serve to show the Serbian deprivations. The five provinces with a Serbian majority form a total area of 136,034 square kilometres, with about 6,290,000 inhabitants; together with the province of Vardar, which the dictators have proclaimed to be Serbian and which they are determined to render Serbian by force if needs be, the Serbian provinces aggregate 175,000 square kilometres, with 7,695,000 inhabitants. The non-Serb provinces including the province of Vardar, have 111,816 square kilometres and 5,505,000 inhabitants; without Vardar they figure at 72,250 square kilometres and 4,100,000 inhabitants. The true proportion of nationalities in the country, however, is 4,450,000 Serbs to 8,000,000 non-Serbs.

So as to wipe out the last traces of the individual nationalities, the hoisting of national (Croatian or Slovene) flags, which were hitherto used side-by-side with the official Serbian colours, has been prohibited.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Struggle of the Berlin Plumbers.

By Paul Peschke (Berlin).

The struggle of the Berlin plumbers and plumbers labourers has already lasted eight weeks. This strike has revealed splendid examples of proletarian solidarity and heroic self-sacrifice. The employers would long have granted all the demands, because they realised in the meantime that the strike-breaking action of the free trade union metal workers' union is not helping them at all. In spite of the fact that the German Metal Workers' Federation Executive recruited strike breakers from all parts of the country at the cost of their members, they did not succeed in breaking the strike front.

The employers in the plumbing, gas and hot water fitting trade can only hold out because the great federations of the employers, such as the federation of the Berlin metal industrialists, the federation of Berlin building firms have placed millions at their disposal. These employers' unions recognise quite clearly that if the strike of the plumbers which is under oppositional leadership, scores a complete victory, this will be a signal for the whole of the working class to follow the example of the plumbers. The workers are already beginning to stir in the factories of the Berlin metal industry, in the firms of Lorenz and Bamag in order, relying on their own strength and against the will of the trade union bureaucracy, to repel the attacks of the employers and to carry out their demands in spite of the existing tariff which does not expire until the end of September 1930. The example of a successful strike of the plumbers must therefore be hindered in any circumstances. The employers federations are therefore mobilising their financial reserves and are prepared to let the building works lie idle over the winter. For the same reason the trade union bureaucracy, acting together with the employers, is making every effort to break the struggle by organised blacklegging. And for the same reason there is let loose every day in the social-democratic press a flood of filthy lies regarding the striking workers. Everything has hitherto availed nothing, the strike front remains firm.

The bureaucracy of the German Metal Workers' Union is now setting the State apparatus in motion. Already at the beginning of the strike the social-democratic Minister for Labour, Wissel, hastened to its aid by declaring to be binding the tariff agreement which has been concluded against the will of nine-tenths of the plumbers. This action of the State apparatus against the strikers is now being continued in a sharper form. On Sunday 19th October, the social-democratic police president Zörgiebel had the Executive of the Union of plumbers and plumbers assistants and five members of the central strike committee dragged out of their beds, arrested and placed in solitary confinement in the police headquarters.

This act of the State apparatus, which is controlled by the social-democrats, aroused great excitement among the working class. The State apparatus openly comes to the aid of the employers and of the trade union bureaucracy. The hope to shatter the strike front by arresting the leaders was brought to naught on the very same day. The Central strike committee, which still consists of 21 workers, immediately organised, with the aid of the Communist Party, a meeting of the strikers which was splendidly attended. Here 2000 strikers pledged themselves again to continue the fight and not to resume work until the employers give way and their arrested fellow workers are released. In a powerful demonstration, with cries of "Down with the social-fascist police regime", the strikers marched to the police headquarters and demanded the immediate release of their fellow comrades. The intervention of the State apparatus in this economic strike proves to the working class with all clearness the connection existing between the employers and the trade union bureaucracy, which in the fight against the revolutionary working class makes use of the police in order to crush the strike. It also proves, however, that the Opposition is absolutely right when it proceeds to organise the struggles of the workers independently and against the will of the bureaucracy. The strike of the plumbers is not yet ended. The social fascists are greatly mistaken if they believe that they can crush it by means of the police. The step taken by the notorious Zörgiebel will have the contrary effect. The Berlin workers, and with them the workers in the whole country, will stand like one man behind the plumbers and, together with the revolutionary trade union opposition, conduct the fight until all social fascists have been driven out of the workers organisations.

The Revolutionary Miners and the International Coal Agreement.

By G. Sobottka (Berlin).

The annual congress of the revolutionary miners federation of France took place from the 7th to the 11th October in Lens in the North of France. Following this congress, a discussion took place between French, Belgian, German, Saar and British miners. In this discussion, the representatives of the revolutionary miners of the countries mentioned dealt with the present mining situation and with the efforts of the reformist bureaucrats and of the mineowners to bring about a so-called coal agreement.

It was unanimously agreed that no agreement upon systematic production was possible under capitalism. That which the reformists and the mineowners are aiming at under the cover of an agreement is nothing but the formation of a syndicate, and thus the formation of an international monopoly for the British, French and German capitalists against a number of lesser coal-producing countries and in particular the Soviet Union. The formation of such a monopolist syndicate depends upon the conclusion of a political agreement of the capitalist powers in question for a military alliance against the Soviet Union.

The conference was unanimously of the opinion that a sharp struggle should be conducted in all countries against the reformist theory of harmony and the creation of an international syndicate, particularly because attempts are being made to console the workers with an alleged agreement and planned economy and to detract their attention from the struggle for improvements of wages and working conditions.

The miners of all countries must set a struggle for wage increases and shorter working hours against the capitalist ra-

tionalisation and the syndicate and monopoly plans. The question of the struggle for shorter working hours is of particular importance for the British miners, who must compel the MacDonald Government to keep its promise to introduce the seven-hour day.

The revolutionary miners conference therefore declared to be the most important task of the miners to organise a struggle for wage and working hour improvements in all countries and to organise a struggle to abolish capitalism and take over production by the workers, as against the reform plans for a coal agreement. In order to mobilise the miners in all countries for these aims, it was decided to call an international miners congress, not consisting of officials like a reformist congress, but of delegates from the pits.

AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

The Situation in Egypt.

The Termination of the Mahmoud Dictatorship.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

The dictatorship of Mohammed Mahmoud Pacha in Egypt has come to an inglorious termination. It was in vain that the Egyptian dictator by the grace of Lord Lloyd endeavoured on his return from London to retain his position. He had done his duty in the service of British imperialism and the British Government had no further reason to support him. The ingenu policy of the Labour-imperialists in Egypt needs more serious allies than a man like Mahmoud; it aims at an alliance with the majority of the Egyptian landowners and capitalists; thus seeks to clear the way for direct co-operation with the War Party.

It would, however, be a mistake to believe that the Labour Party disdained to leave the dictator Mahmoud (the instrument bequeathed them by their Conservative predecessors) in his position as long as they well could. Up to the last moment, attempts were made under the patronage of the Labour politicians to make up a kind of coalition ministry with the participation of Mahmoud. The Wafd Party, it is true, could not venture to carry its treachery to the lengths of forming a bloc with the anti-constitutional Mohammed Mahmoud. Seeing that in the future the Wafd Party will, by accepting the draft of the Anglo-Egyptian treaty, considerably strain its popularity, it was obliged to keep up the appearance of an irreconcilable attitude at least in regard to home politics.

The situation that results is favourable both for the Wafd leaders and for the British imperialists. The abdication of Mahmoud was the immediate outcome of a secret discussion between Mustapha Nahas Pacha, chairman of the Wafd, and Sir Percy Loraine, the new British High Commissioner in Egypt. At this discussion the Wafd leader agreed to adopt the Henderson-Mahmoud draft as soon as the Wafd Party has successfully issued from the Parliamentary elections. Thus the Wafd has apparently been the means of putting an end to the dictatorship and will consequently enjoy the increased prestige it requires for the elections, while Henderson has the prospect of agreement to his treaty "in the name of the Egyptian people."

The fact that the Mahmoud-Henderson agreement should be ratified by none other than a victorious Wafd Party is of tremendous importance from the British imperialist standpoint. It is well known that there is in Egypt a growing resistance to the agreement, nay, even an agitation for its repudiation. If we closely examine the individual diplomatically worked-out points of the agreement and in particular the annexes regarding its execution, the more obvious it becomes that it represents a confirmation, "glossed-over" with phrases, of the status quo in Egypt and not a realisation of Egyptian independence.

Dissatisfaction with the agreement reaches far into the ranks of the petty-bourgeois adherents of the Wafd. When the agreement has been signed and as soon as it is apparent that it entails no improvement in the position of the broad masses of the fellahs, dissatisfaction is likely to find fairly vehement utterance. The position in the neighbouring countries (Palestine and Transjordan on the one hand and the Sudan on the other) is as far from reassuring. Therefore, there would be no sense in the entire agreement if it did not bear the signature of the "Par-

of the Egyptian People" — and this signature, which binds it to a further sanguinary suppression of all popular movements, the Egyptian bourgeoisie desires to sell at as high a price as possible.

So as to facilitate the transition from the hated dictatorship to a "popular Ministry", which will in reality pursue exactly the same policy as the dictatorship did, a provisional Ministry under Adli Pacha has been formed with the consent of the Wafd; its main task will be that of preparing the elections. This consent again proves how little the Wafd essentially differs from the other bourgeois-Feudal groups.

