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The Results of the Parliamentary Elections in Czechoslovakia.

By K. Gottwadt (Prague).

On the 27th October last there took place in Czechoslovakia the third parliamentary elections. According to the semi-official returns at present to hand the total number of valid votes cast throughout the whole country amounted to 350,019, of which the candidates of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia received 752,560, i. e. 10.2 per cent. At the present election the C. P. of Czechoslovakia lost 181,663 votes (9 per cent.) compared with the election in the year 1925, and 1,009 votes (8.4 per cent.) as compared with the year 1928.

The loss of votes sustained by the C. P. of Czechoslovakia before all to be attributed to the fact that the Party has not even yet understood how to carry out in practice the new revolutionary policy, particularly in the economic struggles, which today, as was to be seen in the strike of the North Bohemian miners, certain sections of the Party and the Red Trade unions have practised not only sabotage but open treachery, and even gone over to the social fascists. The election campaign itself, in spite of the fact that it constituted a great success compared with our election campaigns hitherto, still

showed a great deal of opportunism, which of course was bound to exercise an unfavourable influence upon the election results. Nevertheless the election results came as an unpleasant surprise to all our enemies. The bourgeoisie and the social fascists expected that the C. P. Cz. would be shattered. They hoped that the treachery of the renegades, the organisational and financial weakness of the Party, coupled with the fascist terror, would convert the Party into an insignificant sect. They predicted a loss of 400,000 votes.

They have been disappointed. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia remains a big proletarian mass party, whilst the clique of liquidatory renegades have been swept from the political arena. The fact that the Communist Party, after such serious inner fights lasting a whole year against the liquidators, after fights which shook the organism of the Party to its very centre, lost only 19 per cent. of its former vote whilst the liquidators have been completely shattered and did not even venture to put forward independent candidates, witnesses to the unshakable strength of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia.

true the Party ought not to have sustained any loss but rather achieved gains having regard to the present accentuation of class antagonisms and the increased radicalisation of the masses. The leadership of the Party is fully aware that the chief cause of the election losses in this otherwise unusually favourable situation is the fact that the Party, while it has completely annihilated the liquidators, has not up to the present overcome the **right danger in its own ranks.**

The election success of the social-fascists was generally expected and did not in any way come as a surprise. Social fascism enjoyed the full and entire support of the bourgeoisie, as the main pillar of the future government of the strong hand which will have the task of carrying out the rationalisation plans of the bourgeoisie, of increasing exploitation, establishing the fascist dictatorship and conducting the imperialist war against the Soviet Union. Thus, for example the **Czech National Socialist Party** put forward as a candidate the outspoken representative of big capital, **Dr. Stransky** and was openly supported by the well-known shoe manufacturer **Bata**. The majority of the bourgeois parties sustained considerable losses, a fact which is an expression of the radicalisation of the masses. The fact that nevertheless the socialist parties could benefit as a result of this radicalisation is due to the political weaknesses of the Communist Party.

In addition to the social fascists the group of the open fascists came forward for the first time with a list of candidates, headed by **Stribrny, Gaida, and Pergler**. This fascist group, which is conducting a demagogic fight against the Masaryk group, received altogether 71,949 votes and thereby gained 3 seats in Parliament. By means of this fascist group the bourgeoisie is creating a reserve in order to get hold of the masses who are now rapidly turning away from the social fascists. It will depend upon the actions of the Communists against the social fascists, as well as against the fascists, how far the bourgeoisie will succeed in realising this plan.

The losses sustained by our Party in the election are not by

any means exercising a depressing effect in our ranks. On the contrary, on the 28th of October there were held in Prague big public meetings dealing with the results of the election which were characterised by a spirit of self-criticism and candour. On the 31st of October there will take place a meeting of the Central Committee of the Party, which will carry out an exact analysis of the election campaign and issue precise instructions for future work. The next task of the Party is demonstrative carrying out of the **7th November**, the 12th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution.

* * *

Since the year 1920, in which the first Parliamentary elections were held, the following development of the political parties in Czechoslovakia has taken place:

1920: The C. P. of Czechoslovakia did not yet exist. Total of valid votes cast (without Carpathian Ukraine, in which no elections took place) was 6,200,032; of these the Czech democrats polled 1,590,520 (25.7 per cent.), German Social Democracy 798,135 (12.9 per cent.), Czech National Socialists 500,821 (8.1 per cent.).

1925: 7,107,411 valid votes were cast (with the inclusion of Carpathian Ukraine); of these the Communist Party received 934,223 (13.2 per cent.), Czech social democracy 631,407 (8.9 per cent.), German social democracy 411,365 (5.8 per cent.), Czech National Socialists 609,135 (8.6 per cent.).

1928 (elections to the provincial diets): 6,693,207 valid votes were cast; of these the Communist Party received 822,549 (12.3 per cent.), Czech social democracy 729,226 (10.9 per cent.), German social democracy 403,539 (6.3 per cent.), Czech National Socialists 702,338 (10.5 per cent.).

1929: 7,386,019 valid votes were cast; of these the Communist Party received 752,560 (10.2 per cent.), Czech social democrats 963,191 (13 per cent.), German social democracy 506,116 (6.8 per cent.), Czech National Socialists 767,441 (10.4 per cent.).

Twelve Years of Proletarian Dictatorship.

By B. Smeral.

Two years have now already passed since the day the country of proletarian dictatorship celebrated its tenth anniversary. On November 7th, 1929, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics will enter upon the thirteenth year of its existence. While the present generation of the proletariat was hitherto taken up with the struggle for supremacy and with the defence of the October revolution, it is now so engaged with the building-up of Socialism in the Soviet Union, that it can hardly find time to look back and survey the path it has trodden. But at least on one day in the year the proletariat may proudly look back on what has been achieved in the country of its dictatorship, which covers the sixth part of the land-surface of the globe.

1917. It is as though a mist surrounded the events from which we are now separated by a space of no less than twelve years. The October Revolution was victorious, the red flag waved over the Kremlin, the proletariat boldly took possession of the government. — "They will be isolated", — "From where can they get the people they need for the administration of so vast a territory?" — "In a few days all will be over". Such were the opinions which were voiced not only by the defeated bourgeoisie of Russia. By spreading such opinions in the other countries, the **Second International** tried to entice the workers into the counter-revolutionary camp. But the Communist Party of Russia brushed the sceptics aside and went to work under Lenin's leadership.

1918. — The Soviet State made its first attempts and reaped its first experiences. Before even the proletarian dictatorship was consolidated, the attacks of its enemies began. Petrograd was in danger. At the front there was nothing but defeat. The peace of Brest-Litovsk followed. There was excitement and con-

flict in the Party, inter alia the conspiracy of the Left Social Revolutionaries, who for half an hour occupied the telegraph headquarters in Moscow and announced to the world that the instructions of Lenin should not be obeyed. There followed an attempt on the life of Lenin. Also the treachery of Comrade Muraviev at Simbirsk. Almost all the Volga area and Siberia were lost. We fought against the Czechoslovaks and against Kolchak. In the south, the heroic workers of the Donetz basin had to retire to Tsaritzin before the advance of Skoropatkin. For all that, Lenin never wavered, nor did the class-conscious sections of the proletariat. "Obstacles only arise to be overcome."

The 7th of November already brought signs of a change. Inspiring tidings were received from abroad. Emperor William's monarchy was destroyed. **Karl Liebknecht** sent us a wireless message telling of the formation of workers' councils in many countries. But the period of hard trials was not nearly over. On the first anniversary of the October revolution, Lenin spoke of the follows in the very same factory where an attempt on his life had been made in the summer: "Before us is a struggle fraught with serious difficulties. It demands sacrifices, numerous sacrifices. But we shall fight and we shall win."

1919. — A whole year of hard fighting. One mobilisation after another. The Party, the trade unions, the Soviet workers — all of them send their best fighters to the front. In the hinterland there is a mobilisation of the village workers and a formation of committees for the purpose of frustrating the sabotage of the richer farmers. There is tremendous agitation among the masses. The more serious the situation, the more the Party seeks to penetrate into the masses. But hunger and unemployment prevail. Yudenitch all but reaches the suburbs of Petro-

kin occupies Orel. On October 21st a "Party Week" is organised, resulting in the accession to the Party ranks of thousands of new members. One week later there follows a "Week of Defence" with a net gain of 14,000 proletarian fighters. Immediately afterwards there is a "Red Army Casualty Day".

more sceptics and slackers prophecy annihilation and

1920. — There is activity on the eastern front. The Red Army conquers Kasan, Simbirsk, Samara, Ufa, Bern, and Verkhburg. The workers of the Ural area return to their homes. In the south Denekin is beaten and Ukraina, Perekop, and the Crimea are cleared of the soldiers of Wrangel. There is peace with the Polish war and then peace. The victorious working class introduces Soviets in Caucasia and Georgia, Turan, Bokhara, and the Far East are liberated. The capitalist class is forced to reconcile themselves to the existence of the Soviet Union and to withdraw their troops of occupation from Russia. The first commercial and representative missions are permitted to enter the country.

1921. — The year in which the "New Economic Policy" was introduced. The new course so boldly adopted by Lenin, the result of a careful observation of the sentiments of the working and peasant masses, put new life into an economy completely disorganised by wars, civil wars, and interventions. In its earliest form, the "N. E. P." was more than a mere tactic; it was a means towards surmounting those difficulties which had to be overcome in the economically backward country towards the Soviets and towards gaining the open road of Socialist development. But hardly had the first steps been taken, on the eve of the New Economic Policy, towards reviving economic life when fresh and wholly unexpected misfortunes set in in the form of drought, starvation, and a failure of crops. And once again the powerful and reassuring voice of Lenin was heard throughout the land, reminding us that "obstacles are only made of straw and can be overcome in a spirit of Bolshevism".

1922 and 1923. — These two years were full of super-human efforts for the reconstruction of economic life in the country. The proletarian State for the first time revived agriculture, so as to have the means of renewing industrial production. Thereupon industrial reconstruction was also taken in hand. At the IV. International Congress of the Communist International, Lenin underlined the fact that it had at length been possible to gather together a little capital, albeit not much more than 20 million gold roubles. Lenin was fully aware of the fact that the revival of light industry achieved up to that time had not meant sufficed, but that the first presumption for an advance of Socialism lay in collecting the means to reconstruct the heavy industry. The Party undertook the first step towards clearing up the better of the currency chaos. In the autumn of 1923 the Chervonetz appeared and the currency reform was carried out.

1924. — For the first time, the anniversary of the October Revolution was celebrated without Lenin. The Communist Party directed by Lenin continues to march faithfully in the footsteps of its leader, and therein lies its guarantee for the success of the future.

The first period of the New Economic Policy already shows its results, especially in agriculture. But the Party looks far ahead and the "Pravda" openly asks how the guidance of the peasantry by the working class can be ensured under the new circumstances. It answers this question by pointing out that circumstances have changed and that the class struggle is proceeding along different lines. The alliance of the working class and the peasantry must rest on a granite foundation of economic ties. The development of industry as a basis of a new economic alliance with the peasantry — such is the fundamental task of the period. The Leninist Party has no intention of indulging in economic politics to any petty-bourgeois elements.

1925. — The first period of the New Economic Policy fulfilled an important task. The Party initiates a systematic policy of liquidating the elements of private property. A new period begins, the period of reconstruction, the construction of a new system of Socialism. Socialism cannot be built up if it is not possible to recruit millions of workers and peasants to it in its construction. But it is more essential than ever before that in the alliance between the working class and the peasantry the lead should remain in the hands of the former.

1926. — In this year the idea of reconstruction and of a further step to the new Socialist development attained its full bloom. At the 15th Conference of the Communist Party of the Soviet

Union, Stalin uttered his memorable words on the adaptation of the colossal achievements of technical science in the twentieth century to the "virgin" soil of a tremendous country.

The 15th Conference brushed aside all who aimed at profiting by the difficulties of the new tasks in connection with inner-Party controversies. Even now the Bolshevik Party refrained from following the line of least resistance. The 15th Conference fundamentally decreed that even at the cost of the greatest sacrifices and efforts a beginning must be made with the heavy industries, the production of the means of production.

1927. — The period of reconstruction is over, the economy of the country has regained its pre-war level, and the way is open for new Socialist construction. New factories are started everywhere. We see the inception of the gigantic enterprise of chaining the cataracts of the Dniepr for the production of energy; a railway is started from Siberia to Turkestan; new textile works are opened in Bokhara. At the same time, there is witnessed in the capitalist world the growing strength of reaction, the offensive of the bourgeoisie against the working class (White Terror, Fascism, etc.), and the danger of a war against the Soviet Union.

1928. — The Five-Year Plan is sanctioned. New giant works for metallurgical production come into being. The slogan of the cultural revolution of the masses is proclaimed. At the same time, however, difficulties arise in connection with the accelerated pace of development. The difficulties attending the collection of grain once more draw public attention to the rural districts. In this respect, too, the Party refrains from pursuing the line of least resistance. The penetration of agriculture by Socialist elements, the comprehension and co-operative organisation of the small productive units, the introduction of collective forms of agriculture with the aid of the village poor in co-operation with the middle peasants and in active opposition to the kulaks, and the establishment of collective estates and Soviet farms — all these problems become essential matters of daily discussion.

1929. — The first year of the practical realisation of the Five-Year Plan has entailed happy results, the programme laid down for the first year having been not only attained but even surpassed. More speedily than was to be expected, practice gave the lie to the sterile pessimism of the Right elements and proved that the great plan of five-year construction is not only a reality but that it can even be fulfilled in a space of four years. In illustration, I may cite a few data from the Moscow district. Last year, the Moscow administrative district was greatly extended from the standpoint of its practical productivity. Besides the government of Tver with its textile industry, the metal industries of Tula and the Central Russian coal and ore beds were included in the Moscow administrative area. This was done so that the metallurgical, electrical and chemical industries might gain the predominance in a district formerly devoted mainly to textile production. The metal industry of the Moscow region has been so far enlarged that it is not only capable of producing the 30,000 tractors required by agriculture in the said district, but also of meeting the requirements of the peasantry in the neighbouring area of Ivanovosnessensk and the "Black-Earth" region. A great chemical factory is being built to exploit the phosphates of Yegoreff for the manufacture of sulphuric-acid and fertilisers.

In agriculture the introduction of collective farms is being systematically effected in the form of agricultural co-operatives and by means of contracts of supply, which are frequently concluded with entire villages.

All these new processes of output are hand in hand with a constant invigoration of the class struggle against the private owners, nep-men, speculators and dealers in the towns and against the kulaks in the country.

In place of a general characterisation of the economic position of the Soviet Union at the commencement of the 13th year of proletarian dictatorship, we have purposely cited a few examples with regard to the Moscow district. A similar, and in some cases yet more extensive, development of economy is in progress throughout the country, in Ukraina, Siberia, Caucasia, and the Far East. The force of this gigantic development lies in the fact that it is based on an active relation of the workers in regard to production. The workers know that they are building up their own factories and their own State. Therefore, millions are inspired with the greatest enthusiasm and willing to incur the greatest sacrifices.

The facts of the last twelve years speak for themselves. The October fight of the Russian proletariat was not fought in vain. The creative work of the masses in the Soviet Union speaks to the working population of all capitalist countries, to the oppressed peasantry and the slaves in the colonies, calling on them not to be afraid of taking the decisive step, to arm for the decisive fight against capitalism, to destroy the power of the bourgeoisie, which is preparing to interrupt the creative work of the Soviet Union by a fresh war, to rise in revolution and take power into their own hands.

