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The International Situation of the Soviet Union.

By M. M. Litvinov.

Being a Speech Delivered at the Session of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union.

Our Five-Year Plan of Peace.

In contradiction to the other, the economic Commissaries, the Commissary of Foreign Affairs is unfortunately not in a position to submit a five-year plan of its work, showing the development of its foreign policy. Why this is so, should not be hard to explain. Whereas in submitting the control-figures and setting up a plan of economic development in regard to the Soviet Union we can start altogether from our own wishes and endeavours, from a consideration of our own possibilities and requirements, and from the firmly established principles of our own policy, we are faced in our consideration of the development of international politics with numerous factors which can hardly be estimated, with numerous elements beyond our control and our influence.

International life consists not only of our own endeavours and actions, but of those of a number of other countries which

are built up on a system different from that of the Soviet Union, which pursue other aims and employ other means to attain them than those which are permissible in our case. In these countries the capitalist order of society still prevails, with no less anarchy and no less chaos in foreign politics as in economy. The economic differences existing between these countries create political differences. The ruin called forth by the imperialist war and the incisive alterations it brought about have underlined and deepened these differences.

If it proves possible by means of political arrangements and combinations temporarily to eliminate the one or other differences within a group of States, it is only to make way for new differences between this group and other groups. The geographical seat of these differences may be changed, but neither their extent, volume nor quality is altered.

If we also take into consideration the instability of the

inner political systems in the majority of these States (which in most cases has developed since the war), the frequent changes of the so-called democratic Parliamentary system into Fascist, semi-Fascist, and into such other forms of Government for which not even a general designation has yet been found, the continual internal struggle of the classes and of the political parties representing their interests, and the kaleidoscope of changes of government and the overthrow of governments whose policy was in many instances diametrically opposed to that of their predecessors, it will be apparent that there can be no question of system in international politics. In such circumstances the lack of success attending most of the international economic and political congresses and conferences during the last few years is not to be wondered at.

In contradistinction to the aspect I have just shown of international life, we need exercise no undue modesty in underlining the invariability, constancy, and systematic character of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. The corner-stone of this policy is what it was at the inception of the Soviet Government 12 years ago, the defence of the achievements of the October revolution against all attacks from outside, the endeavour to secure peaceful conditions for the internal development of Socialism and, as far as lies in our power, to preserve the workers of the whole world from the sufferings and burdens of a further war. The power in the hands of the proletariat, which has always stood for the cause of international peace, strict adherence to the principles of the October revolution and to the heritage of Lenin, non-participation in political groupings and combinations of some States against others, the absence of all imperialist desires and efforts for the subjugation of other nations, the solution of national questions on the basis of a maximum of toleration and respect for the national culture even of the smallest nationality — such are the factors which lend special stability to the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

The fact that on one sixth of the earth's surface there exists so stable and peace-imbued a State, which is far from cherishing aggressive plans of any kind, is in itself a powerful factor of peace.

I shall not discuss all the concrete steps taken by the Soviet Government for the sake of ensuring universal peace, having already reported on the subject to the preceding session of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union.

A new, increased, and absolutely impartial proof of our peaceful tendencies lies in our Five-Year Plan, the realisation of which presumes that we aspire to a state of inviolable peace. It ought to be apparent to all that it would be madness to start this Plan, which calls for no slight exertion of all our resources, if we were not determined at the same time not to allow any breach of the peace, in so far as it depends upon us. Nor is the realisation of the Five-Year Plan our final and only aim, but merely the foundation of the gigantic Socialist structure at which we are at work and which we intend to erect. The first Five-Year Plan will be followed by other similar plans, for the realisation of which peaceful conditions will be just as necessary as in the present case.

The Capitalist Sabotage of Disarmament.

Important as the contribution of the Soviet Union is to the cause of peace, it cannot be guaranteed by the efforts of our country alone. Therefore the Soviet Union, besides coming forward actively and independently with peace proposals of its own, is ready to meet any action of peace from whatever nation it emanates and by whatever considerations it is prompted.

The Soviet Union, which looks upon the complete liquidation or the restriction of armaments as the surest guarantee of peace, made a point in the current year of continuing its participation in the Preparatory Commission of the Disarmament Conference, although this commission had throughout the previous sessions given convincing proof of its inability and unwillingness to engage seriously in discussing the problem of disarmament. At its sixth session in the course of this year, the Preparatory Commission almost wholly completed its "activities", which unfortunately ended in the final turning down of the Soviet Government's suggestions, both of total disarmament and of an actual reduction in the present status of armaments. The Com-

mission, which rejected both draft conventions submitted by the Soviet Union and insisted on the discussion of the project worked out by itself, persistently declined all the Soviet Government's amendments to this project and deleted from it everything that hinted at even a partial disarmament.