As regards the balance of the sixteen months during which Mahmoud's clique "dictated" in Egypt, there is not much to be said for it. None of his many promises did Mahmoud keep, save of course the elaboration of the new plans of irrigation, which amounted to a surrender of the control of the Nile to Great Britain.

In one respect, however, this period of dictatorship may have serious consequences. In his search for popularity, Mahmoud was forced to have recourse to measures of social demagoguery: he promised to the peasants the division among them of large estates and to the workers a workers' protection law, extensive hospital constructions, drinking-water for the rural districts, and the like. He kept none of these promises, but still he caused the working class to realise what they could demand of the Government and what was being withheld from them. Even now, the Wafd papers are attempting to designate social reforms as out of keeping with the times and to prove that their realisation is impossible for financial reasons. But in whatever hands authority lies, the workers and peasants, whose situation is going from bad to worse, are beginning to fight for the realisation of their class demands.

THE WHITE TERROR

The Terrorist Sentence of the Fascist Tribunal.

Vladimir Gortan Already Executed.

By A. Rosso.

From the Italian Frontier, 17th October 1929.

Five workers from Vermo, Istria: Vladimir Gortan, Vittorio Bacchiaz, Dusiano Ladavaz, Luigi Ladavaz and Vitale Gortan have been condemned by the Mussolini tribunal. The indictment, which is a mockery of every idea of law or justice, accused them of being responsible for the bloody events which took place on the 24th of May last, the day of the fascist "elections" to Parliament. Vladimiro Gortan was condemned to death; the four other accused were each condemned to 30 years' imprisonment. Vladimiro Gortan was executed this morning.

By its sentence the Special Tribunal has only carried out an order of Mussolini, who announced in his speech last month that "some frontier districts require an example". An example had to be given, revolutionary workers had to be condemned to death and 120 years' imprisonment; the mass movement of proletarian anti-fascism is to be again terrorised by this bloody sentence.

The Special Tribunal, which was set up at the end of 1926 by a decree of Mussolini in order to settle "all political trials of any importance", has shown itself to be quite capable of carrying out the behests of the Duce. It functions as a military court; there is no appeal against its sentences. The first trial held by the special tribunal took place on the 1st of February 1927. By the end of 1927 it had condemned 207 accused to a total of 1243 years' imprisonment. In the year 1928 the number of the condemned amounted to 732, who received sentences totalling 3522 years' imprisonment. In the first six months of 1929, 150 accused were tried by this tribunal and were condemned to 700 years' imprisonment. The fascist special tribunal has in the first 2½ years of its existence sentenced 1089 politically accused to a total of 5465 years' hard labour.

Istria is one of those districts of Italy which, in addition to the general unbearable exploitation and suppression by the fascist regime, there is added the most brutal terrorisation of the Yugoslavian population. Since 1920 this district has been the scene of uninterrupted civil war and unceasing acts of

violence, incendiarism and vile murders of the working people. In the towns pogroms were again and again carried out against co-operative premises and editorial offices of workers papers. The labour movement is exposed to the most cruel persecution, and innumerable revolutionary proletarians have fallen victim to the daggers and revolvers of the black-shirts. Whole villages in Istria have again and again been visited by punitive expeditions who have decimated the population. This terror has not, however, succeeded in breaking the resistance to the fascist regime. The toiling masses of Istria stood and still stand irreconcilably opposed both to the fascism of Mussolini and to the rule of the Belgrade hangmen. They know that their emancipation is only to be achieved by the revolutionary fight. This is also shown by the plebiscite which in Istria, in spite of the raging terror, resulted in 1300 ballot papers with a "no" being handed in. At these elections the fascists fired continually upon numerous villages in order to terrorise the population. In Villa Treviso Tughtan, a Slav, was mortally wounded. Five Slav workers have now been condemned on "suspicion" (!) of having fired shots from an ambush.

On the 18th October, 1928, the worker Della Maggiore was executed. Now the worker Vladimiro Gortan has been executed and his four fellow-accused each condemned to 30 years' imprisonment.

This fresh brutal act of the fascist murder-regime will still further increase the hatred of the international proletariat against fascism. The international working class demands the release of all imprisoned victims of fascism. It will fight with all its forces until the blood-stained fascist regime has been annihilated and the working class emancipated.

The Carrying out of an International Campaign against the Military-Fascist Dictatorship in Yugoslavia.

Resolution of the Constance Conference.

The terror of the Yugoslavian fascist dictatorship aimed at the extermination of the active cadres of the C. P. of Yugoslavia, which culminates in the bestial murder of arrested labour leaders, imposes upon the international proletariat the duty to conduct the most active counter-campaign.

The Constance Conference of the Communist Parties declares that the Great Serbian military-fascist dictatorship in Yugoslavia is not only conducting civil war against the proletariat, the toiling peasantry and the suppressed nationalities, but is also making increased preparations for imperialist war against the Soviet Union. Therefore, the struggle against the military-fascist dictatorship in Yugoslavia must be an international struggle; it must be conducted as a struggle against an outpost of the international imperialists, which is pushed forward against the Soviet Union.

The international imperialists do not stop at the fascisation of Yugoslavia. With the support of international imperialism the Austrian bourgeoisie is feverishly preparing the fascist upheaval also in Austria. The conclusion of a new war alliance between the States of the Little Entente signalises the preparation of the fascisation of Czechoslovakia.

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia, driven into illegality and subjected to heavy blows, is nevertheless leading the working and peasant masses in the struggle and gives heroic examples of revolutionary resistance to the fascist murderers. In the fight against the criminal military-fascist dictatorship the C. P. of Yugoslavia is mobilising the broad masses, is organising the self-defence of the masses against the fascist murderers.

In this tremendously hard struggle, which is of enormous international importance, the C. P. of Yugoslavia and the toiling masses of Yugoslavia have the right to expect the most active support of all the Communist Parties and of the whole revolutionary proletariat and the revolutionary peasantry.

The Conference resolves to launch an active international campaign against the military-fascist dictatorship in Yugoslavia.

The Parties must always emphasise the close connection between the bloody terror in Yugoslavia and the war preparations against the Soviet Union. The working class in all

countries must be made to realise that the Yugoslavian bourgeoisie is conducting a ruthless annihilation struggle against the toiling masses in order to be able to prepare to participate undisturbed in the imperialist war against the Soviet Union, and in case of its outbreak not to have to fear a revolutionary hinterland.

For the successful carrying out of the campaign the following is necessary:

1. The Press campaign against the military-fascist dictatorship must be reinforced.

2. The following organisations must be drawn into the campaign: the trade unions, the International Red Aid, the League against Imperialism, the Anti-fascist committees, the Anti-fascist committees, the International League of Ex-Servicemen, League of the Friends of Soviet Russia and others.

3. In the carrying out of the campaign, special attention must be directed, apart from the proletariat, to the mobilisation of the toiling masses of the peasantry and suppressed nationalities. The struggle against the national oppression in Yugoslavia must be linked up with the struggle against international and Balkan imperialism, against fascism and for the Balkan Federation of workers' and peasants' Republics.

4. The Parliamentary tribunes in Czechoslovakia, Germany and France must be used for exposing the military-fascist dictatorship and its war-preparations against the Soviet Union.

5. Special forms of the campaign must be: a) adoption of protest resolutions at workers' and mass meetings, and election of delegations at these meetings who will be entrusted with the handing over of these resolutions to the responsible representatives of the criminal government; street demonstrations before the buildings of the Yugoslavian Consulates and Embassies (especially in Paris, Prague, London, Brussels etc.); b) formation of anti-fascist committees for the organisation and leadership of this action; c) the organisation of an exhibition to expose the bloody terror of Yugoslavian fascism.

6. The railwaymen and transport workers of Austria, France and Czechoslovakia are to be drawn in this struggle with a view to organising a boycott of fascist Yugoslavia. The workers in the war industries of France and Czechoslovakia are to be mobilised in order to sabotage and to prevent the production of war material and its transport to the Yugoslavian war-mongers.

7. The Communist Parties of America, Australia, France, Argentina and Belgium, in whose countries there are Yugoslavian toiling masses, are faced with the task of drawing the Yugoslavian workers into this campaign. A special agitation must be developed among the Yugoslavians in order to induce them not to send their savings to the agrarian or other banks in Yugoslavia, the funds of which are used by the fascist dictatorship for the strengthening of its power. The Communist Parties of these immigration countries must promote the active support of the C. P. of Yugoslavia on the part of the emigrated Yugoslavian working masses.

8. Exposure of the abominable role which is played by the Yugoslavian social-democratic party, with the full support of the II. International, in the carrying out of the bloody regime of the military-fascist dictatorship (J. Topalovitch, the brothers Jakchitch, D. Lapchevitch etc.).

9. The proletariat of Austria, Czechoslovakia and of other countries must learn from the example of Yugoslavia, that their own bourgeoisie and international imperialism are making every effort, before starting the war against the Soviet Union, to destroy and decapitate the revolutionary movement in the respective countries. The Great-Serbian and Anglo-French imperialists are continuing their systematic advance against the Soviet Union by the establishment of the military-fascist dictatorship in Yugoslavia. Therefore, all the Communist Parties are confronted with the task of a ruthless struggle against fascism in the spheres of agitation, propaganda and organisation. This struggle cannot be conducted isolated, it must bear an international, systematic character. The Yugoslavian proletariat, led by the C. P. of Yugoslavia, at the head of the toiling peasantry and of the suppressed nationalities, will put an end to the bloody regime of the military-fascist dictatorship only when it is actively supported by the revolutionary proletariat of all countries.