POLITICS

The Government Crisis in France.

Anxiety of the "Socialists" to Participate in the Government.

By Pierre Semard (Paris).

Through the resolution of the Chamber to lose no time in opening the debate on the foreign-political interpellations, the Briand Government was left in the minority and had to resign. The immediate attack was led by the Left bourgeois parties including the Social Democrats. It is intended to extend the Government to the "Left" with the inclusion of the Social Democrats. The chauvinist Marin group voted with the Left out of discontent at Briand's Hague policy.

The crisis did not come as a surprise. Its reasons lie far deeper than might be supposed from superficial commentaries.

Of late both internal and external differences have been greatly accentuated. The economic difficulties of French capitalism are accompanied by an aggravation of the class struggle. At the same time, there is a growth and complication of the differences between France and the other imperialist Powers. As a net result of this state of affairs, the imperialist policy of the French Government and its preparations for a warlike issue are being greatly forced and are carried on without the customary camouflage. Similarly, the imperialist tendencies of French Social-Fascism are more and more apparent.

Even a cursory glance at the development of things shows how greatly the economic difficulties of French imperialism have increased. In July 1929, the production index figure, it is true, had risen to 142 as against 127 in 1928, the purchasing-power within the country remaining unchanged. This fact, however, is to be ascribed to the great orders placed by the Government with the war industries, to the increased construction of warships and the "opening-up" of the colonies. For the same reason, i. e. for the purpose of overcoming economic depression, certain Ministers demand the construction of new roads, the reorganisation of the harbours, electrification and "development" in the colonies. For the last-named purpose, 3,000 million francs have been accorded.

In spite of all these circumstances, the stability of the market is merely transient, as is admitted even in industrial circles.

The market problem gets more and more acute. Steel, e. g., is now sold abroad at 10 francs less per ton than on the home market. The economic press points out that rationalisation has not engendered the results desired and anticipated in the way of reducing initial expenditure, a reduction having become impossible in view of the constant rise in prices and the spreading wage-struggles of the proletariat.

Apart from the difficulties in industry, reference must be made to the crisis in agriculture as a result of over-production of grain and wine and the poor market possibilities for these products. The crisis particularly affects the crofters and tenant-farmers, who are driven, by a shortage of ready money, to sell their standing crops at the prices offered them by speculators.

The economic difficulties with which French capitalism has to contend, form the background for a mass movement on the part of the workers. The number of strikes is greatly on the increase. Between October 1928 and June 1929, there were in France 1200 strikes with 623,000 participants. All these strikes had an offensive character, most of them being wage struggles. It is likewise characteristic of the growing mass-movement that reformist workers took part in some of these strikes against the will of their leaders. During the last two months there were 15 strikes involving a total of 60,000 workers, also including workers in State enterprises. At Toulon, Lorient, Reully, and Brest, there were numerous demonstrations in connection with

the wage movement of the working class. Besides the general movement in France itself, there is an increase of rising strike-conflicts in the French colonies.

The Government, the bourgeoisie, and the Social Democrats are fully aware of the awakening of the masses. Therefore, they increase the repressive measures adopted against the revolutionary labour movement and the Communist Party.

The situation in France, moreover, is further complicated by the fact that the French imperialists are more and more active in their preparations for a new war, and particularly in their efforts to establish the anti-Soviet front. In order to achieve this, they are exerting their whole influence in Europe and especially in the eastern border States.

On all hands there are feverish preparations for war. Orders of warships have been launched, the eastern frontiers are being surrounded by a belt of fortifications placed around the ports. At the same time, preparations are being made for an attack on the subjugated tribes in Syria and Morocco.

The Social-Fascists and trade-union bureaucrats, who are fully aware of the accentuation of the critical position of the bourgeoisie, are establishing a more and more pronounced and immediate connection with the bourgeoisie. Being genuine Social-Fascists, they are unanimous in their support of the Briand Plan and of the French Government in its fight against the Communist Party. Thus the Socialist Blum congratulated Briand for his "evinced real resolution and employed his authority for the cause of peace". Frossard formally declared that the Communist group will vote for the ratification of the Hague Convention.

In their fight against the Communist Party and the revolutionary workers' organisations, the French Social-Fascists fully support the Government policy. A particularly revealing example on the part of the Social-Fascists is reported from Japan, where they called in the help of the police to prevent the Communist Party from speaking, and allied themselves with the police against the workers. Enthusiastically commenting on the deeds of the social lackeys of the bourgeoisie, the "Matin" wrote as follows: "A fresh defeat of Moscow. Socialists and Communists are blown at a meeting in Paris! In spite of a general attack by Cachin, the 'social traitors' get the upper hand! The entire Communist Party is at hand!"

The French bourgeoisie, anxiously watching the growing economic difficulties and the increasing activity of the working class, appears to have resolved to resume the good old method of rewarding the "Socialists" with seats in the Cabinet. Thus the "gendarme of France" who, it will be remembered, once called the Socialist Party a party of law and order, has suggested the formation of a government of "Republican unity".

The majority of the Socialists have declared their willingness to take part in the administration of the country and to cooperate with the Government; an insignificant minority, however, Paul Faure and Ziromski, are of opinion that the time is not yet ripe for such a development. It is symptomatic that Benoit Renaudel, and Grumbach energetically propagate the immediate entrance into the Government and claim for themselves dominating positions in the Cabinet. Their organ writes as follows on October 24th:

"The attitude of the Party is clearly outlined. The Party is willing to assume power alone, with the support of the other Parties of the Left, inviting the representatives of the other parties in to a Cabinet formed by the Socialists."

In this, the Fascist aspect of the French Social Democrats is clearly apparent.

Therefore our fight against the Social Democrats and their Left wing, which in its "revolutionary" demagoguery is far more dangerous than the Right one, must be strengthened by the unreserved employment of "class versus class" tactics. This is essential not only in the electoral campaigns but in the political and tactical activity of our Party. The fighting of the proletariat must be directed more than ever against the triple alliance of the Bourgeois-Fascist State, Capitalism, and Social-Fascists, particularly now that we are in a position to show every worker what the Social Democrats really are and what they are aiming at.

Severing's New Law for the Defence of the Realm.

By Hermann Jacobs (Berlin).

After a first draft of the Bill for the defence of the realm elaborated by Severing had already been published some weeks previously in the press, the "Kölnische Zeitung" published on 25th October the final text as passed by a session of the Reichs-Rat and delivered over to the Reich Council to be dealt with and adopted with all possible speed. The Bill represents an **exceptional Law against the Communist Party**, the suppression of which will be possible at any time under this new law. The new law for the defence of the realm differs from the old one in that the so-called **emperor clause** is deleted. The new law does not contain any provisions prohibiting the return of the Reichszöllners to Germany. Further the clause contained in the original draft providing that persons condemned on account of high treason should be banished to certain parts of Germany, is also deleted in the new draft. Instead, the new draft contains a whole number of draconic clauses of which the most important are the following:

The protection provided in the bill against attacks upon the Reich and person is only granted to persons who are attacked on account of their official or professional position in life". Thus the bill protects only the Reichs-President and the Ministers of the Reich and the Provincial Governments, as well as the official party secretaries of the bourgeois parties. Fascist attacks upon revolutionary workers do not come within the scope of the proposed law. Further, the draft refers to "secret and anti-State associations which strive to undermine the form of the State or of the province as laid down in the Constitution". It provides penalties against participation in or even support of such associations, as well as membership of an association which in itself or whose members are in unlawful possession of arms". Thus in the future it will suffice if any spy, who has managed to creep into the Communist Party, is found in possession of a revolver in order to present the Party as a secret or anti-State association.

And even more monstrous is paragraph 5, which renders liable to imprisonment for not less than three months and to a fine up to any amount anyone who "insults or willfully brings into contempt or by any open manifestation of disrespect wilfully seeks to lower in the eyes of public opinion" either the Republican form of State or the national and provincial colours or person who has been killed on account of his official or professional position as a politician. This tremendously widely conceived provision, which is intended to render impossible any revolutionary agitation, includes, in addition, penalties for calling for acts of violence against the above-mentioned persons as well as for praising or approving such acts of violence. In addition to various other measures, the proposed law further provides that **deputies condemned on account of high treason are to be deprived of their mandates**. This provision is, of course directed exclusively against the Communist Party.

The provision according to which the above-mentioned acts against and contraventions of the law for the defence of the realm are punishable even when such acts have been committed abroad, has been taken over directly from the fascist legislation in Italy. The provisions regarding the dissolution of meetings of the police in which infringements of the law are committed are tolerated, does not differ in any way from the police provisions of Bismarck's Anti-Socialist Law. An extremely reactionary clause is that which provides that if in the future a provincial government should refuse to dissolve a political association or party, **the Reichs Minister is entitled immediately to carry out this dissolution**. The same applies to the prohibition of the press. By this means the State power for the suppression of the revolutionary movement is in an important point concentrated in the hands of the Reichs Minister. Also the wearing of public badges of prohibited associations (Red Front Fighters' League), as well as "the maintenance of their organisational connections", is punishable with severe terms of imprisonment. **The throttling of the press** is further intensified in that publications which as such are themselves permitted but which are delivered to subscribers of prohibited periodical publications, are prohibited and the editor, publisher, printer and distributor of the same can be called to account therefor.

The character of the proposed law as an exceptional law against the Communist Party in the moment of a rise of a new

revolutionary wave is sufficiently exemplified by the circumstances connected with its origin. The first draft of the Bill was made public after the bomb outrage of the fascists, and in particular after the attempt to blow up the Reichstag buildings, regarding which the "Rote Fahne" wrote on 25th October that this outrage was a **provocative manoeuvre on the part of the political police**, who were already informed of the plot two weeks before the outrage took place without, however, their taking any action. The bomb outrage — the "Rote Fahne" declares was intended to supply the pretext for the new anti-Communist law. This fact is confirmed by the official announcement, made on the same day as the publication of the Draft, regarding the **release of the so-called Thimm group of the arrested fascist bomb throwers**. In the meantime, three more of the arrested participants in the bomb outrage have been set at liberty.

Severing's Anti-Communist law, which, so far as its most important provisions are concerned, surpasses Bismarck's anti-Socialist Law, is an outspoken document of social-fascist legislation which characterises the tremendous accentuation of the class struggle in Germany at the moment of the concentration of fascist forces on the one hand and of the rising wave of revolutionary mass struggles on the other.

Towards the Climax of the Austrian Crisis.

By R. Wiener.

Vienna, 24th, October 1929.

Events in Austria are developing at a feverish pace. The bill of the fascist dictatorial constitution submitted by Schober means a tremendous accentuation of the political crisis. Even Renner, in his Parliamentary speech, had to admit that this dictatorial Constitution had the effect of a "lighted torch thrown into the midst of the people". The great embitterment which this fascist dictatorial Constitution has aroused among the working class can be judged by the extremely radical demagoguery of the social democratic leaders and press.

Otto Bauer even declared in Parliament that Schober's dictatorial Constitution means a declaration of war on the proletariat; and Renner asserted that the social democracy would **unconditionally reject the Schober Bill**, and pointed to the heroic examples of 1848 and of the Paris Commune. At the same time the Trade Union Federation is calling upon the workers to form factory groups of the Republican Defence Corps and is making organisational preparations which can only be regarded as a playing with the strike threat in order to take the wind out of the sails of the Communist agitation for the political mass strike.

The fact that the social democratic leaders are venturing to use such language and to resort to such dangerous manoeuvres can only be explained by the fact that they are afraid of the **working masses themselves starting the revolutionary struggle**. For the situation in Austria has all the symptoms not only of an extreme political accentuation of the class antagonisms, but also of a **catastrophic economic crisis**. It is just this circumstance which forms the basis of the great political accentuation of the class contradictions and causes the bourgeoisie to **accelerate its efforts for the establishment of the fascist dictatorship**.

This economic crisis found its first acute expression in the days preceding the 20th September in the wholesale panic sales of all Austrian securities, in a run of depositors and investors upon the banks and in a feverish purchase of foreign currencies. The currency became decidedly shaky and the second biggest Austrian bank concern, the Bodencredit bank, collapsed. The most energetic efforts of the the fascist government were needed in order to prevent at the last moment the general extension of the crisis. But not for long. Because at present the crisis has again found expression in the same symptoms as were observable in the days preceding the 20th of September. During the month of September savings deposits amounting to at least 47 million Schillings were withdrawn, whilst during the first three weeks of October a sum of about 100 million Schillings was withdrawn from the banks. Nearly all Austrian shares have greatly depreciated, all foreign currencies have greatly increased and the value of the Schilling has correspondingly declined. Only by employing all the re-

serves of the National Bank was the depreciation of the Schilling kept within the limits of a few per cent. The National Bank is only able to do this by means of a concealed inflation which threatens the Schilling still more, and if things go much farther will unavoidably mean the complete collapse of the Austrian currency.

In face of this intensification of the crisis the Schober government is employing the severest means of fascist terror. Three prosecutions for high treason have been instituted against the "Rote Fahne" within three weeks. And now the government is proceeding to confiscate the social democratic "Abend" and even bourgeois-democratic papers such as "Allgemeine Zeitung" and "Tag" for having published news regarding the economic crisis.

With such means the Schober government will not master the crisis but will only help to aggravate it. But the Schober government has something bigger in view. It wishes to realise the fascist dictatorship, and for this purpose it wants the support of the social democracy. The radical phrases of the social democratic party leaders are nothing else but a cloak to hide their readiness to collaborate in the change of the Constitution, to support the Schober government and to co-operate in the work of fascising Austria. Thus we see how the economic crisis is used as a pretext by the S. P. leaders in order to blare out the slogan: "Save the economic position of the country!", and is used by them as a reason for demanding the carrying out of the alteration of the Constitution by legal and constitutional means. **The united front between Schober and the social democracy is being rapidly consolidated on this platform.** We can, therefore, reckon with increased co-operation between the social democracy and the Schober government in the carrying out of the fascist reform of the Constitution. It is already reported that the Escompte Bank, in which the social democrats have the greatest interest, is, in view of the economic crisis, being merged with the Vienna Bankverein. That is an example of the economic basis of the united front of the social fascists with the fascists in the setting up of the fascist dictatorship.

But everything depends upon whether the working masses will consent to take part in this game. We can answer this question decidedly in the negative. The revolutionary upsurge of the working class has received a fresh impetus in the last few weeks: the agitation of the Communist Party is beginning to work and the crisis of the classes is approaching its climax.

Labour Government and the Class Struggle in Australia.

By S. Stoler.

"The cultivation of an Australian sentiment based upon the maintenance of racial purity, and the development in Australia of an enlightened self-reliant community."

(From Programme adopted by third Interstate Congress of the Political Labour Party in 1905.)

In the A. L. P. Programme of today, this objective has been edited to read:

"The cultivation of an Australian Sentiment, the Maintenance of a White Australia, etc." . . .

The telegraph brings us the news that the Nationalist Bruce Government in Australia has been defeated in the Federal Elections and that a Labour Government, with Mr. James Scullin as Premier, has been formed in its place.

The jubilation of the Labour Party politicians and of the trade union bureaucracy will know no bounds. They will take advantage of the many illusions still strongly rooted among the Australian working masses, in order to proceed one stage farther with their traditional policy of class-collaboration, compulsory arbitration, strike-breaking, capitalist rationalisation, etc.

Australian politics have hitherto been dominated by two main political parties — the Nationalists and the Labour Party.

