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Labour Imperialism and India.

By C. P. Dutt.

The British Labour Government has made its first contribution towards policy in India since its accession to office. The announcement, made through the mouth of the Viceroy in India, follows a line fairly accurately forecast beforehand. This is not surprising, for the foreign policy of the Labour Government, as already exemplified in the case of Egypt, the Middle East and China, is bound within very narrow limits. The first factor in the situation is the increasing development of mass discontent and revolutionary ferment inside India. The second factor is that the Labour Government is pledged to maintain and continue the imperialist policy agreed upon jointly by all British Parliamentary parties and typified in the joint participation in the Simon Commission.

The Simon Commission, the report of which will not be ready until 1930, was rejected and boycotted even by the bulk of the bourgeois nationalists. The Indian National Congress pledged itself last year to take drastic action if the British Government does not offer Dominion Status to India by the end of

1929. Under the pressure of radical forces, growing stronger along with the intensification of repression, the Congress has selected the "left" nationalist leader Jawaharlal Nehru as President of the coming session in Lahore, Gandhi having declined the responsibility.

Under these circumstances, if the Labour Government made no more concessions, the Congress would be bound to commit itself to some form of action. Yet most of the bourgeois leaders would be glad to find an excuse for retreating. Thus, the British Labour Government has its chance of appearing to do something new which would be eagerly seized by those harbouring expectations from a Labour Government, while at the same time it would in no way alter the policy fixed by imperialism.

The Viceroy's statement does two things. Firstly, it makes a new vague promise of Dominion Status which goes no further than anything previously said:

"I am authorized, on behalf of his Majesty's Government to state clearly that in their judgment it is implicit in the declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress, as there contemplated, is the attainment of Dominion Status."

Secondly, following a suggestion already made by Simon, it proposes a Round Table Conference of "all parties and interests" after the Simon Commission has made its report and for the purpose of discussing the findings of the Simon Commission.

There is nothing here which meets the Indian bourgeois nationalist demand for a Round Table Conference empowered to decide the future Constitution of India. The British Conservative press emphasises that the Viceroy's statement contains "no promises and no change of policy", that the Simon Commission is still the sole channel for proposals on India and that the British Parliament remains the final arbiter.

Nevertheless, as in the case of the Egyptian Treaty, all sections of the Labour Party are busily extolling the new declaration as the basis for a happy solution of the Indian problem, as the I. L. P. "New Leader" calls it. The "Daily Herald" says there is now "complete unity of purpose" in Britain and India and the path to co-operation is now open.

The Executive of the I. L. P. in a resolution "congratulates the Government in its re-affirmation of the justice of India's claim for self-government" and urges an amnesty for political prisoners to create a favourable atmosphere of discussion.

Acceptance of this even by the bourgeois wing of the nationalists is not such a foregone conclusion. If the Simon Commission was boycotted why should its report be discussed? Nevertheless, even Jawaharlal Nehru talks of a Conference being acceptable if the present "war-like" policy of the government is discontinued and the fundamental basis of the Conference is satisfactory. The basis will probably not prove satisfactory but the immediate object of the British Labour Government will be served if the attention of the Indian Congress is diverted to these conditions for co-operation.

The Labour Government is turning from the Simon Commission because it knows that this body is too compromised in India. The Government, however, is carrying out precisely that which the Simon Commission will propose.

POLITICS

The Formation of the Government in France.

By J. Berlioz (Paris).

The Briand-Tardieu Cabinet was defeated in the Chamber on a vote on a standing order question by 288 votes of all parties of the Left and of the intransigent nationalist fraction of the Right Marin group, against 277 votes of the Centre and of the moderate Right.

After Briand's resignation it required nearly two weeks before Tardieu was able to draw up his list of Ministers. This shows that it is a difficult job for French capitalism to find for the government a formula which reconciles the firm conduct of its affairs by the big bourgeoisie with the absolute necessity of taking into account the profound discontent of the petty bourgeoisie and the unrest among the peasantry and also of curbing the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat.

After Daladier, the leader of the Radical Party, had tried first to form a purely "Left" Ministry with the inclusion of the Socialists, and then a Ministry of the Centre and the Lefts, Clémentel, another Radical, failed in the attempt to form a concentration Cabinet, in which the most important posts were to be given to the Radicals. In all these attempts it was the resistance of the big bourgeoisie which wrecked all the new combinations, because it would not have had the key positions in its hands. Daladier's combinations were not sufficiently to the Right in the eyes of the big bourgeoisie. Clémentel's combination

failed on account of Daladier's demand that he, and not otherwise, should receive the post of Minister of the Interior.

The parties of the Centre and of the moderate Right failed to remain the masters of the situation. Consequently, Tardieu was entrusted with the formation of the New Ministry. Tardieu was one of the first politicians to pronounce the formula "Republican Concentration" of "all parties of respectable people". His intention at first was to exclude the Republican-Democratic Union of Marin as being too much to the Right and to put himself upon the parties of the Centre and the Left, which at the same time offering six or seven government seats to the Radicals. In this manner he hoped, by means of some prominent personalities to split the group of the radical socialists and obtain the majority.

Confusion among the radicals seemed to be very great. A parliamentary fraction met on the 2nd November and drew 46 votes against 28 (out of 121 members) to prohibit any participation in the Tardieu Ministry. The Right wing of the party advocated a sort of co-operation with Tardieu (but on the basis of a very demagogic minimum programme (disarmament, great tax alleviation, amnesty, abandonment of devaluation bills etc.) which Tardieu was unable to accept). The Left wing, which carried the day, declared collaboration with a personality so discredited before the toiling masses to be impossible. Entry into such a Ministry would hopelessly promise the "Left".

The radical socialists submitted to this decision. Briand could not retreat. The admission of the failure of his mission would have meant a prolongation of the crisis. He turned again to the Right and opened the door for the entry of the group of the Radicals, (Loucheur) while at the same time inviting the Marin group into the Ministry.

The new Cabinet comprises 16 Ministers and 12 Secretaries of State, instead of the former 18 Ministers. Tardieu decided on such an extension of the Ministry, not so in order to replace the quality of his collaborators but in quantity.

With regard to foreign policy Tardieu wishes to continue the "pacifism" of Briand, who is again entrusted with the foreign Ministry, in order to secure the support of the Left. The comedy of a "Great Ministry of peace" is to be played to the finish whilst the repressive measures against the Communist Party of France, which is exposing the feverish war preparations, are being increased.

But such a policy, which will also include concessions on the question of the evacuation of the Rhineland and in the question of the Saar district (a precondition of which is German conditional accession to the anti-Soviet bloc), will cost Tardieu at least the abstention from voting of the Rights, who are closely linked up with the Comité de forges. The so-called "Left" wing of the Radicals and the Socialists, will be compelled to take increasingly into account the pressure of the workers and the peasantry, and in their endeavour to obtain a leading role in the bourgeois government which would enable them to appeal to these masses, will probably vote against Tardieu. Tardieu's majority, resting chiefly on the Centre, will remain insecure and are therefore in an era of insecurity of the governments. In turn is the expression of the shakiness of French capitalism.

The Communist Party of course could not expect anything from the various bargainings of the parties during the crisis. It has conducted an energetic campaign against the government, which again began to arise in broad sections of the country regarding the possibilities of improvements and reforms which brought about by a "Left" government. It has untiringly exposed the imperialist role of the socialists and before all the demagogues of the Left wing of the Socialist Party of France, which are only on opportunist grounds to participate in the government. It has made use of the unrest of the people during the crisis in order to develop a mass movement for the struggle against the conspiracy framed up by the bourgeoisie and for the legalisation of the Party.

Social Democracy Assisting in the Adoption of the Fascist Constitution in Austria.

By Guido Zamis (Vienna).

The Heimwehr leader Steidle demanded at a Heimwehr meeting that the Bill on the change of the Constitution be passed the National Council at express speed. The social democrats at once complied with this request. The first reading of the Bill was achieved in two sessions of the National Council; general debate in the Constitutional Committee occupied only a few hours, and the bill is now with the sub-Committee.

Up to the present the chapters regarding the rights and powers of the Federal President have been settled.

In regard to the election of the President, the government still insists on the procedure that first the people vote in the event of none of the candidates obtaining an absolute majority, the choice shall rest with the Federal Council. As against this the social democrats are now demanding a real election by the people i. e. with the exclusion of the Federal Council.

But the election is not by any means the most important thing. Much more important are the powers of the President. The social democratic representatives have accepted all those paragraphs under which the Federal Chancellor and the Federal Government are appointed and dismissed by the President. With regard to the paragraphs concerning the emergency powers of the President and of the police authorities, the social democratic representatives declared that they reject the right of the President to proclaim a state of emergency but they would vote for such right being given to the chief committee at such times when Parliament is prorogued.

With this the acceptance by the social democrats of the fascist dictatorship is rendered clear beyond all doubt. The majority of the Chief Committee of the National Council consists naturally of bourgeois deputies. The Federal President could never issue emergency decrees against the will of the bourgeois majority.

The bourgeois parties have agreed to these proposals of the social democrats insofar as they proposed an amendment to the original text, according to which the Federal President, when issuing emergency decrees, must, on the demand of the Chief Committee, convene an extraordinary session of the National Council within a week.

The difference between the social-democratic and bourgeois proposals is quite trifling. It is only a question of who has to discuss and decide beforehand the emergency decrees: the Federal Government, who then proposes it to the President, or the Chief Committee.

That paragraph which deprives the National Council of the right to control the budget was partly adopted unanimously, while regard to the other part the bourgeois deputies made reservations to the social-democratic proposal. This proposal states that the Government, one month after the expiration of the financial year, if no provisional budget has been passed, can impose further taxes and duties according to the existing regulations. Of the other paragraphs which were adopted unanimously, mention should be made of paragraph 44, dealing with the provincial and States council. With this paragraph the social-democrats already accept the Provincial and States council.

But the social-democrats go even further in their agreement with the Schober government, without achieving any compromise, without even a show of resistance. The dictatorial Constitution is being passed by the Committee precisely in the form Schober desired. Schober regarded it as a hindrance that according to the existing Constitution the military could intervene only on the special demand of the civil authorities. And he therefore drew up Paragraph 46 of the new Constitution which states:

"Of course military intervention is permissible when the proper authorities are rendered incapable by superior force of bringing about military intervention, or when it is a question of repelling attacks upon or resistance to a part of the federal army".

That is the original text of the Schober proposal. And the following is the form in which it has been adopted by all parties unanimously:

"Of course military intervention is permissible when either the proper authorities are rendered incapable by superior forces of bringing about military intervention and further delay would involve irreparable harm to the community, or when it is a question of repelling an actual attack or of overcoming violent resistance which is directed against a section of the federal army".

One sees that both paragraphs mean one and the same thing. The social fascists invest Vaugoin and his officers with powers to shoot down workers should a single private soldier receive a push, or should workers demonstrating against the Heimwehr parades not at once retire when faced with the military.

The right of the police to proclaim a state of emergency at any time is contained in the following passage, which has also been unanimously adopted by the Committee:

"Until the issue of Federal legal provisions regarding the powers of the authorities in the sphere of the general Security Police, the authorities entrusted with such matters for the protection of endangered bodily safety of persons, or of property, within their sphere can adopt such measures as are necessary to avert the danger, and declare non-compliance with the same to be punishable. Such measures must not violate existing legal provisions."

This paragraph places full and absolute power in the hands of the police and renders a state of emergency against the working class a permanent affair.

It must be stated that there already exists unity along the whole line among all parties including the social democrats.

The Communist Party, on the other hand, calls upon the proletariat to take up the most energetic mass struggle. The so-called Left wing press has been endeavouring of late, in view of the circumstance that the proposed law has so rapidly reached the Committee stage, to talk of a certain "pacification". And Renner writes in the "Socialistische Monatshefte" of "the blow which failed". In actual fact the close collaboration of the social-fascists and the bourgeois parties shows even more clearly the greatness of the danger.

The proletariat must take up the fight for power against the united front of Heimwehr fascism and social fascism.

Elements of Crisis in Hungarian Fascism.

By Béla Kun.

The word revolution is once more in the mouths of all political parties in Hungary. In his latest programmatic speech, Prime Minister Count Bethlen spoke the following portentous words:

"In this country no one may utter the threat of revolution. We are afraid of no terrorism. Dissatisfaction is no sufficient reason for revolution. A sufficient reason would have to lie in the conviction on the part of the public that the Government is responsible for the situation that has ensued in the economy of the country. And one other presumption is requisite to make a revolution possible — cowardice on the part of those responsible for the destinies of the country. As regards us, we shall fulfil our duty and no one need fear that cowardice on the part of the Government will lead to an upheaval."

Though this inveterate counter-revolutionary speaks resolutely enough, his words yet give proof of an increasing disintegration in the camp of the present Hungarian rulers. This disintegration is in the first place an outcome of the extraordinary aggravation of the economic crisis. The extent of the crisis in industry may, e. g., be seen by the fact that various leading Hungarian enterprises are dismissing their workers in masses, while numerous metal and textile works have introduced short-time operations, limited to no more than three days a week. In connection with the economic depression, moreover, the contradictions between the financial, industrial, and agrarian capitalists on the one hand and between the small peasant holders and the impecunious elements of the city petty-bourgeoisie on the other, have greatly increased, and that just at a time when a fresh rise of the revolutionary labour movement and growing activity and a decided gravitation towards the left on the part of the working masses have become apparent.

Bethlen also recognises that the social basis of the Fascist rule is getting narrower from day to day. The illusions still attached by certain sections of the city petty-bourgeoisie, of the peasantry, and even of the working-class to the apparent struggle of the Hungarian Fascist Government for a revision of the Treaty of Trianon (naturally in the interest of Magyar imperialism), are rapidly being dispelled. The economic policy of the Hungarian Government, which represents a tremendous encumbrance for the working masses, tends to accelerate this process immeasurably. And since the economic means of the Hungarian Fascists are altogether inadequate to permit of the luxury of a "social" demagoguery in the form of systematic economic concessions to the leaders of the working class, they have recourse to the tried method of a "democratic" deception of the masses, so as to strengthen the undermined and decaying social foundation of the Fascist dictatorship.

It must be borne in mind that even a minimum of "democratic" measures must meet with a very serious obstacle in the fact that there are in Hungary very considerable remnants of feudalism. The Hungarian Fascist Government can therefore only employ "democratic" manoeuvres in a very limited degree. In criticising the attempts of various "oppositional" groups to put democratic phrases into circulation, Bethlen therefore declared that he was naturally also in favour of "gradual progress" but that it would be wrong for any one to think that a result could be attained by such catchwords in the economic sphere. Whether juries existed or not, the price of bread would not be lower for that nor the financial assets greater. Disagreeable as these declarations of an "ideologist of democracy" may sound in the ears of the Hungarian Social Fascists, it cannot be denied that Bethlen's attitude is based on practical politics. In Hungary such "democratic" whiles can, in view of the present economic conditions and of the aggravation of class differences, afford no serious resistance to the revolutionary offensive of the industrial and agricultural proletariat.