By reciprocal concessions the delegations managed to secure the removal of all such items in the project as had reference to the armaments in their respective countries. Thus the Commission deleted from the draft convention all mention of war reserves, whether of men or of material. It is sufficiently characteristic of the work of the last session of the Preparatory Commission, that it should determinedly and persistently have denied my repeated suggestion that the project of the convention should make mention of the "reduction of armaments". The Commission thus determined to recommend to the coming Conference of Disarmament not a reduction but a restriction of armaments, which will allow not only of a maintenance of the present status but even of its augmentation.

As I have already remarked, the Commission has almost completed its activity, not having dealt at all at its last two sessions with the problem of naval disarmament. In this regard certain naval Powers, which will meet at the London Conference in January next, have been carrying on separate negotiations which have led to little result so far.

In case they should after all lead to some understanding which, as is already well known, would not be based on a reduction of naval armaments but on a change in the proportions subsisting between five Powers, the Commission has reserved to itself the honorary function to register this agreement and then to submit to the projected International Conference a draft of a convention which, it may safely be predicted, will have very little to do with any disarmament, whether on land or at sea, or in the air.

It is to be seen that the capitalist countries manifest consistency, uniformity, unanimity, and even a certain system in their sabotage of disarmament and of other measures for peace in spite of all modifications and oscillations of their foreign policies.

The Soviet Union Surrounded by Enemies.

It would, however, be unjust, were we not also to record another uniform characteristic in the policy of these countries. I am referring to their consistent animosity towards the Soviet Union. This unfriendly attitude naturally assumes different aspects at different moments and in different States, being sometimes stronger and sometimes temporarily weaker, but at the very least it always remains latent. This, of course, does not apply absolutely to all countries, but to the majority of States. I am not forgetting either that in all these countries there are millions and dozens of millions of proletarians who follow with warm sympathy and affection all happenings in the land in which Socialism is being built up, taking moral part in its development and lending it their moral support. What we are up against is the hostility of the reactionary elements of the big petty bourgeoisie, the ruling circles, and the majority of the press organs, in these countries. The main agency lending expression and realisation to this policy of hostility, is the capitalist and the so-called Social-Democratic press, which for the last twelve years has never ceased throwing mud at the Soviet Union and its statesmen, inventing impossible occurrences, distorting the true state of affairs in the Soviet Union, making the most of the inevitable difficulties encountered in the execution of our gigantic tasks, passing over our achievements and successes in silence and charging us with "sins" we never committed with the employment of the alleged revelations of false witnesses, forged documents, and other equally dirty means. Not only the press, however, but many Governments are anything but fastidious in regard to the obviously inferior productions of forgers from the scum of the "white guard" emigrant circles.

The forgers of anti-Soviet documents continue to enjoy the hospitality and sometimes also the protection of the authorities in countries which are on friendly terms with us and this even in instances in which the activities of the forgers in question harm the interests of the countries in which they have found refuge.

The unfriendly attitude and the hostility to which I have referred are, inter alia, also fostered by the policy of non-recognition of the Soviet Union on the part of certain States and the attempts of other States to injure the prestige of the Soviet Union. The resulting atmosphere of enmity and illwill is very naturally not only not conducive to the consolidation of peace; on the contrary it fosters an increase of distrust and unrest in regard to international relations. Nay, more than this, such an atmosphere is at times a positive encouragement of the most adventurous and irresponsible of governments, inducing them to take steps which may occasion an immediate jeopardisation of peace.

The Conflict with China.

In outlining the present position, reference must also be made to the differences with China which have arisen in the present year. I need not dwell here on the merits of the Soviet Union in the interest of the Chinese people and of the Chinese national movement, which found their main utterance in the denunciation of the unequal treaties, extraterritorial rights, and their privileges. On the other hand, the Chinese people are still burdened by unequal treaties with other States, which guard their concessions, jurisdiction, and privileges with troops and warships. How is it then that in relation to these States the Nanking rulers have recourse to the most slavishly abject petitions and put up with all sorts of abuse and humiliation, whereas in relation to the one State which has recognised the equal rights of the Chinese nation and its unrestricted authority on its own territory, and which has concluded with China an equitable treaty highly favourable to Chinese interests, the Nanking and Mukden generals have not observed the usual diplomatic forms but have decided in favour of impudent and provocative actions, measures of violence, and armed attacks? How is it that in the last few years the history of the relations between the ruling men of China and the Soviet Union has been replete with the systematic violation on the part of the former of voluntarily concluded treaties, and with assaults, arbitrary occupations, and the bestial treatment of official representatives of the Soviet Union?