The Nationalist Party is the conservative political party of the Australian bourgeoisie, with avowed imperial policies in accordance with the dictates of British Imperialism and finance capital.

The A. L. P. has from very early days, played the part of the second political party in that country. Very early, as

compared with older capitalist countries, the A. L. P. into office in the various States and even federally. In Queensland, for example, the second most important state, a "Labour Government" was in existence for 13 years, until it was defeated by the Nationalist Party early this year.

The A. L. P. is in fact a Nationalist Labour Party. For decades it has been vying with the Nationalists for the title of "true nationalism". For decades it has fostered among the working masses the worst sort of jingoism and national race prejudices. For decades, its fundamental policy was one of class collaboration and class peace, which found expression in the perfected Compulsory arbitration system which has moralised and devitalised the Australian labour movement.

The Australian Labour Party is coming into power in the midst of a general capitalist offensive, which was started about two years ago, and by which the bourgeoisie, with the help of the L. P. politicians and T. U. reactionaries, succeeded in defeating and disorganising one section of the Australian working class after another.

The record of this general offensive under the Bruce Government speaks for itself:

1. The Crimes Act, amended to permit jailing and deportation of militant and active trade unionists (actually done in the recent transport disputes).

2. The Anti-Trade Union Law (amended Arbitration Act, which goes much further than the British Anti-Trade Union Act. Strikes are virtually outlawed, unions and strikers' leaders and active unionists punished by fines and heavy prison sentences; scabs legalised, and all the functions of the unions simply taken over by the courts. Unions can be deregistered and dissolved at the courts' pleasure.

3. The seamen badly defeated in a fight which the employers provoked, and which was lost through the treachery and disunity among the seamen.

4. The Transport Workers (Wharf Labourers) robbed of many hard-won gains simply through a decree of the Arbitration Court.

5. Transport Act, robbing the transport workers of freedom of action, conscripting transport workers, legalising and giving preference to scabs, etc.

6. Timber Workers robbed of the 44-hour week by a decree of the Arbitration Court. They are at the time of writing in the 7th month of a fierce struggle against longer hours and lower wages.

7. Twelve thousand miners locked out, in order to force them to accept a 12% wage cut and worse working conditions.

8. Railwaymen threatened with loss of the 44-hour week.

9. Attack on the Basic Wage in New South Wales, where the employers are demanding a cut from 4 £ 5 s 0 d. to 3 £ 7 s 0 d.

10. Proposed discarding of the Navigation Act, as a means of lowering seamen's wages and working conditions.

11. Ban on working class literature, which excludes not only all foreign publications in any way suspected of being militant, or carrying news of workers' struggles in other countries. Under letter "A" in this ban, is to be found: "All publications of the Red International of Labour Unions" and "All publications of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat."

12. Prohibition of the holding of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Congress in Australia (in order to prevent any connections between Australian and foreign working class organisations). Also refusal to give passports to duly elected trade union delegates from Australia to the Hankow P. O. U. S. Conference in 1927.

13. At the same time, no effort was spared by the Nationalist Bruce Government, to link up the Australian labour movement with the Geneva "Labour Office". Every year the government sends trade union leaders of a certain type to the I. L. O. conferences at government expense. The literature of the Amsterdam and Second Internationals has free entry into Australia. The trade unions are also encouraged in every way possible, with the purely bourgeois "Institute of Pacific Relations" where the representatives of the imperialist governments go to deliver "pacifist" speeches.

14. Coupled with all this is the process of rationalisation of industry; piece-work, bonus and speed-up systems are rapidly introduced; an unprecedented army of unemployed (200,000) swelling the reserve army of labour. In this connection, the Bruce government dispatched a carefully-selected trade union delegation, composed of arch-reactionaries from

tralian Workers' Union, to the U. S. A., to report on unionization, speed-up methods, company unionism, piece-work, etc. This delegation, which was declared "black" by the Australasian Council of Trade Unions and the New South Wales Labour Council, actually reported in favour of all these "blessings".

15. And last, but not least, simultaneously with unfolding general offensive, the Australian bourgeoisie very cynically taken up the banner of Mond-Turner, and while beating one section of the workers after another, it offers "peace" and industrial Peace, on its own terms, of course.

The Australian bourgeoisie makes no secret of its objective: **reduce the living and labour standards of the Australian king class to the level of the British and European workers.** No means is spared to achieve this object. The methods range from the open formation of fascist and strikebreaking squads (as last year in Melbourne during the Waterside Strike), "industrial peace" conferences on the Mond-Turner model.

The Australian Labour Party and the reactionary T. U. bureaucracy play the same role in this scheme of capitalist utilisation as the British Labour imperialist, or the German social-fascists in their respective countries. (More than once the scheme was broken by the Queensland "Labour" Government during its 13-year regime).

With the sharpening of the class struggle in Australia, a rapid process of radicalisation of the masses is inevitable. Already this is seen in the 7 months' splendid struggle of the **Timber Workers**, who defied the arbitration court and burned the effigy of the Arbitration Court judges together with the sealed secret ballots sent out to the strikers by this court.

In this process of radicalisation of the masses **the Labour Party and the T. U. bureaucracy play the part of agents of the bourgeoisie, hampering the development of the class struggle, organising and demoralising the trade union movement.**

Open sabotage of strikes and movements in defence of wages and hours against the attacks of the Arbitration Court (amen's Lockout, etc.); insistence on **Compulsory Arbitration, Industrial Peace** Conferences, open struggle against the militant radical elements not only in the A. L. P. but in the trade unions (**expulsion of 4 communists from the Trades Council of Townsville, Queensland**), — such is the programme and record of the Australian Labour Party and T. U. bureaucracy.

The federal parliamentary elections centred about the question of Arbitration. The Bruce Government threatened to do away with the Federal Arbitration Court, while leaving intact the various State Arbitration Courts. The motive was: to clear the road for the unhindered capitalist offensive, even in such obedient tools as the capitalist Arbitration Court. Scores of so-called Federal Unions exist only thanks to the existence of the Federal Arbitration Court. These unions are mere organisations, to whom the class struggle is anathema. Their secretaries are merely lawyers who come before the court once a year to receive an award, fixing wages for the particular trade or profession. This is the whole content "programme" and "activity" of these unions. Naturally, when the Bruce Government threatened to do away with the Federal Arbitration Court, the T. U. Bureaucracy saw their very existence endangered. . . . That is why, the entire T. U. Bureaucracy, from the extreme right to the so-called "Left", raised a storm and outcry for the preservation of the same Court which has smashed the Seamen, the Watersiders, the Timber Workers, which has robbed the workers of the 44-hour week, of their right to strike, and of many other rights and privileges.

Even the "left" leadership of the N. S. W. Labour Council, which is affiliated to the R. I. L. U., come out in defence of arbitration (against a small minority). And on this question the Labour Party gained its present victory.

Our tasks in Australia are clear:

1. To carry on the most ruthless struggle against Industrial Peace, Class Collaboration, and against all the agents of the bourgeoisie within the T. U. movement and in the L. P. who thus mislead and disorganise the working class.

2. To mobilise all truly militant elements for organising and leading the Australian workers in a Counter-Offensive against the bourgeoisie.

3. To break completely with all forms of conciliation and arbitration which only demoralise and disorganise the labour movement. To unmask ruthlessly all defenders of the Arbitration

Court, and their "left"-phrase demagoguery behind which they hide their treachery.

4. To take the initiative for the reorganisation of the craft unions on the principle of industrial unionism. To form Factory and Shop Committees, and Committees of Action and Strike Committees which are to be representative of all the workers of a given enterprise.

5. To popularise the programme and decisions of the R. I. L. U., and to prepare the ground for the linking up of the entire Australian T. U. movement to the R. I. L. U.

The Communist Party as the Leader of the General Strike in Latvia.

By A. Fermann (Riga).

The social democrats had proclaimed the general strike for the 18th of October. But already before the 18th of October the revolutionary workers exclusively were leading the movement. On the 16th and 17th of October thousands of workers in Riga followed not the social democratic slogans but the revolutionary slogans. On the 18th of October the street car workers, the taxi-drivers, several factories and the workers in the provinces joined the strike. Only the railwaymen, the telegraph workers and the civil servants formed an exception. 60 to 65 per cent. of the workers organised in the reformist trade unions participated in the strike in the whole country.

The strike was intended to cloak the fact that the social democratic leaders had concluded an alliance with the bourgeoisie in order to drive out the revolutionary workers from the sick insurance funds, where they were beginning to win the upper hand. In spite of the terror of the social democrats, who handed over to the police, the revolutionary workers who wanted to speak in the meetings, the general mood on 18th of October was excellent.

The whole of the police was mobilised during the strike, assisted by the "defence corps" and the voluntary fascists. The soldiers guarded the factories and the streets, 150 workers were arrested; many of them were ill-treated and injured. One worker was seriously injured by the bullet of a fascist soldier.

In spite of the terror short demonstrations took place at factory gates. Speakers of the illegal Communist Party delivered the speeches. In Riga, in the centre of the town, two demonstrations were held, participated in by 300 and 500 workers respectively. The demonstrators carried red flags, sang revolutionary songs and shouted: "Long live the Communist Party and the Young Communist League!", "Long live Soviet Latvia! Down with the fascists and the social fascist traitors!" The police were unable to seize the demonstrators. Detectives tried to do so, but were soundly beaten for their pains.

In Libau 70 per cent. of the workers were on strike; in Windau several hundred workers; in Dünaburg 800. In other towns 20 to 40 per cent. of the workers participated in the strike. Most of the strike breakers were members of the reformist trade unions. Of the workers organised in the reformist unions, only the printing workers performed no strike-breaking work, but went on strike.

Work was resumed according to the slogans of the Left organisations. The same social democrats who had called the one day general strike, themselves did blackleg work. They caused a split in the ranks of the working class. Many Left workers did not participate in the strike because the social democratic traitors had called the strike. Reaction received a heavy blow, but in view of the present situation the struggle could not lead to a complete victory. Therefore an organised retreat took place.

The lessons of the strike are: 1. The revolutionary activity and the power of the Left organisations have increased; 2. the initiative in the factories is exclusively in the hands of the Left elements; 3. the struggle has shown that the masses are losing confidence in the social democratic leaders; 4. the new tactics were successfully applied in the strike; 5. new forces were won.

The Left workers emerged from the struggle morally strengthened and ready for the new and more serious struggles in the future.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

Growing Fighting Spirit of the British Workers.

The Struggle of the English Woollen Workers.

By T. H. Wintringham.

For many months past the employers in the woollen industry have been attacking the wage standards of the workers in mill after mill. With this has gone on a rationalisation drive, speeding up and in many cases the introduction of new machinery. Increased unemployment has resulted. Over 40,000 woollen textile workers are out of work, and the majority of mills are on short time.

In March and April in the Heavy section of the industry a 10 per cent. reduction was made in the wages of all workers, some 11,000 being affected. The Communist Party and the Y. C. L. went into action at the first threat of a wage cut, and distributed thousands of handbills, held mill-gate meetings etc., with the aim of rallying the workers for resistance.

The trade union officials, who for months had been denying that the employers were preparing an attack on wages, took a ballot, promising full union support if the vote was for a strike, but in general advocating acceptance.

The ballot showed a majority for a strike. But the majority was not large. The union leadership refused to act in spite of their pledges. The Communist campaign just failed to secure a strike.

After the employers had secured a cut in this easy way, it was clear that they would extend the attack. During the British General Elections the employers for tactical reasons did not proceed. In June they again came forward with demands. Some asked for a cut of 17 per cent. This the unions refused to discuss.

Then the employers as a united body demanded a cut of 10 per cent. The union officials offered to recommend acceptance of a cut of 7½% in order "to assist the employers to meet foreign competition". This the employers refused. The whole episode was one of bargaining, but the principle of a wage reduction was accepted by all — except the workers.

Then by an overwhelming majority the union delegates at a conference passed what was virtually a vote of censure on the leaders and instructed them not to conduct negotiations any further on the basis of wage-cuts. The delegates, however, were in the main just as anxious as the paid officials to avoid a dispute, and proposed arbitration, although they knew very well that this would mean reductions.

After some weeks the union officials again met the employers, and in defiance of the decision of the delegates again made an offer to recommend a reduction. This was not big enough for the employers; they refused the offer, but brought their own demands down from 10% to 8.3%.

On this demand the workers were balloted. The ballot paper was in effect a recommendation to accept the employers' proposals. But the capitalists and the reformists got a surprise. The workers voted 80% for resistance, 16½% for acceptance of the cut, and 3½% were neutral.

This shows the vigorous fighting spirit of the workers. It also shows the rapid radicalisation (partly due to the Communist Party's campaign). In March and April the vote of the workers affected by the cut was only just over 50% for a strike. Today it is 80%.

The workers are ready for immediate action, but the union officials are holding them back to wait for the employers' notices. These notices are already up (for a ten per cent. reduction) in one big area, the Sven Vally, and in a few other mills. This shows the employers' policy, which is to break the workers' resistance area by area, and to make separate agreements, with sections of the workers when possible.

The trade union leaders' policy is to make separate agreements (certain craft unions are particularly aiming at this) to delay united action, and to get an arbitration court set up by the Labour government.

They would prefer that the "Politicians" should undertake the responsibility of organising the sacrifice of the workers' wages. The Labour government, on the other hand, would doubtlessly prefer to see the union officials responsible for a

settlement in this case (although each section of the reformists have advantages to gain, in the shape of capitalist approval, by negotiating a surrender, they do not want to waste much of their political capital — the support of the masses of the workers).

This little difference of opinion between the two sections of the reformists, both working for the same end — the interests of the workers — means that probably there will be no government intervention until it is clearly seen that the trade union officials are certain to fail in their efforts to prevent a general strike of the whole industry.

The Communist Party's policy is an immediate strike in all areas and of all sections. No reliance on the trade union leaders or the trade union official machinery (which in many cases are "Councils of Action" — a militant name for organisations which are in this case completely controlled by the reformists) but an open fight within the union branches and on the basis of the Communist Party's line.

The main positive feature of the C. P. line is the demand for the immediate establishment of Mill Committees of Action representing all sections of the workers, and in particular the non-unionists and the youth. All the areas on which the Party is at present concentrated include a very heavy percentage of unorganised workers, and these are showing a militant spirit in all cases where it is possible to ascertain their feelings.

The Communist Party is stressing the danger of Labour government arbitration. Here the result of arbitration in the Cotton dispute gives us a useful example and has been a major factor in getting the workers, in a predominantly rural area, to listen to our speakers in their exposure of the government.

The Party's message is being spread daily, in a way which is issued daily and which carries the name of the Communist Party's future national daily paper in order to show the workers the vital necessity of a daily Communist paper to lead the struggle of the working class in all fields of activity.

Finally, the Party is working to transform the struggle into an offensive against capitalism. The close connections between the attack on wool wages and the attack on the coal operatives, the miners, and the railwaymen is pointed out. The slogan is "Let Yorkshire lead in real resistance to capitalist rationalisation".

Revolutionary Street Demonstrations in Budapest.

By K. Barina (Budapest).

The new agreement between the Hungarian Social-Fascists and Prime Minister Count Bethlen, which was in process of preparation for many months but only became apparent to the broad masses about two months ago, represents a great step forwards in making the Social-Fascists part of the Fascist system. In this agreement the Social-Democrats consent to support the imperialist foreign policy of the Hungarian bourgeoisie. In return for this, Bethlen grants an amnesty to those who have during the last few years behaved in such a way as to render themselves qualified for such great favour, i. e. not to the Communist Party, but to the political prisoners and emigrants but to the Social Democrats, Garami, Buchinger, and Weltner.