This naturally does not hinder the Bethlen Government from attempting a manoeuvre with the Social Democrats with a view to counteracting the growing revolutionisation of the industrial and agricultural proletariat. Even in its composition the Hungarian Social Democratic Party is growing more and more bourgeois, while in its policy it has long been a Social Fascist Party. Today it is just as ready to betray the interests of the discontented sections of the petty-bourgeoisie as it formerly was to deceive the industrial and agricultural workers. There is no baseness from which the Social Democratic Party would recoil. The Bethlen Government has concluded a new alliance with the Social Democratic leaders, which also extends to the leaders abroad who, though they were not in power during the Hungarian Soviet Republic, yet fled before the White Terror. Two of these Social Democratic leaders, the French government agent Ernest Garami and the former Party secretary Emanuel Buchinger, have been granted an amnesty by Horthy, along with Jacob Weiltner who has already returned to Hungary.

The new agreement between Bethlen and the Social Fascists came at a moment when the working class was increasing its strike campaign and even carrying its struggle into the streets. The first to strike were the mining and timber workers; these were followed by the textile and leather workers in a whole series of works. These strikes were carried on over the heads of the Social Fascist trade union bureaucrats and in the face of a tremendous terrorism on the part of the authorities. In characterisation of the growing revolutionary activity of the working class mention should also be made of the unanimous hunger-strike of the political prisoners in the Hungarian prisons. It is obvious that the triumph of the Social Fascists at the pitiful amnesty extended to their colleagues by the butcher Horthy was under such circumstances accepted by the working class with very mixed feelings. The Social Democrats recently held a meeting in honour of their comrades returning from abroad. Under the lead of the Communists, the working masses turned this meeting into a demonstration against the "home-comers". To the sound of the International and carrying red flags, they marched through the streets, nor did they allow themselves to be intimidated by repeated attacks by the police.

The millions of agricultural workers and almost half a million of starving and unemployed proletarians in the villages are likewise in a state of revolutionary fermentation. They demand the distribution of the big landed property. The prole-

tarial and semi-proletariat in the rural districts more and more openly oppose Fascist State power which supports both the remnants of feudalism in the country and the monopoly of the big capital in the cities.

In this connection the tasks of the Communist Party of Hungary become more and more serious and complicated not only from day to day but from hour to hour. Unfortunately the activity of the Party has hitherto fallen short of that of the masses. The Party must not content itself with unmasking the common manoeuvres of the Fascists and Social Fascists. It must not limit itself to turning the meetings convoked by the Social Fascists into assemblies of protest against the latter. It must strive in every way at an independent conduct of the struggle of the agricultural and industrial proletariat in the works themselves and in the proletarian mass organisations. The fact that after the defeat of the Hungarian proletarian revolution the Fascist dictators bound the working class hand and foot practically decimated the cadres of the Communist Party, and on the part of the latter a still greater activity and revolutionary energy in the preparation of the impending decisive struggle of the Hungarian workers and small peasants against the Fascist dictatorship.

The Communist Party of Germany against the Young Plan.

Resolution of the C. C. of the C. P. G.

The following are the main contents of the resolution on the Young Plan adopted by the Plenary Session of the C. C. of the C. P. G. on October 24th and 25th. Ed.

I.

The Young Plan which was adopted at the Hague Conference is the expression of the fight over the reparations problem, in which the chief differences among the imperialist powers cross each other. The new settlement of the reparations payments by the Young Plan in no way means, as the reformists and the Right opportunists in our camp (and we maintain, a "bridging over" of the imperialistic antagonism) but the aggravation of these conflicts, the intensification of the fight of the imperialist groups and powers for sources of raw material and for the export of capital. The substitution of the Dawes Plan of 1924 by the Young Plan means for Germany a considerable alteration of the reparations question.

II.

While the Dawes Plan was adopted under the pressure of the immediate danger of a proletarian revolution and of the complete collapse of the capitalist economy in Germany, the adoption of the Young Plan followed as a result of a shift in the relation of forces of the big imperialist powers which has entered on a process of relative capitalist stabilisation. German imperialism and its social-fascist agents in the Government tried to obtain a reduction of their obligations to the victor States and to strengthen the positions of German capitalism on the world market. These efforts proved an absolute failure. In the present situation of capitalist world economy, of shortage on the world capital market (raising of the discount rates) and intensified struggle for sales markets, the going over from the Dawes Plan to the Young Plan does not mean an alleviation but a tremendous aggravation of the economic situation of German capitalism. The reduction of the annuities envisaged in the Young Plan as compared with the Dawes Plan is far outweighed by the extreme worsening of the conditions and terms of payment (far-reaching abolition of transfer protection and far-reaching replacement of deliveries in kind by obligations to pay immediately in foreign currency, conversion of annuities by Germany into a fixed capital sum, prolongation of period of payment from 37 to 59 years etc.).

The economic effects of the Young Plan render exceedingly more difficult the struggle of German capital on the world market, sharpen the competitive struggle of the capitalist powers with each other and inevitably lead to a further collapse of capitalist stabilisation in the most important industrial countries.

III.

The Young Plan is a new and powerful instrument for elevating the imperialist intervention-war against the Soviet Union.

The founding of an international Reparations Bank under hegemony of American finance capital increases the danger financial blockade and, therefore, also of war against the Soviet Union. The ever firmer alignment of Germany in the line of anti-Soviet war policy is most strikingly shown in the special negotiations of the representatives of the Hermann Goeller Government with the representatives of the French Government and the parallel agreements of the German and French general staffs for the purpose of a Franco-German military alliance against the Soviet Union.

IV.

The Young Plan increases the international interweaving of the monopolistic agreements of finance capital (international cartels, financial companies, world reparations bank). Within German economy itself there is arising a new and powerful drive for the formation of capitalist monopolies. Hilferding concludes from the American-Swedish match trust a monopoly agreement with regard to Germany, which means a plundering of the German people on top of the Young Plan. The tobacco, beer and other monopolies lead to an exorbitant increase of the prices of all articles of mass consumption. A new wave of rationalisation-mergers has arisen, partly under the immediate control of American finance capital. German big capital, united in a few gigantic banks, in powerful trusts and cartels is endeavouring to squeeze still greater profits from the German workers in return for coolie wages, to reduce the costs of production and to meet more determinedly the capitalist competition on the world market.

The Young Plan, as a plan of international capitalist offensive against the working class, in place of all the burden which would be immediately borne by German capital (charge upon industry of 300 million marks a year), places a direct burden upon the working masses.

The monopolisation of production and of sales within the country itself, a result of the intensified competitive struggle, gives rise to still fiercer competitive struggle among the monopolist trust magnates, who are fighting for the biggest share of the profit and wish to obtain specially privileged opportunities for sale and extortion in order to be able to increase capital accumulation and capital export. At the same time the alienation, the delivery over of numerous "national" undertakings of German capitalism to foreign finance capital is proceeding at a great pace. The Dawes control has terminated with the coming into operation of the Young Plan, but dependence upon American finance capital has increased. In a number of important branches of industry (automobile and electric industry) American finance capital appears immediately before the German working class as exploiter and organises with the help of the bourgeois State power the robbery of the working class consumers.

V.

The economic dictatorship of Finance capital is the foundation for the erection of its open fascist dictatorship.

Hand in hand with the realisation of the Young Plan finance capital is fiercely striving for despotic political rule, and it at the same time liquidates all the old forms of government (democracy, parliamentarism, right of Parliament to control finance and the budget, self-administration of the municipalities etc.) and ruthlessly establishes a fascist form of government. Centralised and firmly-welded finance capital immediately determines the actions of the State apparatus without consulting Parliament. The fascisation of the capitalist State power is proceeding at a most rapid pace. Bourgeois democracy is growing into fascism. All forces of reaction, from the National Socialists to the social democrats, are being brought into play in order to defeat the working class. The traditional bourgeois parties, from the German Nationalists to the Democrats, are more and more adopting the fascist ideology and becoming immediate auxiliary organs of fascist dictatorship.

VI.

Under the control of American finance capital, in a desperate struggle to increase capital accumulation and capital export, in a fierce fight for a larger share of the world market, the German bourgeoisie is launching its new general offensive against the German workers.

All the economic and political effects of the Young Plan in its totality lead to depressing, monstrous, and unbearable worsening of the living conditions of all workers, to the absolute impoverishment of the proletariat. In ruthlessness and brutality, in the squeezing dry of human labour power, the new wave of capitalist rationalisation puts in the shade everything hitherto experienced. The lengthening of the working day, the refusal to grant any wage increases, the partial reduction of existing wages, the abolition of all legal provisions for the protection of women and juvenile labour, the abolition of all social expenditure, the cutting down of unemployment benefit, of the sickness and old age insurance, the unexampled increase in the prices of articles of mass consumption by means of high tariff walls, usurious monopolist prices — these are the first effects of the Young Plan. At the same time the taxes on fortunes, capital transactions, business profits and all other taxes on property are being reduced. The social democracy, with the aid of the new anti-Communist law "for the defence of the Republic", is endeavouring to destroy the workers' right of association, coalition, meeting and strike, and to achieve the complete suppression and enslavement of the German proletariat.

VII.

The social democracy, which as the leading government party concluded and signed the Young Plan, bears the full and complete responsibility for this enormous crime of betrayal of the people, for the misery and the deprivation of rights of the broad masses and for the fascist persecution of the German proletariat.

The consequence of the unscrupulous social-fascist betrayal of the people for the benefit of the native and foreign capitalist magnates is the crisis of social democracy, its increasing unpopularity, the embitterment of its followers, who have been disappointed and deceived by eighteen months of coalition policy. Now that the social democracy has concluded the Young Plan and cut down unemployment benefit, the foundations of the coalition government are shaken by the worsening of the economic situation and the great growth of the class struggle. As social fascism is losing its value to the bourgeoisie as a coalition partner to the same extent that it is losing its influence upon the working class, the bourgeois parties are raising the question of ousting the social democracy and breaking up the coalition. The more acute the class struggle becomes, the more the revolutionary crisis develops, the more the specific weight of open fascism increases in comparison with social fascism.

VIII.

In Germany, as in all other capitalist countries, particularly in Austria, the treacherous policy of social democracy promotes the advance of open fascism. The armed fascist fighting organisations, the Stahlhelm and the national socialists, are preparing, by systematic raids upon workers' centres, by terrorist attacks by murdering workers, and street fights, for the establishment of fascist dictatorship. In this fight they enjoy not only the benevolent neutrality but the active support of the bourgeois Republican State apparatus.

IX.

The effects up to now of the Young Plan completely confirm the correctness of the political line of the Communist Party, as expressed in the decisions of the Wedding Party Congress and of the X. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. and of the August Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P.G.

The control of international finance capital over German economy, the general offensive of the employers, the betrayal of the people by the social democrats, the advances of the fascists, the unbounded political reaction, the impoverishment of the masses all this calls forth ever fresh and more determined fighting actions of the revolutionary proletariat.

The counter-offensive and the direct offensive of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and social fascism is finding successful expression in a wave of economic struggles, in revolutionary anti-fascist actions of the workers, in the first begin-

nings of political mass strikes, in increased influence of the Communist Party on the masses, in the growth of the revolutionary trade union opposition, in the enhanced activity of the organised and unorganised workers as well as of the young workers and working women.

X.

The Central Committee considers it necessary to declare before the whole Party, that the fight against the Young Plan represents at present one of the most important tasks of the Communists in the fight for winning the majority of the working class, for the defence of the Soviet Union, for combating fascism and social fascism and for the revolutionary emancipation of the proletariat.

The Communist Party confronts both camps of the bourgeois reaction with the same deadly enmity. It is conducting an inexorable fight against both the fascist Right bloc and the social fascist coalition Bloc, for the only positive, revolutionary proletarian solution of the reparations question: complete cancellation of debts, the Bolshevik liquidation of the Versailles Treaty and of the Young Plan by the overthrow of the German bourgeoisie, the establishment of a Socialist Soviet Germany and an alliance with the Soviet Union and with the revolutionary workers of all countries.

XI.

From this political fundamental line of the Communist Party in the reparations question the following practical tasks arise for the present activity of the Party:

1. Ruthless mass fight against the Young Plan and all its effects.
2. To direct the main fight against the coalition government, which has concluded the predatory Young Plan, in particular against the party of the social fascists, which at present still functions as the strongest force for the Young Plan within the working class.
3. Fiercest mass fight against fascism, exposure of the „National“ demagogy of the Hugenberg Hitler bloc, which bears just as much responsibility for the reparations slavery of the German people as the coalition parties.
4. Comprehensive promulgation and propagation of the Bolshevik solution of the reparations question to the fact that the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union, immediately after the October Revolution, annulled all debts to foreign capitalists, amounting to 30,000 million marks, and confiscated without compensation all foreign factories and enterprises.
5. Subordination of the fight against the Young Plan to the fight for the defence of the Soviet Union. Carrying on of wide-scale propaganda for the socialist construction of the Soviet Union which is embodied in the splendid achievements of the Five-Year Plan.
6. Strengthening of the solidarity of the international proletariat, especially of the revolutionary workers of the imperialist victor States, with the toiling masses of Germany.
7. Continuation of the most broad and bold development of the offensive of the proletariat against capitalist rationalisation and the impoverishment of the masses. Fight for higher wages and better working conditions by disregarding collective agreements and by strikes. Building up of the system of revolutionary functionaries and of conferences of factory delegates. Mobilisation of the unemployed. Linking up of the unemployed movement with all the fights of the workers in the factories.
8. Building up and extension of all forms of proletarian defence organisations against fascism, violent repulsion of all fascist attacks on the workers, revolutionary liquidation of all nests of fascist reaction in the working class centres.
9. Conducting of all fights of the proletariat against the Young Plan, against the employers, the State Power and social-fascism into the channels of the political mass strike.
10. Greatest mass propaganda for the slogan of the proletarian dictatorship in the fight against the threatening fascist rule.
11. Continuation of the consistent fight against all forms of open and concealed opportunism in the Party, renewal of all cadres and of leading Party organs by drawing in such party members as have proved their worth in conducting mass struggles.
12. Extension of the growing mass influence of the Communist Party by a radical alteration of its political and organisational working methods, replacement of obsolete methods of work which prevent the extension of our mass influence by forms of struggle which develop to the highest extent all the forces of the

TWELFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

The Twelve Years' Triumph.

By J. T. Murphy (London).

It is now twelve years since the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union showed the toiling masses of the whole world the way out from capitalist tyranny to socialism. Every worker who to-day reads of the sweeping progress of the first workers' republics in the building of socialism via the five years' plan stands amazed at the new vistas opening out before the world. But for us who have still to conquer power we must look back and after these memorable twelve years. We have not only celebrated the constructive achievements of the present but also the colossal destructive work which had to precede the triumphal construction.