How is it to be explained that, after completing this policy of violence by the occupation of the Chinese Eastern Railway (jointly administered by the two Governments on the basis of a treaty), the Chinese generals impudently flung a challenge in the face of Soviet Union, a step which would undoubtedly have led to war at once but for the patience and love of peace of the Soviet Government? How can such a striking contrast in the conduct of Nanking, in relation to the imperialist States and to the Soviet Union, respectively, be explained? A partial explanation, certainly, is to be found in the fact that they reckon on our love of peace and on our well-known lack of imperialist desires. To provoke a quarrel with the imperialist Powers means to incur danger, seeing that in spite of the Kellogg agreement and the League of Nations it could give rise to fresh concessions in China, to an extension of the privileges of foreigners, to the imposition of heavy contributions on the Chinese, and the like. Of the Soviet Union, the Nanking Government obviously does not expect any such reprisals. It has therefore entered upon this adventure in the persuasion that at the worst the Soviet Union will make use of its forces merely for the restitution of its illegally violated rights. But this only partly explains the procedure of the Nanking Government, which would hardly have risked an action of such far-reaching consequences if itself had it not reckoned with the general anti-Soviet atmosphere and therefore with the sympathies, or possibly even the help, of the capitalist States. Even if, therefore, we eliminate the very probable presumption of some other Power or group of Powers having egged China on in this quarrel, it must be recognised that in any case the responsibility for the conflict on the Russo-Chinese frontier lies with the capitalist States collectively, seeing that by their anti-Soviet policy they encouraged the hope that they would support any action undertaken against the Soviet Union. There can be no doubt but that without tacit, or possibly active, support on the part of the other Powers in the early stages of the conflict and without the hope engendered by the universal hostility towards the Soviet Union, Nanking would never have resolved to adopt the provocative policy which has led to the present state of affairs.

The situation became so serious that we were forced to equip the Special Army of the Far East, seeing that we had no guarantee that the Nanking Government would not be induced by the same unseen hand to undertake further hostile steps and that no attacks would be made on our frontiers by Chinese or White Guard bandits. Our misgivings proved to be well founded. During the last few months there were not a few cases of military provocation on the part of the Chinese, which naturally met with firm resistance by the Army of the Far East. At each new attack of the aggressors, this resistance became more deadly. Our troops would have placed themselves in too disadvantageous a position if, after driving back the bands and military units which had invaded our territory, they had halted at the frontier, thus affording them the possibility of reoccupying their former positions for the purpose of fresh attacks. Our troops had thus in some instances to destroy the "nests" in which the most frequent and most troublesome attacks on our frontiers were prepared, since this way of proceeding was the only possible one in the interests of the border population. Such counter-measures are of an exclusively defensive character and pursue no political aims.

At the same time we cannot forget that the Soviet citizens remaining in Manchuria, workers and employees of the Chinese Eastern Railway, are constantly exposed to preposterous insults, cruelties, tortures, and even to execution, without any fault on their part. The rumours spread by the Chinese as to the conspiracies and propaganda on the part of our citizens which they profess to have discovered, are naturally no more than childish fairy-tales, which no serious person in China or outside China would believe. We are far from holding the Chinese people responsible for these actions; we blame only those who are really guilty of the anti-Soviet policy, the present rulers of China, all the more so as this policy is highly detrimental to China itself, since it impedes the fight of the Chinese people for emancipation from the unequal treaties and for the renunciation of extraterritoriality by the foreigners. Only recently I was asked not without malice by a foreign diplomat in Moscow whether I did not recognise the mistake we had made in waiving our right to extraterritoriality in China.

"Just see", he said, "what liberties the Chinese are taking with your citizens." I replied that in spite of what had happened we had no reason to regret our policy of friendship towards the Chinese people. It was not in our renunciation of extraterritoriality that the mistake lay; it is the policy of the Governments of Nanking and Mukden that is mistaken and mad, inasmuch as it furnished the imperialist States with an excuse to declare that their policy of forcing China to submit to extraterritoriality and refusing to recognise the sovereignty of the Chinese people on their own territory was just and right.