Reaction in Canada.

By Alex G. Richman (New York).

With labour "socialism" rampant in Great Britain, reaction in Canada has taken a new lease on life. A campaign of terrorism now raging aims to suppress the Communist Party and the other militant workers organisations. As evidence of this, 5 American and 2 Canadian Communist papers have been declared illegal in Canada recently and suppressed. These include the "Radnik", organ of the Yugoslav fractions in the C. P. U. S. A., published in Chicago; the "Freiheit", its Jewish organ, published in New York; "Il Lavoratore", its Italian organ, published in New York; "Saznanie", its Bulgarian organ, published in Detroit; "Uj Elore", its Hungarian paper, published in New York; "The Worker", official English organ of the C. P. Can., and "Vapaus", Finnish Communist paper published in Sudbury, Canada.

In Toronto the city ordinances prohibit the delivery of speeches in any language other than English. Hall owners automatically lose their licenses if they rent their halls for Communist meetings. Street meetings are interfered with by the police and the participants arrested, if under the auspices of the Comparty or Canadian Labour Defence.

The most recent raid was that against the Canadian "Worker", when the police raided the printing plant where the "Worker" is printed, and confiscated every issue. The printer, threatened with deportation proceedings, was forced to refuse to print the paper in the future.

Another printer faces sedition charges for printing a leaflet demanding freedom of speech and assembly. A number of workers were arrested at mass demonstrations and faced jail terms, and others are threatened with sedition charges and deportation. Demonstrations in Queens Park, Toronto, are attacked with savage brutality by foot and mounted police. The social-democrats in the trade unions pretend to plead for greater lenience for Communists, on the ground that they should be allowed to "let off steam".

The international character of the united front against militant workers organisations is shown by the compliance of the U.S. postal authorities with the demands of the Bulgarian dictatorship, and of the Yugoslav and British alliance against the Canadians. "Saznanie" was notified by the Detroit post officials that the Canadian government had barred its circulation and the post office therefore would not mail the paper. Or, to take the case of "Radnik", an American capitalist paper, the Chicago Tribune, announced at the beginning of August that "Radnik" was being suppressed in Canada. A few days later "Srobran", a fascist Yugoslav paper published in Pittsburgh, printed a statement by a Yugoslav consul in Canada announcing the suppression of "Radnik" and threatening the arrest and deportation of any worker caught reading the paper in Canada. Some days thereafter the management of "Radnik" was officially notified of its suppression by the Canadian customs authorities, with no cause given.

The MacDonald government encouraged and aided the suppression. Since the delegates of the bloody Yugoslav dictatorship supported the British at the Young Plan conference at the Hague, MacDonald, acting through the Canadian government, co-operated with the agents and spies of King Alexander's military dictatorship. British imperialism benefits by such action, since it helps to round out its anti-Soviet front in preparation for the coming world war, and is an essential part of the international campaign against the Communist movement.

Arov Vaara, editor of "Vapaus", Finnish Communist paper issued in the midst of the Mond barony in the nickel mine fields, was fined \$ 1,000 and jailed for six months. Here again the British labour government undoubtedly had a hand.

The Canadian proletariat, led by the C. P. and the Labour Defence, is resisting these attacks and organising the native and foreign-born masses against them. The American foreign-born workers are also being rallied to their support, and many of their organisations are holding meetings and sending resolutions to the Canadian Ambassador in Washington and to the Left wing press.

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

The "Turksib" Railway.

By R. O.

The Turkestan-Siberian Railway, termed "Turksib" for short, which was commenced in 1926, will probably be concluded about the middle of 1930. The new railway, which will link up Siberia with Soviet Central Asia and which, economically considered, ranks with the other great Soviet economic and industrial projects, the Dnieprostoi, the Volga-Don Canal etc., was originally planned to be completed in 1931. That the railway will be completed before the time fixed is a sign of the organizational capacity of the Soviet economic system which is in general exceeding the plans laid down for the new projects, and a proof that these plans are based upon sober calculation, despite the enormity of the tasks contained in them and despite their class struggle character.

From the standpoint of Siberia the significance of the new railway is that it will open up a new market for the produce of the Siberian soil and that it represents a considerable development of the very one-sided connections of Siberia with the outside world. Apart from a few branch lines, the railway communications of Siberia were limited to the great West-East line from European Russia into Siberia with its terminus in Vladivostok. This line is not able to offer the stream of Siberian commodities a sufficiently broad bed, and as a result Siberian grain is loaded with relatively high freight charges.

The plans for the development of Soviet economy aim to open up a way across the polar sea (through the so-called Sea of Kara, which is already a commercial proposition), and in the South to open up a new railway network. The Turkestan-Siberian Railway uses the branch line from the main Siberian railway near Novosibirsk to Semipalatinsk which existed before the war. The line will then proceed in a South-Westerly direction parallel with the Chinese frontier through Casackstan and Kirgistan to the town of Frunse in the heart of Central Asia where there is then a connection with the existing Soviet Central Asian railway net. The length of the new line from Semipalatinsk to Frunse is 1,400 kilometres. The new line will transport chiefly the much-needed timber and grain from Siberia to the Federal republics of Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan (formerly united Turkestan). The former railway connections of Soviet Central Asia were represented by a line from Krasnovodsk on the Caspian Sea to Tashkent and then on to Frunse. The freights from or to Krasnovodsk therefore needed transport over the Caspian Sea. There is a further line from the Volga district from Samara via Orenburg to Tashkent etc. Compared with these lines the new Turksib line gives the possibility of transporting grain from Siberia to Central Asia and diverting the grain from the Volga district to Western Russia or to the world market. What a great rationalisation of the grain transport and other transport not only for Siberia but also for other districts of the Soviet Union this will mean needs no elaboration.

The full significance of the Turksib line is however only clear when the importance of the grain transport to Central Asia is recognised. Central Asia is the main cotton growing district of the Soviet Union and is of first-rate importance for the textile industry and for the state of the foreign trade balance of the Soviet Union. There are three practical possibilities of increasing the production of the cotton harvest: the intensification of production per hectare, the extent of the artificial irrigation system required for the production of cotton, and the production of cotton instead of other crops, grain, rice, etc. The last of these possibilities is the one which offers the swiftest and most effective results under the given circumstances. In other words, the import of grain, rice, etc., into Central Asia must be guaranteed regularly, punctually, and cheaply in order that the peasants in Central Asia have an incentive to increase their production of cotton at the expense of these other crops. The general condition for this is a secure food basis. The rather widespread production of grain, rice, etc., upon land which is suitable for the production of cotton could therefore be abandoned and cotton substituted. The solution of the problem can

be carried out by Siberian grain with the assistance of the Turkestan railway to the benefit of the interests of the Siberian economic system, the Central Asian economic system and the economic system of the Soviet Union as a whole, whose textile industry will receive a broader raw material basis and which will have to import considerably less cotton and be able instead to import increasingly machinery and other necessities. The complex of all these economic possibilities shows what a great achievement the completion of the Turkestan-Siberian Railway before the original time planned will be for the economic system of the Soviet Union.

The Proletarian Solution of the Jewish Colonisation and National Question.

Birobidjan -- the Future Jewish Socialist Soviet Republic.

Berlin, 11th October 1929.

At a press reception of the society for the promotion of Jewish colonisation in the Soviet Union, an American delegation consisting of university professors and members of the colonising society "Icor", gave a report of its investigations in Birobidjan, a district allotted by the Soviet Government for Jewish colonisation. The plan of the Soviet Government is ultimately to make an autonomous Jewish socialist Soviet Republic in this district. As a result both the economic and national problems of Jewish colonisation will be solved in the land of the victorious proletariat and complete national and cultural freedom established for the Jews.

In their report the members of the delegation pointed out that the Birobidjan district was very fertile and was particularly suitable for corn, flax, rice and other cultures, for instance the soya bean. The land was also suitable for cattle breeding, dairy farming, etc. As a result of the immense forests, the conditions for the development of the timber and wood work trade were good. The district also possessed considerable coal resources and other valuable minerals, including gold, iron, marble, etc. The Soviet Government supported the colonists with building, financial and machine credits and supported them energetically in their efforts to form collective undertakings. Summing up, the delegates declared unanimously that Birobidjan was a rich country, full of possibilities. There were great problems, as in all new countries, but these problems were undoubtedly soluble. One of the most important methods for overcoming the difficulties was collectivisation which was particularly important with regard to the purchase of equipment.

Replying to questions concerning the relations existing between the Jewish colonists and the native population, of Cossacks, Tungusians and Koreans, the speaker for the delegation declared that unlike the situation in Palestine, the native population welcomed the colonists in a friendly fashion.

This is also quite natural, because the Soviet Government sees to it that not only do the activities of the Jewish colonists not damage the native agricultural population, but that they assist in promoting the agricultural prosperity of all the inhabitants of the district.