Twelve years ago this November 7th, was the day of our triumph when, after generations of terrible struggle, the party of the proletarian revolution seized the reins of power at the head of tens of millions of workers and peasants determined upon ending capitalism. We cannot forget that every bourgeois journalist, politician, and statesman, every faint-hearted reformist, every doubtful one prophesied defeat, proclaimed the inevitable defeat and early termination of the new regime. And the defeat has not come. The dismal prophets have met with fiasco. The revolutionary proletariat, headed by the Leninist party of the proletarian revolution, has shattered their prophecies. We must not forget in the enthusiasm of the march forward with the five years' plan those tremendously heroic days when in the face of unheard of difficulties, in the teeth of armed intervention, civil war, famine, pestilence thousands upon thousands of the best of the proletariat and peasantry sacrificed their lives. To-day and to-morrow might be possible as we know them.

Not for a single moment would I suggest that to-day is not a day of struggle, that to-morrow has not its tremendous battles even greater than those of yesterday. These are as inevitable as to-morrow's sunrise. But we face them stronger than the triumphs already achieved and more sure of our victory. To those who have cleaved the first great breach in the citadel of capitalism and have paid the price which no real revolutionary will ever be afraid to pay, we give due reverence and remembrance.

Twelve Years of proletarian dictatorship! To dwell upon these and think of the vast changes that have taken place almost leaves one breathless. It seems incredible that there can be found in the ranks of the working class those who can talk with an air of despondency about them. In the short space of twelve years what? — Four years' imperialist war, — a sixth part of the earth torn out of the grasp of capitalism — the rise of the Communist International — vast colonial uprisings, harbingers of vaster upheavals of the oppressed — a great general strike in the oldest capitalist country in the world — socialist industrialisation of the Soviet Union at a rate which makes the hey days of capitalist development look child's play — the exposure of social democracy on a world scale — a vast radicalisation of the masses of all countries and the beginning of a new wave of revolution. And there are still pessimists in our ranks!

There is the war danger ever with us and ever growing. That is true. We are never permitted to forget it. We must not forget it. The stronger the forces of revolution the more precarious the position of capitalism. This we know. The more precarious the position of capitalism the more capitalism hates the Soviet Union where socialism marches forward with great strides and the more the capitalists conspire to shatter it with war. This we know. There are other factors making for war. The more the capitalists expand the forces of production at the expense of the working class the more they crash up against the limitations of the market, intensify their quarrels and march towards "settlement" with the sword. All these factors shout to us to be up and doing, to push on with the revolutionary war. But they do more than that. Every one of these factors is thundering at us the fact that the foundations of capitalism are daily becoming more precarious. It is thus the call to the forces of revolution to advance.

The defence of the Soviet Union and the fight against it

r danger must be for us that work and fight in capitalist countries not the slogans of a retreating struggle but the slogans of an advancing army. The pessimists in the land of the soviets, the doubting people who cried "go slow", have been confounded by the mighty response of the revolutionary workers in the work of industrialisation. The sceptics who thought the peasantry incapable of responding to the new era of collective, socialist agriculture have been swept on one side by the veritable avalanche of the peasantry in the direction of socialist economy. The same fate must meet the defenders of the "right tendency" in the ranks of the parties of the Comintern outside the land of the soviets.

The war danger cannot be fought by those who are overwhelmed with the idea of the strength of capitalism, or are doubtful of the speed of radicalisation of the workers or are sceptical of the competence and strength of the Communist International to lead the way in the class battles of the workers. The Soviet Union cannot be ably defended by those who carry within them the belief that war must come any way and are therefore resigned to its coming in the hope that out of the next war a new revolution will be born. The twelfth Anniversary of the November revolution proclaims to the whole world that the revolution is coming, is growing, and will grow. This is the answer to the war danger. It is the call to the parties of the International Communist advance as the leaders of the working class freed from all dependencies that hinder us in our tasks as the leaders of the proletarian revolution.

The Proletarian Revolution and the Emancipation of the Working Women.

By Moirova (Moscow).

The October Revolution has opened up to the proletariat of the Soviet Union a new life rich in content and interest. Misery, suppression, constant fear of unemployment, exploitation, complete lack of any rights — all these lie behind us and are forgotten and, to the new generation which is growing up, unknown.

The revolutionary emancipation of the proletariat required many sacrifices, and also the working woman has brought many sacrifices. The general struggle of the proletariat, however, included the struggle for equal rights of the woman in the factory, the family, in public and in the State organs. The sacrifices were not made in vain. Even the enemies of the Soviet Union do not dare to deny that the October Revolution has totally changed the position of the working woman.

Whilst in Tsarist Russia the term working woman meant something humiliating to the petty-bourgeois, whilst in this same Tsarist Russia the working woman represented only a cheap source of power for the capitalist, today the mere fact that she is a member of the working class opens up to the woman the widest possibilities of general education, of acquiring proficiency in her profession, of her being appointed to the leading positions in economy, in the administration of the country.

The new rights which women acquired through the October Revolution have enormously increased the activity of the masses of toiling women. They are now participating in the construction of the new life, in establishing socialist society.

The year 1928/1929 is especially rich in examples of this new activity of the women. The new elections to the Soviets included great new sections. 70.1 per cent. of all toiling women participated in the elections to 265 town and village Soviets.

The activity of the organised toiling women did not lag behind that of the men. 80.5 per cent. of the male trade union members and 80.5 per cent. of the women trade union members participated in the elections to 147 town Soviets. With regard to the unorganised town and rural population the election participation of the men in 121 town and rural districts amounted to 63.6 per cent., that of the women to 58 per cent.

The working and peasant women were not only present in the election meetings, they also submitted valuable proposals, which were handed over to the elected Soviets as guiding lines for their work.

The number of women members of the Soviets is growing from year to year. In the above-mentioned 121 towns the percentage of women in the Soviets has grown from 22.1 per cent. (1927)

to 29.1 per cent. (1928/1929). In order to get an idea of the importance of these figures, it may be stated, that 145,220 peasant women have been elected to 41,394 village Soviets of the R. S. F. S. R.

In spite of the complicated tasks devolving upon the chairmen of the town and village soviets, the number of women placed at the heads of the Soviets, is constantly increasing. In the Ukraine three big districts are conducted by women; in the R. S. F. S. R. women were elected as chairmen of Soviets in numerous districts. Among the chairmen of the village Soviets 7.7 per cent. are women, whilst in 1927 the percentage was only 1.1. In the Soviet East 500 women (Turcomen, Bashkiren etc.) are entrusted with the office of chairmen of village Soviets.

Still larger is the number of women occupying posts as leaders of departments for people's education, the protection of health, social insurance. Thousands of proletarian women occupy leading positions in the co-operatives and trade unions. And finally, the working woman is attracted to leading economic positions, as deputy manageresses and even manageresses of factories.

In order to promote the activity of women numerous measures have been adopted to increase their knowledge. Hundreds of proletarians are attending the so-called workers' faculties in order to continue afterwards their studies at the universities and technical high schools.

The People's Commissariat for Education has decided that the high schools must accept a certain number of working women. Maintenance grants are provided in order to ensure them a living. Further measures are adopted to guarantee that the children of these working women are accepted into the State institutions.

Although in the Soviet Union woman labour is much dearer than man's labour there is no tendency to reduce women's labour. Women receive the same wages as men, but their work requires greater expenditure, as according to the provisions of the State protection of women, the working women have two months leave of absence with full pay both before and after confinement as well as, nine months extraallowance to meet the extraexpenses incurred while suckling the child, and the payment of a lump sum for the baby's layette. In addition, every factory is obliged to establish creches for the children of working women engaged in the factory.

The Five-Year Plan provides for a further extension of women's work in all spheres of production not injurious to the health of the mother. Various measures are adopted to raise the proficiency of women. The first steps in this direction have met with great success. The woman as metal turner, filer, foreman is not a chance occurrence in the factory but a permanent phenomenon. Such a comprehensive participation of the working women in public and political life, presupposes of course, such a change in the social relations as preclude unproductive waste of time on the part of the women. It cannot yet be stated that the working woman in the Soviet Union is completely freed from all the chains of family life. Nevertheless their position cannot even be compared with that of the working woman in any "civilised" country.

On all sides efforts are being made to change the old social relations which are not in harmony with the gigantic socialist construction in the Soviet Union. The Soviet authorities, the economic organisations, the trade unions, the co-operatives, each of them are doing their share in the work of "socialising life". Children's creches, Kindergartens, laundries, dining halls are organised in the factories. Ever greater elasticity is observable in the work of satisfying the requirements of the proletarian women's masses. But the demands are growing much more rapidly than the material possibilities of their realisation. Every working woman realises that she profits much more by using her leisure to attend lectures or read books, to go to the theatre, to participate in public and trade union work than to do washing and darning, to clean the floor and to cook the dinner.

Notwithstanding a number of defects, it can be stated that in the 12th year of the October Revolution quite a new type of working woman has sprung up in the Soviet Union. The family is no more the only resort of women. Economically emancipated, materially independent of man, protected by the State as working woman and as mother, the woman in the Soviet Union is rapidly developing as a personality. Twelve years of the proletarian dictatorship have achieved enormous changes in the position of the woman. Only the working class which keeps power in its hands is capable of bringing about these changes.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Fight of the Miners in Czechoslovakia.

The Reformists as Organisers of Strikebreaking.

By Gustav Sobottka (Berlin).

On October 10, a strike of miners commenced in the Bruch-Komotau collieries in West Bohemia which deserves the attention of the workers, and especially of the miners in all countries.

For the West Bohemian mining area, a collective agreement fixes an average wage for the miners engaged on piece work of 42 crowns (a little over five shillings) per shift. But this average wage is paid in hardly any of the pits. The greater part of the miners receive 25 or 30 crowns per shift, in spite of the fact that rationalisation is being continually intensified and the output of the whole of the pits, as well as of the individual miners has greatly increased. All attempts of the miners to terminate the wage agreement concluded by the reformist unions, and thereby obtain the possibility of waging a struggle for a better wage agreement, proved futile in face of the passivity of the reformist bureaucracy.

Driven by these circumstances the miners of the "Anna" and "Andreas" pits decided to take action. They submitted to the management the demand that workers engaged on piece work be paid 44 crowns per shift, and in addition there be half an hour's pause every shift. The management of the pits in question replied to the demands by immediately dismissing a miner named Rezek, who had voiced the demands of the miners at a pit meeting and had been appointed by his workmates to submit their demands to the management. This act of provocation had as a result that the miners immediately downed tools and declared that they would not do another stroke of work before Rezek was reinstated.

The cessation of work in the "Anna" and "Andreas" pits was the signal for an outburst of the long-slumbering discontent of the miners. Under the leadership of the "Industrial Union of Miners", a red trade union, a conference, which was held on Sunday October 13, in Bartelsdorf and was attended by miners from all the collieries of the Komotau area, decided to strike for the demands of the miners.

The strike slogan of the Bartelsdorf conference spread like wildfire through the whole colliery area. Already on Monday the 14th October a great number of pits went on strike. On Tuesday they were followed by other pits in which the largest number of workers are employed. On Friday of the same week over 8000 miners, almost the whole of the Komotau coalfield, were on strike for their rightful demands. The struggle was taken up by all miners without distinction as to what political party or trade union they belonged.

The reformist trade union bureaucracy of the "Union of Miners" (the German reformist miners' union) and that of the "Svaz Horniku" (the Czech reformist miners' organisation) had up to this moment not adopted any attitude with regard to the strike.

On Friday 18th October, however, the bureaucracy of the two reformist unions issued an appeal in which they called upon their members to resume work. The strike, as is usual with the reformists, was described as a Communist election manoeuvre. This same bureaucracy called a Conference of the two unions for October 20th in Bruch. At this Conference, to which also the national-fascist miners' union "Jednota" was invited, it was decided to call off the strike officially, and the functionaries and members of the two organisations were instructed to resume work. In order to make the members less disinclined to break off the strike, it was decided at the same time to put forward some wage demands, and in the event of these not being granted to give notice on the 10th of November to terminate the wage agreement. The strike-breaking decisions were circulated in an appeal to all miners.

On the same Sunday there was held in Bruch, under the leadership of the Red "industrial union of miners", a conference of strike committees and pit delegates for the whole of the Bruch-Komotau area. Over 600 delegates were present and

it was decided to continue and extend the fight over the whole mining area.

As a result of the active black-legging role of the reformist the situation had now become quite different from what it was in the first week of the strike. A section of the workers followed the strike-breaking slogan, even if reluctantly. The professional strike-breaking elements were officially recognised by the organisations; the police and gendarmerie, encouraged by the social-fascist blacklegging, proceeded with the same persecutions against the strikers. Pickets were arrested, beaten, meetings of the strikers were broken up.

The revolutionary miners, under the leadership of the industrial union and their functionaries, exerted all their energy in order to continue the struggle. The fight was conducted against the heavily armed gendarmerie, and everything was done to keep the fascist strike-breaker bands away from the pits. In the fight against the gendarmerie the fascist trade union bureaucracy played the role of denouncers. Upon their dozens of revolutionary workers were imprisoned.

It is quite understandable that in these circumstances the miners did not succeed in extending the fight to any considerable extent. It is true, they succeeded in drawing new pits to the fight, but the State power, along with the reformist bureaucracy, succeeded in their turn in forcing other pits to resume work.

The Czech miners will draw from this fight the lesson that only the red Industrial Union of the Miners can be regarded as a fighting organisation, and that fights are possible only under its leadership and under strike committees elected by themselves, not with, but against the reformists. For the miners of other countries, however, the Czech miners' struggle has once again furnished proof that the reformists not only refrain from wage fights, not only advocate strike-breaking, but at the decisive moment organise and carry it out with the aid of the State power.

The Plumbers' Strike in Berlin Broken off.

By Paul Peschke.

Berlin, October 30th, 1933

After a ten weeks' heroic struggle, the Berlin plumbers have broken off their strike unvanquished so as to carry on the fight on other lines. The strike-meeting on October 29th, which was attended by record numbers, came to the following resolutions after a comprehensive study of all the given circumstances:

a) The strike for the recognition of the tariff agreement established by the Union of Plumbers and Plumbers' Master is to be broken off in organised manner.

b) Prior to a resumption of work, the demand is advanced in all the undertakings concerned, that all the strikers with exception be re-employed with consideration of their previous term of employment, that there be no victimisation, and that in particular, all apprentices' agreements be taken up which were interrupted or suspended. In those enterprises where these demands are not complied with and the presumptions of a continuation of the struggle obtain, the strike will be continued pending compliance with the conditions in question.

c) In enterprises in which the strike situation is untenable in view of a particularly great number of strike-breakers the measures to be adopted must form the subject of separate negotiations with the central strike committee.

d) In enterprises in which the position of the strike is particularly favourable, the struggle may be carried on for material demands on the strength of a resolution of the strike enterprise, provided the demands are such as have been put forward by the present meeting.

The objective situation rendered this resolution necessary, seeing that the attack of the plumbers on the tariff — conducted against their will by the bureaucrats of the German Workers' Union — had caused all the class-enemies of the proletariat to line up in one front. The strikers were in this place opposed by the entire authority of the State apparatus which declared the tariff to be generally binding. Then the trade-union bureaucracy with its entire apparatus of 800 pa-

ices and 1000 officials organised the breaking of the strike, thereby succeeding, in spite of the most heroic counter-measures on the part of the strikers and building workers, in mobilising some 2500 strike-breakers, mainly outsiders.