At the meeting on October 13th, arranged by the Social-Democrats with a view to getting the masses to fall into line with regard to this agreement, the prospective victims took no stand not behind the agreement but behind the Communist Party of Hungary.

Already at the commencement of the meeting it became apparent that, under the courageous lead of the representatives of the C. P. of Hungary, the workers were preparing for a revolutionary action. To the slogans of the reformists, our comrades replied with the slogans of the C. I. and the C. P. H. accompanied by the enthusiastic demonstrations of a crowd of 25,000.

This demonstration of the masses rose to a height never experienced in Hungary for many years, when suddenly from amidst red flags were raised with inscriptions in favour of the Soviet Union and against imperialist war. For ten minutes the flags were held aloft without it having been possible for the Social-Democratic guards to take them away, all attempts to do so being repelled by the fists of the workers. At first

police made no serious attempt to get possession of the flags, being afraid of the resistance of the crowd. When the first speaker spoke of the results of the "struggles" of the Social-Democratic Party, the crowd replied in chorus with a reminder of the treacherous agreement. Karl Peyer was no more successful, for when he tried to persuade the people that the same spirit prevailed in the Soviet Union as in Hungary, a storm arose among the workers. Vociferous shouts were heard of "Long live the Soviet Union!", "Long live the Russian Proletariat!", and again the red flags were raised aloft. For fifteen minutes Peyer could not make himself heard. The members of the Social-Democratic guard attempted to seize the leaders of the demonstration, but got soundly beaten by the workers. At the close of the meeting, when the Social-Democratic chair started a socialist song, from thousands and thousands of throats there arose forth the resounding strains of the "International".

Marching behind the red flags to the tune of the "International", the workers proceeded along the street, indifferent to the protests of the Social Democrats and the police. According to the most careful estimates, between 1000 and 1500 workers obeyed the call of the C. P. H. to demonstrate in the streets regardless of the repeated attacks of cavalry. The police first attacked the bearers of the red flags, who were defended by the crowd just as they had been at the meeting. There ensued a sanguinary conflict, the workers employing stones, sticks, and flagstaves as weapons. A few minutes later the crowd also seized the asphalt paving blocks lying ready for road-repairing purposes. The first attack of mounted police and that of constables striking with the flat of their swords were successfully beaten back: thereupon the crowd broke through the cordon of police guarding the Kacoczky Ut (one of the main streets of Budapest) and began to march along that thoroughfare. Besides the Soviet Union, the crowd cheered the proletarian dictatorship, the Comintern, the C. P. of Hungary, and the Young Communist League. The traffic was stopped, the shutters of the cafés were lowered, and the bourgeoisie fled in panic.

One attack followed the other, but the crowd rallied again and again. Nor did the workers content themselves with merely fighting; they also saw to it that as few as possible of their number remained in the hands of the police. Policemen accompanying workers whom they had arrested were attacked with a hail of stones and their prisoners were released. For an hour the demonstration lasted; for an hour the workers were the masters of the main street of Budapest. This was the "present" of the C. P. H. to the counter-revolution on its tenth anniversary and the reply of the Budapest proletariat to the latest treachery of the Social-Fascists.

An Armed Fight of the Greek Tobacco Workers.

By Prynos (Athens).

Events of the greatest importance, extending beyond national frontiers, are taking place at the present moment in Greece. The class struggle, which is becoming more and more acute, is going over to its highest forms, to armed fights.

It is among the tobacco workers that the fight has assumed its sharpest forms. This branch of industry, which in the whole of Greece embraces over 45,000 workers, is subject every year to seasonal unemployment, but which this year, as a result of the rationalisation which has been carried out, has assumed an extent unknown before. In former years the tobacco workers worked at least 180 days, while this year they have not been able to work even 140 days. As a result of this prolonged seasonal unemployment the tobacco workers have for many years past carried on fierce and bloody fights for insurance against unemployment.

Under the pressure of these fights the State was compelled to set up an unemployment insurance fund for the tobacco workers. To this fund the tobacco workers have to contribute 6 per cent. of their wages, while an equal sum is paid by the employers. The administration of this fund lies almost entirely in the hands of the State and of the employers, in spite of the fact that the law under which this fund was set up, plainly and distinctly states that the majority of the administrative council is to be in the hands of the insured persons. In the three years of its existence 155 million Drachmas have been contributed to the fund by the tobacco workers and an equal sum by the

employers. Out of the 155 million Drachmas, however, the figures have been paid to the tobacco workers for unemployment benefit, that is to say, the tobacco workers have not received a cent of the money which they have contributed. The money is swallowed up by the bureaucracy, and the tobacco workers frequently come to light of day.

Owing to the tremendous increase of unemployment this year the whole situation has become even more acute. The unemployment fund pays out unemployment benefit to a very small number of tobacco workers who can prove that they have worked a certain minimum number of days. Owing to the great unemployment of this year however, the great majority of tobacco workers have not been able to work the number of days necessary to qualify for unemployment benefit. But not only that, just recently a number of reactionary regulations have been introduced, as a result of which a great section of the insured workers is excluded from benefit, e. g. 18,000 women tobacco workers and all the tobacco workers employed on the land. Out of 10,000 unemployed tobacco workers only 6500 are drawing unemployment benefit.

It is therefore not surprising that the resistance of the tobacco workers is growing. In all the towns of Greece great demonstrations and protest meetings of tobacco workers are taking place at the present moment. In five towns the tobacco workers have, as a sign of protest, attacked and demolished the office of the insurance fund.

On the isle of Thasos, where there are over 4000 unemployed tobacco workers, it came to powerful demonstration, in which the demonstrators seized eight ships with which they sailed to Kavala in order to join their forces with the demonstrating tobacco workers of that town. Kavala is one of the largest tobacco working centres of Greece; there are 13,000 tobacco workers in this town.

The ships were forbidden to enter the harbour of Kavala. The tobacco workers of Thasos consented to return only after the district prefect had given the promise that unemployment benefit would be paid and that nobody would be arrested. After their return to the island, however, the secretary of the tobacco workers' union, who had played a leading part in this demonstration, was arrested, whereupon the entire population of the island rose and forcibly released the prisoner.

At the same time the tobacco workers of Kavala demonstrated and attempted to force their way to the harbour in order to join the workers of Thasos. The entrances to the harbour were barred and strong military forces occupied the whole harbour district, so that the demonstrating tobacco workers of Kavala, after violent collisions with the police, had to remain in the town. Several workers were injured in these collisions.

The events in Thasos and Kavala have not remained isolated. The fight of the tobacco workers has assumed its highest form up to now in Agrini. Agrini enjoys a considerable revolutionary tradition. Only two months ago 14 imprisoned tobacco workers went on hunger strike, and with the help of the Greek Red Aid succeeded in enforcing their release. 2000 tobacco workers are employed in this town. On the 10th of October they demonstrated along with the tobacco workers from the neighbouring villages, when it came to serious collisions with the police. This time, however, the workers did not quietly put up with the blows of the exploiters' guards. They resorted to weapons and a regular pitched battle took place which lasted three hours. It was only after they had received strong reinforcements from the neighbouring town of Missoongi that the police were able to master the situation. Two police and also two workers were seriously injured, and there were also several cases of slight injuries.

These events aroused an enormous response in the whole country. The government of the dictator Venizelos, under the pressure of this action of the proletariat, ventured to carry out only eight arrests and hastened to declare that the unemployed tobacco workers would be granted special benefit from the Budget. The whole of the tobacco workers' movement stands firmly behind the Communist Party of Greece, which has come to be regarded as its leader and organisator.

The working class of all countries, and especially of the Balkans, must attach great importance to these events. They must show their solidarity with and accord active support to the fighting proletariat of Greece, in the conviction that they are thereby helping in their own fight for emancipation which will be crowned by the establishment of the Balkan Federation of workers' and peasants' Republics.

THE WHITE TERROR

The Hunger-Strike of the Political Prisoners in Hungary.

Since more than a week over 100 political prisoners in the five Hungarian prisons have been on a hunger strike. They demand the recognition of their rights as political prisoners, improved diet, increased facilities for sending and receiving letters, and free choice of books — rights and privileges to which the political prisoners are entitled according to Hungarian law. The Hungarian government has issued an official communiqué according to which the hunger strike has been entered upon not owing to bad treatment but on account of questions of principle.

How cruel the prison regime is in Hungary is revealed by the alarming news which often reaches the public both from Communist and non-Communist sources. The well-known English liberal paper, the "Manchester Guardian", published a few months ago the most startling revelations regarding the way in which Comrade Rakosi is being treated in prison. The Hungarian government did not succeed in refuting the statements of the "Manchester Guardian". And recently a lawyer who had visited a number of political prisoners, including comrades Zoltan Szanto and Stelian Vagi, stated that these prisoners are actually delivered over to death from starvation.

As a result of the pressure of the working class, even two social democratic leaders, Alexander Propper and Anna Kethly, were recently compelled to submit to the Hungarian Minister for Justice a written complaint against the treatment of political prisoners.

This memorandum states inter alia:

Political prisoners in Hungary receive the most scanty and bad prison diet. They can expend only a part of their wages on the purchase of additional food. Yet their work is so badly paid and the food prices so high that by this means they can improve their diet only to an inappreciable extent. Still worse is the position of the sick who are not in a position to work. The friends and relatives of prisoners are not allowed to send in packets of food.

Political prisoners are subjected to military discipline. It has often happened that political prisoners have been punished solely because they have not stood at attention when confronted by prison officials. Political prisoners are placed in chains when being conveyed from one prison to another.

The Hungarian law prescribes that political prisoners can spend two hours daily in the open air. In actual fact however, they are allowed at most an hour's exercise a day.

They are not allowed to have any writing materials. According to paragraph 137 of the prison regulations, political prisoners have the right to order books and magazines at their own cost. This right is not observed, so that the political prisoners have no other reading matter than that provided by the prison library. Books sent by post from outside are, as a rule rejected.

Political prisoners are also compelled to work; contrary to the provisions of the law, however, they are not allowed any choice in the work to be performed. Political prisoners are allowed to receive letters only once a month. Letters sent to them are delivered only after great delay or not at all. Their correspondence with their lawyers is often held back and censored.

The brutal ill-treatment, the prolonged solitary confinement imposed as an answer to the slightest protests on the part of political prisoners are not mentioned at all in the memorandum. But even this memorandum contains sufficient facts in order to make it plain why political prisoners in Hungary have resorted to the weapon of the hunger strike.

* * *

Vienna, 24th October 1929.

The Hungarian Minister of Justice Zsitvay declared, replying to a question, that the hunger-strike of the political prisoners was a disciplinary offence and would be punished as such. The prison authorities had received instructions to use drastic measures in order to crush the strike. A number of the prisoners had already been placed in chains and all the hunger strikers were being forcibly fed.

The government and the bourgeois press continue the policy of representing the hunger strike as a political action organised from outside the prison instead of a desperate attempt to improve the frightful conditions prevailing in the prisons. In order to calm the working masses, the social democracy pretends to be working on behalf of the prisoners, and the chairman of the commission for the protection of political prisoners, Rudolf Payer, has "intervened" with the authorities on behalf of the prisoners.

Statement of the All-American League Against Imperialism on the New Wave of Terror in Latin America.

The growing resistance of the oppressed Latin-American masses to the United States Imperialist domination of their economic and political life is being expressed in recent months by a wave of economic struggles, strikes, armed uprisings of the indigenous Indians, anti-imperialist demonstrations, etc. This resistance is also being expressed in the struggle of the workers and peasants against the ruthless dictatorships controlled by the United States bankers, Trusts and Magnates.

The Anti-Imperialist movement throughout the Latin-American countries has, as a result of the widespread discontent and fighting mood of the masses, found a fertile soil, resulting in the organisation of many new sections and branches of the All-American Anti-Imperialist League, especially in South America.

The bloody dictatorships of the Government in power, executing the orders of American Imperialists, have initiated a new wave of terror with the specific purpose to destroy all vestiges of workers and peasants organisations, annihilate their leaders, thus paving the way — after crushing all resistance — for new loans to further bind the customs, municipalities and to complete the monopolisation of the national wealth of the countries.

The toiling masses of Cuba have lost their best leaders in a series of executions, mysterious disappearance and jailings under the orders of the tyrant President Machado. Machado has gone as far as to hound Julio Antonio Mella, a leader of the anti-imperialist movement, outside of Cuba, ordering his hirelings to kill him in the most dastardly manner. La Sema, an opposition paper is suppressed. Its editor is deported. W. Borah, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, has announced with a statement that the difficulties between these individual capitalists and the Cuban Government are matters of "adjustment". Obedient servants of the American Imperialist class, the Senators and Secretary Stimson keep silent on the true situation in Cuba for which they are responsible.

In Guatemala, the country where the United Fruit Company and the Cuyamel Company reign supreme, a decree has been issued suspending all constitutional rights for six months. The masses of Guatemala, largely composed of Indians and Negroes, are revolting against the fierce exploitation of the big American Trusts. The suspension of the constitutional rights, which means actual prohibition of assembly, free press and the right of workers to organise, is an indication of the reaction set in order to quench the fighting mood of the oppressed masses.

In Honduras where the same fruit Trusts own enormous stretches of land, the agricultural workers began to organise in order to resist the growing poverty, misery and exploitation. The Puppet Government ordered the closing of the revolutionary press. El Martillo, an anti-imperialist publication which catered to the defence of the oppressed, has been suppressed. The offices of the Honduran Section of the International Labour Defence (Socorro Rojo) was raided and its organiser jailed. At Tegucigalpa the trade union offices were raided and the workers club and tortured at the point of the bayonets. Many expulsions were ordered for immediate execution. The anti-imperialist section was ordered to be dissolved.

In Colombia, where a new strike of the banana plantation workers broke out, joined by the railroad workers, the Colombian Government led a massacre of workers. Three hundred militant strikers were killed, hundred of workers wounded. The jails were filled.

Ecuador has witnessed a series of Indian rebellions against the semi-feudal conditions, against the sale of serfs by the

ndowners and against the wholesale expropriation of land by the American Oil Interests. The dictatorial Government of Ecuador, conducted massacres of Indians. The leader of the insurgents, **Jose Puna Viva** is condemned to sixteen years in jail. The representatives of the Caribbean International Labour Defence (Socorro Rojo) are jailed. The anti-imperialist movement forced to operate illegally.

In **Porto Rico**, these islands which are practically owned by no more than a dozen of American Corporations, the local authorities, tools of the corporations, are conducting raids against all militant workers and peasants organisations. While **r. Santiago Iglesias**, leader of the Socialist Party of Porto Rico, inviting American bankers to invest their benevolent capital in "his" country, the workers are being jailed because they resist the unbearable conditions imposed upon them by American Magnates and under which they are compelled to suffer.

This new wave of terror, for which we hold the American imperialist Government responsible must be combated hand in hand by the anti-imperialist forces of the United States together with the oppressed masses of Latin-America.

The workers of the United States must raise their voice of protest, must rally together in protest meetings and demonstrations for the support of our oppressed brothers of Latin-America.

Down with the terror in Latin-America!

Down with the bloody dictatorship in Latin-America, tools of American imperialism!

Down with American imperialism!

For the complete independence of the Latin-American countries!

Long live the solidarity of the workers and peasants of Latin-America with the anti-imperialist forces of the United States!

All-America Anti-Imperialist League
(United States Section).

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

The "Gigant".

By L. F. Vinov.