INTERNATIONAL PERSECUTION OF COMMUNISTS

A New Blow against the Revolutionary Movement in France.

By M. Cachin (Paris).

The bourgeoisie is preparing a fresh blow against the Communist Party of France, its organ "Humanité", and the C. G. T. U. The Public Prosecutor has decided to extend the indictment. The Humanité is accused of espionage on account of its workers' correspondence. In addition to Comrades Barbusse, Cachin, Vaillant-Couturier, Gayman and Forestier, 154 functionaries of the C. P. and of the C. G. T. U. have been arrested.

The aim which is being pursued must be clear to every worker. The "Humanité", whose undaunted propaganda against imperialism and the war danger is feared, is to be suppressed. This suppression has already been attempted once by an attack upon the Workers' and Peasants' Bank. This attempt failed at the time. It is now being renewed.

But it is not only a question of the organ of the C. P. of France. The Communist Party itself is to be destroyed. The blow at the legal existence of the Party signalises at the same time a new stage in the offensive against the Soviet Union. As it has been announced, the decision of the Public Prosecutor is connected with the Bessedowsky affair. It is said that the Communist Party, along with the Soviet Embassy in France, was "striving to bring about diplomatic incidents so as to provoke an armed conflict". It is declared that there is now sufficient ground for calling the Soviet Embassy to account. The incitement aiming at expelling the Soviet representative in Paris has now reached its highest point.

The new provocations of the police have not come as a surprise to our Party. The bourgeoisie and their allies, the social-democrats, cannot further carry out the capitalist rationalisation and the mobilisation of all the reactionary forces for an attack upon the Soviet Union without shattering the only organisation really and truly devoted to the cause of the proletariat. The Communist Party of France will, however, know how to meet the attack of the government authorities. It will close its ranks more firmly together, eject the cowards and the opportunists and carry on with the greatest energy the fight for the final ends of Communism. The Communist Party of France cannot be destroyed because it expresses the constantly growing will to fight of the enormous masses of the workers, because its methods of organisation and tactics are directed along the line of world revolution. The Communist Party is calling upon the workers in town and country to defend with the greatest determination their demands and their rights. It addresses to the working class the appeal to defend their Party and the unitary trade unions and their organ the "Humanité". It calls upon them to set up fighting committees in the factories. Hands off the Soviet Union! Hands off the Communist Party and the C. G. T. U.!

FASCISM

Letters from Austria.

By Fritz Rück.

(Special Correspondent of the "Inprecorr".)

V.

THE CRADLE OF THE HEIMWEHR.

Salzburg, 6th October, 1929.

At the base of the great Dome in Salzburg a scaffolding has been erected. A field service for the Salzburg and Tyrol members of the Heimwehr will be held upon this scaffolding this morning. 8,000 fascists are announced. The Heimwehr in Salzburg is to send 5,000 whilst the others are to come from the Tyrol. Special trains and motor lorries have been rolling into the town since the early morning. The former officers of the imperial army are overjoyed that they once again have an opportunity through the Heimwehr, of shouting their military commands. The peasant lads from the Tyrol and from Salzburg who represent the greater part of the Heimwehr, are very proud of themselves and do their best to look as though their task was to lead Austria into a glorious future.

The outward appearances are deceptive. The peasant members of the Heimwehr are least of all suitable for use outside their own district. This is particularly true of the peasants in the Tyrol and in Salzburg. Their economic situation is not good and they are discontented. Just as in Germany, the peasants here paid off their debts in the inflation period, but have contracted new debts in the past few years which followed upon the stabilisation of the schilling. The class struggle exists in these mountains also, although its front is often cloaked.

It is a great misfortune, that the working class movement in these districts has not succeeded in convincing the peasants, at least in part, of the fact that the interests of the workers and peasants are common and that the enemy of the peasant, finance capital, is closely connected with industrial capital, the exploiter of the workers. The worker in the factory is squeezed dry

whilst the peasant on his farm is weighed down by usury. The roots of the nationalist ideology, which also plays a considerable role in the Heimwehr camp, can be seen clearly in this ideology and the activity which results from the peasant dissatisfaction, are directed against an alleged Marxist dictatorship in Austria, and above all, Vienna, although with the aid of the Heimwehr it is not possible to discover any sign of such a dictatorship.

In the Tyrol and in Salzburg one can also observe the great political role played by the Catholic Church, which has its agitators in every village and which has become the strongest conservative power and the upholder of the traditions since the overthrow of the Hapsburg monarchy. The district has its history and its tradition which are strongly active and tower over such towns as Innsbruck and Salzburg powerfully as the mountains in which they are bedded. We have already pointed out the great role which the Catholic priests play in the Heimwehr movement. They seek to conceal the fact that the Heimwehr movement is the servant of those forces which are in reality the most dangerous enemies of all the workers and peasants.

Tyrol was the cradle of the Heimwehr. Its beginnings date from the days of acute shortage when the peasants held their rifles and even machine-guns on their farms in order to repel unwelcome guests from the towns. The necessity of instructing the peasants in the use of arms, led to the formation of organisations which, under the leadership of officers in connection with politicians of the Christian-Social Party and representatives of the German Nationalists of whom the best known, is the notorious Kapp putchist Pabst, became more and more important. Provided with a false name and supported by the authorities, Major Pabst worked for years to unify the Heimwehr organisations. To those outside the movement he was little known. To-day he is the acknowledged military leader of the Heimwehr and took part officially in all the discussions which led to the formation of the Schober Government.

Apart from the peasant elements, a great role is played in the Tyrol Heimwehr by the students of the Innsbruck university and by the sons of the urban bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie and tradesmen.

The peasants in the Tyrol, in Salzburg and in Vorarlberg are not much good for use outside their own districts in spite of far-reaching fascist aims. These peasant elements are tied to their own lands and would not follow any appeal of the Heimwehr which took them outside their own district. The leaders of the Heimwehr are very well aware of this fact and recently therefore they have made tremendous efforts in order to win the workers in the smaller factories because they know that with financial advantages and the necessary pressure on the part of the employers, these workers would represent a much more mobile force than the peasantry. The success of the Tyrol Heimwehr in this direction has been very moderate up to the present but the fact is that the fascists have secured a foothold among the workers.

Here, as in other districts, it can be seen that the Heimwehr programme is not limited to temporary parading or to a march. The leadership of the Heimwehr movement in Austria, which is definitely fascist both in forms and aims, has a longer perspective for which it is systematically agitating and organising. It would therefore be wrong to underestimate the Heimwehr movement because of the fact that the long awaited 29th September was nothing but a parade without any attempt to go farther. Their preliminary aim, the overthrow of the Stresemann government and the speeding up of the reform of the Constitution, was obtained by the fascists prior to the 29th September by the mere threat of a march on Vienna. The activities of the Heimwehr is being continued energetically; a parade and a parade is being held and the armaments of the fascists are being perfected. The decisive trial of strength between the workers and Heimwehr fascism in Austria has not yet taken place but all signs show that it will not be long before it does take place. Loaded rifles have a tendency to go off, and there are enough people in the fascist camp who have their fingers on the trigger.

The decisive question is what preparations are the Austrian workers making to meet this eventuality, to what extent and what speed will the Communist Party succeed in gaining and consolidating its influence upon the workers, and what influence will make themselves felt in the social-democratic masses as a result of this development to fascism.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The C. P. of Sweden Split by the Right Liquidators.

By A. J. Smolan.

The incredible has happened, the crime against the revolutionary labour movement has been committed in the most revolting manner, the split of the C. P. of Sweden has been achieved by the Right majority of the Central Committee. For our weeks the majority of the Central Committee had carried on in the Central organ which is under its control a spiteful, purely personal fight against the minority of the Central Committee and the representatives of the E. C. C. I., whereby it deliberately deceived and misled the members, and instigated a policy of persecution against the E. C. C. I. representatives. The majority cunningly avoided making any objections on principle to the Open Letter or the policy of the Comintern, it even asserted day after day that it is in complete agreement with this policy. It went even further and made out that it alone is protecting the correct revolutionary line of the VI. World Congress against the opportunist minority which, sad to say, has met with the support of the misguided and erroneously informed E. C. C. I.

After these preparations a number of "reliable" members and nuclei were mobilised who loudly demanded the immediate convocation of the Party Congress. The C. C. "had to comply with this almost uniform opinion of the membership", and therefore the Right majority decided to convene the Party Congress for the 15th of November. These hypocrites were not disturbed by the fact that this decision, which is contrary to the statutes of the Comintern, was declared invalid by the representatives of the E. C. C. I.

They betrayed their true intentions by an incautiously worded article of Kilboom, in which it is stated that "they would fight up to the last for their readmittance should the minority succeed in manoeuvring them out of the Comintern".

In the meantime the E. C. C. I. intervened. It pointed out in a second letter that the decision of the majority of the C. C. is in contradiction to the Open Letter, and cancelled the decision of the premature convening of the Party Congress, which, it pointed out, was contrary to the statutes of the Comintern. The E. C. C. I. condemned in the sharpest manner the action of the Rights and called upon all the Party organisations not to send any representatives to a Party Congress which was not convoked in accordance with the provisions and statutes of the Comintern. The E. C. C. I. further demanded that all the documents and articles of the Comintern and its delegates should be published, and that the minority be granted space in the Party press to put forward its standpoint. To the Young Communist League the right had to be granted to defend the Open Letter and the line of the Comintern against the opportunist majority of the C. C.