We know that the Chinese people are longing for as speedy as possible a solution of the conflict, which is confirmed by the fact that the Nanking and Mukden Governments again and again publish reports of negotiations having been entered into with the Soviet Government. These reports are obviously intended to pacify the Chinese people. As a matter of fact, Nanking sought and still seeks to avoid negotiations. True, a short while ago the Nanking Government made us a suggestion through the German Government for the signing of a common declaration. But when, in acceptance of their drafted formula and in order to test their sincerity and procure a guarantee that they would really fulfil their obligations, we suggested the immediate re-instatement of the Soviet director of the Chinese Eastern Railway and his assistant according to the Nanking and Mukden treaties, our proposals were declined. We submitted minimum preconditions for the solution of the conflict, from which we were not willing to depart. This we had declared so often and so categorically that the Nanking and Mukden Governments must have been absolutely aware of the fact that the quarrel could only be settled by an acceptance of our conditions. If they nevertheless hesitated and delayed a settlement, this is again to be explained by their hope of an intervention on the part of a third Power or of the League of Nations.

It was only in the last few days, when the Chinese and White Guard bands had received a serious lesson at the hands of the Army of the Far East, that Chang-Hsuch-Liang, commander-in-chief and governor of the provinces mainly affected by the economic and military results of the greatly protracted

operations, officially announced the acceptance of our conditions, a step now confirmed by the recently published protocol, signed by his diplomatic commissary Tsai.

In this connection I should like to point out that the situation on the Chinese Eastern Railway was based prior to the quarrel not only on the Peking agreement but also on the Mukden agreement concluded with the father of Chang-Hsueh-Liang, that we have never formally recognised the Nanking Government, and that the relations into which we had entered with Nanking were interrupted through its own fault. And just as we are about to prepare a peaceful settlement of the conflict with Mukden, the Nanking Government, on its own initiative or else at the instigation of some outside agency, makes a fresh attempt to obtain the help of the imperialist Powers and of the League of Nations for the purpose of upsetting the peaceful and speedy solution of the dispute.

The Intervention of the Imperialist Powers.

It is probably well known from press reports that the Governments of the United States, France, and Great Britain have declared their willingness to grant Nanking the "help" demanded. They are said to be anxious as to the preservation of peace and therefore consider it their duty to interfere and to prevent a peaceful settlement of the quarrel. When Nanking was planning and preparing the occupation of the Chinese Eastern Railway, when subsequently it effected the occupation, and when we brought the Chinese attacks on our territory to the knowledge of the public, these "peace-loving" Powers did not think that such provocative actions could disturb the peaceable and amicable relations between the Soviet Union and China and prove a menace to peace. They did nothing to prevent China from undertaking these steps, they did not hasten to intervene, nor did they draw the attention of the Nanking Government to the illegality and senselessness of this mode of procedure and to the justice and acceptable character of our conditions. Only now that the Mukden Government has convinced itself that the situation on the Chinese Eastern Railway not only promises no advantages for China but entails great damage and sacrifices to that country, now that the Mukden Government has taken the only possible step under the circumstances for the purpose of putting an end to this state of affairs, the Powers begin to get busy and confer together to find means of prompting China to further obstinacy and procrastination. And all this is done in the name of peace, in the name of the Kellogg Agreement.

No fewer than 55 nations signed this agreement, and three of them, without any authorisation on the part of the others, consider themselves called upon to safeguard its stipulations.

In this connection they probably had need of a special mental effort so as to forget for the time being their own detachments of troops at Peking, Tientsin, Shanghai, and Weihaiwei, their cruisers and torpedo-boats, their submarines and mine-layers in the Chinese harbours and on the Yangtse River, their troops in Egypt and on the Rhine, and the fairly recent occurrences in Central America, besides numerous other facts which greatly encumber their past and even their present. The American Government even forgot that our Soviet Government, which is after all only twelve years old, is a "negligible" factor the existence of which they had made up their minds not to notice and not to recognise. Their declaration says that they are following the development of events with anxiety. To our knowledge, however, there is in this country no representative of the American Government in a position to follow, from the Russian side, the events on the Russo-Manchurian border, while we, without any representative in the United States, are also not in a position to inform the American Government of the matters in which it may be interested. Involuntarily doubts arise as to whether the Americans could really follow the events in question and are really informed in this regard. True, the representative of Nanking, that well-known Soviet-hater U-Tsao-Tsu, has free access to the State Department in Washington. He is probably also Mr. Stimson's main informant. But does Mr. Stimson never consider that such information can be neither exhaustive nor unprejudiced and that, at the very least, it might be called one-sided? We therefore think it particularly strange that just the American Government should appear to be the initiator of the collective intervention of the three Powers.

However badly and one-sidedly the participators in this intervention are or desired to be informed, there is one fact which they cannot overlook. The last repulsion of the Chinese band by our troops has apparently convinced the Chinese general concerned that they cannot resist the Red Army with any chance of success. In case of a further advance, our Far Eastern Army is not likely to meet with any serious resistance.