The employers were adequately supported with funds by the 'great employers' federations, since the trust capitalists had immediately recognised the great political importance and the promising effect a victory of the plumbers fighting under revolutionary leadership would have on the workers rallying to the fight in all branches of industry. In this way, the employers were enabled to hold out. When all these means failed to put an end to the strike, the State intervened by arresting the strike leaders.

Against this triple alliance of the capitalists, the State apparatus, and the trade-union bureaucrats, the strength of the relatively small group of plumbers and their assistants did not suffice to attain the purpose of establishing a tariff of their own. The plumbers have not been vanquished. They are not returning to their work defeated. Their attack, which was a skirmish of outposts on the labour front, met with the concentrated forces of the enemy and was therefore repulsed. This skirmish furnishes the working class with an instructive example of what it may expect in future fights. If this relatively small and locally restricted fight called for the concentration of all the forces of the enemy, how much greater efforts will the bourgeoisie and the Social Fascists have to make if they are to crush greater struggles in the future.

On the other hand, this instance shows the proletariat what forces the workers are in a position to raise under revolutionary leadership and how comparatively easy it should be for the working class to defeat its opponents under such leadership if it develops a concentrated frontal attack. The plumbers retire to their original positions. By their outpost skirmish they have tested the strength of the hostile front and shown the workers its strong and weak points. The strongest sector of the hostile front is that held by the Social Democratic trade-union bureaucracy. On this sector the main attack of the revolutionary workers must be concentrated. It must be beaten and its strike-breaking influence on the workers must be destroyed, if a revolutionary united front of the workers against the capitalists is to be established. Such are the important lessons taught by the heroic skirmish of the plumbers, as the shock troops of the working class.

The plumbers are neither beaten nor demoralised; they return to work undaunted and undivided with the determination to take up the fight with redoubled vigour next year for the same as they have this time only been able to put through in a small number of instances.

The Australian Working Class and the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat.

Owing to the intervention of the British and Japanese imperialist Governments, the Australian T. U. delegation arrived at Vladivostok a few days after the 2nd Pan-Pacific Conference had concluded its deliberations. Immediately upon their arrival, the three Australian delegates thoroughly acquainted themselves with the work and decisions of the Conference, and at a Plenary Session of the Secretariat, held at Vladivostok on August 26th, 1929, the Australian delegation made an official declaration in written form in which they fully approve and ratify the resolutions and decisions of the Conference.

We publish below the text of this declaration together with the resolution thereon adopted by the Secretariat. Editor.

DECLARATION BY THE AUSTRALIAN DELEGATION TO THE SECOND PAN-PACIFIC CONFERENCE.

We regret not having arrived in time to take part in the deliberations of the Conference owing to the action of the imperialistic Government of Japan refusing to give us transit through their country. We believe that their action was inspired by the Bruce Government of Australia who have joined hands with all other imperialistic Governments

in preventing the workers coming together to frame a common policy against the Imperialist offensive now operating in the Pacific against the workers in general and the U. S. S. R. in particular.

However, after many difficulties, we are now with you in Vladivostok in the land of the only free peoples, the Russian proletariat. We join in expressing our appreciation of the hospitality extended to us by our Russian comrades.

Having reviewed the resolutions adopted by the Pan-Pacific T. U. Conference, we feel that they are highly commendable and meet with our full approval. On our return to Australia we will give them our wholehearted support, and we also feel sure that the A. C. T. U. will ratify your decisions and do everything possible to carry them into effect.

We avail ourselves of this opportunity of conveying to you and the Delegates to the Conference, the fraternal greetings of the workers of Australia.

(Signed):

Fred Roels, F. Walsh, P. Geo. Hannett.

The Secretariat then unanimously adopted the following Resolution:

1. The P. P. T. U. S. greets the Declaration of the Australian delegation, in which they solidarize themselves with the Decisions of our Second Conference.
2. The P. P. T. U. S. decides to include the Declaration, as well as the written report of the Delegation, in the Proceedings of the Conference.
3. Pending the final selection by the A. C. T. U. of its two representatives on the Secretariat, the Delegation present is invited to serve in that capacity.

AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

The Meerut Trial and the Indian Workers.

By Clemens Dutt.

The hope of British imperialism that the trial of the leaders of the Indian militant working class movement now proceeding at Meerut would spread confusion and terror among the rebellious Indian workers shows no sign of being realised.

The Preliminary Enquiry, now in its eighth month, still drags on interminably while the prosecution brings forward its innumerable police spies with reports of public meetings and intercepted letters. Among the two thousand documents are two hundred speeches said to have been delivered during the strike of the Girni Kamgar (Red Flag) textile union in Bombay. There is no pretence of proving acts of violence or conspiracy to plan insurrection. Leadership in the strike movement, speeches advocating class struggle are considered sufficient.

The Public Prosecutor, Mr. Langford James, relies on the crudest methods to prove his case. The Workers' and Peasants' Party proclaims that it is out to destroy imperialism. But is not the head of the imperialistic British Government his Majesty the King-Emperor? Before the Soviet regime was established in Russia did not they get rid of their king? These are the actual questions put to witnesses by Mr. Langford James.

Meanwhile, it is hoped to break the spirit of the prisoners by cruel treatment and petty tyrannies. Not only do they have to undergo the usual gross hardships of under-trial prisoners in the fever infested Meerut jail, but those who have fallen ill get inadequate medical assistance. One of the prisoners, Muzaffar Ahmad, is dying of consumption, but the authorities refuse to release him on bail or even allow him to be examined by a Calcutta doctor.

A glaring example of the interference with the defence that goes on was the recent arrest of one of the assistants of the defence counsel, who is to be charged with criminal trespass because he entered the court premises after the session was ended but while the prisoners and their counsel were still being detained there. This arbitrary action was taken by the Complainant in the case who happens also to be the lessee of the Court premises, and a petition of the prisoners to have the

case removed to another Court on this ground was rejected by the magistrate.

The only result achieved by the Prosecution so far is to make known throughout India the cause for which the prisoners are fighting and to popularise the slogans of militant class struggle. Their cries of "Down with British imperialism" and "Long live the Indian revolution" have been taken up by demonstrators in all parts of India and have replaced everywhere the old cries of "Mahatma Gandhi Kijai" etc.

The cynical defence of its action put forward by the Labour Government through the mouth of the Under Secretary of State for India, Dr. Drummond Shiels, at the British Labour Party Conference, has been received in India with derisive scorn. Mr. Shiels acknowledged the responsibility of the Labour Government for the conduct of the Meerut case, but he claimed that they were not being tried merely because they were trade union leaders. He said the Government would support "genuine" trade unionism in India, and he boasted that the policy of the India Office was in the interests of "the uninformed, humble people of India". The Calcutta Congress paper "Liberty" comments that this speech "could not have been improved upon even by Lord Birkenhead".

In spite of the ferocious tide of persecution, the Indian working class movement refuses to be subdued. In Meerut itself, the mass demonstrations outside the Court in support of the prisoners have led the authorities to prohibit the assembly of more than five persons together.

The most ferocious attacks have been launched against the Girni Kamgar Union in Bombay. The recently issued reports of the Riots Enquiry Committee (appointed to enquire into the communal riots in Bombay last February) and of the Strike Enquiry Committee (appointed under the Trades Disputes Act to enquire into the causes of the general strike in the textile industry this year) both reveal themselves as representing nothing more than a method of attacking the Girni Kamgar Union. The Riots Enquiry Report even suggests that steps should be taken to prevent "Communists" from occupying leading positions in Indian trade unions. These Reports foreshadow an attempt to declare the Girni Kamgar Union an illegal organisation.

Under the combined attack of the textile capitalists and the British rulers, with the use of unlimited strike-breaking tactics, prohibition of picketing and organised violence, the Girni Kamgar Union has been compelled to call off the textile strike unconditionally, which accordingly came to an end in October. Nevertheless, the Union is still firmly established, based as it is on the mill committees organised by the workers in the mills themselves. The textile workers have been starved into surrender for the moment, but their class spirit is unbroken.

New strikes are breaking out in other parts of the country. The tinplate workers of the Taka Company at Jamshedpur are still on strike as solidly as ever, and the strike of the oil and petrol workers in Calcutta has now lasted over two months. These workers demand recognition of their union and a substantial increase in wages. The company has offered an insignificant wage increase which has been rejected by the men. In Karachi, recently, the dock workers came out on strike and boldly resisted the attempt to use strike-breakers against them. As usual, the authorities quickly had recourse to armed police and savagely attacked the strikers. Many smaller strikes are taking place in various centres, and it is clear that the ferment of industrial uprest is by no means subsiding.

The movement to boycott the Whitley Royal Commission on Indian Labour, which arrived in India on October 11, has been growing in strength. While the active leaders of the working class movement are in jail at Meerut, and workers on strike are being crushed by repressive legislation and police terrorism, it is impossible even for the reformist elements to regard the Commission as having come to assist Indian Labour. The Meerut trial is the predominating issue which is causing important sections of the trade union movement to decide to boycott the Commission. The Provincial Trade Union Federation of the United Provinces, at a conference last September at which 6,000 people were present, passed a resolution deciding to boycott the Commission

"in view of the fact that the Whitley Commission was appointed at a time when the Meerut case was going on against a number of labour leaders and has not been withdrawn by the Government in spite of the repeated requests of the workers."

A number of other labour organisations, such as the Workers' and Peasants' Party, the Girni Kamgar Union, the Indian Peninsula Railway Union, the Barabazar Labour Union, the Bombay Port Trust Employees Union, the Bombay Railwaymen's Union, etc. have decided to have nothing to do with the Commission.

The British "Manchester Guardian" in a leading article last August frankly exposed the real purpose of the Whitley Commission. It declared:

"Experience of the past two years has shown that industrial workers in the biggest centres are becoming malleable material in the hands of unscrupulous Communist organisers, and this is one of the circumstances which give such importance to the recently appointed Commission on Indian Labour."

British imperialism, acting through the agency of the British Labour Government, is straining and striving to exorcise the Communist spectre. But do what it will, its measures fail of their intended effect. The Indian working class is advancing under heavy fire; but precisely the fact of its advance under those conditions makes it impossible to be stopped. The Indian revolution is gathering strength.

MacDonald's Gallows and Knout in Palestine.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

"... From here you will be taken back to prison and then to the place where you will be hanged by the neck until you are dead. The High Commissioner will decide where you shall be buried. And God have mercy on your soul." Such is the sentence passed in the name of the humane-socialist-pacifist-democratic-progressive MacDonald Government upon three poor Arab peasants, who were accused of taking part in the disturbances of Safed. It is the first sentence of a great number, for only a small portion of the trials have so far been concluded and already assurance is given — in view of the rising tide of Arab emigration — that no protest will prevent British "justice" from continuing in Palestine as many gallows as possible.

But there is something peculiar about this "justice", namely the numerous armoured cars, aircraft squadrons and demountables, which are maintaining order in the country, the police are the people, whom the whole of public opinion in Palestine regard as solely to blame for the bloodshed. The accusers are the British officers, who during the pogrom told the Jews they would be at hand "two minutes after they had been slaughtered. And the witnesses are people whom the Zionist Fascists have persuaded that the poor fellahin in the dock are solely responsible for the whole disaster. As a matter of fact, it is a question of brutal, imperialist vengeance: MacDonald's emissaries wish to hide their own guilt and their own disgraceful acts behind a forest of gallows with poor Arab peasants hanging on them.

In view of the beginning of the bloody settlement of the slowly dawning on the Arab masses who their real enemy. They are beginning to understand how dastardly their leaders lied to them when they told them: "El Dola Maana" (the government is with us) and incited them against the Jews. Gradually they are beginning to see through the game that has been played on them, and in similar measure the hatred of the masses against imperialism is intensified. The leaders, who have long wished that the movement would die down, cannot help but take a step or other under the pressure of the masses; it is true that they tried to water down with semi-religious slogans the general strike, in which a hundred thousand participated on October 10th; it is true that they took great care that the masses should not make a direct attack upon imperialism on that momentous day; it is true that in regard to the imperialistic parliamentary commission they displayed a pitiable irresolution — but it is clear that the mass movement is taking on a distinctly anti-imperialistic character. What the conservative Baldwin Government was not able to accomplish in five years has been achieved scarcely two months by MacDonald's gallows and knout.

It is no wonder that the excitement is continually growing, that in various corners of the country protest strikes and demonstrations are breaking out spontaneously. No wonder that every Arab peasant, every worker is trying to sell whatever he has in order to buy arms. No wonder that the national movement is spreading to wider and wider circles and extending to neighbouring countries.

No wonder that the slogans issued at the beginning by the Communist Party are now being echoed louder and louder. The Arab executive committee, in which the bourgeois-feudal majority is in favour of co-operation with the commission, is inundated with telegrams demanding the boycott of the commission. The treachery of the executive committee, its transition from the policy of non-co-operation to co-operation with the government (a treachery, which the Communist Party was the first to discover and stigmatise) is now being gradually recognised and criticised even by enthusiastic supporters of the committee. The workers also understand now how necessary it is to organise for a political fight (not only for an economic fight), and the activity of the workers on their own initiative is increasing day by day.

As regards the peasantry, for whom the C. P. issued the slogan: Take the land away from the big landowners and rich Zionists; do not pay any contributions; fight to the last against imperialism — the embitterment among them against the government is growing, and the attempts of the leaders to divert them with religious-national agitation is already meeting with some resistance.

It should also be mentioned that a number of directives, which up to the present have been used exclusively by the Communist Party, are also being used by the Zionist workers. For instance, the leading writer of the trade-union paper "Davar" must now admit that Zionism has only strengthened Arab reaction, but has brought nothing but suffering to the Arabs, peasants and students; Other leading Zionists demand — under the pressure of the "transmutation of values" among the Jewish masses — concessions to the Arab parliamentary demand, support of the movement for freedom in other Arab countries, renunciation of the Balfour declaration, etc.

It will be seen that the preliminary conditions for a regrouping of the relations of social forces, for the leading role of the workers and of the C. P. in the approaching stage of the anti-imperialist fight are to hand. But this is, however, understood only too well by the colonial hangmen of MacDonald. Particularly because the actual state of affairs clearly confirms the Communist prognosis, because the radicalisation of the masses threatens in consequence of the events of the insurrection to develop more rapidly than ever, the Communist Party must first of all be wiped out! MacDonald's police are working in concert with the local section of the II. International; this body (reinforced by the ruffians from the so-called Left Poale-Zion Party) is attending to the social agitation, the economic boycott of the Communists, their exclusion from the trade unions. The police and justice "then complete" the work with mass arrests and mass deportations.

Never before has the persecution of the revolutionary Labour movement in Palestine been so intense. Never has the effort to destroy completely the movement, which represents the interests of the working Jewish and Arab masses, been so plain as during the MacDonald-Henderson-Passfield epoch.