If not the days, at least the years of the "Moujik", whose lack of culture, simplicity and religious superstition so enthused the poets of Tsarism, are numbered. The destruction of the wall of "natural" antagonism which capitalism built up between town and country, is no longer merely a socialist theory, but is being carried out in that country in which perhaps this antagonism was strongest of all. The country in which wooden ploughs were still in use and in which very often the peasant would himself take the place of the horse which he did not possess.

Before the war the tractor was a luxury in Russia and was possessed only by a few rich landowners (in all only 159 landowners possessed tractors). During the war Tsarism imported a large number of tractors from abroad, but not in order to till the land but to transport heavy guns. In the country of the proletarian dictatorship tremendous State agricultural undertakings, so-called grain factories, in which the exclusive or almost exclusive power is that of machinery, are growing up side by side with the collective undertakings and taking the place of the poverty-stricken individual peasant farms. The largest of these great agricultural undertakings is the Soviet farm, "Gigant", in the Northern Caucasian steppes.

On an immense area of 130,000 hectares grain is being produced by machinery. The half of this area was worked this year. At present the farm has from 6 to 7 thousand modern tractors, and the number will increase in accordance with the extension of the work. The expression "grain factory" is not in the least exaggerated. There are no peasants to be seen working from early morning until sundown; there are no landworkers to be seen at work driven forward with the whip of hunger or the real whip of the landowner. Only real workers can be seen as mechanics, tractor drivers, etc. and they work in normal shifts of seven or eight hours. The difference between

urban and rural workers has become non-existent here. An unprejudiced bourgeois journalist (A. F. in the "Frankfurter Zeitung") writes:

"I saw this grain factory in the early summer when the ears of grain were already nodding in the fields. For hours we drove in an automobile through an immense area of waving green which reached as far as I could see. There was no house and no trees to break the immense area of grain which covered alike the hills and valleys all around. For hours and hours we saw no house, no trees and no signs of any human being. In the centre of the great farm were a few modest administrative buildings and tremendous workmen-like sheds for the tractors and other agricultural machinery. Much of the machinery for the harvest had not yet arrived. Apart from the management there was no one to be seen but little troops of mechanics and tractor drivers, including women. They lived in caravans and were engaged in preparing untilled land for the next year. Apart from these workers there was no one to be seen. In the spring they worked with 460 tractors, 16 hours a day in two shifts, tearing up the earth, breaking up the big clods and preparing the ground for the seed. They then sowed mechanically over 62,000 hectares (almost the whole of this, although here and there, to judge from the state of the grain, they had met with reverses). The manager declared that they had needed 2,500 workers for nine days only.

"At harvest time they would need another 6,000 men in order to bring in the harvest with the assistance of a tremendous park of modern agricultural machinery. The harvest would take from two to three weeks to reap.

"The old programme of Lenin, the workers and peasants alliance in the Soviet State, is receiving a new content. Equality is resulting from the alliance: the peasant is to become a worker, and together they will form the great uniform proletarian mass upon which the State is based and which owns the State politically and all its socialised wealth. That is the idea of the future. A transformation process on a tremendous scale has commenced. It is a process which will take decades — if it does not previously collapse."

A bourgeois report is, of course, impossible without this sceptical note, but we know that this scheme will not collapse. The "Gigant" is not the only existing grain factory. There are already 55 such grain factories tilling an area of almost two and a half million hectares. Already the first two years of the Five-Year Plan show that the programme for the socialisation of agriculture is not only being carried out 100% but even exceeded. In the first year of the Five-Year Plan (1928/29) the production of the Soviet farms far exceeded the amount planned. The number of collective undertakings increased by more than 200% instead of the planned 90%. The second year of the Five-Year Plan will be even better. In the latest annual programme we see that 11,000 tractors are to be produced in the year 1929/30 in Soviet factories instead of the 5,000 tractors provided for in the second year of the original Five-Year Plan. In less than 18 months the tremendous tractor factory in Stalingrad will commence work. This factory will have an annual production of 44,000 tractors, and it is to be considered as the first of many more such factories. At the end of the Five-Year Plan 300,000 tractors will be engaged in the work of building up socialism in the countryside. It is more than probable that at the end of the Five-Year Plan the socialised elements of agriculture will provide not 43% of the total commodity grain, as provided for in the Five-Year Plan, but 60% and still more. This means the economic and political death of the kulaks who will no longer be in a position to sabotage the grain purchase campaign.

And what are the future prospects? The commission for Planned Economy is at the present moment working out a Fifteen-Year Plan of Socialist Construction. The sober figures worked out by these comrades — figures which in some cases have already been exceeded by reality — leave no room to doubt that, provided the international proletariat succeed in protecting the Soviet Union against any imperialist attack, the complete process of the socialisation of agriculture, whilst being "a process of decades", will be accomplished within from fifteen to twenty years.

Dnieprostroi, the Giant Hydraulic Power Station.

By R. O.

It is significant that the first plan which referred to a longer period and sought to map out the main direction and movement of the economic system of the Soviet Union, was the **electrification plan of 1920**. Lenin, who always stressed the great importance of the electrification plan as a lever for the socialist transformation of the economic system, including agriculture, termed this plan the general plan for the national economic system. The main lines of this plan proved to be correct. The production of electrical energy in 1927 was already two and a half times as great as in 1913, and by the end of the Five-Year Plan it is to be over 12 times as great as before the war.

The largest of the electrical power stations being built in the Soviet Union is the tremendous hydraulic power station on the Dniepr which utilises the powerful rapids near Saporoshe and is known as the **Dnieprostroi Power Station**. This station will commence its work within the limits of the Five-Year Plan, i. e. up to the year 1931/32. The size of the undertaking, its significance for the whole economic system of the Soviet Union and in particular of the **Ukraine**, the interesting combination of far-reaching economic tasks and projects in connection with this new hydraulic power station, has aroused interest in the Dnieprostroi undertaking, even before its completion, far beyond the frontiers of the Soviet Union in the international economic world.

The extension of the electrical system of the Soviet Union is not taking place only upon the basis of the existing demand. The building of electrical power stations in naturally favourable places often formed the commencing point for new great industrial undertakings and agricultural projects. This is also the case with the hydraulic power station on the Dniepr, which in its first stage will produce approximately 500,000 HP or 372,000 KW, and in the second stage 1,000,000 HP. In its totality the Dnieprostroi project represents an organically combined whole which will be the centre of a tremendous economic plan. The Dnieprostroi project contains the following important parts.

The central and commencing point is the hydraulic power station on the Dniepr rapids near **Saporoshe**, which is already far progressed. A tremendous dam will be built and enormous energy harnessed for the service of the existing factories and the factories which are being built, for the lighting of the whole district in the **Donetz Basin** and of the ore district near **Krivoi Rog**.

The building of this dam will be connected with the construction of sluices and locks and with the regulation of the Dniepr, which will make the Dniepr navigable from the towns of its upper part, for instance **Dniepropetrovsk**, down to the Black Sea, and thus create a new and extremely important possibility of transport. The regulation of the Dniepr will permit ocean going vessels to steam up the Dniepr as far as **Saporoshe**, in other words, several hundreds of kilometers inland.

The power station which will lie about halfway between the ore district of **Krivoi Rog** and the coal district of the **Donetz Basin**, will be the centre point of a tremendous industrial combination. The next link in the chain of this tremendous project is the building of a foundry with a capacity of 650,000 tons of cast iron to be manufactured into high class steel. Upon the basis of this work a network of engineering factories for the production of agricultural machinery, aeroplanes, ships, etc. will be built. A further part of the combination will be the **Dniepropetrovsk works** for the production of ferromanganese and other iron alloys. It must be stressed that the cheap power provided by the Dnieprostroi will permit of a tremendous development of the production of **aluminium** which needs high power. Aluminium will thus develop from an import article into an export article. The next group of the combination will consist of a network of chemical factories for the production of artificial fertilisers, caustic soda and calcium carbide, etc.

In connection with the regulation of the Dniepr and the giant dam, it will be possible to conduct wide-spread agricultural improvements by irrigating over 600,000 hectares of desert land and by draining about 120,000 hectares of marsh land in the flood district.

The building of the Dnieprostroi power station and the industrial undertakings connected with it will demand a great

development of the railway system **Donetz-Saporoshe-Krivoi Rog** and will result in a cheapening of the freight rates.

Projects like the Dnieprostroi, which is already known beyond the frontiers of the Soviet Union, are a symbol of the tremendous collective creative forces of the proletariat and a sign of the tremendous possibilities contained in the developing socialist economic system resulting from the concentration of the means of production in the hands of the proletarian State and from the organised conduct of the economic system. When the idea of the Dnieprostroi Power Station was taken practically a few years ago into our programme of construction, our enemies abroad thought that this idea was phantasmagoric. To-day, however, the international bourgeoisie can no longer deceive itself concerning the tremendous unchained economic forces of the proletariat.

Let us Create an International Federation of Workers to Render Technical Aid to the Soviet Union

By Belbej (Moscow).

The historic step of the **Hamburg railway men**, who have challenged the workers of the Soviet Union to an international revolutionary contest, is the best proof that the world proletariat regards the Soviet Union as its revolutionary fatherland.

The workers of the Soviet Union have responded enthusiastically to the challenge of the **Hamburg proletarians**. In the effort of our foreign comrades to intensify the fight against imperialism we reply with a still greater acceleration of the pace of socialistic construction, we reply with the slogan: "The fulfilment of the five-year plan in four years!"

The challenge of the **Hamburg railwaymen** to a contest is only a preliminary step on the road towards attracting the progressive sections of the international working class to the work of socialist construction in the Soviet Union. The movement must now be organisationally consolidated. The international Labour movement is faced with a number of tasks in connection with direct participation in our socialist constructive work and direct rendering of aid in the industrialisation work of the Soviet Union.

Our Party has set up the task of overtaking the capitalist countries which are furthest advanced technically. In order to exploit the tremendous technical experience acquired by capitalist economy, we are concluding dozens of agreements concerning technical aid with a number of big capitalist industrialists and technical organisations. The most responsible plans of our investment work are submitted by us to these organisations for their judgement and advice.

The international Labour movement should assume the task of organising the international technical aid of the workers to our socialist construction.

The proletarians of Germany, France, Great Britain and the United States have been trained in factories of high technical organisation. They have great technical knowledge. Among these comrades there are surely thousands and tens of thousands of highly qualified foremen and artisans, people who have learnt exactly the organisation and the production technics of the capitalist concerns. Moreover, there are abroad not a few engineers and other specialists who are interested in our fight for our development.

The very rich experience of production technics possessed by the international working class must be fully exploited for our socialist construction. It is necessary for the purpose of the international revolutionary contest to proceed immediately with the creation of societies for international proletarian technical aid to the Soviet Union.

To these societies must be attracted in large numbers the workers who desire to protect the Soviet Union. Branches of these societies, which are to be organised chiefly according to branches of production, must be built up on lines similar to those of our production conferences. Through their medium our foreign comrades will be enabled to transmit to our socialist development their collective experience in production.

Our newspapers every day report dozens and hundreds of defects observed in our production. Every day we carry

discussions concerning questions of organising new branches of production and of rationalising old ones. All these questions might be discussed with the greatest profit in the sections of this society for international technical aid to the Soviet Union.

Let us give an example: a commission of Ford's engineers comes to the Soviet Union to study the question of erecting an automobile factory; we have an extensive discussion concerning the choice of a certain type of car to be produced here. The production conferences of our automobile factories can place all the questions before the comrades working in the automobile factories in Germany, France and other countries, so that their tremendous experience may be taken into consideration in the expenditure of the hundreds of millions for the erection of the huge motor-car works near Nijni Novgorod. Individual factories such as the electro-technical factories and those of the General Electricity Company ((A. E. G.), might have such technical connections. The Hamburg railwaymen might be able to give our workers some useful tips as to the most rational organisation of transport economy.

It would be good to extend the work of the Societies for Technical Aid to the dispatch of sections of specially chosen highly qualified foreign comrades to us for consultation concerning our investment works. In addition to the dispatch of plans by the managements of our factories to foreign technical firms for judgment and advice, the workers organisations must send these plans to the Workers League for Technical Aid for their consideration also. By means of their collective experience the society in question would be of inestimable assistance to us.

In regard to exploitation of our patents covering inventions there is much left to be desired on the foreign markets. It would be very useful for our inventors in the ranks of the workers to call upon the International Workers League for Technical Aid for assistance in arranging contracts to cover the exploitation of their inventions. In the same manner this society could be asked regularly, as are our production conferences, for advice in regard to orders passed by our factories to firms abroad. The numerous Labour delegations which visit the Soviet Union must be got to give practical help and to participate in our development. This will constitute a kind of international proletarian supervision of our technical progress.

The international revolutionary contest, which is beginning must be exploited to the fullest extent to attract as many foreign workers as possible to direct participation in our constructive work.

The organisation and the development of the activity of the societies for international technical aid can surely be promoted by the very numerous societies of the Friends of Soviet Russia. In the same manner it is certain that the International Workers League for Technical Aid will be of assistance in the choosing of the best qualified proletarians and specialists for despatch to the Soviet Union on short visits or, in individual cases, for regular employment.

The International Workers League for Technical Aid to the Soviet Union will be one of the most prominent embodiments of the pregnant slogan of October: the Soviet Union is the fatherland of the toilers of the whole world!

We appeal to all comrades to let us have their opinions of our proposal. Suggestions concerning alterations in the plan and in regard to methods for its practical execution should be addressed to the works' council of the electricity work (Elektrosavod Moscow Generalnaja 1-3).

AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

Against the Imperialist Terror in Palestine!

Appeal of the League Against Imperialism and for National Independence.

Hamid el Husseini, member of the General Council of the League Against Imperialism and Kemal el Daschani, one of his followers, who have been kept in the prison of Jaffa since August 27th without being examined, have been on hunger strike since the first week of October.

Imperialist terror is raging in Palestine. Hundreds of revolutionaries are arrested. The Special Court in Haifa has con-

demned 45 peasants of Tirah to a total of 185 years' hard labour. The peasants are accused of having undertaken a march on Haifa, without however a collision having ensued. The courts have already imposed sentences amounting in all to over 1000 years' imprisonment, although the great trials in Jerusalem, Hebron, Safed etc. are still pending. The prisons are overcrowded and many of the arrested persons are transferred to internment camps where they are subjected to the most brutal treatment.

How could Hamid el Husseini be spared from this terror instigated by the MacDonald government! Hamid el Husseini, the leader of the Left wing of the Arab National Congress, had the temerity to attend an Executive Meeting of the League Against Imperialism at Cologne. On his return all the documents and even books he had brought with him were confiscated while he himself was placed under strict police supervision.

It was Hamid el Husseini who proclaimed in his speeches and articles that the struggle against British imperialism can be conducted only if the toiling population, the workers and peasants, no matter whether Mohammedan, Jew or Christian, unite for the purpose of a ruthless struggle against imperialism and its confederates, the Zionists and the Arab big landowners.

On the 12th of August, 1929, the Arab Youth of Palestine met at a Congress. Hamid el Husseini's statements were enthusiastically welcomed and the active anti-imperialist struggle was programmatically proclaimed. Since that time Hamid el Husseini and his friends were placed under even more strict surveillance. Criminal police kept watch night and day in front of his house so that it was converted into a prison.

When on the 23rd of August the revolt broke out in Jerusalem, the two supports of imperialism, the Zionists and the feudal Arab elements, tried to make out that it was a "wailing wall affair".