We are thus in a position in which the imperialist Powers generally prefer not to negotiate but simply to dictate the conditions. And how about ourselves? Are we profiting by the advantages of our position? Are we forcing China to accept any new conditions? The protocol we signed yesterday together with Mr. Tsai proves that we are not. Our conditions have remained the same as at the commencement of the conflict. The fact alone proves most unquestionably that the counter-measures of the Far Eastern Army have no political aims in view and can therefore in no sense be said to infringe the Kellogg Pact.

What results are likely to arise from the intervention of the Powers? In my opinion none at all. At the very worst, the originators of this intervention will be able to book to their credit of the cause of peace a certain delay or complication of the negotiations already begun and to increase the pressure exercised by Nanking on Mukden. But I am rather of opinion that Mukden, and possibly also Nanking, will understand that we shall not allow ourselves to be dissuaded by any intervention from the standpoint we have occupied from the very beginning, and that a delay can merely enhance the disadvantage accruing for China. We believe that we are on the way to a definite settlement of the quarrel in regard to the Chinese Eastern Railway and also to the elimination of all possibility of further artificial spread of enmity and distrust between the people of the Soviet Union and of China, who are anxious to live not only at peace but in relations of sincere friendship and mutual respect.

Be this as it may, whether the immediate contact now established between Mukden and ourselves leads to a speedy settlement of the points at issue or whether the Powers have both to the Soviet Union and to China succeed temporarily in preventing this settlement, we are inspired with the conviction that, relying on the general sympathy our policy meets with among the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, on the consciousness of our rights which are not even contested by our enemies, and on the strength of our Far Eastern Army which has already given so much proof of its steadfastness, unbounder devotion, and courage, we shall attain an acceptance of our equitable conditions and the restoration of the violated rights of our Workers' and Peasants' Republic.

Adjustment of the Differences between Great Britain and the Soviet Union.

By means of Bolshevik persistence, discipline, and consistency, we recently succeeded in terminating another serious difference, a difference which greatly encumbered the international position and represented perhaps an even more serious menace to peace than the events on the Russo-Chinese border. I am referring to the Anglo-Soviet difference now eliminated. Both these conflicts, it will be remembered, gave rise to illegal and provocative attacks on Soviet institutions. In both cases much was based on forged documents and on a malicious distortion of the character of the Soviet policy. Apart from the purely outward analogy, the two quarrels arose from the same far-spread hostility towards the Soviet Union of which I have already made mention. Both the British initiative at the nature of relations and the Chinese adventure started from an expectation of sympathy, support, and even imitation on the part of the other Powers.

It was temporarily believed at the Commissary for Foreign Affairs that the questions arising in connection with the termination of the Anglo-Soviet differences would have to be submitted for solution to the Central Executive Committee. I trust I may be permitted to dwell upon this matter in greater detail and to point out how an appeal to the Central Executive Committee might have been occasioned and why such a necessity is longer obtained. It is a well-known fact that the chief sources

conflict between ourselves and the British lie in the so-called **ancient claims** of the British bourgeoisie, resulting from our **commitments** in regard to the cancellation of the Tsarist debts and the **nationalisation** of the banks and factories. These claims are in part the cause of the intervention which fostered civil war and protracted it for several years, while at the same time they called forth our counter-claims in respect of the severe **material damage** inflicted on our country and our citizens. Great Britain, which spent hundreds of millions on intervention only to suffer defeat, continued its endeavours to obtain satisfaction of its claims by "peaceful means", which consisted in the **economic blockade** of the Soviet Union and subsequently for many years in a refusal to recognise the Soviet Government and to resume diplomatic relations. When these means also failed and the Soviet Union persistently declined negotiations of any kind whatever in regard to the proffered claims pending the resumption of normal diplomatic relations, Great Britain, personified by the Labour Government, recognised the Soviet Union and thus rendered negotiations possible.

These negotiations led to the draft of a **commercial treaty** and a **provisional general treaty**, embodying certain foundations for the solution of the problems of the British claims and of our counter-demands.

With the aid of a document opportunely prepared and known in history as the "Zinoviev Letter", the Conservatives defeated the Labour Party and immediately refused the ratification of the treaties just mentioned. The question of British claims was again left pending, since with characteristic steadfastness the Soviet Government refused to go beyond the concessions it had agreed to at the time when the treaties were first drawn up. After two years and a half of fruitless endeavours, the Conservative Government resorted to new "heroic" means — to the breaking off of diplomatic relations, hoping in this way to force the Soviet Government to agree to such conditions for a solution of the matter of claims as the most irreconcilable and reactionary circles of the British bourgeoisie were endeavouring to force upon it. The Conservatives would not have resolved on a step of such moment if they had not reckoned on finding allies and imitators in the other leading European Powers. In this they were destined to be disappointed.