Again, the prison regime in Palestine, with its methods of inquisition, maltreatment and floggings reminiscent of the Middle Ages, has not changed one iota under MacDonald. Indeed, the brutalities practised on the political prisoners have, on the contrary, become worse than ever and have forced more than forty workers, interned in various prisons (chiefly in Jerusalem, Akko and Haifa) to go on hunger strike. Although the demands made are the most elementary: political regime, acceleration of trials — they are still cynically refused.

Gallows, the knout, prison, torture of workers, murder and bloodshed are the methods of the British "Labour" Government, that bright ornament of the II. International, which is compelling the Palestine working masses to fight against it, to take part in a fight which is bound to gain sympathy and support from the proletarian masses of Great Britain itself and of other capitalist countries.

The treatment of India, Asia, and the subject races of Africa by British Labour when in power, will be the acid test whereby history will judge us as a Democracy. Our mission is to prove to the world that without a catastrophic upheaval it is possible by fair dealing, by treating each other as equals, to transform an Imperialist Empire into a Commonwealth of Free Nations.

Georg Lansbury, in his Presidential Address to the Labour Party Conference, Birmingham, October 1st, 1929.

Statement of the Arab Secretariat of the League Against Imperialism.

In connection with the last Congress of the League at Frankfurt and with its attitude during the last troubles in Palestine, many statements and remarks were published in the press which are not correct. We, therefore, have decided to publish the following statement:

1. The League Against Imperialism is not a "communist branch" or an "agency of the Communist International". The truth is that the League Against Imperialism comprises anti-imperialist elements aiming at the national and social liberation of the nations, without distinction of party, be they socialists, communists, pacifists, syndicalists, national-revolutionaries or belong to no party at all.

2. The attitude of the League towards the Arab countries in general, and Palestine as part of them in particular, was clearly defined during the Frankfurt-Congress of the League. This attitude rejects any national or religious chauvinism and insists upon safeguarding the rights of every national or religious community, and is, in consequence, strictly opposed to the excitation of national and religious hatred, condemning every kind of national or religious collision. The masses of workers, peasants and intellectuals of many nations represented in the League think, however, that the right to national independence being an elementary right of the inhabitants of Palestine and Transjordan cannot be denied to them, — as it cannot be refused to India, Egypt, Syria or China. Thus, the principal demand of the League is: **establishment of an independent union of Arab republics composed of all countries where the majority of the population are Arabs, — abolishment of all imperialist mandates or protectorates over those countries.**

3. It is an error to assume that the League — or the extremist Arab national-revolutionaries participating in it — are opposed to Zionism because it has introduced (as the Zionists argue) culture into the country, has built colonies, schools etc. The aims of the League are as far from any reactionary attitude, from any opposition to progress, as they are from any justification of feudal oppression or exploitation of the working class by a rich minority.

The cause of the League's struggle against Zionism is the fact that Zionism is the instrument by which the justified demand of the Arab masses for independence is rejected, the Balfour Declaration being the base of the British Mandate which is contrary to the principle of "self-determination" of the country's inhabitants. A further cause is, that Zionism, while adding to the wealth of a small section of the native population, i. e. the big landlords who are selling their plots to the Zionists for millions of pounds, destroys completely the economic position of the great majority of the native population, especially of the Fellahs who are driven from the soil which they owned for generations. Another cause is that Zionism created an abyss between the Jewish and the Arab workers, founding a national Jewish labour association (where no Arab worker is admitted as member with equal rights) which asks for "Jewish labour to 100%"; the cause is, finally, that through the activities of Zionism, which is closely connected with the British mandate, the economic, social and cultural progress of the country is hindered, while the national antagonism created by a declaration which promised the establishment of a national home for one nation in a country already occupied by another without consulting its inhabitants, but by application of an outside force, is fatal to the peace of the country and shakes the stability of its development.

The League therefore considers the struggle against imperialism as inseparable from the struggle against Zionism, and sees a possibility of an alliance between the Jewish and the Arab masses only on the base of this common struggle.

4. At the same time the League rejects the point of view according to which an abolishment of the Balfour Declaration is possible while the mandate and British imperialism remain. Only the full independence of the country within an independent union of Arab countries is the aim of the League. "Palestine

for the Palestinians", "The Arab countries for the Arabs" are the slogans.

5. **Hamdi effendi Hussein**, the League's Secretary for the Arab countries, was arrested by the authorities on August 27, because of his courageous opposition to national and religious strife, when the national and religious excitement reached their culmination; he proclaimed the necessity to employ all power for the struggle for full independence of the country. This was emphasized also in the mass meetings of the League abroad and in its publications. Thus it was proved clearly that the League has nothing in common with any reactionary movement.

6. The League believes that every honest inhabitant of Palestine — Arab or Jew — who is truly against imperialism and imperialist methods, and who wants peace and fraternity between the toiling masses of the two nations, who supports development and progress in this country — must agree with the programme of the League and join its ranks.

Jaffa, October 15th 1929.

The Movement for Independence of the Philippines from U. S. Imperialism.

By Harry G a n n e s (Chicago).

Soon there will come to Washington another Independence Commission from the Philippine Islands. Since United States imperialism established its rule in the Philippines this has been a regular gesture on the part of the petty bourgeois politicians in the islands. The present Commission is headed by **Quezon**.

The masses of the Philippine people want independence from American imperialism. One of the main requisites for the success of a politician is that he espouse the cause of freedom from American capitalism. Both major political parties declare in their programme that they "demand immediate, absolute and complete independence" from the United States.

At first the fight on the part of the petty bourgeois politicians had a certain militancy about it. However, in recent years the Philippine political leaders have openly betrayed the independence movement. When Governor-General **Wood** became master of the islands on behalf of Wall Street, he overlooked the necessity of completely winning over these politicians in order to mislead the masses. As a result, they half-heartedly resisted his encroachments. They appealed to **President Coolidge** against **Wood's** domination. But **Coolidge** very politely informed Senator **Roxas** that General **Wood's** policy had the sanction of the United States government.

Wood was followed by **Col. Stimson**, now Secretary of State, under **Hoover**. **Stimson** was given the job as Governor-General of the Philippines because of his success in bribing **Moncada** in Nicaragua and for his work in the defeat of the revolutionary **Sandino** movement. The Filipino politicians hailed **Stimson** as a conquering hero and promised him full cooperation.

Stimson made a speech forecasting his policy. It was an open imperialist declaration: more United States capital to be invested in the Philippines; greater economic development by Wall Street; no independence; permanent U. S. retention of the Islands, and a continuation of General **Wood's** policy of political and economic domination, but with one difference, the native petty bourgeois politicians would be drawn into active co-operation; they would be treated as advisers in the exploitation of the masses. This was swallowed whole-heartedly by **Quezon**, **Roxas**, **Osmena**, etc. Only one voice was raised in opposition, that of the Filipino representative in the United States House of Representatives, **Gabalton**. In a final speech in Congress, **Gabalton** protested mildly against further United States imperialist encroachment and insisted on the right of the Filipino bourgeoisie to exploit their own masses. He did not object to American imperialism's continued investments, but he did think that Washington ought to grant the Philippines independence as solemnly promised by the United States in the Jones Law. When **Gabalton** returned

for election as a Senator, his own party betrayed him for daring to raise his voice against the conciliationist policy of the leading politicians.

United States imperialism, with the aid of the leaders of the "independence" movement, is riveting its hold on these important outposts in the Pacific. The Philippines, the largest of the United States colonies, is the spearhead of Wall Street penetration into the British and Japanese markets in the orient.

These large, straggling islands, 700 miles from the coast of China, bring right to the door of Japanese and British imperialism 700,685 square miles of United States territory with a population of eleven million people. In American war preparations, the Philippines occupy a prominent place. The fortification of the Philippines is second in importance to the militarisation of the Panama area.

Ninety per cent of the population is agricultural. Sugar farms prevail. The land laws limit estates to 2,500 acres. American rubber trusts are now forcing a change in the land laws to permit them to acquire millions of acres for rubber growing purposes, and in this they will get the support of the politicians. Governor-General **Davis**, who succeeds **Stimson**, is assured of cooperation in the interest of American capitalism.

Industry is mainly American controlled. Trade with the Philippines grows by leaps and bounds. The lack of tariff barriers between the two countries favours commerce, and the Philippine bourgeoisie whenever it surreptitiously mentions independence is threatened with an imposition of tariff restrictions.

The only serious independence movement can come from the working and peasant masses who have consistently fought against United States imperialism.

HANDS OFF THE SOVIET UNION

A New Threat to the Soviet Union.

Danzig as a Naval Base in the Anti-Soviet War.

By A.

Two reports, which have "chanced" to appear in the press at the same time, should receive due attention from the international working class, and before all from the proletarians of Germany and Poland, as they signalise the war danger threatening the Soviet Union. While the seat of the German Naval Command is being transferred from **Wilhelmshaven** to **Kiel**, Polish imperialism is proceeding to complete the strategic occupation of the mouth of the **Vistula** lying in the area of the "free state" of **Danzig**.

Ever since it was founded the Polish State has been regarded as occupying the position of an outpost of the anti-Soviet front. Its political, financial and military support accorded Poland, at first by France, and later particularly by England, was in pursuance of the aim of systematically equipping Poland as the centre of the Baltic bloc of vassal states of imperialism against the Soviet Union.

Poland's expenditure for military purposes accounted in 1929 for 41.3 per cent. of the total budget! The regular army, which, it is true, is faced with the danger of disintegration through unbridgeable national and class antagonisms, nevertheless, so far as its equipment is concerned, leaves nothing to be desired. It has increased from 265,000 men in 1927 to 300,000 at the present time. In addition there are the military fascist and social-fascist (P. P. S. and B. B. S.) associations with 1,300,000 trained and mobilisable members. Poland can, therefore, immediately after mobilisation place 1,000,000 men in the field. Poland possesses all over 60 tanks, 16 armoured trains and 1500 to 1,600 aeroplanes, and is capable of turning out in its own works 40 aeroplanes a month. The aerodromes are situated in the neighbourhood of the Soviet Russian frontier. **Pilsudski's** naval programme envisages the construction of three cruisers, six light and twelve squadron mine-layers, twelve submarines and thirty smaller mine-layers. **Danzig** and **Gdynia** are to be the base of the fleet.

In the preparations for the crusade against the Soviet Union very important and prominent part is to be played by the se state of Danzig. When, by the Paris treaty of 1921, Poland as entrusted with the "protection of Danzig in the event of ar", it meant in other words that she was charged with the nstruction of the Baltic point of support of the anti-Soviet ont. After Danzig had been roped in and the railways delivered er to Poland a halt was not made with the guaranteeing of cess to the Baltic. Simultaneously with the building of armoured isers by the Müller-Hilferding Government in Germany and e enormously increased armaments of Pilsudski, the Wster- atte, by a treaty concluded by the Danzig coalition Senate, as delivered over, extended and developed in order to serve an unloading, storage and despatching centre for munitions r Poland coming from England and France. The Polish fleet as given the free right to use the harbour at any time. anzig is thereby finally destined to be a naval base for all oops engaged in fighting against the Soviet Union.

The imperialists have thus fixed on Danzig as the basis of their war operations against the Soviet Union. At the same time, owever, they also reckon that the German bourgeoisie and the armoured cruiser democracy will raise no objection to the pas- age of anti-Soviet troops through German territory. The ex- periences of 1921, when the Danzig workers carried out in practice the slogan of "Hands off Soviet Russia!" by placing an mbargo on the transport of arms and munitions for Pilsu- ski, ave induced the warmongers to secure another military port in ddition to Danzig. Thus the Frankfurter Zeitung of 25th Oc- tober last wrote:

"Transport via Gdynia is to be kept in view as the relatively (!) safest way, which in the given case could proceed under the protection of light cruisers and submarines."

These open war measures on the part of the imperialists were sealed this spring by the appointment of the notorious Chief of the General Staff of the anti-Soviet armies, Le Rond, o the position of General Director of the Danzig dock. Danzig as thereby become not only the centre of the gigantic espionage apparatus, but also the residence of the military commander of he anti-Soviet forces.

The measures which in part are planned and in part have een already carried out are intended to complete the militarisa- ion of Danzig. The whole of the lower region of the Vistula is o be developed into a gigantic land and naval fortress. The outh of the Vistula is to be occupied by Poland. By means of dredging operations the Vistula is to be rendered navigable or warships as far as Dirschau, at which place a new Polish military port is to be built.

The Polish social imperialists, who are the most fierce and bitter enemies of the Workers' and Peasants' State, will welcome these new war measures.

In the carrying out of the policy of "Western orientation", i. e. of joining the imperialist holy alliance against Communism, the German armoured-cruiser "socialists" will increase s'ill further their incitement and active war preparations against the masses of the Workers' and Peasants' State who are success- fully carrying out the task of building up Socialism.

The Danzig social fascists, in their role of "barrier against Bolshevism", will continue to do everything in order to support the preparations for the crusade against the Soviet Union. The more pressingly urgent, therefore, becomes the duty of the inter- national working class to stay the arm of Le Rond, Pilsudski, Müller and the Danzig social fascists and to thwart their pernicious plans.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party the proletariat will do everything in order to prevent the attack on the Soviet Union.

Active revolutionary war against the warmongers — the bourgeoisie and the social-fascists!

Conversion of imperialist war into civil war!

THE WHITE TERROR

The Martyr Death of Alexander Löwy.

By Weltner.

The hunger-strike in the Horthy prisons was carried on for a week. For a week hundreds of Communist prisoners were subjected to the most diabolical torture in order to compel them to abandon the hunger strike.

All in vain!

The Hungarian Communists, who had already often furnished heroic examples of contempt of death, on this occasion, too, bore themselves bravely in face of all the cruelties of the Bethlen jailers. Then the class rule of the hangmen played its last card. It proceeded deliberately to murder the strike leaders in order to strike fear into the hearts of the Communists.

Alexander Löwy, the heroic leader of the Hungarian Young Communist League, was murdered in the most bestial manner in the Vacz prison under the pretext of being "artificially fed".

They thought that they would thereby intimidate the Communists; but they made a great mistake, for the Communists, as soon as they heard the news of this shameful act of murder, continued the fight with increased zeal and firmness and with still greater endurance.

Our Comrade Löwy fell in this battle. Fighting up to his last breath, in the same way as he had devoted the whole of his valuable young life to the fight against the bourgeoisie.

He came from a poor petty bourgeois family. He lost his mother at an early age; his father, a religious man, attempted with the most brutal means to bring him up in a conservative religious spirit. The bright youngster, who had passed through the difficult and painful years of the war and the revolution, soon revolted against the paternal yoke. At the age of 12 years he left his father's house, became an apprentice in a leather business and commenced the hard life of a proletarian child. He soon came to Kaschau, where he changed his occupation and worked in a bakery. Here the storm of the revolution reached the clever, enthusiastic child, who had already become practically acquainted with the cruel lash of capital. Although yet little more than a child, he took up with unbounded enthusiasm the revolutionary Communist ideas, which found in him a fruitful soil. He was one of those few who after the overthrow of the proletarian dictatorship remained faithful to their convictions with undiminished enthusiasm. He was not yet 16 years old when he was imprisoned as one of the chief accused in connection with the Iglau putsch. In prison he was one of the most courageous; during the hunger strike the heroic youth struck for 12 days along with his adult fellow-prisoners. On his release from prison, he worked unweariedly as the district secretary of the Youth League until the end of 1925, when the Czech bourgeoisie again sentenced him to 6 months' imprisonment. He fled from the country.