Every honest follower of the Comintern regarded it as an open scolding when this letter appeared on the 9th of October in small type as a discussion article in the central organ of the Party. The majority of the C. C. now threw off the mask, at least partly, and declared in a leading article in the same issue of the paper that the Party Congress constituted a vital requirement for the Party and that it would meet at the time appointed. It was further declared in this article that "every attempt to bind the free decision of the members by means of expulsion will be objected to at the next World Congress".

In the last session of the C. C. the representatives of the E. C. C. I. attempted to induce the Right majority to abandon this pernicious standpoint, but all persuasion, all attempts to settle the differences in an amicable manner were frustrated by the irreconcilable attitude of the Rights, who wanted a rapid decision at all costs and to preserve the Party apparatus and the positions for themselves. The delegation of the E. C. C. I. took the only possible remaining step: it declared the Right members of the C. C. to be removed, and instructed the minority of the C. C. which was true to the Comintern to carry on the leadership of the Party.

The Rights who had been removed from their positions mobilised on the same day 50 incited and fanatical members and undertook a raid on the Party secretariat, making use for

this purpose of iron palings and revolvers. But the attack was repulsed. The numerous employees of the Central organ, who almost without exception belong to the Right, now took possession of the printing works and the editorial offices and prevented by force any members of the Minority from entering the building. The chief editor Kilboom called in the aid of the police and had the building guarded day and night by a number of his followers. In the days following the Rights commenced an incredible pogrom incitement against the Minority and the E. C. C. I. representatives, whom they represented as fascist putchists who could not tolerate an honest worker in a meeting. The majority had a number of protests sent by telegraph by their followers in the rural districts which were published next day in the central organ. But they will not be able to carry on long by such means of deception.

Numerous nuclei and local groups which hitherto believed the hypocritical assurances of the Rights, are now rallying round the proper Party leadership, and even in the capital, where hitherto the Rights were strongest, the influence of the C. C. minority has considerably increased. The same thing is being repeated that happened on the occasion of Höglund's defection in the year 1924: the proletarian core of the Party still feels itself to be closely connected with the Comintern, with its World Party and is not allowing itself to be manoeuvred out of the International to which it has belonged for ten years, by a set of liquidatory job-hunters.

The Communist Party of Palestine and the Arab Revolt.

By Bob (Jaffa).

Under extraordinarily difficult conditions the C. P. of Palestine has succeeded in convoking an enlarged plenary session of the C. C., at which the rôle and the tasks of the Palestinian working class and of its Party, the C. P. of Palestine, in the Arab revolt were discussed. The mere technical side of convoking such a meeting proved a very complicated matter under the general conditions of state of siege, and specially severe persecution of the Communists.

In view of the tremendous chauvinism prevailing as a result of the rebellion having been deflected in the direction of pogroms and national struggles, in view of the practical division of the cities and the country into national "zones" (entailing danger to any Jew entering an Arab zone and vice versa), and in view of the unscrupulous agitation on the part of the national leaders on either side, the very fact of Jewish and Arab workers meeting together constituted a considerable risk. The plenum was, however, able to establish that the Party members have effectively resisted the general mania of chauvinism. In this national conflict, unchained by reactionary hands, the C. P. of Palestine proved, as in times of "peace", to be the one and only refuge of internationalism, with full agreement between Jewish and Arab workers. In particular, the activity of the Arab members had increased during the days of rebellion; they agitated for the diversion of the movement into purely anti-imperialist channels and for the union of Jewish and Arab workers to this end.

The items of the agenda were as follows: 1. The international situation, the revolt in Palestine, and the internal situation in the Party. 2. Orientation towards the Arabs and questions of organisation.

In connection with the first question it was established that upon the whole the directives of the C. C. were correct and that it was quite in keeping with the interests of the working class of Palestine and in those of the revolutionary movement to look upon the present upheaval as a national one, while opposing its reactionary character in so far as it had been diverted in the direction of pogroms, at the same time to broaden it and put forward anti-imperialist fighting slogans. Similar approval was expressed of the denunciation of the rôle played on the one hand by the British-Zionist provocationists and on the other by the feudal-clerical Arab leaders, as also of the true designs of the British imperialists, Zionists, and treacherous Arab bourgeoisie. Nor did the C. C. fail to note the deep social roots of the movement and its agrarian character, which fact was expressed in the emphasis laid on agrarian slogans.

The C. C., it is true, committed a number of mistakes, which it readily admitted in the theses submitted to the Party organi-

sations. The rate of development was far more rapid than the Party leaders had expected; the wheel of the Party to the Left and its consequent practical adaptation to the tasks of a revolutionary situation came too late and, greatly impeded by discussion with the Right Opposition, were not effected with sufficient thoroughness, so that, added to the organisational weakness of the Party at the outbreak of the rebellion, there was also an insufficient fighting ability. But since the revolt on August 23rd was nothing but the first stage of the great revolutionary movement preparing in all Arab countries, these mistakes might well be made good by a proper and consistent line of activity on the part of the Party.

Events, it is true, have shown that alongside the predominant majority of the Party that had drawn the appropriate lessons from the recent sanguinary events, there were Right opportunist elements who were utilising the occasion to make a general attack on the directives of the Party and the C. I. These elements had taken advantage of the fact that the C. C. had contented itself with opposing them ideologically and had not taken organisational measures for their removal from the Party ranks, to undermine the discipline of the Party and to go to lengths which are altogether tantamount to a liquidation of the revolutionary Party line.

The Right opportunists opposed the Left orientation of the Party, scoffed at the third period as an invention of the C. I., denied the radicalisation of the masses, opposed the demonstrations, on May 1st and August 1st, and declined to accept the revolutionary principles of the Communist Party structure.

During the recent events, the Party committee at Haifa, where the Right is most influential, decreed off-hand that the appeal of the C. C. of the C. P. of Palestine, which spoke of the emancipatory movement of the Arab masses, was wrong, since there had been no such movement but only pogroms. In imitation of the outcry of the Zionist and Poale-Zionist agitational apparatus, these "Communists" merely underlined the instances of national fights and reprisals, purposely overlooking all social motives of the movement and the anti-imperialist outbreaks in places where there was no Zionist "barrier", denying the possibility of the working class (C. P.) undertaking the lead in the movement, and finally declaring that the only possible tactics would have consisted in remaining at home and waiting for the end of the pogroms, and that the best thing the Jewish workers could do would be to quit Palestine altogether.

The Haifa Committee, however, did not content itself with this intelligent "analysis" of the movement, but started to act openly against the C. C. It simply suppressed the Party appeal and thus gave the enemies of the Communists the possibility to start a terrible campaign of agitation against them and to awaken distrust of the Party among the workers who had until then sympathised with us.

In such circumstances the plenum was obliged to call the members of the Right Opposition sharply to account. The verdict was unanimous and fully in accordance with the recommendations given to the C. C. of the C. P. of Palestine by the Eastern Secretariat of the E. C. C. I. in a letter of August 13th (only received during the rising). Adherence to the Right ideology was declared to be incompatible with membership of the C. P. and the C. C. was called upon immediately to cleanse the Party of all representatives of opportunism and of petty-bourgeois Poale Zionism.

At the same time, the attitude of the semi-Right (conciliationist) elements was refuted. These elements are only "partly" in favour of the Right, as in the question of radicalisation, of the 1st of August, and the like, and also oppose severe organisational measures against the Right danger.

A kind of "platform" of this direction was recognised by the plenum to have been embodied in the article by Comrade Alini (formerly the leader of the Right Opposition) in No. 50 of the International Press Correspondence, which, it is true, does not oppose the principles of workers' and peasants' government, agrarian revolution, and a firm stand against the treacherous national bourgeoisie — principles which Alini was once wont to assail — but professes to see a danger in "over-estimating the radicalisation of the working masses". Now it has been just the mistake on the part of the Party that the radicalisation of the masses was often underrated, while the situation was ripe for a far more energetic and comprehensive offensive of the workers than was initiated by the Party after its orientation to the Left. According to the resolution of the plenum, the con-

ciliators could only remain in the Party if they abandoned the standpoint and began to fight in word and deed against the Right danger.

In regard to the second item of the agenda, the plenum was of the unanimous opinion that the rate at which the Party was extending among the Arab working class must be accelerated to the utmost. The objective presumptions for such an extension are given in the serious revolutionary excitement of the masses and the treachery of the national Arab leaders. By enlarging its Arab cadres, the Party may play an important part in the next stage of the revolutionary development. The British Government and the reactionary circles connected with it know very well, and the greatly increased persecution of the Party is to be ascribed to fear of the growth of the revolutionary workers' movement and of Communism.

TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

The Independent Trade Union of Indonesia and Its Suppression.

By M. Musso.

Up to the time when the *Sarekat Kaum Buruh* Indonesia was suppressed nearly eighteen months have elapsed and in this short period the movement, succeeded in extending its influence very rapidly among the Indonesian working class.

The mass character of the union frightened not only the government but also the nationalist parties, which were engaged in organising trade unions. From the very beginning of its existence not only the police were combating this independent union, but also the nationalist trade unions and native social-democratic unions.