For a resumption of relations, the Conservative Government made it an ultimative condition that all points at issue should first be discussed and settled in the manner it desired. Negotiations within the limits of ordinary diplomatic intercourse, on the basis of equality did not appear opportune to the British Conservatives. They preferred to decline normal relations, hoping thus to bring pressure to bear upon us and to force us to accept their conditions. But we did not beg pardon or profess humility, nor yet did we apply with suggestions to the Conservative Government. In British industrial circles, including the Conservatives, serious doubts arose as to the correctness of the tactics chosen by the British Government, which not only did not accelerate the solution of questions in which these circles were interested but obviously harmed British economy. One of the results of these doubts and of the attempts undertaken in the City to find new ways of solving the problems interesting British economy was the sending of a delegation of industrialists to Moscow this year. It was apparent that the ace of the Conservative Government in its anti-Soviet game had been trumped.

Along with other failures in foreign politics, the rupture of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union played a part in bringing about the defeat of the Conservative Party at the last British elections. It was not hard for their opponents to exploit the failure of the breach for election purposes by setting up an opposite programme of an immediate and unconditional resumption of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union.

The promises made by the Labour Party during the election campaign are naturally a domestic affair of Great Britain's and impose no obligations on the British Government in its relations to ourselves. But since they were made quite openly there was no possibility for us to ignore them or to pretend we did not know of them. Apart from these promises and pledges, however, it was not to be expected that the party that had issued victoriously from the elections and that had severely criticised the Conservative policy towards the Soviet Union, would not,

on coming into power, seriously decide in favour of an opposite course to the Conservative policy.

We must once more call to mind that this policy consisted in the endeavour to force us to settle the questions at issue prior to the resumption of normal relations. We were therefore not a little surprised when, instead of immediately informing us of their readiness to resume normal relations without further delay, the new British Government suggested that we should send a representative to England for the purpose of negotiating. True, according to the wording of the formal proposal, the negotiations were merely to refer to the nature of the deliberations to take place once normal relations had been resumed. It seemed to us, however, that this point might also have been discussed when the main negotiations themselves were started, all the more so seeing that the volume and nature of the questions at issue were very well known to both parties concerned and that the Soviet Government had never been averse to attempting the solution of these questions in normal circumstances. Seeing, however, that our policy consists in a firm representation of our decisive standpoint and our essential interests without quarrelling over trifles of a technical nature, we sent Comrade Dvoglevsky to London as our representative, at the same time carefully informing the British Government that the discussions should refer only to the form of negotiations and not to their contents. When Comrade Dvoglevsky reached London, however, he found himself faced with the following proposal on the part of Henderson: Since the first session of the new British Parliament is over and the next session will not begin for about three months, and since the Government cannot well resolve on the resumption of relations without the sanction of Parliament, it would perhaps be advisable to make use of the interim for discussing and solving the points at issue.

It was thus suggested that, pending the resumption of normal relations, and therefore in a situation in which normal relations did not exist between the two Governments, we should enter into negotiations for the sake of satisfying the pretensions of the British bourgeoisie. In its actual substance, therefore, this suggestion does not differ from the proposal which for several years the Conservative Government tried in vain to coerce us into accepting. This suggestion was by no means in accordance with the purpose for which Comrade Dvoglevsky had been invited to London and had been delegated thither by us. His further sojourn in London was thus useless. We had no choice but to recall him and to declare to Henderson that his suggestion would be submitted to the Central Executive Committee or its presidium.

Why did the People's Commissary of Foreign Affairs resolve to submit the matter to the Central Executive Committee? Naturally not because it considered it necessary or possible to abandon the standpoint it had occupied for many years or because it expected to receive new directives from the Committee. The decision of the Committee was not hard to foresee. In view of the lack of understanding evinced not only by the Conservative Government but also by the new British Government for our standpoint and for its irrevocability, it seemed to us to be right that the highest legislative institution of the Soviet Union should be enabled to declare once and for all that **no Government and no means of coercion would succeed in ousting the Soviet Government from the positions it occupied in defence of the most essential interests of the Soviet Union.**

It was necessary that all doubt should once for all be dispelled and all hope destroyed of the possibility of concessions on our part, concessions which we had more than once declared to be impossible.

Mr. Henderson understood that our reference to the Central Executive Committee constituted a more decisive refusal of his suggestion than a simple "No." He once more invited our representative to London thereby giving us to understand that this time he would limit himself exclusively to matters of procedure.