He studied for a few months in Berlin, then in Vienna, and after passing through the foreign agitators school of the C. P. of Hungary became one of the most gifted and best educated members of the Communist Youth. He then voluntarily applied for work in the illegal C. P. of Hungary. He proceeded illegally to Budapest, took up the threads which had been dropped on the arrest of Rakosi and Weinberger, and organised within the confines of the Hungarian Socialist Labour Party a big legal mass movement of the young workers. He laid the foundation for the illegal Young Communist League and extended the organisation of the Young Communist League of Hungary. As secretary of this League he was arrested in 1927 along with Comrade Zoltán Szántó.

At the police headquarters he displayed an unshakable disregard of death; as a true bolshevik leader he did not betray a word with regard to his fellow-workers or the organisations of the C. P. of Hungary, in spite of bloody tortures which were continued for three nights.

The behaviour of our Comrade Alexander Löwy, this courageous young revolutionary before the bourgeois police and

bourgeois judges will for ever serve the Communists as a shining example.

He was sentenced to 3½ years' imprisonment. In prison he devoted every free minute to study. He prepared himself in order immediately after his release to take his place again in the fight against the class enemy, whom he fanatically hated in a way only those great revolutionaries who love their class more than their own lives know how to hate. In prison Löwy was among the first who fought for human treatment.

Thus he took part in the present hunger strike, in which he distinguished himself by his heroic courage. For this reason the jailers vented their rage first on him. For this reason they put an end to his valuable young life. But our Comrade Löwy has not died in vain, for his spirit lives on in the continued action of the proletariat.

The Young Communist League of Hungary and the Communist Party of Hungary lower their draped red banner before their great dead — the memory of the militant life and work of this exemplary Communist is enshrined not only in the great heart of the Party but also in that of the whole working class.

The Bethlen system, based on the brotherly union of the fascist robbers, big capital and the social traitors, is able to secure its rule for yet a while by bloodily crushing the ever-growing Communist movement. But the miserable bourgeoisie is deceiving itself. For the Communist movement in Hungary can no longer be stifled, no matter how many comrades the bourgeoisie imprisons and murders. This movement is marching uninterruptedly forwards; it is growing; it is developing in order to realise the second, the glorious and unvanquishable proletarian dictatorship.

It was in this fight that our Comrade Löwy fell.

The hunger strike is only an episode — a heroic episode — in this fight.

The heroic action of our Communist Comrades will serve to sustain the Hungarian proletariat, the proletariat of the whole world until it attains final victory.

The workers of Hungary and of the whole world will prevent the Hungarian bourgeoisie from murdering still further victims after our heroic and beloved martyr Alexander Löwy.

Verdict of the Labour Jury in Gastonia Class War Case.

The following report of the Verdict of the working-class jury, elected at the Cleveland Convention of the Trade Union Unity League to examine and make its pronouncement on the Gastonia case from the workers' standpoint, is taken from the "Daily Worker" of October 22nd, last.

We, the labour jury, find the defendants not guilty of conspiracy to commit murder, as charged by the state. We find that the seven defendants and other members of the union residing in the tent colony at Gastonia on the night of June 7 fulfilled their duty to the working class by defending themselves against the murderous attack of the tools of mill owners, Chief of Police Aderholt and his associated thugs and gunmen.

We find, on the other hand, that the governor of North Carolina, C. Max Gardner, himself a mill owner and exploiter of men, women and children, is the leading figure in a conspiracy to destroy, through legal terror and fascist violence, every attempt of the working class to create a militant organisation to fight against the horrible conditions prevailing in the newly industrialised South. We find that Gardner, using the whole power of the state as a tool of the mill bosses to keep the workers enslaved, has as his principal associates in the conspiracy legally to lynch the active leaders of the strike or to shut them up in prison where they would rot away their lives, such people as Judge M. V. Barnhill, Solicitor Carpenter, Claude Hoey and a horde of special lawyers of the Manville-Jenckes corporation, Carpenter, the prosecuting attorney, alternately appeared during the long conflict in and around Gastonia, in the role of fascist gang leader and prosecutor.

In finding Governor Gardner, Judge Barnhill, Solicitor Carpenter, the Manville-Jenckes Company, in short the entire class of mill owners and their state officials and legal flunkies guilty, we indict the whole capitalist class and will pillory them before the working class throughout the United States and the entire world.

One of the principal illusions of the legal system in the United States is that every man is entitled to a trial by a jury of his peers. If our brothers who faced trial in Charlotte had been tried by a jury of their peers it would have been a labour jury, a jury of workers who understood the nature of the struggle and of labour's struggle in general. It is the purpose of the state in such cases not to secure a jury of peers of defendants but to secure a mercenary, servile jury that will convict regardless of the evidence presented. From the first day of our arrest we were subjected to all sorts of threats and a veritable campaign of incitement to lynching launched by the mill owners' press. The composition of the jury itself was a smashing blow against race prejudices that the employing class of the South tried to foster in order to keep Negro and white workers divided in two camps, thereby striving to prevent their united class action against industrial slavery. There were two Negroes on the jury and as soon as we entered the court room the court attempted to divide the jury by forcing the Negro members to sit in the "jim crow" gallery. But we refused to be divided and so the whole jury was "jim crowsed".

The Gastonia case was one of class against class. The fight must and will continue, not only until these workers are all free, but the workers must wage a direct fight against the whole system of capitalist exploitation and tyranny until the time comes that, instead of the workers appearing in capitalist court before the Barnhills and their ilk, the situation will be reversed and the mill owners, the Gardners, the Carpenters and the whole array of conspirators to murder and enslave the working class will appear before working class tribunals to answer for their crimes against us.

Hubert Carroll
Ida Simons
Daisy MacDonald
E. P. Cush, Foreman
Wes Williams
Charles Summey
Taylor Shytle
Charles Frank
Joe Golden
Sol Harper
Leo Hoffbauer
Henry Buckley.

THE BALKANS

The Position in Yugoslavia and the C. P.

By B. Boshkovitch.

Both economically and politically, all symptoms point towards the entrance of Yugoslavia into a period of great convulsions, a period of mass movements on the part of the proletariat, the peasantry, and the oppressed nationalities against the military-Fascist dictatorship. The situation in Yugoslavia fully and wholly confirms the prognosis of the 10th Plenum of the E. C. C. I., which established the fact of a growing development of the revolutionary movement.

The most important measure for a "restoration" of economy was to have consisted in a great foreign loan. But the foreign bankers did not support the Government of General Zivkovich. The failure of a foreign loan is forcing the Belgrade dictators to increase the State budget and to impose new taxes which only tend to aggravate the crisis.

The proclamation of Yugoslavia in the place of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes and the division of the

try into ten banovinas have, far from solving the national question, only tended to accentuate the political crisis. The ed of the Macedonian, Croatia, Bosnian, Albanian, and stenegrin masses for the hegemony of the Great-Serbs was so violent before. The Yugoslavian State threatens to break at any moment.

The serious economic, financial, and political crisis cannot be consolidated in the international position of Fascist Yugoslavia. By means of secret military treaties with Roumania and Czechoslovakia and a close military alliance with Poland, General Zivkovitch has endeavoured to strengthen the international position of his country. But even thus the murderous band of dictators could not succeed in procuring a foreign loan.

The hopeless position of the military-Fascist dictators causes them on the one hand to increase their barbaric regime of terror and on the other hand to seek salvation in military adventures. They now constitute one of the main factors making war in Europe. King Alexander publicly received General Repov, head of the White Guards. A troop of Wrangel's remnants, expelled from Brussels, have been welcomed at grade.

In view of the growing difficulties and contradictions of Fascist stabilisation, the radicalisation of the masses is assuming most revolutionary forms. This transition is reflected in a number of strikes, most of which were brought about by wage disputes. In some of the factories, the workers struck out of solidarity with their discharged comrades. This strike wave was also carried with it masses of unorganised workers, hitherto outside the actual class struggle. The strikes of August 1st at **ajevo** and **Drvar** speak of the coming change of the struggle from an economic to a political basis.

The profound revolutionary fermentation among the working masses of the peasantry has also extended to the rural districts of Yugoslavia as is proved by the demonstrations and armed resistance of Serbian peasants to the police in connection with the payment of taxes, by the demands of the peasantry in Dalmatia to be released from usurious indebtedness, by the peasant agitation in Slovenia for the new distribution of the forest-land, by the increase of the partisan troops in Croatia, and by the searches and arrests made in the villages on account of the distribution of illegal propaganda matter of the C. P. of Yugoslavia before the 1st of May and the 1st of August, respectively. The military-Fascist dictators attempt in vain to suppress this movement by means of severe reprisals. Their terrorism only serves to accelerate the process of a growing revolutionary situation.

The growth of this situation is also manifested by the materially increased influence of the C. P. of Yugoslavia on the working masses, regardless of the terrorism experienced day by day in the most violent form.

At the end of October, the enlarged Plenum of the C. C. of the C. P. of Yugoslavia met to analyse the changes in the political and economic situation of the country during the last 12 months and to formulate the tasks of the Party accordingly. Establishing the fact of the growing revolutionary development, the Plenum declared the foremost task to be that of a political mobilisation of the proletariat, the peasantry, the suppressed nationalities, and the poor of the cities and their organisation by our united-front organs for a revolutionary overthrow of the military-Fascist dictatorship. The Plenum pointed out that the presumption for the realisation of this task lay in gaining the majority of the working class, in the consolidation of proletarian hegemony and of the leadership of the C. P. Y. in the revolutionary peasant movement and the movement of national emancipation.

The Plenum fully approved all the resolutions of the 10th C. C. I. plenum and recognised the necessity of purging the Party of all opportunist renegades and other liquidationary elements, especially from the Right. Therefore, the Plenum proceeded to expel from the Party a comrade who was the main representative of all liquidationary and opportunist elements and also of those comrades who had negotiated with organs of the Government as to the re-opening of the independent trade unions. Furthermore, the Plenum confronted the conciliators with an ultimatum, calling upon them to join the Party in a decided and relentless action against the Right, in default of which the Party would be obliged to raise the question of their further membership of the C. P. of Yugoslavia.

At the present time, a time of growing revolutionary development, when the Party is faced with the prospect of an armed rising of the workers and peasants, it must fight strenuously against the Right deviations. Therefore the Party is determined to carry on to the finish its struggle against the danger threatening it from the Right.

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

Siberia's New Ocean Harbour.

By Otto Heller.

The Kara expedition, which has carried out regular journeys with icebreakers and steamships to the mouths of the rivers Ob, and Yenisei, was successfully concluded in the middle of October. The expeditions formerly bore a certain experimental character, but the great expedition this year bore all the marks of a regular shipping undertaking with a fixed time-table and all those arrangements which characterise normal shipping. The century old idea of reaching the North Coast of Asia from Europe by the Sea has now been carried out after innumerable attempts, heavy sacrifices and numerous successes. Siberia, which was termed by Nansen in 1913 as the mysterious country of the future, is now living in the present and experiencing tremendous things. Where once the brave seamen sailed into the unknown, there are now modern signals, radio stations and automatic buoys, where the Tunguse fed his reindeer only a few months ago, hydraulic rams are now at work. Electric lamps illuminate the landscape at night, customs officials and controllers demand passes and produce a mysterious stamp with the inscription "Port Igarka".

Since June, 1929, Siberia has possessed a regular ocean harbour: Port Igarka. Siberia has become a maritime country. Twenty-six ships with a registered tonnage of 83,628 reached Siberia this year, 12 ships going to the Ob and 15 going to the Yenisei. A year before only six ships sailed for Siberia, hardly more than a year ago the Sea of Kara was considered to be unnavigable. But the proof is now there. Large fleets can sail through the Arctic Ocean to Siberia. It is only a technical question of the icebreaking and radio service, the preparation of charts and the protection of the coastal service and the number of ships can then be tremendously increased. The expedition which was led this year by the icebreaker "Krassin" and which worked for the first time with the systematic support of a hydroplane piloted by the famous Russian airman **Tchuchnovsky**, took place without any serious mishap. The time-table of the great fleet was adhered to almost completely. In the rivers, however, there was a not unimportant delay. The river flotillas which carried the export commodities from the Trans-Siberian Railway to the depots, suffered this year from bad weather conditions which held them up for days, particularly on the Yenisei, and prevented them from passing the rapids. They also suffered a number of misfortunes. On the river Yenisei a great barge with valuable export timber was burned to the water's edge. Despite all these things, however, self-sacrificing work succeeded in concluding the expedition in good time and all the river and ocean going vessels left the Arctic coastal district before the commencement of the ice period.

The Kara expedition is intended to open up Siberia for the export trade. The wealth of Siberia, which has been systematically explored only in recent years, and even then only to a small extent, can only be transported to any great extent by water. The Kara expedition aims at exporting these valuable commodities which are so difficult to transport. They are mostly timber and graphite. In the next few years fish and meat conserves will also be exported. These conserves will be manufactured in new factories at the mouths of the two rivers. The turn-over this year was 77,200 tons as against 29,023 tons last year. Imports grew from 11,200 tons last year to 13,200 tons this year, whilst exports grew from 16,733 tons to 64,000 tons. An idea of the significance of the Kara expedition can be obtained when one remembers that the Yenisei alone is capable of providing 5,000,000 cubic metres of export timber annually.

The opening up of Siberia will be considerably influenced by the Kara expedition. Wonders hardly take place in the world to-day, but they still take place in Siberia. The new harbour Port Igarka, 69.40 degrees, Northern latitude on the right bank of the Yenisei, offers shelter to 50 large ships. The harbour is about 400 kilometres south of the river mouth. Only at the end of May this year did the work commence to make the district usable. Two provisional quays will be replaced next year by four moles. A sawmill with four frames will cut the logs borne down by the river and a graphite factory will grind the Kureika graphite. It is also planned to build a factory for veneer wood. In the spring a reindeer meat packing factory will be built and will work for the export trade. A power station will also be built in Port Igarka despite great difficulties. This winter 300 workers will remain in Port Igarka, and according to the five-year plan the port will have 10,000 inhabitants, club buildings, schools, a hospital, a meteorological and a radio station. This town will be stamped out of the primeval ground on the coast of the Arctic. Further to the North, a commencement is being made to open up the tremendous coal mines. Platinum, copper, cobalt and a number of other precious metals are also there. Near Dudinsk these treasures can be seen in the surface of the ground. Next spring 300 workers will commence to erect factory buildings near Dudinsk and the basis for a railway has already been laid. And all this in the eternal ice!