The report of the Dutch government on the suppression of the S. K. B. I. revealed that the organisers of the union were communists, remnants of those who were participating in the uprisings during 1920 and who could not be arrested or banished to New-Guinea, because there were not evidences enough against them. The most important leader of this union was Marsudi who before the insurrection of 1920 was already discharged from his post as a postal worker in Surabaya on account of revolutionary propaganda among the postal workers. Later when the postal workers union the *Sarekat-Postel* and the C. P. I. were driven underground (1925) Marsudi became the active Secretary of the postal-workers union, of which Marsudi was the chairman.

Right from the beginning of the existence of the union Marsudi launched the slogan, that the union was fighting only for the economic interests of the workers, and it had nothing to do whatever with politics.

This non-political character of the trade union was of course very dangerous and Marsudi understood this very well. Therefore, at meetings and in the organs of the union, the leader, although not directly and plainly, advocated the uncompromising class struggle. From the legal standpoint the authorities were powerless in face of the organisation of Marsudi.

Marsudi was fighting at all cost to preserve the independence of the union. He clearly emphasised, that every worker could be a member of the S. K. B. I. irrespective of race or creed. This tactic was mainly directed against the nationalist trade unions, which organised only native workers and against the *Sarekat-Islam* trade unions, which accepted the Mohammedan workers as members.

The campaign of slander carried on by the treacherous nationalists furnished the government with a pretext to suppress the S. K. B. I. and arrest a number of its leaders.

According to the law there were no grounds for summarily detaining the leaders of the S. K. B. I. before the court, but the Dutch authorities made use of the despotic power of the government general to banish them to New-Guinea. Banishment orders were issued against Marsudi, the chairman of the C. C. as well as against Gunarjo and Mulyono, both members of the C. C., Aliadirejo, the local leader of the railway and tramway workers of Sourabaya, was ordered to be exiled to the malaria-ridden district of *Boven-Digul* amidst the jungle of New-Guinea. The jurist Sumantri had first to undergo his punishment, after which he would be sent to the place of exile.

The authorities, who had branded the S. K. B. I. as a purely communist organisation, not only continued to arrest and banish the leaders, but also prohibited the independent union.

In Indonesia where the struggle between the oppressed and oppressors is a life and death struggle, the social reformists are given the most responsible posts in the oppression apparatus of the imperialists. At the beginning of this year the social-democrat Mühlenfeld was appointed Director of the civil administration of the Indonesian government. The appointment of social-reformists to such high posts results in the accentuation of the white terror in Indonesia. About three months ago the social-democrat Stokvis wrote articles hinting that there are at present still many communists in Indonesia, who are not yet banished to New-Guinea and are working among the working-class and among the left nationalists. There is no doubt that Stokvis knew exactly the real condition of the S. K. B. I. and therefore urged the Dutch imperialists to separate the nationalists from the extremists and to be careful in dealing with the trade union movement.

Not only the native social-democratic railway union is now freed from a dangerous rival, but also the treacherous trade union leaders of the Sarekat-Islam like Suryopranoto and Reksodiputro can manoeuvre a great deal more easily than before. Even the so-called left nationalists, thanks to the suppression of the S. K. B. I., succeeded in Sourabaya in establishing a union of chauffeurs with the treacherous doctor Sutomo as adviser.

Our comrades in Indonesia, in spite of the severe white terror, have remained the true followers of the R. I. L. U. and the C. I. Marsudi and Sumantri can be banished or sentenced to life imprisonment, but the basis of the revolutionary class organisations remains and the spirit of the class-struggle in Indonesia cannot be broken. Sharpened by the many experiences, the Indonesian workers will build up their organisation much better than before. The working class of Indonesia, in spite of the treachery of the nationalist leaders, continues to be revolutionary.

THE NEGRO QUESTION

The Fifth Pan-African Congress.

By Ford.

The Fifth Pan-African Congress is scheduled to be held at Tunis, North Africa, December 20th to 28th, 1929. The question immediately arises will the Congress answer the thousand and one problems which face the toiling masses of Negroes of black Africa, West Indies, and America which it purports to represent; will it work out or make any attempt to combat imperialism and capitalism or to mobilize the toilers for struggle. The answer in the very outset is, No!

The P. A. C. was organized in 1919 following the close of the World War by a group of Negro petty bourgeois intellectuals led by Dr. Du Bois, the leading Negro intellectual of the U. S. A. and in conjunction with Negro members of the French Chamber of Deputies, Ramsay MacDonald, leader of the British Labour Party and other white European reformists took part in the First Congress at London, in 1919.

Dr. Du Bois was the organiser of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People in the U. S. A. in 1909. It was from this organisation that he got support for organising the P. A. C.*). Since 1919 the Negro bourgeoisie has come to the support of Du Bois in the P. A. congress.

The French Negro members of the P. A. Congress have received their appointments as Deputies in the French Chamber through endorsement of the French Colonial Administration and cannot be said to have any mass influence amongst the natives in Africa or the West Indies. Through their skill as politicians they early gained control of the organisation in order to block

any anti-French imperialist policies that might arise. At the present time they have gained sufficient control to make the organisation an open agent of French imperialism in particular and imperialism in general.

The P. A. C. arose at the time of the rise of the Garvey movement and was the intellectual contemporary of this movement, both of which were competing to divert the general unrest amongst the Negroes following the war into channels of reaction. The Pan-African Congress had a more practical aim to this end in the assistance which it offered to the colonial administrations of the imperialists in the governing of the African colonies; the Garvey movement was more a utopian dream with the aim to build a black capitalist Empire in Africa along the lines of the Jewish Zionist movement and to take Negroes from the New World back to Africa. The Garvey movement has a membership of more than 600,000.

However it cannot be said that the Pan-African Congress has any mass support. It is not built on the lines of individual membership. It is organised along the lines of indirect support of such organisations as the N. A. A. C. P., Negro business men's Association, etc., and the influence that the leaders exert in these organisations.

The second P. A. C. was divided between London, Belgium and Paris in 1921. The third Congress was held in London and Lisbon in 1923. The fourth Congress was held in New York in 1927.

At the third Congress demands as represented in the resolution adopted are summarised as follows:

1. For the civilised British subjects in West Africa and the West Indies, the institution of home rule and responsible government without discrimination as to race or colour.

2. For such areas as Northern Nigeria, Uganda and Basutoland, a development of native law, industry and education with the specific object of training them in home rule and economic independence, and for eventual participation in the general government of the land.

3. For French Africa the extension of the citizenship rights of voting and of representation in Parliament from Senegal and the West Indies to other parts of the colonies as rapidly as the present comprehensive plans of education can be realised.

4. For Kenya, Rhodesia, and the Union of South Africa, the restoration of rights to the land to the natives, a recognition of their right to a voice in their own government and the abolition of the pretension of a white minority to dominate a black majority, and even to prevent their appeal to the civilised world.

5. In the Belgian Congo we fail yet to see any decisive change from a regime of profit making and exploitation to an attempt to build modern civilisation among human beings for their own good and the good of the world. We demand a system of state education, the recognition of native law, a voice in the government and the curbing of commercial exploitation in that great land.

6. For the independent nations of Abyssinia, Haiti and Liberia, not merely political integrity but their emancipation from the grip of economic monopoly and usury at the hands of the money-masters of the world.

7. For the Negroes of the United States of America, the suppression of lynching and mob-law, the end of caste and the recognition of full citizenship despite race and colour.

8. The restoration of the Egyptian Sudan to an independent Egypt.

9. For Portuguese Africa, release from the slave-trading industrial monopolies financed in England and France which today nullify the liberal Portuguese Code in Mozambique.

10. In Brazil and Central America, that peoples of African descent be no longer satisfied with a solution of the Negro problem which involves their absorption into another race without allowing Negroes as such full recognition of their manhood and right to existence.

Thus it is clearly seen that these resolutions are in line with the colonial policy of social-reformism. In the meantime it is the racial plea of the leaders of the Pan-African Congress to occupy positions as representatives of "their" people in the local colonial bodies.

At the 4th. Session of the P. A. C. held in New York (1927) there were delegates representing 13 different countries. The chief demands were the same as those adopted in 1923. At this

*) The National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People is composed of white and Negro liberals and intellectuals and has the financial support of such capitalists as J. D. Rockefeller, jr. and Julius Rosenwald. The membership is built up on a yearly subscription basis and is reported to be 100,000. Its influence is even greater. However it cannot be said that Du Bois has the full support of the organisation in his Pan-African project.

session there was a fraternal delegate present from the American Negro Labour Congress who had difficulty in getting the floor to speak in the interests of the Negro toilers and was only allowed 15 minutes to speak after getting the floor.

General invitations are being sent out to "people of African descent" for the fifth Congress at Tunis. These invitations state that "it is desired to promote among them (Negroes) sympathy and knowledge and to bring them in helpful co-operation with colonial Governments and the friends of the Negro race". It is also stated that "The Congress will be convened at the invitation and under the auspices of the French Government and the French Protectorate of Tunisia". The invitation further states that "we want, of course, congenial people who will be able to meet the representatives of the French nation", (all emphasis mine F.), meaning by this, people who will not talk about the bloody massacre in the Congo in 1928 by the French imperialists, and forced labour in the French colonies; who will not raise the question of organising the Negro masses for struggle against imperialism.