The second meeting between Dvoglevsky and Henderson really ended with the signing of the protocol regarding the agenda of the coming negotiations. And this protocol, which embodied the obligation of an immediate complete resumption of normal diplomatic relations and the exchange of ambassa-

dors, Mr. Henderson promised to submit to Parliament. In due course, the House of Commons sanctioned the protocol by the votes of the Labour and Liberal members against those of the Conservatives, among whom there were, however, some apostates, whereupon the Governments of the Soviet Union and Great Britain appointed their ambassadors with the observance of all the customary forms.

(To be concluded.)

POLITICS

Hilferding's Financial Programme under the Dictates of the Big Bourgeoisie.

By A. Norden (Berlin).

"I recognise the capitalist system fully and completely!"

It was with these words that the People's Party National Minister of Economy **Moldenhauer** introduced his speech at the general meeting of the National Federation of German Industry, and he continued with the request that the industrialists should have the kindness to perceive in Hilferding's financial reform a beginning, a "correct tendency". The speech was replied to by the Chemical King, Privy Councillor **Duisberg**, who expressed hearty thanks and requested that the policy outlined in the speech should be put forcefully into practice.

It was not a matter of chance that the demonstration of the industrialists should take place in Berlin on December 12th. It was on the same day that the National Chancellor, **Hermann Müller**, submitted to Parliament the financial programme of the German Government. On the one hand, the parliament of the real rulers of Germany, issuing their ultimatum; on the other hand, **Hermann Müller** announcing in the German Parliament to the association of the executive of trust capital the financial programme which had been demanded at the congress of industrialists.

The industrialists want a lowering of the income tax, by means of a reduction in the scale for medium and big incomes, and abolition of the unearned increment tax and of the Rentenbank interest payments and modification of the tax on property in land and of the industrial tax.

In the name of the Government, **Hermann Müller** replied with a programme that makes to finance-capital a present of not less than a thousand million marks, viz: 1. — 350 millions for the alleviation of German economy on the basis of payment facilities from the Young Plan; 2. — about 400 millions from transfers to the propertied classes through the increasing of the tobacco tax by 220 millions and of the beer tax by 180 millions; 3. — the reduction of the accumulation burden for the industrial obligations; 4. — the reduction of the capital traffic tax; 5. — the reduction of the security tax; 6. — the reduction of the stock-exchange turnover tax; 7. — the reduction of the trading tax; 8. — the reduction of the tax on land; 9. — the raising of the level of incomes free of taxation up to 20,000 marks; 10. — the reduction of the sugar tax with the proviso that the price of sugar should not fall.

Simultaneously with the financial reform, **Hermann Müller** proposed increasing the contribution to the unemployment insurance by $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. It is to come into force on January 1st along with the increase in the tobacco tax, and it means an extra burden of many millions to the workers.

Not a word had the Social Democratic Chancellor for the privation of the proletariat, the starvation of the unemployed, the rationalisation in the factories. The culminating point of his speech was the promise to promote "fresh formation of capital". To this end he is adopting the very simple expedient of taking money from the poor and giving it to the rich.

Behind this big-scale robbery of the working population by means of taxation and this immense alleviation for the possessing class there stands the Young Plan. Its acceptance has

not only been taken advantage of by the industrialists but to exploit the workers, employees and clerks, they are making of the reparations plan of world capital to shake off the burden of taxation with which they were still encumbered. Two thousand millions or more which have to be paid by Germany each year in reparations is now to be paid exclusively by the toilers.

The position of Social Democracy is by no means a pleasant one. They are requested to present the above-mentioned programme, to which a new, scandalously reactionary tax, the poll tax, is to be added, to the workers and carry it. Naturally, by doing so they will lose the confidence of hundreds of thousands of workers and impoverished petty burghers. Up to the present have supported the Social Democracy is the reason why the reactionary financial programme has been submitted by the Government but put off again and although its presentation has been demanded by the circumstances for months now.

This state of affairs was put an end to by two events; one behind the scenes and the other public. On December 6th the chairman of the National Bank, **Dr. Schacht**, ex-democrat, who is, however, not bound to any party, although he is well to the Right, published a memorandum without consulting the Government, whom he reproached with making too many concessions at the Young-Plan conference at the time which concessions led to the assumption of considerably heavier burdens than the Young Plan provided for. Then followed an important part of the memorandum, in which is set forth the financial reform with tax relief for the propertied classes, further burdens for the masses, as also a financial dictate over the municipalities.

It is true that the Government has rejected the former **Schacht** attack, but in essentials it has yielded, for it appears that **Schacht's** memorandum was not a private affair but a step taken in consonance with an ultimatum of the German People's Party. The former admiral and present tobacco king, **Brüninghaus**, relates in the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" the German People's Party "addressed an ultimative demand on the Government under all circumstances to take in hand at Christmas the arranging of our finances".