On the 24th of August, Hamid el Husseini came openly forward in Jaffa. He proclaimed that the time has now come when the working Jews and Mohammedans should unite. The struggle must be conducted against imperialism and the mandatory system. With the cancelling of the mandate the Balfour Declaration would also become null and void.

This furnished sufficient cause to arrest Hamid el Husseini. Not the revisionist-Zionist inciters and the reactionary feudal elements who had attempted to make use of the justified indignation of the Arab masses for their special interests were arrested, but precisely he who had enlightened the Arab population as to the true character of the events. Hamid el Husseini was thrown into prison on the accusation of having incited the population to make a revolution against the government.

Hamid el Husseini has now been in prison for two months. The government has already for the fourth time prolonged the order of arrest against him. He is not treated like a political prisoner but like common criminal. The protest of the Arab organisations from all parts of the country against this unheard-of brutality have remained without effect.

In such circumstances Hamid and Kemal el Daschani declared a hunger strike and made the following declaration:

"We have decided to enter on a hunger strike as the whole time we have been here we have not been examined, and in order to protest against the cruel treatment. This strike will last as long as the government intends to keep us in prison in this manner.

The government, apparently, is equally indifferent whether we live or die. But we are firmly determined to continue the strike until we are released. If we die, then you must know that the mandatory power with its cruel system has killed us and not hunger."

In the meantime, other political prisoners, who have for the greater part been arrested in connection with recent events, have put forward a number of demands such as the abolition of the humiliating prison regime, special privileges for political prisoners, abolition of hand cuffing, release of the administrative prisoners, amnesty for political prisoners etc. As these demands have not been fulfilled, 46 comrades have entered on a hunger strike.

In Palestine, India and Ireland the prisons are filled to overflowing with revolutionaries who fought for the independence of their countries and the emancipation of the toiling masses. In Lahore and in Meerut, in India, the prisoners have entered on a hunger strike in order to enforce from the Mac-

Donald government special treatment of the political prisoners. The young national revolutionary Jatindranath Das has already paid with his life for espousing the cause of his suppressed brothers. The "Labour Government" of MacDonald has always been prepared to let revolutionaries perish in the prisons. The toiling masses of India, Palestine, Ireland and Great Britain and of the whole world have no interest in supporting the imperialist plans of a "Labour Government". They must take up the struggle against the imperialist policy of the MacDonald government, which is supported by the English Labour Party and the English Independent Labour Party;

for the immediate release of Hamid el Husseini and of all the revolutionaries who are pining in the prisons of British imperialism!

THE BALKANS

The Agrarian Policy of the Military Dictatorship in Yugoslavia.

By P. D. (Belgrade).

The military dictatorship in Yugoslavia is an intimate alliance of the Great-Serbian hegemonists (headed by the militarist Court clique) with the great industrialists, the financiers, and the feudal lords and landowners not only of Serbian nationality but of Yugoslavia in general. This alliance of our groups was clearly reflected in the composition of the Government, which comprises the most prominent representatives of each of these groups. Unabashedly, unscrupulously, and without the least appearance of social demagoguery, they have from the very first day set about putting through the demands of their respective groups.

Frangés, the well-known advocate of large landed property and professor at the agricultural faculty at Zagreb, has entered the Government as a representative of the big landowners and feudal lords. The agrarian ideology which he has been representing for the last ten years in the association of big landowners, has now become the fundamental principle of the agrarian policy of the dictatorial Government; it stands for destruction of the small peasant holdings, State support, and promotion of the big farms, which "render possible an increased agricultural output", and liquidation of the agrarian reform which "hampers the progress of agriculture by dividing up the large holdings, the only ones that are of importance in the task of modernising and intensifying agricultural techniques". The press of the dictatorial regime has prepared the realisation of this programme of the big landowners by means of a special campaign, and the Government is now proceeding to put the programme into execution.

The dictatorial Government has abolished the Ministry of Agricultural Reform. For some months, the Minister of Agriculture received deputations from the landowners and Bosnian feudal lords, with whom he discussed the definite abandonment of the agricultural reform policy. Thereupon a decree was issued to the effect that the payment of compensation to the Bosnian landlords for the expropriated serf-land was to be resumed, 47 million dinars being provided in the first dictatorial budget for this purpose.

On the September 26th, there followed the law regarding a compensation for the expropriated "begluk" land in Bosnia. This is the land which the feudal lords arbitrarily separated from the serf-land and, contrary to the enactments of the law, declared to be their private property, so that they should be able to sell or lease it at will. This was a manoeuvre on the part of the "begs" and "agas"; it was carried out with the aid of the authorities, so that the feudal property might be turned into capitalist property. The laws regarding agricultural reform subsequently also extended to part of this "begluk" land, some 180,000 or 200,000 hectares in all, whereas about the same amount of land remained in the hands of the feudal begs.

For the expropriated part of this land, the dictators have now awarded the begs a legal compensation to the extent of 150 million dinars. This compensation will be paid out in the form of government bonds, which can be hypothecated with all State monetary institutions and are accented by the State as security (Paras. 3 & 13 of the Compensation Law). All private sales and transactions are annulled, the begs thus being enabled to receive full value in compensation for the forfeited land

(Para. 19). At the same time, the payment of the "hak" annual lease, was decreed pending the final payment of the compensation (Para. 17).

The dictatorial Government, moreover, has also worked on the project of a "law regarding the final settlement of agrarian conditions", by which it is intended to perpetuate the present state of affairs. The Government is waiting for a suitable moment to publish this law.

The position in regard to agricultural conditions is as follows: The feudal and other large landed property (the land reckoned from 100 hectares upwards) figured before the agrarian reform at about 6 million hectares. Of this, some 800,000 hectares of land in Bosnia were expropriated (600,000 hectares representing serf-land and the rest begluk-land). This expropriation was, as a matter of fact, effected by the serf-peasants themselves before the agrarian reform had come into force. In the northern districts a total of 317,500 hectares of landed property was expropriated and distributed among 205,462 families, at an average of 1.5 hectares per family. In Macedonia, 47,435 hectares were expropriated down to 1928 and 13,000 hectares a year, making together roughly 60,000 hectares.

The rest of the land, some 4,400,000 hectares, remained in the hands of the big landowners and feudal lords in the form of the "maxima" and the "super-maxima" left to the landlords allegedly for the purpose of preserving the big agricultural enterprises. In Macedonia and Kosovo roughly 600,000 hectares of feudal property remained to the feudal lords; here the agrarian reform was not carried out at all, part of the country merely being allotted to Serbs for colonisation. In Bosnia, some 180,000 hectares of begluk-land remained to the landlords.

This entire land to the extent of 4,400,000 hectares, including a tremendous amount of very valuable forest-land, is to be left in the hands of the landlords for good. An aggregate area of 300,000 hectares (including the 70,000 hectares already distributed) is destined for the colonisation of Serbs in Macedonia and Kosovo, it being intended that the Albanian Kosovo, in particular, should be Serbicised.

The liquidation of agricultural reform and the special measures for the promotion of agriculture' serve the same purpose as the dictatorial Government, that of State support for promoting the development and consolidation of wealthy farms. Paragraph 1 of the said law calls for the "creation of model farms" in the following way: "Such landowners as manage their own farms and may be looked upon as model farmers, will be accorded books, periodicals, breeding-cattle, seeds, fertilisers, machine means for the extermination of vermin, and the like, on conditions somewhat more favourable than those accorded for the same objects to other landowners by the co-operatives and authorities."

The newly-founded Agrarian Bank serves the purpose of distributing cheap credits to the wealthy farmers and of paying compensations to the landowners. The bank supplies credits to such peasants as have received land through the agrarian reform, so that they may be able to raise the compensation due for the land in question, but these credits are only extended to such peasant farmers as are known to be reliable adherents of the regime. Otherwise, as the Belgrade "Trgovinski Glasnik" of October 17th points out, the bank will grant no credit to peasants whose property rights are not established in the registers, i. e. all peasants who have received land under the agrarian reform.

The entire agrarian and peasant policy of the dictatorship meets with such a degree of distrust and discontent on the part of the peasantry, that it is easy to recognise that the peasants are ready to wage an energetic fight against the present system. It has become perfectly apparent to them that the agrarian bank was not founded for the purpose of granting relief to poor peasants oppressed by debt but for that of supporting the rich peasants and before all of attracting foreign capital and investing it in Yugoslavian agriculture. In this direction the dictatorship has failed completely, for foreign capitalists do not dream of investing their money in this direction while far better profits are to be reaped from investments in forest, mining, and industrial enterprises.

The only result of the agrarian bank is that the peasantry was never before so unanimously hostile to any regime as it is to the present dictatorial regime in Yugoslavia.

AGAINST FASCISM

Mass Fight against the Fascist Terror!

Appeal of the Communist Party of Italy.

One year after the shooting of Comrade Michele Della Maggiora, the tribunal of fascist murderers has passed another death sentence, this time on Vladimir Gortan, a Croat worker from Istria, who was found guilty of having fought with every means and weapon for the freeing of the Croats of Istria from the yoke of Italian imperialism, from oppression and Fascist terror. Along with Vladimir Gortan four other accused were each sentenced to thirty years' imprisonment which is tantamount to a death sentence in another form.

The cruel and savage sentence of the fascist tribunal is a very clear indication of the extremely serious situation existing in the Slovene and Croat districts of Venetia Giulia. This sentence tells us that it is only by means of terror that Italian imperialism is capable of keeping under its abominable yoke the toiling population of this region, who are conducting a heroic fight in order to break this yoke and win the right to self-determination.

The brutal sentence passed by the fascist tribunal is an answer to the numerous insurrectionary acts of the masses against fascism which have occurred in Istria and in the districts of Trieste and Gorizia, in Fiume and in the Tyrol; it is a reply to the way in which the oppressed Slovenes and Croats participated in tremendous numbers and with revolutionary fighting spirit in the international demonstration on August 1st, when they united their forces with the forces of the international proletariat for the fight against imperialism, against fascism, against war, and for the defence of the Soviet Union.

The death sentence pronounced by the fascist tribunal is a proof of the extreme seriousness of the position of Italy; it is an act of open class warfare, it is an act of preparation for imperialist war.

The Communist Party of Italy points out the significance of the sentence passed in Pola and addresses itself once again to all toilers of Italy, to the poor peasants, to the great mass of the exploited and oppressed toilers with the summons to fight against the fascist terror, against murderous fascism, against oppressive and predatory Italian imperialism, against the capitalist regime, which leads to enslavement and death. An end must be put to the fascist regime; and this will be done by the fight of the toiling masses, by this fight which to-day is again commencing in the factories and in the country, which must be extended and intensified, which must become a general fight against the capitalist regime and for the proletarian revolution.

The Communist Party of Italy proclaims its complete solidarity with the fight which the Croat, Slovene and German population, which is oppressed by fascist imperialism, is conducting for its emancipation. It delivers over to the hatred and contempt of this population not only the wretched fascist murderers, but also the leaders of the bourgeois and petty bourgeois nationalist parties who have come to an understanding with the fascists and are helping them to keep the toiling population in slavery. The Croat, Slovene and German workers will win their emancipation from the yoke of Italian imperialism only by means of a mass fight which will be fought out against fascism and against the capitalist regime in alliance with the proletarians and poor peasants of Italy. The Communist Party of Italy summons the Croat and Slovene workers and peasants to this fight, in which it will lead them without vacillation to victory. The Communist Party calls upon all toilers of Italy to hold demonstrations against the sentences of the tribunal of murders and to increase their brotherly solidarity with all who are oppressed by Italian fascism and imperialism.

For the right of the Croats, Slovenes and Germans, oppressed by Fascism, to self-determination, including separation from the Italian State!

For the national freedom of the Croat, Slovene and German toiling population!

For a mass fight against fascist terror! For the abolition of the Special Tribunal! For the abolition of the exceptional laws!

For an amnesty for all who have been condemned on political grounds!

Against Italian imperialism! Against war, for which preparations are being made!

For the proletarian revolution, which will free all who are oppressed by the capitalist regime, which will revenge all our comrades who have fallen and which will release all victims of cruel and murderous fascism!

TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

The Conference of the Trade Union Confederation of Italy.

By Pietro.

The Italian General Confederation of Labour (Confederazione Generale di Lavoro) recently held a Conference the importance of which lies not only in its decisions but — in view of the strict illegality under which the Confederation is compelled to work — also in the way in which its work was conducted and in the high level of the discussion.

In addition to the members of the Executive the Conference was attended by 26 delegates from Italy and 11 representatives of the emigrant Italian workers. The R. I. L. U., the C. G. T. U. of France, the C. P. of Italy each sent a representative. Fascist reaction believes — or at least wishes to make out — that it has completely rooted out the class trade unions. The social democrats deny the existence of the Trade Union Confederation in Italy. But the present Conference has proved the contrary. It has proved that since the 20th of February 1927, the date of the last Conference, it has managed to achieve something and that it will also in the future continue along the path of class struggle.

The Conference agenda contained the following items:

1. The situation in Italy and the tasks of the trade union Confederation.
2. The International connections of the Federation.
3. Work in the fascist trade unions.
4. Organisation questions.
5. Work among the emigrants.

Regarding the situation in Italy it was stated that fascism, which is identical with finance capital, industrial capital and large-landed property, has not succeeded in solving the economic crisis. On the contrary, this crisis is becoming more and more acute and profound, and can be solved only by the revolution carried out by the proletariat, which attracts to itself the broadest strata of the population and all who have to bear the burdens of the present system.

The working class is in a terrible situation. Also the middle strata in the town and country are not spared from the effects of the economic policy of capital concentration and are persecuted by fascism. Parallel with the economic crisis there is in Italy a political crisis. The disintegration of fascism is making headway. It is becoming more and more difficult for the fascist government to remain master of the situation, whilst as a result of the economic crisis the presumptions for a revival of the labour movement are continually increasing.

Basing itself on this analysis of the situation the Conference declared the tasks of the revolutionary trade unions in Italy to be the following: to continue agitation and propaganda and to strengthen the organisation; to intensify the economic struggles and to draw into them the great masses; to connect the economic daily struggle with political demands; to fight for the creation of factory committees of the workers and for their legality; to work among the women and the youths; to create committees of unemployed workers; to fight against imperialist war and to expose the reformists.

In the question of the international relations of the Italian trade union Confederation it was decided to break finally with the Amsterdam International. It was recognised that in order to be able to carry on an effective fight for the defence of the Italian proletariat and against fascism, the Confederation must be closely linked up with the international proletariat, i. e., by means of the R. I. L. U. It was, however, not decided to affiliate immediately to the R. I. L. U. as a thorough discussion on this question is first to be carried out.

The Congress stated that it is absolutely expedient and necessary to work in the fascist trade unions, the more so as large masses of workers are being compelled by every means to enter

these trade unions. Hitherto there was a certain resistance to this work, as many did not correctly see the utility of work in the fascist trade unions. It is, of course, a difficult task which must be thoroughly explained and strictly controlled in order that no deviations arise.

The result of the Congress is: break with Amsterdam, appeal to the solidarity of the revolutionary proletariat of the whole world and its Trade Union International, important decisions regarding a more intensive and greater work among the masses of the Italian workers in order to promote and accelerate their newly arising class movement, for the defence of their interests, for the overthrow of fascism and the setting up of a workers' government.

The Fight against Opportunism in the Finnish Trade Unions.

By Reino Teras.