Thus we see the final line up with the imperialists, and French imperialism in particular. It is also to be noted that beginning on December 8 at Cherbourg, France, and running through to January 18, the trip of the "delegates and friends" is a sight-seeing trip through north Africa and ending at Marseilles, France. The sessions are scheduled for December 20—28, only two days, Dec. 23 and 24 will be devoted to work: "Meeting of the different Commissions in connection with the work of the Congress". The remaining seven days will be spent sight-seeing.

As has been stated in the outset, nothing will be done or attempted in the interest of the Negro toilers by the Fifth Pan-African Congress. However, this being the first time that a Negro Congress of such international character has been held on the continent of Africa, many open minded elements from different parts of the African World may be in attendance at Tunis. At present, there is hardly any way of telling who will attend. But it is likely that if there is any one there who raises a voice against imperialism and offers a militant programme of struggle for the Negro masses of Africa, it would fall on receptive ears, and in spite of the aim of the reactionary leadership to collaborate with imperialism, it is possible that some good could come out of the Pan-African Congress to the advantage of the revolutionary movement if we are alive and awake to the possibilities.

PROLETARIAN YOUTH MOVEMENT

Open Letter of the E. C. Y. C. I. to all Members of the Y. C. L. of Great Britain.

Dear Comrades,

We consider the results of your Congress **unsatisfactory** because it did not mobilise all the League members around the new tasks and their attention was not concentrated sharply on the conditions in the League and its relation to the young workers. The preparation for this Congress did not correspond with the necessity of mobilising the attention of all League members on the situation. The Congress was not preceded by discussions in the lower organisations by League members with the participation of sympathising young workers. Your task now is to discuss boldly the situation and find ways of remedying it.

In our letter we want to bring all questions to the notice of our British comrades and the British working youth. The situation in the British Y. C. L. must be **changed** with the least possible delay. The Y. C. L. G. B. is faced with the necessity of making a change in its methods as is the Y. C. I. as a whole, but the situation in Great Britain demands this change more urgently than any other section of the Y. C. I.

Great Britain plays an important and outstanding role in the imperialist chain and the tasks imposed upon you by the revolutionary movement are very great, but your League is yet isolated from the young workers and is lagging behind the awakening of the young workers. If the British Y. C. L. remains an isolated sect, not connected with the working youth,

in this epoch of ever growing struggles of the working youth and the working class as a whole, it will not deserve the name of section of the Y. C. I.

The tasks of the Y. C. L. can be understood only in the light of the political situation in Great Britain. The **MacDonnell Government** is a government of capitalist rationalisation and war preparation in the interests of imperialism. The Labour Government and the trade union bureaucracy are carrying on the will of the capitalists by every possible means. The British working class has to choose: either industrial peace, i. e. a further lowering of the standard of living of the working class, imperialist wars against the U. S. S. R. and colonial revolutions, or struggle against capitalism, for the most pressing interests of the working class, for the establishment of a general revolutionary Workers Government. This struggle is already going on on the part of the advanced British proletariat. The struggle of the cotton operatives and the miners is a struggle against the Labour Party and its policy. This struggle will increase from day to day. The British League must give its support to the **Indian Revolution** at the present time bearing in mind the great lessons, namely the help given by the English workers to Soviet Russia in the time of the Soviet-Polish war.

The British Young Communist League must do real work in the army and navy, as well as in all organisations where training is going on for future wars. All promises to convert the imperialist war into a civil war and to help the U. S. S. R. are nothing but deceit and treachery without even a modicum of practical work now in the forces of the armies of imperialism. The working youth has played and will play an important role in this struggle. The most serious defect of the struggle of the working youth is the absence of a mass fighting organisation of its own — a fighting Young Communist League.

The struggle of the working youth can only be successful in so far as the Communist Party and the Young Communist League develop and gain strength. Every young worker must be interested in the state and situation in the Communist League.

The life and activity of the Young Communist League concern not only its own members, but the entire working youth of Great Britain. The Y. C. L. of Great Britain is going through a crisis at present. The reasons of this crisis are namely: the fact that the British Young Communist League has not been able to establish close contact with the mass of the working youth, on the basis of the C. I. line, that it has not been able to discard the old traditions of the "Guild of Youth" and other Social Democratic youth organisations whose aims were not organisation of the struggle of the working youth, but the diverting of its attention from the class struggle.

Clear characteristics of the remnants of Social-Democratic methods in your work are — isolation from the struggles, sectarian approach to the young workers, non-participation in the struggle and contradiction between your resolutions and your activities, passivity of all members of the League and only activity of a few functionaries, bureaucratic relations between Committees and Locals, lack of self-criticism, etc.

The best means of quickly remedying the crisis in the Y. C. L. is to help in its efforts to re-adjust itself to the struggle of the young workers. The main tasks fall on the members of the British Young Communist League who must declare war on the **Right tendencies** in the activities of their organisation.

The British Young Communist League, helping the Communist Party to build a Party organisation, must really fight for the C. I. line in every sphere of activity, but above all you have to combat the Right tendency in the ranks of your own organisation. The Right tendency in the British Young Communist League takes the form of an incorrect attitude to the working youth in its struggle and in an opposition to extending the new tactics laid down by the C. I. on the Youth Policy. It is necessary to carry on a **youth policy** to gain the interests of the youth in all spheres on the basis of applying the line of the Party and C. I. to the problems of young workers. It means you have to find ways and means to carry out the C. I. policy among the young workers, for defence of the Soviet Union, for an independent role of the Communist Party, help for the Indian Revolution, for struggle against the war danger, and against capitalist rationalisation. These tasks the Y. C. L. can carry out provided it places itself at the head of the struggling working youth and overcomes its isolation from the masses of the working youth.

To overcome this isolation, to get out of the crisis of the British Y. C. L. it is essential to learn how to carry out the

uth policy. Your League must organise a wide recruiting campaign, above all in districts where the working youth has already participated in the economic and political struggles. The British Young Communist League must set itself the task of enormously increasing its membership in the course of the next years, and this requires the re-organisation of the League on a factory nuclei basis, secondly, the consolidation and improvement of the weekly League paper, making it a real, genuine collective agitator and propagandist among the working youth. For this purpose a Penny Fund in aid of the paper should be established by means of an energetic political campaign for the development of the British Young Communist League into a mass Bolshevik League. Thirdly, all the League forces should be concentrated in the enterprises in order to win over the working youth in every factory by means of struggle for their day-to-day interests and by taking a leading initiative part in the struggle of the working youth against oppression and all forms of exploitation. Fourthly, we must work where the working youth congregates, in sport organisations, Sunday schools, places where unemployed young workers are recruited etc. The place of the Y. C. L. and every Young Communist must be where the masses of young workers are to be found.

Now is the time for the British Young Communist League to prove its agreement with the resolutions of the Comintern's deeds. The recent Congress of the Y. C. L. G. B. laid down a series of tasks, but there is a danger that even these decisions will not be carried out, as has happened in the past. The only guarantee is the activity of the rank and file of the Y. C. L. and the control by this rank and file over the activity of all its elected organisations through methods of self-criticism.

Self-criticism is on a very low level in the British Young Communist League. There have been cases in the League where leading organs have put obstacles in the way of self-criticism. This state of affairs must be put an end to. It is only by listening to the criticism of the masses and by studying their initiative and experiences of the masses that it will be possible to lead and to find new forms of the struggle commensurate with the new period.

The British League still has no big success in different auxiliary organisations. The Workers Sport League is not developing quickly. You have not yet found forms of different auxiliary youth organisations for different spheres of activity especially in enterprises and trade unions and also the armed forces. It would be impossible without such organisations to build up a mass Young Communist League in Great Britain and lead the young workers in the struggle.

We request our British comrades to discuss this letter in every nuclei and every local and determine the tasks imposed on every League committee, League nucleus and League member and the necessity of change and the carrying it out in the practice of every day work. Your League has the possibility from the situation that has arisen to take advantage of the experience and initiative of the masses of the working youth and to active work to build up a real fighting mass Young Communist League in Great Britain, taking its place in the front ranks in the struggle of the working class.

Executive Committee of the Young Communist International.

Resolution of the E. C. Y. C. I. on the Results of the XV. International Youth Day.

I.

1. The uniform international action initiated on August 1st or the mobilisation of the entire working class to fight against imperialist war, found its continuation in the campaign in connection with the tenth anniversary of the Young Communist International and was particularly promoted on the Fifteenth International Youth Day. Similarly to August 1st, the events preceding and on the occasion of the I. Y. Day tended to demonstrate the growing will to fight on the part of the young workers, who, in spite of prohibitions, terrorism, and extraordinary measures on the part of the bourgeoisie, gave full expression to their determination to oppose all

attempts at a war against the Soviet Union and actively to support the latter in the eventuality of such a war.

2. The Fifteenth International Youth Day is a clear proof of the Comintern's just estimation of the international situation. The events on the I. Y. Day confirm the theses of the Tenth Plenum in regard to the aggravation of class differences, the growth of a new revolutionary wave in the labour movement, and the increased resistance on the part of the proletariat. The outcome of the I. Y. Day shows to what a degree the radicalisation of the young workers has proceeded.