Two timber factories will be erected on the Yenisei, a great timber factory will be erected on the Ob, and a great paper factory near Novosibirsk (the paper will be produced according to a new process from the water plants of the Siberian rivers), which will work for the export trade. At the mouth of the Ob this year unloading was done without a harbour near Novoport. Next year one of four projects will be chosen and then a harbour will be built at the mouth of the Ob. In May next year Tchuchnovsky will take up the charting work again. In addition to the old wireless stations on Novaya Zemlya and on Vainach Island, three new great stations are to be erected on White Island, on the Taimyr Peninsula and on the North Cape of Novaya Zemlya. The original inhabitants of Northern Siberia, the Samoyedes, the Tungusians, the Uraks and the Dolganians will not be neglected by this tremendous progress. Schools, doctors and teachers are already to be found in the tundra and the taiga. The plan of the Soviet Government is to release streams of minerals, furs, wood, meat and fish in tremendous quantities into the economic system of the West and this plan will be carried out.

The Latest Socialist Soviet Republic.

Letter from Tadshikistan.

By Leo Gottfried, Stalinabad.

Even to the public of the Soviet Union little or nothing is yet known concerning the recent proclamation of the latest independent Federal Republic of the Soviet Union, Tadshikistan. Many people have very curious ideas concerning this most interesting country, whose frontiers border on China and Afghanistan for thousands of miles. Very few know that the Soviet-Pamir belongs as an autonomous district to the Republic of Tadshikistan and is one of its seven districts. Very few know that in Tadshikistan the territory of the Soviet Union approaches very near to the sphere of power of the King of England, to British India. Finally, few know that Northern India from Chattral and Gilgita up to Peshawar is a territory of the Parsee language, that the same language is spoken by the peoples of Afghanistan and Persia, that the Parsee language is also the language of the inhabitants of Tadshikistan.

The Soviet Republic of Tadshikistan, a district which up to the present has been unknown and unexploited country, already has a railway.

It was only at the beginning of 1926 that the remainder of the bands of Enver Pasha, Ibrahim Bey and Fusail Maksum were destroyed and the work of reconstruction of the ruined economy begun. Now, after a lapse of scarcely four years, tremendous progress can be recorded. This progress can be seen from the following few figures; in 1924/25 there was only 66,000

hectares of land under the plough, while in 1927 there were 121,000 hectares, in 1928 160,000 hectares, in 1928/29 200,000 hectares and next year there will probably be 240,000 hectares. During the same period the area under cotton has increased from 2000 to about 60,000 hectares. At the end of the five-year plan, namely, in three years' time, 200,000 hectares will be planted with cotton in Tadshikistan. It is, therefore, no longer a gradual growth but a rapid advance of the country in all spheres.

Whereas in pre-war times the native cotton was cultivated with very little profit, the fields in Tadshikistan are now planted with American and even Egyptian cotton plants with long fibres. The buyers are no longer speculating big dealers or employees of some capitalist or other, but the State, which gives credits in cash, grain, manures and agricultural machinery.

In addition to the 225 kilometre-long railway between Termez and Stalinabad (formerly Dzhushambe), 500 kilometres of roads and country roads has been built, also 12 hospitals, 60 clinics for outdoor patients, which in the past year treated 160,000 patients out of a population of one million.

Tadshikistan is a country of the sharpest contrasts. One sees there caravans of camels trudging along and long-distance motor-buses flitting by them. The "Pravda Vostoka", which is published in Tadshikistan, is sent by aeroplane thousands of kilometres into the interior of the country, and, at the same time, leisurely teams of oxen are to be seen in the immediate neighbourhood of the towns, labouriously drawing antediluvian sledges on sleigh runners amidst clouds of dust, the vehicles piled high with sheaves of grain.

Superstition, the influence of the clergy, illiteracy, the most amazing contrasts in the economic structure, in social life and also in the climatic conditions rendered and still rendered extremely difficult the conversion of Tadshikistan into a Soviet Republic that shall serve as a model for the toilers of the neighbouring countries.

While in July the thermometer in Stalinabad (Dzhushambe) registered 70 to 80 degrees centigrade of heat, at the same time the writer of these lines and the chairman of the Central Committee of Tadshikistan got into a regular snow storm in the neighbourhood of the Indian frontier in the district of Laksorkul.

In Sarai-Kamar (right on the Afghanistan frontier) there are Egyptian cotton plantations, and in Wachan (Pamir) it is hardly possible to grow mulberry trees, whose leaves serve as food for silkworms. In Kangurt and Hisar the grain is threshed in July, while in districts which are only a few hundred miles away the harvest is not gathered before September. In the eastern portion of Pamir shortage of bread is unknown, while in the western portion a harvest which keeps the population from starvation for six or seven months is regarded as particularly abundant and rare. In the fruitful district of Ura-Tepa a pound of luscious grapes costs less than a halfpenny.

Precious rubies, iron, lead, gold, coal and naphtha are to be found in this wonderful land of natural wealth. Hundreds of thousands of head of cattle graze in tremendous pastures, along with the pride of Tadshikistan, the Hisar sheep which is known even in America. In the river valleys there are hundreds of thousands of acres of ground suitable for the cultivation of American and Egyptian cotton. The slopes of extinct volcanoes make excellent ground for the planting of wheat, thousands of waggon loads of which could be sent to the cotton districts of Tadshikistan and Central Asia.

All achievements (irrigation, reconstruction of agriculture, modernisation of the means of transport, importation of agricultural machinery and implements, etc.) are the result of the huge investments made by the proletariat of the Soviet Union. Within the last four years about 90 million roubles have been invested in the economy of Tadshikistan, apart from the means earmarked for the budget of the current year.

In 1926 the budget of the Republic of Tadshikistan amounted to 3.5 million roubles. To-day, in 1929, the budget amounts to 40 million. Under no other system than that of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is striving to eliminate the differences in development between the progressive districts of the Soviet Union and the former Tsarist colonies, which have been converted into autonomous and independent republics, is a national policy of this kind and investment to this extent possible.

In 1924 the fight of the native peasants in conjunction with the Red Army against the feudal landowners was still going. The ruined economy, the shortage of men for the cultural development at that time induced Tadshikistan to join Uzbekistan as an autonomous republic. Now, however, that economy has been restored, that in the coming year 100,000 tares of land is to be planted with cotton, a further 50,000 tares is to be irrigated and grain is to be sown to an extent of more than 500,000 hectares. Tadshikistan, at the wish of the workers, has been directly incorporated in the Union as the seventh independent Federal Republic. This circumstance may accelerate still further the work of transforming Tadshikistan into a model Soviet Republic for the millions of workers of Afghanistan, Persia and North India, all of whom speak a similar language.

The Socialist Competitive Scheme.

From the Workers of the Leningrad Engineering Factory
"Karl Marx".

The facts and figures concerning our struggle to produce Soviet textile machinery defeat and disarm the right-wingers, the machine makers. From the manufacture of lighters in 1922 up to the manufacture of the complicated Soviet machines last year, there was a long development. We are fighting energetically for the slogan of our party: "Catch up with and pass the highly developed capitalist countries!"

When in 1926 the first "Northrope" automatic weaving machine left the doors of our factory, it was no foreign product but a Soviet machine for work in the factories of the Soviet Republic. When our machine was put into operation in Ivanovo-Voznessensk, that was the beginning of the struggle between our Soviet machines and the machines of the British capitalists. Our first "Northrope" cost 1,672 roubles to produce. To-day "Northrope" produced in our factory costs less than 900 roubles and is not more expensive than the British machines.

The first three carding machines which we produced in 1926 cost 6,620 roubles each to produce. In the third quarter of the economic year which has just concluded, we produced 35 such machines at a cost of 4,626 roubles each. We have thus managed to reduce the cost of production by 25.7%. In our efforts to raise the quality of our machines, we have reached the level of the British firm Howard & Bullough. The capitalist Platt who supplied the whole of Russia with his machines before the war, visited our factory a little while ago and made a careful examination in order to ensure himself that we were not winding him, and was then compelled to admit that the carding machines of the "Karl Marx" factory were competing successfully with the machines of the capitalist Platt. First-class experts admit that our carding machines are at least up to the level of foreign machines.

In the first year of the Five-Year Plan we reached the following figures: 773 "Northropes" 4/4; 1,915 "Northropes" 1/4 and 420 carding machines instead of the 345 provided for, and 58 roving-frames instead of the 43 provided for in the plan. We are a little behind with the production of the first Soviet spinning machines which will be concluded at the beginning of the next economic year. In the year 1927/28 our factory made a profit of 1,275,526 roubles and in this year a profit of 1,516,053 roubles.

The government set us the task of reducing the cost of production by nine per cent. In the first three quarters of last year we reduced the cost of production by 12% and by the end of the year 13%. With regard to the individual machines, we exceeded the programme and produced more than was provided for in the plan.

On the 2nd September the factory adopted the seven-hour day. The workers declared 420 minutes work and not a minute longer! The first results of the re-organisation are good. The productivity of labour has not sunk and in comparison with August the slackness has been reduced by 50%.

The socialist competitive scheme increased the activity of the working masses and drew them into the struggle against slackness and for a new communist attitude towards work.

The socialist competitive scheme has become part and parcel of our whole productive system. It has strengthened the will of the working masses. The socialist competitive scheme has completely justified itself and has become a permanent factor in the industrialisation of the country and a permanent method to draw the masses into the socialist work.

We would not have had these successes without self-criticism and without the participation of the working masses in the productive life of the factory. From the 1st April to the 1st September of this year the discussions on production brought 75 proposals from the workers for improving working methods. 33 of these proposals have already been put into practice. Up to the 1st April 132 such proposals were made and 93 of them were carried out. 50 workers in our factory were promoted to leading positions. We all subscribed a month's wages for the industrialisation loan and thus our factory did its duty 100% towards the third industrialisation loan. A whole series of rationalisation measures were carried out and contributed in no small measure to reducing the prices of our machines. On the 15th August a reorganisation was made in the workshops producing spinning machines which reduced the cost of production from 581 to 389 roubles. In the iron foundry new methods of moulding have been introduced which lower the price of each mould from 5.30 to 3.85 roubles. In the foundry we have made a saving of 22,000 roubles a year by previously sorting out the iron and improving the smelting procedure.

The second mechanical workshop has undertaken to produce 45 carding machines a month, but as a matter of fact, it is producing 50 a month and will produce still more.

The first year of the Five-Year Plan has been concluded with a great plus. According to Plan we should have produced machines to the value of 9,057,644 roubles, but in fact our figure was 9,900,363 roubles. We thus carried out our programme almost to 109%.

Our workers still lack technical knowledge. In order to catch up with and pass the capitalist countries, our workers must not only learn all there is to be learnt about their own work bench, but about their own workshop, about their own factory and about the whole mechanism of production. We appeal to the workers of all factories all over the Soviet Union to fight to win technical knowledge.

The first year of the Five-Year Plan was not simple. And the second year of the Five-Year Plan with its great responsibilities and tasks now stands before the door. Every worker must know that in this year 1929/30 we must raise our production by 46%, the productivity of labour by 18.8% and the number of workers employed by 18%. Let every worker think of the Five-Year Plan and remember that in 1929/30 we must produce machinery to the value of 14,425,576 roubles in our factory and that in the fifth year we must produce machinery to the value of 29,860,964 roubles. We give our proletarian promise to produce in the second year (1929/30) 1,724 automatic weaving machines of the 9/4 type; instead of the 528 carding machines planned we shall produce 650; and instead of the proposed 60 Waters machines we shall produce 125.

By the end of the second year we must have introduced the uninterrupted working week for all the workers in our factory. No single worker must remain in the background. No single worker may remain outside the socialist competitive scheme.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Situation of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

By W. Tapsell.

The "Closed Letter" of the C. I. addressed to the British Party following the 10th Party Congress sharply emphasised the main characteristic of the Right tendencies as the underestimation of the radicalisation of the masses; the difference between the critical attitude of the delegates to the Party Congress and the leadership who tried to stifle all criticism; the failure to campaign for a Party "Daily Paper"; the failure to "carry over" the new line from the electoral sphere to all spheres, and to operate it in the electoral sphere in a consistent

and energetic manner. The Closed Letter furthermore criticised the composition of the C. C. of the C. P. G. B. which was almost entirely composed of functionaries, and condemned the conciliatory and uncritical attitude of the leadership. The Closed Letter had a good effect on the rank and file. For the first time the rank and file Party members were to the requisite extent drawn into Party life. The C. C. however, so far from recognising its mistakes, passed a resolution by a large majority "recognising the C. I. letter while not accepting all its illustrations" and promptly proceeded to draft a "statement" which was a veiled "Reply". The differentiation on the C. C. which had already become apparent now became clearer. The C. C. of the Y. C. L. passed a resolution against the "Statement" of the majority of the C. C. Nothing was done to carry through the undertakings of the C. C. to fight the Right tendencies. As an indication of how seriously the C. C. took the C. I. letter, at its April meeting 5 members of the C. C. (including 3 members of the Polit-Bureau) voted in favour of a motion that, where no Party candidates were contesting, we should advise the workers to vote for the Labour Party candidate!

Following the General Election, changes on the Political Bureau were proposed and agreed on with representatives of the C. I., but on the return of the P. B. from its conference abroad these decisions were overturned and 2 "Left" and "Critical" elements were removed from the P. B.

The E. C. of the Y. C. L. addressed a letter to the P. B. of the Party demanding a Party Congress, and the election of a new leadership and accusing the Party C. C. majority of accepting the Closed Letter in words in order to fight it in deeds. The P. B. took a decision violating the constitution of the C. I. refusing to forward the letter of the Y. C. L. E. C. to the C. I. However, the long suffering Party membership now began to move. Aggregate meetings of the Tyneside and London membership condemned the Party leadership by enormous majorities and demanded an immediate Party Congress. Resolutions on similar lines were also being discussed throughout the Party. The return of the Delegation from the 10th Plenum witnessed also a big change. 3 members of the P. B. were removed, comrades from the factories were brought onto the P. B. An early Party Congress was decided on and the main resolution for the Congress was drafted, which while having many weaknesses, was a big step forward. In this resolution the C. C. admit the main mistakes of which they were guilty and outline the major tasks of the Party.

The Political Situation.

The political situation with which the party is faced is exceedingly favourable to the development of the C. P. G. B. The advent of the Labour Government, so far from introducing an era of "democratic pacifism", has seen the Labour Government as the spear head of a series of ferocious attacks on the workers, both at home and in the colonies. The cotton textile lock-out and the heavy wage cut inflicted by the "Labour" Arbitration Court, the treatment meted out to the Unemployed, the imminent mass conflict in the woollen textile industry, the ending of the Agreements in five mining districts involving over 300,000 miners, the blood-soaked imperialist policy of MacDonald in India and the colonies, and the continued war preparations all give unexampled opportunities for the development of the Party and its independent line of revolutionary struggle. All over the country, strikes succeed one another in mining, transport, textiles, the steel industry, etc., at a rapid rate. These strikes are largely spontaneous and of necessity directed both against the union officials and employers, who stand shoulder to shoulder, against the new tide of struggle. For example an employer was recently chairman of a Trade Union recruiting meeting!