In spite of the persecutions on the part of the authorities, it has been impossible to crush the revolutionary determination and the fighting spirit of the Finnish proletariat. One of the causes of this circumstance is to be found in the fact that the social democratic party possesses but little influence among the agricultural and industrial workers. The social democratic party Executive had itself to admit this fact in its Annual Report, which states that only one fourth of the party membership consists of industrial and agricultural workers, whilst somewhere near 90,000 workers belong to the revolutionary inclined Trade Union Federation.

The revolutionary spirit of the Finnish proletariat is also revealed in the numerous big strikes which have taken place of late, particularly in the big strike of the metal workers and the transport workers. These strikes lasted ten and twelve months respectively, but nevertheless an excellent militant spirit prevailed among the strikers, although the employers succeeded in recruiting a large number of strike-breakers. The social democratic government which was in office at the time also did everything in order to prevent the strikers from winning. In agreement with the employers, they put forward a proposal for mediation, the complete rejection of which by the workers it was impossible to bring about in view of the issue of the conflict.

A further proof of the revolutionary militant spirit of the Finnish workers is given by the mass action on International Red Day. In many localities the demonstrations were reminiscent of the revolution days in 1918. This was especially the case in the northern part of the country, where the political mass strike was carried out consistently. The workers demonstrated in masses against imperialist war and for the defence of the Soviet Union, and although the government had forbidden demonstrations the streets were everywhere dominated by the masses.

It must be frankly admitted that the success would have been greater if the work on Red Day had been better prepared. Nevertheless in all the larger localities meetings of workers were held at which also some representatives were elected to attend the Scandinavian-Finnish Conference at Gothenburg. The fight against imperialist war was, therefore, not confined to the Red Day; it was continued by mass meetings and demonstrations in the whole country.

At a time when such a militant spirit prevailed everywhere it could be readily assumed that there was no Right Danger in the Finnish labour movement. And this is true so far as the masses are concerned. At the meetings of the local trade unions and trades councils there everywhere prevailed the greatest enthusiasm and fighting spirit. The opportunist Right danger exists only among the trade union leaders, where recently a left social democratic tendency has taken shape. This was revealed at the last congress of the Trade Union Federation, when the opportunist leaders gave way to the strong pressure of the social democracy. In response to this pressure they adopted an attitude which accorded neither with the general line nor with the decisions of the local mass meetings. This was the case, among others, in the question of the signing of the Copenhagen agreement, which was of fundamental international importance for trade union unity. The opportunist trade union leaders succeeded in getting a resolution adopted in which the Congress declares itself to be in agreement in prin-

ciple with the directives of the Copenhagen conference, but which in fact can be interpreted as a rejection of these directives. Their attitude to the International Labour Office in Geneva was also typical. Here they adopted the standpoint that, having regard to the present situation, the Trade Union Federation should allow itself to be represented in this imperialist institution, although they admitted that it would not bring any advantage whatever to the workers. The decisions regarding trade union work among the young workers and the tactics with regard to the unorganised are likewise typical Right deviations.

How was it possible that such deviations could be committed although four-fifths of the participants in the congress were for a decidedly revolutionary attitude? The answer is to be sought in the strong political pressure which the bourgeoisie and the social democrats have exerted on the vacillating and irresolute leaders of the whole trade union movement. A good explanation lies in the circumstance that the work of political enlightenment among the masses has been carried on in a very faulty manner. The great majority of the trade union leaders were never really in sympathy with communism, and the workers failed to exercise the necessary pressure on them. The development in this respect is, however, now proceeding in the desired direction. This applies especially to the local trade unions, in which the Right opportunists possess no influence worth mentioning, while they are completely excluded from the women's movement and the youth movement. The position with regard to the political daily press is satisfactory. The whole of the labour press without exception is pursuing the correct line and the influence of the opportunists here is very small. As the opportunists are also in a minority in the Executive of the Trade Union Federation, their old plan to issue a special trade union organ is doomed to failure. They will probably undertake a final attempt to make use of the monthly trade union journal in their fight against the general line of the members. It can, however, already be said with a fair amount of certainty that the liquidation of opportunism can be carried out without entailing loss of membership, although it will for a long time require great energy and an uninterrupted struggle.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Impending Tasks of the C. P. of France.

By V. Molotov*)

One of our most important slogans at the present moment is the slogan of self-criticism. This means that self-criticism in the various sections of the Comintern is a very essential one just now. It means that in our fight for Bolshevisation we must do our utmost to promote the development of self-criticism among the masses of Party members, a self-criticism which in the first place must constitute a control from below of the work of the leading organs, the work of the leaders. The E. C. C. I., again, must, so to say, support this criticism from above. That must be our starting-point.

It is quite particularly our starting-point in the present case in judging of the tasks of our Party in France. The Communist Party of France is one of the best sections of the Comintern. The state of affairs in the Communist Party of France is undoubtedly improving quite appreciably. Nevertheless, we have reason to say that if the Communist Party of France is going to be the workers of France are excellent.

The development of the proletarian struggle in France confronts the Party with fresh problems. The most important feature of recent times is the growth of the strike movement. In this connection the Party leaders must take good care not to remain behind in comparison with the growing activity of the Party ranks.

It seems to me that Comrade Manuilsky was perfectly right in pointing out that in the report of Comrade Semard insufficient attention was paid to the question of giving a concrete form to the resolutions of the Tenth Plenum of the E. C. C. I. Here it is naturally not a question of the report itself, but of the fact that our Parties are not sufficiently active in adapting the

*) A speech delivered in the Political Secretariat of the E. C. C. I. on the reports of Comrades Semard and Berlioz.

fundamental directives of the Comintern to their individual Party circumstances, which is the main question for all Parties. So that the fundamental directives of the E. C. C. I. should not be merely on paper, it is essential that they should be given a concrete form and adapted to the work of the Party. In our case this is done only in a very small degree. Our fight against such shortcomings must be redoubled.

In the last few years the situation has very materially changed.

In spite of a series of tremendous revolutionary events (China, Great Britain, Vienna) it may be said that, up to the change in the international position, i. e. up to the beginning of the new revolutionary movement, the Comintern was experiencing a kind of **propaganda period**. In particular, this applies in a full degree to the French section. We must underline, however, that the propaganda period is now completely past. At present we are standing with both feet in a new period, the period of revolutionary **conflict**. This inference results from the recognition of the fact of the growth of a new revolutionary upsurge. We must therefore greatly increase our agitation and propaganda, advance far more than we ever did before, and at the same time realise that the most characteristic feature of the present period is the ever increasing transition of the working masses to active fight, the going over of ever wider circles of the working class to the attack.

Under such circumstances the problems of a practical revolutionary fight assume extreme importance.

Thus our Party in France is growing in strength and in numbers at the present time, mainly by means of strikes and other mass-action among the working class. A Communist Party cannot exist without clearly-defined Leninist directives. On the other hand, a Communist Party cannot well rally and make itself the vanguard of the proletariat without having conquered a leading position in the labour movement and without securing a leading influence in all real mass-actions of the working class. Therefore, in a period of a developing fight of the proletarian masses, the Party must assume its due position of a leader in the mass-movement and particularly in the strikes.

It follows that the Party must put forward the question of its practical tasks in an altogether new manner. Now it is of particular importance that the practical work among the masses be kept in connection with the fundamental directives of the Party.

Our Party in France is more and more successful in its work among the working masses. No one can deny the great achievements of our French comrades in this connection.

But this work can be raised to a considerably higher level when the Party possesses a **practical platform** for every main branch of its activity and for the individual politically most important districts. The question of giving a concrete form to the resolutions of the Tenth Plenum of the E. C. C. I. ultimately leads in this direction. It means the working-out of practical platforms for the work of the Communists in the C. G. T. U., in the municipal administrations, in Alsace-Lorraine, and so on.

Undeniably, the Party has undertaken certain steps towards working out suitable practical platforms, but what has been done so far is insufficient, if we had, e. g., not delayed in working out such a practical platform for the Communists in Alsace-Lorraine, our success there would have been greater. The same applies to the work of the Communists in the trade unions by which alone we are able to get a firm footing among the masses. It refers quite particularly to the work of the Communists in the municipal administrations, where, it has been proved, there are regular nests of opportunists, who turn into out-and-out renegades at the first political test.

The elaboration of the said practical platforms by the Party must in many ways promote the improvement of our practice and the bringing together of the revolutionary workers for definite individual tasks. In this connection it is essential that the practical platforms should reflect the revolutionary firmness of principle underlying the policy of the Party, while at the same time being comprehensible and familiar to the broad mass of workers by reason of the tangible nature of the tasks. These practical platforms must be of the nature of slogans of the revolutionary fight of the working masses under the banner of the Communist Party. It follows that these platforms must emanate from the most important resolutions of the Party and the Comintern.

Attention should, moreover, be directed to the statement contained in the report of Comrade Berlioz to the effect that

in certain cases, e. g. in Alsace-Lorraine, the opportunists have endeavoured to set up the directives of the Party over against the directives of the Comintern. It is essential that the working masses be made to understand that the struggle against opportunism of any kind is the chief task both of the Party and of the entire Comintern.

It can hardly be doubted that the fraudulent manoeuvres of the Right opportunists and in particular their attempts to use references to the Comintern in their fight against the Communist Party of France will be speedily and definitely unmasked.

In the interest of a comprehension of the political situation in France great importance attaches to what has been stated in regard to the economic position, to the growing contradictions in the development of French imperialism, and to the course of the class struggle now in preparation. Everything points to the fact that revolutionary forces are maturing in the working class and that the activity of the masses is on the increase. The actions undertaken by different sections of the working class, the strikes now in this factory and then in that, now in a commercial enterprise and then in a State institution, now for one reason and then for another, are the best proof of this fact. Although the reformists in the trade unions and the Socialists with their entire Parliamentary apparatus still exercise influence on a certain portion of the working class, the chief feature of the labour movement is the growth of revolutionary sentiment.

From this fact we must also draw our own conclusions. We must make some change in the work of the leading organs of the Party.

We can gather from the report that our comrades in France are paying great attention to the fight against the Trotskyist groups and their press organs. Under given circumstances we must even reckon with the danger of their attention being diverted from questions of prime importance to those of quite an inferior order. It is a well-known fact that the few dozen Trotskyists in France are sub-divided into several groups, some of them consisting of hardly more than one member. Some of these groups will probably endeavour from time to time to increase their ranks by recruiting renegades from the Communist Party and in the course of the growth of the class struggle their numbers will naturally grow, but ideologically all these groups are insignificant and cannot be said to be rooted in the working class. Besides which, the Trotskyists are nothing but a variety of Social-Reformists.

Would it therefore not be better to concentrate the fire on the really important opponent of the Communist Party in the working class, on the Social-Reformist camp? The latter really is still in close touch with the workers and knows how to undermine certain elements in the Communist Party itself. This tendency must be taken into particular account in view of the growing class struggle. Our task lies in the direction of pitting our greatest strength against the Social-Reformists. As regards such miserable dabblers as Souvarine, Paz, and Rosmer, the best thing would be to throw them on a dung-heap.

The main weakness of the Party administration lies in its connection with the masses. The main task of the leaders is the fight against all separation from the working masses and the creation of really reliable links with the workers. Our discussion has shown that the C. C. sometimes concentrates attention on the execution of its resolutions among the leading cadres of the local organisations without making sure of the support of the said resolutions by the Party masses.

This could be proved by a series of examples, but it may suffice to refer to what Comrade Piatnitzky has said in connection with the question of Alsace-Lorraine. This example shows that the C. C. has paid much attention to the realisation of its directives by the leading local groups, while neglecting the contact with the masses of Party members. Meanwhile, as the instance of Alsace-Lorraine also plainly shows, there are ever so many opportunists in the leading bodies of the local organisations, which means that in the case of an insufficient connection between the C. C. and the broad masses of Party members, there is in various instances the danger of a partition being erected between the C. C. and the Party organisations. This, however, cannot be permitted without incurring the danger of the central Party directives being frustrated by Right-opportunist elements.

Naturally there is need of determined effort for the purpose of educating the leading local cadres, correcting their faults, and rectifying their line. This cannot, meanwhile, be done at

the cost of the intimate connection with the Party masses. To get closer to the masses, even if it is sometimes done over the heads of the leading opportunist elements — this is one of the main tasks of the leaders of the Communist Party in France. The main task of the Party leaders, and naturally also of the Communist trade-union leaders, is that of marching in a Bolshevik sense in the foremost ranks of the proletariat, shoulder to shoulder with the workers in the factories, at demonstrations, and at the time of strikes and labour movements. The main task of our comrades in France lies in the consolidation of the ties between the Party leaders and the broad masses. Under the conditions of a new revolutionary wave, we must particularly stress the significance of this task.

In connection with what has just been said, we must occupy ourselves particularly with the question of the "Humanité", in which respect our French comrades have of late undertaken a very important step. We can whole-heartedly approve of this measure undertaken by the C. C. for the purpose of ensuring the conduct of the newspaper by the Party.

To fight to the finish for its central organ is another important task of the French Party. To this end, the last opportunist must be evicted from the "Humanité". There is no room on this newspaper for doubtful and politically vacillating elements, since it must be a truly revolutionary organ of the Communist Party of France.

The "Humanité" is even now the most popular publication in the eyes of the French workers. The complete realisation of Leninist directives in the central press organ makes it a real banner of the working class, as was the case in regard to our "Pravda" from the very first day of its existence. The "Humanité", the most important legal mouthpiece of our Party, may not be given up under pressure on the part of our class enemies. In this connection it must be remarked that the C. C. of the C. P. F. was altogether right in setting up the principle of a fight for legality. The "Humanité" has acted the part of a true leader of the working masses and must continue to do so even better. This paper has already to a certain extent shown up the organisational weakness of the Party. It is and remains the most important bridge to the masses. It is only necessary that the Party leaders themselves should take a greater part in personal work among the masses, so that their names may be more and more associated with the militant actions of the proletariat and so that the working masses may really know them.

In this connection one other shortcoming of the Party must be taken into account. We must not omit to mention the regrettable fact that into some leading organs of the Party and into certain of its organisations unreliable and unsafe elements have managed to penetrate. I shall name no instance, since they are already sufficiently well known. This fact deserves particular attention at a time of rising revolutionary activity, a time of accentuated class struggle, in which thousands of fighters and leaders of the working class develop and come to the fore far faster than at other times and in which more than the ordinary number of unreliable casual opportunist elements fall away.

Under such circumstances the question of a consolidation of the leading cadres of the Party by truly revolutionary elements of the working class is of particular importance. Together with the growth and consolidation of the C. P. F., we see the growth and development of the true leaders of the French proletariat. But it must be said right away that it would not be right for us to stake our cards on certain individual leaders.

No, we must rather see to it that a whole number of leaders, steeled in the strikes and other militant actions of the proletariat, should come to the fore and undertake the leadership. Certain intellectuals and some workers who have been poisoned by opportunism, must and will be replaced by revolutionary workers, who have headed strikes, organised actions against war, wrested trade unions from the reformists, and been trained in the fight against the bourgeoisie and the Social-Fascists. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of France will not be able to make sure of decisive achievements of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat unless it is able to rely on a number of working class leaders of this kind.

Marxists cannot afford to occupy themselves with riddles regarding coming events and further stages of the proletarian revolution. The historical past and the events of the present moment must, however, necessarily confront the French prole-

ariat with such tasks as can only be fulfilled by workers who are in the van of the European revolution. This imposes gigantic duties on the Communist Party of France.

The workers of France will fulfil their duty with great credit provided the Communist Party wages a yet more inexorable fight against its own shortcomings and weaknesses if its connection with the masses is further consolidated, and if its leading ranks are replenished by hundreds and thousands of new Leninist workers.