3. In all countries the I. Y. Day had a pronouncedly militant character. Everywhere the bourgeoisie had taken comprehensive steps to prevent a demonstration; there were numerous arrests and in some countries the Youth Day was forbidden (e. g. in Sweden, Czechoslovakia, Greece, in part in France, and naturally in all the "illegal" countries). In spite of all these measures, the masses of young workers, answering to the call of the Communist Youth, defended their right to a public demonstration, and in many instances there ensued open and sometimes sanguinary collisions with the police (especially in China, Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Sweden, and the United States).

4. The extraordinary political significance of this year's I. Y. Day lies mainly in the fact that it represents an organic continuation of the enhanced struggle against imperialist war which was initiated by the Red Day, that the demonstrations on the Youth Day had a pronouncedly militant character, and that it showed the Communist Youth organisations to be the only ones capable of guiding the proletarian youth in a revolutionary sense. In those countries where the Communist Youth organisations understood how to take advantage of the favourable premises established by the activity of the young proletarian masses and by the outcome of the Red Day, how to work up the experience gained on August 1st, and how to carry out the new tactics in connection with the campaign, the numerical participation in the demonstrations was greater than it had been in the preceding year. (This was the case in Germany, America, and in part in the Scandinavian countries.) Particular importance attaches to the activity of the illegal organisations which carried through the international campaign in the face of terrorism and sanguinary suppression (as in Italy, Poland, China, and the Balkan countries).

II.

As was the case in regard to August 1st, the course of the I. Y. Day showed the absolute necessity of a radical change in the working system of the Youth Leagues. With reference both to the work of the Leagues among the masses and to the solution of the given political and organisational tasks, the outcome of the I. Y. Day must needs lead to conclusions in regard to further work.

1. Some of the Leagues failed to conduct the I. Y. Day in the sense of a continuation of the action started on the Red Day, to increase the fight against the imperialist war menace in the preparation and execution of the I. Y. Day, and to connect the latter with the various concrete national and local demands and tasks of their respective countries.

2. In France the League failed to profit by the favourable conditions resulting from August 1st; it took no steps towards opposing the measures of terrorism. Nor did the British League succeed in mobilising the masses on a scale in keeping with the predominant position of Great Britain. In regard to the Czech League, in which liquidationist tendencies and legalist illusions found utterance, the I. Y. Day showed that the League is still lacking any mass basis for activity.

3. Work in the armies and navies, which was already insufficient on August 1st, failed to receive adequate attention on the I. Y. Day. Only in France, Poland, America, and Germany were there individual attempts at propaganda among the soldiers; but here, as in the other countries, there was no systematic work for the wholesale inclusion of the soldiers in the struggle against imperialist war. Nowhere were there any demonstrations of soldiers, nor was there any noteworthy participation of soldiers in the I. Y. Day.

4. The I. Y. Day, its preparation and carrying out, did not constitute that prologue to the change in the whole work of the Leagues which had been demanded both in the general directives regarding the Youth Day and in the separate resolutions passed by the E. C. of the Y. C. I. after the discussion of the position in the individual Leagues. The outcome of

the I. Y. Day shows that the total membership was not drawn into active participation, that there could be no mention of a real concentration of work in the factories (no factory meetings, too few factory nuclei papers, no wholesale attraction of new sections of young workers), and that nothing had been done to utilise the I. Y. Day for the organisational strengthening of the Leagues, the foundation of fresh factory nuclei, and the widespread distribution of our publications. The propaganda month included in the programme for the realisation of the ten-year Y. C. I. campaign was carried out in none of the Leagues.

5. The numerous prohibitions of a celebration of the I. Y. Day found most of the legal Leagues fully unprepared in spite of the experience gained in connection with May 1st and the Red Day, whereas the illegal Leagues were in most cases better able to deal with them.

6. The fight against the hostile organisations, the Young Socialists' International in particular, was not enhanced in any way. Neither the Vienna Congress, the Youth Day of the Y. S. I., and the Boy Scout Jamboree in England, nor the Pioneer Meeting of the Soviet Union at Moscow were sufficiently made use of in our propaganda. In this connection there was also a failure to adopt united-front tactics from below, which is one of the reasons why no particular new sections of young workers were drawn into the immediate youth action.

7. Both the Party and the mass-organisations (sport, trade unions, etc.) played a secondary rôle in our propaganda. The Parties afforded the Youth Leagues very little assistance. Certain Parties failed to pay any attention at all to the Youth Day (e. g. in France). In some cases it was even sabotaged (as in Czechoslovakia). But even in those countries in which the Parties took part in the realisation of the Youth Day, the assistance afforded was of a general nature; in no instance can there be a question of tangible help or of a leadership of the Youth Leagues by the Parties.

8. The leadership of the Leagues by the E. C. of the Y. C. I. and its West European Bureau was insufficient, while a control of the preparatory work was conspicuous for its absence. The E. C. of the Y. C. I. failed to profit by the results of the Red Day (apart from the resolution of the W. E. B.), and thus the attention of the Leagues was not sufficiently drawn to the mistakes and shortcomings that became apparent in connection with the Red Day. Nor was there an adequate support of the Leagues on the part of the E. C. of the Y. C. I. and its departments in the way of instructors and instruction, material supplies, and the tangible conduct of the entire action.

III.

The campaign against the danger of imperialist war must be continued on the basis of the ten-year Y. C. I. campaign and in connection with the twelfth anniversary of the October Revolution, in which connection all mistakes and shortcomings established in the course of the campaign hitherto must be radically eliminated. Only an absolute liquidation of all shortcomings, a complete concentration on mass-work in the works, barracks, and mass-organisations, and the mobilisation of the entire membership for practical participation in the realisation of the tasks imposed by the campaign, can provide the pre-conditions for a wholesale mobilisation of the young workers and the successful execution of the campaign itself. The further campaign must, therefore, be closely connected with the question of a change of directives; it must be the first step along the new path.

PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

Life of a Woman Textile Worker in England.

By Amy Hargreave.

The life of British textile workers is a wretched life to describe; — one long round of struggle and strife, not for better conditions but in order to defend our already miserable existence.

I cannot give you a lot of facts and figures relating to our industry, but I can give you a picture of our struggle as I

see and feel it. I am thirty three years old, married with three children and I have been working as a cotton weaver since I was 12 years old. My Mother used to carry me out in the early morning to be nursed while she went to work and I was past five in the morning. So I too have had to carry my bundle out at five in the morning.

Eight years ago, we used to start work at six o'clock, as I lived a few miles from work, it meant carrying my bundle out at five o'clock to be there in time. In 1921 we were successful in getting a seven o'clock start, but even today, many mothers are being carried out at half past five and six, owing to mothers living a long way off from the factory. In W. it is a pitiful sight to see them trudging through the streets with their precious bundle to be looked after by some neighbour until they come home at night.

My eldest girl is now thirteen years old, and the youngest seven. They have all been brought up in this life, one day after the other, and when the Schools are on holiday for two weeks in the Summer, I am wondering all the time at the looms if they are out in the rain, or playing with the fire in the house.

We start work at 7 and stop at eight fifteen for breakfast for half an hour. I and many other mothers have to dash to see that the children get their breakfast, get my own, see the children off to school, leave some dinner cooking on a hot jet, and then dash back to the looms — all in half an hour.

We then work till half past twelve, when we have a break for dinner, but some mothers live too far away to put dinner on at breakfast time, so they have something ready made, something warmed up from the night before.

We then work from half past one till a quarter past eleven every day except Saturday, when we finish at a quarter past eleven.

In our Shed, we are supposed to be able to earn £2 a week, but we are always waiting for warps, and on the wider looms (two 36 inches and two 56 inches) we are not full three months out of the year. For the past two months I have been working all the week for 18/- to £1.

My husband too, is a weaver, but many of our women are married to miners who are only working 3 or 4 days a week, which means about 25/- and out of their joint miserable wages they have to pay for babies being nursed.

When our women are pregnant, they have to work up to the last week, and when at last they are forced to get their looms up they have only 13/- a week from Contributory Health Insurance, and many of them are back at work less than two months after the baby is born. And then they wonder why 3,000 women die in childbirth every year in England.

There are women with three children under seven years old and in order to leave them in bed and not carry them early in the morning, she will waken the eldest one at quarter to seven and tell her to waken the other two at half past seven and have them ready dressed in order to be taken to the neighbour who minds them, when Mother comes home at a quarter past eight. Here you have little children made into old women coming home at dinner time and putting on the pan before the mother comes in the dinner, helping with the housework at night, and so on.

Then we have old men and women of sixty years of age and more still working at the looms — fathers and mothers who have brought families up, sons and daughters now working for children of their own, taking them all their time to keep them together, and so the old people, with nothing but 10/- Old Age Pension have to stand at the looms the best way they can. After a lifetime of toil, nothing but Work and Death face them. What a mockery are the words of a patriotic song set in this country, "Land of Hope and Glory".

Just at present, scores of sheds are closed down, and it means thousands of unemployed workers waiting for us or our children to fall ill so that they can get the chance to do a few days work. They are a danger to us, as it makes the boss stricter about our work. He knows that if we do not come up to the mark he has plenty of others outside, eager to get a job at all costs.

However, in all our darkness, we can see that the future is full of promise for us Revolutionary Workers, and we know confidently that what has been done by the workers of the Soviet Union can be done by us. Our day, too, will come.