The weakness of the Party in the factories and mines has not only been illustrated in the Red Day Campaign, but also in the failure to initiate and lead the strike wave (although good work has been done in certain instances), the Party is most decidedly not abreast of the forward moving masses. At the same time many mistakes have been made by the Party even in recent weeks. For example, the failure to call clearly for Strike Action in the Woollen Textile dispute, the confusion of Committees of Action with Factory Committees; the slogan of "County Strike" in the Cotton Textile dispute, failure to participate actively in many strikes, confusion regarding the role

of the Minority Movement and the Party in the Strike Movements. But in spite of this there is a definite reawakening of the Party. The campaign for the Workers' Delegation to the U. S. S. R. has had certain successes; the importance of Factory and Pit Group work is now coming to the fore. The membership takes a more responsible and critical attitude.

The Tasks of the Party Congress.

The Party Congress has the task above all of firmly placing the whole Party on the line of the C. I., not by formal acceptance of resolutions and theses, but by really understanding them by a vigorous campaign against all Right and conciliatory elements who are by no means finished. It must make necessary changes in the Party leadership from top to bottom. There must be no half measures — the majority of the present C. C. must go and their place be filled by new elements representing the C. I. line and the best types from the factories. These elements are essential to the raising of the main question, the building of a mass Communist Party in Great Britain.

The Party Congress must firmly imbue the whole Party with the consciousness of its revolutionary perspectives, its tasks and really splendid opportunities. It must show the Party how to link each and every action with the fight against MacDonald and the plans of war and rationalisation, which are the keystone of the politics of British imperialism.

The launching of the Party Daily newspaper on the 1st January 1930 knits the whole work of the Party around a centre. The task of bursting through the bulwarks of the newspaper trusts in Britain is a big one, but it is essential if the Party is to transform itself from a propaganda sect to the champion of the toilers of Britain. The campaign for "Daily" therefore assumes enormous significance.

The Party Congress has enormous tasks. The C. I. must assist the C. P. G. B. by its support to carry those tasks through and enable the C. P. G. B. firmly to base itself on a mass Party at the head of the masses in the fight for the Revolutionary Workers' Government.

Plenary Session of the C. C. of the C. P. of Germany.

On 24th and 25th October the Central Committee of the German Communist Party held its plenary session. The dominant character of the Plenum, which was taken part in by the whole of the members of the C. C., and especially by the factory workers, with the most intense activity, was its criticism.

The main interest of the session centred round Comrade Thälmann's speech on the fight of the C. P. G. against the Young Plan. Comrade Thälmann analysed in detail the economic essence of the Young plan and its international background.

On the basis afforded by the Young plan a political concentration of all reactionary forces, including those of the Fascists, is taking place. Therefore, it is the first duty of the Party to place the struggle against Fascism more than ever in the foreground.

Proceeding from the problems of the fight against the Young plan, Comrade Thälmann examined the activities of the Party since the Wedding Congress. The general line of the Party since the Party has proved perfectly correct, but great serious omissions have been committed in the execution of the practical tasks. The Party must make an abrupt change in its mass work. It must render its Bolshevik policy more popular, more practical, more capable of rapid transformation from mere theory to actual practice. The Party cadres must be more rapidly and boldly replenished, especially by the organisation of the tens of thousands of working women and youths attending towards the Party. The diseased and petrified elements must be expelled from the Party.

The illegality of the Party is to be expected. The Party must prepare for this, but at the same time utilise to the utmost all legal possibilities.

The discussion took an expressly practical form, dealing with the execution of practical Party tasks, the problems of winning over the masses, the development and dissemination of new fighting methods.

Comrade Neumann gave a detailed report on the epoch-making success of the five years' plan of socialist construction in Soviet Russia, and on its far-reaching importance for the international proletariat.

Comrade Remmele reported on the international situation, drawing special attention to the threatening events in Austria. We must reckon with decisive struggles between the Austrian proletariat and the Fascist Home Defence League within a short time. The Austrian comrades must place on their agenda the demand for the formation of workers' councils, must organise an armed struggle against Fascism, and take up the practical and organisational problems of the proletarian dictatorship.

Comrade Remmele spoke of the cruel persecutions suffered by the Yugoslavian communists under the reign of White Terror. He reported on the Arab risings in Palestine, and dealt further with the problems of the French and Czech Communist Parties and with a number of other questions of the international revolutionary movement.

After the discussion, participated in by representatives of the Communist Parties of Austria, France, and Poland, the Plenum passed a number of important decisions definitely laying down the activities of the Party for the immediate future.

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

Development of the Municipal Workers' Union in the U. S. S. R.

With the growth of municipal economy in the Soviet Union the material and cultural level of the municipal employees is constantly rising.

During 1928 the U. S. S. R. Municipal Workers Union promoted 724 of its members working in municipal enterprises to economic-administrative, Soviet and co-operative work. The bulk of those promoted (43.5%) received exceedingly responsible positions — general managers of the enterprises, managers of Municipal Departments, chiefs of Fire Brigades and assistants; while a considerable section (16.2%) were promoted to the position of inspectors, controllers, and instructors. The rest of the promoted workers were given various administrative positions. It should be said that 5.3% of those promoted were women.

Hand in hand with the general development of the municipal services, we find the economic position of the workers and employees becoming increasingly better. We see that for the industry in general and in each of the various trades the wages of the municipal workers are going up from year to year.

The following table makes clear the increase of the average monthly wage of a worker in the municipal trades, the figures applying to the whole of the U. S. S. R.:

Year:	Average Wage:			
	Tramway-men	Plumbers	Firemen	Municipal Depts.
March 1926	67.52	66.31	51.91	69.88
March 1927	73.68	69.97	56.52	73.59
March 1928	79.54	78.94	60.45	85.37

We see, therefore, that since March 1926, wages have gone up appreciably, the increase in percentages being for the tramwaymen — 17.8%; plumbers — 19%; firemen — 16.4%; in the Municipal Depts. — 22.2%.

During this period, the average day-wage of a worker in these different trades was increased as follows:

Tramwaymen: Whereas the average wage in March 1928 exceeded the wage for March 1926 by 17.8%, the day-wage went up for tram-drivers 16.1% conductors — 19.5%; switchmen — 19.9%; mechanics — 14.6%; blacksmiths — 15.9%; painters — 40.6%; labourers — 34.8% and apprentices — 60.3%.

Plumbers: The average wage for this category in March 1928 exceeded the March 1926 rates by 19.4%. The average

day-wage of a mechanic in comparison with March 1926 was 18.9% higher, the increase for navvies being 15%; labourers — 1.7%; worker employed on town water-supply system — 62%.

Firemen: The average wage for this category in March 1928 exceeded the March 1926 rates by 16.2%. During this period the average day-wage for chief firemen had increased by 9.7%, for 1st firemen — 11.9%; blacksmiths — 16.7%; engine drivers — 16.1% and ordinary firemen — 19.8%.

Labour conditions and wages are regulated by collective agreements concluded between the Union and the Economic Organs. It is estimated that during the next five years the wages of the municipal workers will show an increase of 35% in nominal wages and 70% in real wages, which will be achieved by reducing the prices of food products and articles in common use.

The Union has undertaken several exhaustive investigations into the labour processes of its members on its own account. A careful study has already been made of the work laundry of workers, conductors, tram-drivers, firemen and gas workers, while an investigation into the work of categories employed on the sewage system and in the incinerators (rubbish destructors), is now being completed. Thanks to these investigations the union is able to discover and eliminate unhealthy conditions (leading to occupational diseases) by re-equipping the enterprises, by introducing shorter hours, longer vacations, and by giving out fats and milk, etc. to neutralise the injurious effects of the work.

The union is giving much attention to the labour protective measures and the living conditions of the workers. During 1928 alone 20,889 members of the organisation passed through the rest homes, sanatoria and health resorts. In comparison with 1927 the number of members sent to the rest homes, sanatoria and health resorts had increased by 11.5%.

At the present time the union has commenced an inquiry into the question of introducing the 7-hour day as rapidly as possible in the municipal enterprises. By the end of the first five-year period (October 1, 1933) all the enterprises will have introduced the 7-hour day.

Already at the present time there are several categories in the municipal trades who are working on a shorter day in view of their unhealthy occupations in accordance with the ruling of the Labour Codex. For example, the gas workers, as well as the labourers, work on a six-hour day basis. All repair workers, night workers and those employed in harmful-occupations (tanners employed on the hot process, etc.) work seven-hours. In all the municipal enterprises juniors work only six hours.

Special welfare funds have been organised (consisting of 10% of the profits of enterprises on a self-supporting basis and one-quarter percent, of the pay-roll at enterprises operating on local subsidies) to improve the economic position of the workers. These Workers' Welfare Funds are used to promote the construction of new houses, clubs, rest homes, dining rooms, creches, etc.

All the cultural activities of the Union aim at realising in a practical way the slogans of the cultural revolution and to prepare all the members of the organisation to take active part in the work of socialist construction. These activities are conducted through the clubs, Red Corners and libraries. At the present time the union has 83 clubs, 1217 Red Corners, 292 libraries and 696 movable libraries. The Red Corners organised at the enterprises, cater for 75% of the membership. Various kinds of circles dealing with political, trade union, industrial, general educational and art questions, etc. are organised in the clubs and Red Corners. In 1928 there were 3191 circles meeting regularly. In 1928, 30.8% of the members of the organisation were attending these circles. Of this number 7000 attended the rifle-clubs and 10,000 the military groups. The Union is now making a special effort to train all its members in trade union questions, and special T. U. schools and courses have been organised for this purpose in the clubs and Red Corners. In 1928, 184 Trade union circles and courses were organised and were attended by 5865 members. The Union has also organised 146 industrial circles attended by 3000 members. According to the returns for 1928 there were 43 loud speakers in the clubs run by the U. S. S. R. Municipal Workers' Union.

PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

War Preparedness of the Bourgeois Women's Organisations in America.

By G. G. L. Alexander.

The organisation of the women in the bourgeois camp in America is very far advanced. The majority of the bourgeois women's organisations, if they are not absolutely reactionary, are very patriotic and are prepared to support more or less openly the war policy of the imperialists.

So far we have been able to count 33 organisations with about 15 million members, and the list is certainly not yet complete. In the U. S. A., where the bourgeois women's movement bore a suffragette-political character right from the beginning, where the suffrage fight assumed most violent forms from time to time, we have an army, several millions strong, with many widely scattered divisions, of women's organisations of more or less political-suffragette character, all united in the National Council of Women with its membership roll of 10 million. This leading organisation corresponds to the leading national organisations of similar nature in other countries, for instance, the Federation of German Women's Societies in Germany, all of them belonging to an "International Council of Women". Naturally, the groups here are not only the old, original and exclusively suffragette groups but also professional, charity and other organisations. During the last decade of hard fighting for the vote up to its introduction (1920) a special militant group was formed, namely, the National Women's Party under the leadership of Ellen Paul, to whose demonstrative activity the gaining of general suffrage is due. After this success had been achieved the membership roll and general activity diminished, while its present fight is for equality of rights. Upon the ground of this "democratic" demand they oppose the protection of women workers. The society which specially devotes itself to training women to make use of their votes is the "Women's National Voters League".

The right wing of these more or less political organisations of women is a most reactionary nationalist-patriotic group with names which sound revolutionary, viz. Daughters of the Revolution, Daughters of the American Revolution, Daughters of America, Daughters of 1912, Daughters of the Union Veterans of the Civil War. To these groups belong only the direct descendants of those who took part in the war of independence in 1776, but in spite of this restriction, these groups make a rather big aggregate (380 000 members) and are spread throughout the U. S. A. Most of the members belong to the upper middle class and regard America as extremely democratic and do not want any change.

A large number of these women are the wives of Congressmen and therefore have a certain amount of influence in Congress. They work in opposition to all Bills of a progressive nature, for instance, relating to birth control and the protection of working women. They reject all improvement as "Bolshevistic". The "Daughters of the Revolution" are therefore very reactionary and the name of their organisation is dangerously misleading.

The genuine factory proletariat of the textile and coal industries, most of them immigrants of all nationalities, Italians, Poles, Lithuanians, Jews and Negroes, scarcely has any connection with these clubs and it is not surprising that in this stratum we have a number of real proletarian women's organisations of revolutionary character. The clubs hold the women by means of entertainments, instruction and facilities for re-

creation of all kinds in summer and winter. They provide courses and lectures, games, sport, theatricals, concerts and summer holidays. They also train the women for professions and even provide employment for them in their own organisations and prepare them beforehand for this work. The girls' clubs are of a similar nature. In summer they afford possibilities of camping, and this is a great attraction especially for the younger girls; indeed, there is a special society known as the "Camp-fire Girls", which is run on the lines of the Girl-Guide movement (130,000 members), though the military character is not so pronounced. But all these girls' organisations, including the "Girls Friendly Society" and the "Girls' Service League of America" are of a military or semi-military character and bear military drill, with camping, scouting and first aid.

On the other hand, the Fascist organisations of women in the United States, and especially the women's section of the Ku Klux Klan, are not military organisations of this kind. The Ku Klux Klan organisations are anti-Negro and anti-Catholic and the women's sections are similar and also take part in lynchings, just as the men do. Acts of Terror against Negroes are part of the tradition of the Ku Klux Klan, as their original and specific purpose was the fight against the Negroes and the successful republican party. The Ku Klux Klan was founded after the Civil War in 1865. The party policy of the successful Northern States (the Free States which had already abolished slavery) in regard to the white well-to-do and educated population of the Southern (slave-holding) States drove the latter to violent rebellion. As the Negroes were allowed the right of suffrage, while those who took part in the rebellion were not allowed the vote, enmity was engendered against the Negroes. The Ku Klux Klan was therefore a reactionary organisation. True to this reactionary tradition they still commit acts of Terror not only against Negroes but also against the Communists to protect the Negroes.

Naturally, the number of religious organisations in the U. S. A. is very considerable, we need only mention the Young Women's Christian Association, which is half philanthropic, half religious and has about 60,000 members, including factory girls and other working girls. This association has houses of its own and hostels, where girls can lodge at little expense and from charitable social tasks, which are financed by big donations, the association provides sports and gymnastics for its members.

The Young Women's Pebrew Association, with its 60,000 members is run on similar lines. In America an important organisation has been formed to investigate and decide regarding to what purposes are most deserving of donations. In which organisations of humanitarian or scientific character should be supported out of the big funds of "superfluous moneys", for instance, out of the Rockefeller Fund.

Naturally, such donations are exploited in respect of the elections. The fact that even the children in the schools are educated in the politics of particular parties is proved by the existence of numerous mothers' clubs and the parents' or teachers' association, which are organised in every State. They are, of course, backward and patriotic and they help to train the children to military prowess. The proletarian women's or mothers' organisations try to counter-act them, but they are so weak.

That in tendency, character and purpose the American women's organisations are bourgeois class organisations, which capture and exploit the broad working masses for the capitalist State and its imperialist aims, is apparent from the fact that the wife of a general is assigned to the Ministry of War to supervise communication with the women's organisations, so that they may be mobilised immediately on the outbreak of war. This illustrates, at the same time, the degree to which the bourgeoisie and its women's organisations are organised in readiness for war.