The Reorganisation of the C. P. of Alsace-Lorraine.

By J. Berlioz (Paris).

The Alsace-Lorraine district of the C. P. of France held on the 28th and 29th of September in Schiltigheim a Conference which constitutes a decisive stage in the purging and reorganisation crisis which has lasted for more than 5 months. Following upon a political discussion such as has never before been held in this district and which brought to light all the elements of the worst opportunism and rotteness, a firm foundation has at last been laid for the formation of a real Communist organisation in Alsace-Lorraine.

The split of the Socialist Party of France in the year 1925 was carried out badly in Alsace-Lorraine, and the Communist Party retained purely social-democratic cadres, the only aim of which was the winning of as many voters as possible. Owing to the language difficulties the C. C. of the C. P. F. granted far-reaching political independence. The C. P. F. raised the national question in a correct manner at the workers' and peasants' Congress in Straßburg in the year 1925, but the C. C. did not sufficiently control the strict carrying through of its tactic, which was correct at that time and meant a conditional support of the autonomist organisations led by the petty bourgeois which had influence among the masses.

These clerical and petty-bourgeois organisations are now in a state of decay, especially since their intimidated leaders have gone over into the camp of the imperialists. In this situation the question of the leadership by our Party of the anti-imperialist movement has become very acute.

Our tactic of supporting those organisations claiming to conduct the anti-imperialist struggle has become in the hands of the opportunists of Strasburg a pretext for election coalitions. The elections to the municipal councils in May of this year rendered a change of our tactics especially urgent. These elections most strikingly revealed the opportunism in this district.

A district Conference which took place at the end of March adopted a resolution submitted by the Party Executive regarding the elections, according to which any joint list of candidates with the autonomists and with the socialists is forbidden. The attack upon the social democracy, which is closely collaborating with imperialism, is to be reinforced and the difference between autonomists and Communists is to be made quite clear. In spite of the repeated remonstrations of the Central Committee these directives were openly violated in many places.

At the session of the district committee on June 2nd the representative of the C. C. proposed the condemnation of these mistakes and suggested a number of measures to remedy them. The district committee rejected the proposals of the Central by 13 votes against 7 and against 4 votes of the conciliators, who later on joined the Rights. This was the beginning of the crisis.

The opportunist leaders of Strasburg after repeated attempts of the Party to convince them and after they had committed further very serious breaches of Party discipline were expelled from the Party in July and August of this year. The renegades are publishing a weekly "The New World" containing every possible calumny against the Party and against the International.

When the decisions of the Central Committee had been confirmed by the International the fight of the opportunists against the C. I. became more violent. Endeavours were made to summon all the oppositional elements which had been expelled from the International to a Conference to be held at Strasburg for the purpose of founding a new International. Fourier, a lawyer and renegade, who has become the defender of the accused autonomists, brought to this Conference the instructions of Trotsky, and Brandler himself came to Strasburg in order to participate in the Conference.

On the 7th of July the C. C. of the Communist Party issued an **Open Letter** to the toiling masses of Alsace-Lorraine and organised the broadest discussion in the "Humanité" of Metz and in numerous locals. This discussion resulted in the recapture of numerous positions the whole of the Upper Rhine département (with the exception of half of the Kolmar local group) and half of the locals of the Lower Rhine département. The only strong position of the renegades is Strasbourg, in which they were able to keep 400 members out of 500, among them being many municipal employees.

The District Conference of Schiltigheim was attended by over 100 delegates, almost exclusively factory workers. More than 30 of them spoke in the discussion. Only one speaker defended the position of the renegades. All the others condemned his position very sharply and even reproached the district committee with having been too tolerant towards them. An earnest and thorough discussion took place on the draft theses of the Central Committee. The Conference was a great success. The chief task now facing the Party is the reorganisation of the Party **on the basis of factory nuclei.**

We now have in Alsace-Lorraine the basis for a Communist Party which must become the leader of the suppressed masses. Its platform clearly states:

"Our Party, by fighting for every inch of ground in order to be able to lead the masses in the struggle for the anti-imperialist demands, must unceasingly affirm its teachings and its programme and make it clear that the **real solution of the Alsace-Lorraine question can only be achieved by the proletarian revolution...**

The tactic of the Party is the **united front from below**, to be realised by establishing fighting committees to which also autonomist elements can be admitted on condition that they fully and entirely condemn the policy of the leaders who are ready to capitulate. The basis of our work in Alsace-Lorraine is, therefore, completely changed, as the workers and peasants at the district conference of Schiltigheim have crushed opportunism and have clearly shown the correct way to the capture of the masses.

PROLETARIAN YOUTH MOVEMENT

Ten Years of the Young Communist International.

Appeal of the E. C. Y. C. I.

Moscow, 21st October 1929.

The Executive Committee of the Young Communist International has issued an appeal to the working class and peasant youth of the whole world in connection with the tenth anniversary of the existence of the Y. C. I. The appeal describes the development of the revolutionary working class youth movement and the formation of the Young Communist International on the 20th November, 1919, in Berlin. It deals with the role played by Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht and Lenin in the youth movement and describes the struggle against the social democratic opportunists and the development of the socialist youth organisations into the Y. C. I., the war period in which the revolutionary, young workers adopted the slogan of Lenin, "Turn the imperialist war into a civil war for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie!", and the slogan of Liebknecht, "Not Civil Peace, but Civil War, Class War for the proletarian Revolution!" and the post-war revolutionary period in which the Communist International was formed and the first congress of the Y. C. I. took place and drew a sharp dividing line between the revolutionary young workers and the social patriots and centrist phrase-mongers.

In the ten years of its existence the Young Communist International has stood in the front ranks of the struggle and its members participated in the Central German insurrection in 1921, in the Bulgarian September insurrection in 1923, in the Hamburg fighting in the same year in Germany, in the Estonian insurrection in 1924, in Poland, in Greece, in Indonesia, in Morocco and in Syria, and on the barricades in Vienna in 1927 and in Berlin in May 1929. Tens of thousands of young workers laid down their lives in the struggle for the Chinese revolution, and the masses of the members of the Young Com-

munist League in the Soviet Union have taken a foremost part in the building of socialism. In its whole activity the Y. C. I. has been the loyal helper of the Communist International and a ruthless defender of the Bolshevik-Leninist policy in the international communist movement.

The Leagues played a prominent part in the formation of many of the Communist Parties and particularly in the struggle against the renegades Levi, Frossard, Tranmael, Hoeglund, Schello, Brandler, Lovestone and Kilboom and in particular also in the struggle against the Trotskyists.

In the ten years of its existence the Y. C. I. has worked out the first theory of the revolutionary proletarian youth movement and has embodied it in the programme adopted by the fifth world congress of the Y. C. I. which was the document of the working youth in the struggle for the world dictatorship of the proletariat.

The appeal enumerates the events proving the new rising wave of the proletarian revolution, analyses the role of the Second International as agent of the international bourgeoisie and the direct organiser of war against the Soviet Union, and points out that the Socialist Youth International has pursued its logical development towards social fascism. It calls for an increased struggle against fascism, social fascism and the danger of war with new methods of work in order to win the majority of the working youth for the proletarian revolution, and conduct in particular a merciless struggle against the right-wingers and conciliants within the ranks of the Communist and Young Communist Internationals. The appeal closes with the slogans:

Down with Imperialist War!

Long live the Defence of the Soviet Union!

Down with Capitalist Rationalisation, with the increased exploitation of the youth and Unemployment!

Down with militarisation and fascism amongst the Youth!

Long live the Anti-militarist Struggle in the Army and Navy!

Long live the Proletarian Defence Organisations!

Down with the Bourgeois and Social Fascist Organisations!

Long live the Red Class United Front of the Young Workers!

Long live the Victory of the World Dictatorship of the proletariat under the bolshevik leadership of the Comintern!

Long live the Communist International

Long live the Young Communist International!

PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

National Congress of Working Women in Germany.

The National Congress of the Working Women of Germany took place in the Moabit Assembly Hall, Berlin, on October 20th. The very composition of the congress showed that it signified a turning point in the work among the women, which is now directed towards winning over of the majority of the working women.

A total of 408 delegates represented 229 works (79 big factories, 100 medium-sized ones and 50 little ones). Of the delegates 233 were non-party, 163 belong to the C. P. G., 10 to the Y. C. I. and 2 to the Young Spartacus League. The women delegate movement is apparently getting a footing in the factories. The international solidarity of the working women found expression in the attendance of the 8 foreign delegates.

In addition to the factory women, 71 housewives were present. The clerks had 16 delegates, the outworkers 12, while the female agricultural labourers had the smallest representation, namely, 3 delegates.

Comrade Thälmann greeted the congress in the name of the C. P. G. and of the illegal Red Front Fighters' League. He said:

"The 12th Party Congress of the C. P. G. placed in the foreground of our revolutionary policy the energetic application of our mass work to those important strata of the workers, who in the process of the capitalist rationalisation are most exploited and oppressed by finance capital and the capitalistic State system with fresh predatory means and methods: the working women and the young workers. This congress is a proof that we have tried rapidly to overcome the conservative backwardness, which unfortunately still prevails in the whole of the proletariat and in a measure in the Communist Party.

too, in relation to the role and significance of the revolutionary working women's and housewives movement in Germany.

The development in Germany presents us with big tasks, which at this congress will be discussed and settled."

The main speech was delivered by the chairman of the National Committee of the Working Women, Comrade Lene Overlach, who stated:

In the first place, the discussions at this conference relate to measures against the aggravated attack on the part of capital, which must be replied to with organisation of mass strikes for higher wages and a seven-hour day, with organisation of political mass strikes against the government of starvation and of war. Every blow which you deliver in the works is at the same time a blow against the war preparations of imperialist Germany, is a step towards the protection of the Soviet Union. Every surrender means strengthening of capitalism and thereby strengthening of its war preparations against the Soviet Union.

The bourgeoisie is proceeding to carry out the Young Plan at the cost of the workers through increased speeding up methods, wage cuts, increased cost of living, mass taxes and reduction of social benefits. By means of new criminal laws, of State protection acts, of the projected police regulation for the supervision of all proletarian meetings the workers who are advancing towards the revolutionary fight are to be gagged and, with the help of the police, the Fascists and Social-Fascists, are to be bloodily suppressed.

The employers and landed-proprietors are proceeding with the greatest brutality against the factory women and the female agricultural labourers and against all strata of working women. When on a single evening 20 workwomen faint at a conveyor band and the employer mockingly declares that the conveyor will shortly be speeded up, when the silk spinners in Silesia have to attend to six machines instead of two, when hours of labour are lengthened by means of overtime to 10, 12, and even 14 hours and when the employers announce at their conferences further measures of rationalisation, you know what you have to expect.

Which path do you intend to take? The only road open to you is that of revolutionary fight, and you have already proved in numerous strikes that you are prepared to fight.

Elect revolutionary fighting committees and see to it that in all these fighting committees working women and workers' wives are represented.

The fight in the factories is closely related to our fight against the threatening danger of war. The Young Plan implies the united front of the imperialist States against the Soviet Union.

A delegate sent by the workwomen of the Winkler & Gäbler factory in Erzgebirge-Vogtland spoke about the position of working women, especially in the textile mills. She described the consequences of rationalisation for the workers, and especially for the working women, who are used up and then thrown into the street. The wages of the women are always lower than those of the men and in every collective agreement are always treated differently from the wages of the male workers. Not even the federation defends the standpoint:

"Equal pay for equal work."

A non-party working woman from the Fisleben preserve factory reported that the people there work from 6 o'clock in the morning till 10 at night and sometimes longer for 3rd and an hour. When anybody takes a day off for any private reason, he can expect dismissal on the spot. The working women of this factory appealed to the Red Women's and Girls' League, which called a meeting. The speaker herself was victimised. "I recognised what is necessary and am now joining the Communist Party."

A working woman of the Lorenz factory, Berlin, called her factory a jail. Wages of 27 to 30 marks are paid there for a working week of 53 hours. The conveyor runs at a terrible pace, so that 3 to 5 women faint every day.

A mill girl from the Leipzig cotton spinning mill reported how rationalisation is carried on there. Every new machine imported from America displaces six working women. The wage is 22 marks a week for work which is extremely injurious to health.

The treacherous attitude of the reformist shop stewards was described by a working woman from the Salamander works and the representative of the Reclmsna cigarette factory. In this

factory, too, furious speeding up methods have been introduced with the result that 6 or 8 people fall ill every day. The women were compelled to do overtime, although dismissals were shortly followed on account of "lack of orders".

A shop girl from a store in Dresden reported that the girls there get 108 marks a month, while the girls employed in carrying goods to the cash desk, where they are handed over to the purchasers, get 10 marks a week. A cleavage was deliberately made between the sales staff and technical staff in order to prevent the exploited employers from joining forces. The shop assistants are, however, still very backward and indifferent to the class struggle.

The speakers repeatedly advocated that the women be taught the art of self-defence, so that they might fight for Soviet Germany. This was the main content of the speech of the delegation of the Red Front Fighter League.

In regard to the role of the working women in the fight against the danger of imperialist war the representative of the dye industry at Treptow made a speech, in which she pointed out the importance of the chemical industry in regard to war. Mass dismissals are at present taking place in Treptow as consequence of rationalisation. A Labour aristocracy is being artificially bred. The women are still quite passive, but by means of the nucleus newspaper, Party functionaries, etc., are being gradually roused.

To the accompanying strains of the "International" the delegate of the working women of the Soviet Union, Comrade Petrova, mounted the platform. She said:

We bore the same chains as the German working women have still to bear. When I compare the privations of the German working women with the conditions in the Soviet Union, recognise how much progress we have made.

Under the leadership of the Bolsheviki we have chased the bourgeoisie and taken the power into our own hands. There are perhaps many among you who say: The path is a difficult one, had we not better be cautious and give up the advance? From my experience of the Russian revolution I would answer: Never vacillate. Only by boldness, by the offensive, only with a rifle in hand can the proletariat gain its freedom.

In the Soviet Union we are engaged upon the task of taking the capitalist countries and racing ahead of them. We, too, have our process of rationalisation, but it does not mean throwing large batches of workers out of the process of production, but reducing unemployment, reducing hours of work and raising the standard of living of the workers. In our factories there are no hustlers speeding us up for the sake of higher profits.

All States are arming against us. We are accused of wanting war. We do not want war, what we want is socialist construction; we want peaceful work for the million masses. Why are we being prepared against us? Because we threaten capitalists because our cry to the workers of the whole world is: Forward, take the power into your own hands and overthrow the bourgeoisie!

As regards the political equality of the women in the Soviet Union, 30 per cent. of all the members of the soviets, from the central executive committee down to the smallest village soviets are working and peasant women. They rule, make the laws, and see that they are carried out. And I ask you: If you were the power, if you were at the head of the government, would you make bad laws? No, you would make good laws, good laws for the proletarian women.

The wish of your Russian working sisters is that you should proceed along the path along which Lenin led us.

Speeches were also made by women delegates from Sweden, England, Austria, Czechoslovakia and France, as well as a representative of the striking plumbers, a representative of the illegal Red Front Fighters League and a woman representative of the Anti-Fascist Young Guards, etc.

After Comrade Overlach had delivered her speech in regard to the discussion the congress was closed by Comrade Thälmann. A delegation to Russia was elected. The "battle cry" of the congress, protest resolutions against Fascism, battle greetings to the Russian working women, to all political prisoners, to the "Humanité", etc., were passed unanimously.