In view of this action within and outside the coalition of the Social Democratic leaders have, of course, given up sham resistance and immediately submitted the financial programme to discussion.

Whoever had the opportunity to attend the general meeting of the federation of industrialists must have felt from hundreds of shouts and many speeches the atmosphere of attack. It is a significant proof of the enhanced position of power of German finance-capital and which is best expressed in the words: "Either you Social Democracy observe our policy entirely or out you go!" It is hardly necessary to state in view of this alternative, the Social Democrats, who for the sake of ministerial posts have denied and betrayed even the party they once worshipped, preferred to bow to the will of the finance-capital.

"The capitalist order of economy can only maintain itself permanently, if employers and employed shake hands and work together for the common weal." Such were the words of **Moldenhauer** of the German People's Party, which were met with hearty applause from the industrialists. Here we have confirmation from an authority that nothing but the correct policy saves the tottering capitalist structure from collapse. In praise of the class enemy for the policy of the S. P. D. characterises that policy as hostile to the workers.

The new financial programme is already casting its shadow before it. In Berlin and numerous other towns the reactionary municipal councils are preparing for the suspension of national grants to the municipalities by greatly increasing tram fares and the cost of gas and electricity. Against these and the other burdensome effects of the Young Plan and of the reactionary government policy, the Communist Party, whose representative in the national parliament will oppose the government programme, is mobilising the proletarian masses for an extra-parliamentary fight.

The Sejm "Opposition" and the Question of the Change of Constitution in Poland.

By J. S. (Warsaw).

The two Sejm sessions which were held after a two months' interruption of the work of Polish "Parliament", throw a clear light upon the actual state of affairs in Poland.

The echo of the terrible threats on the part of the so-called opposition parties, who declared themselves to be ready to fight to the last in defence of the Constitution, has not yet died away, the pathetic declarations of Vandervelde, the Labour members of the House of Commons and other shining lights of the II. International regarding the sympathy and support of the whole "civilised world" assured "Polish democracy" have not yet been forgotten, and from the Sejm tribune there are again heard the conciliatory speeches of the representatives of the "militant" Opposition addressed to the fascist government. **Daszynski**, the Sejm marshal and leader of the P. P. S., who had been insulted and abused by the government press, opened the Sejm session with the assurance that the Sejm is willing to co-operate in the change of the Constitution demanded by the Pilsudski government. He appealed to the so-called opposition parties to collaborate with all their forces in carrying out the fascist changes of the so-called "democratic" Constitution.

The real relations of the "Opposition" to the fascist government were revealed by the speech of **Nidzialkowski**, a P. P. S. member of the Sejm, who declared:

"If the first appeal of Marshal Pilsudski after the May upheaval, in which the wish is expressed that God may pardon all our sins and that we shake hands all round had been realised, then I can assure you, the inner position of Poland today would look different."

Nidzialkowski, by stretching out his hand to the government bloc, only repeats what **Daszynski** did in July of this year when he suggested to Pilsudski the establishment of a government majority which should include the Pilsudski bloc and the P. P. S.

The "Opposition" proposes to the government to conclude peace by carrying out the change of Constitution demanded by the Pilsudski camp and demands in return only small changes in the government composition and more access to lucrative positions in the State apparatus.

The same attitude was adopted by the *Wyzwolenie* (social democratic peasant party) and the *Stronictwo Chlopskie*, with whom the P. P. S. is forming the so-called bloc for the defence of the Republic and of democracy.

It is true, the "oppositional" parties had on the first session of the Sejm submitted a vote of censure against the Switalski government, but the members of the P. P. S. and of the other parties declared at the same time that if the State President would meet the Sejm half-way and make a change in the person of the Prime Minister while maintaining the present system, "the Sejm would certainly not vote against such a Cabinet". The substitution of Switalski by **Matuszewski**, the present Finance Minister, one of the most important theoreticians of Polish fascism, would be regarded as a satisfactory result by the Sejm. The oppositional speakers argued that a change of government is necessary in order to establish the indispensable collaboration of the Sejm with the government in the fascisation of the Constitution.

It is perfectly clear that the formal resignation of the Switalski Cabinet does not mean a change in the fascist regime in Poland. The broad toiling masses already realise that the government which came into power by means of an armed putsch, cannot be overthrown by a vote in Parliament. Moreover the Switalski government is still functioning, and the fascist press declares that this period can last for a long time.

The events in the Sejm during the last days fully confirm the correct standpoint of the Communist Party of Poland, that the oppositional manoeuvres of the social fascists and their confederates relate only to the methods of the struggle against the

revolutionary movement; that the social fascists are only concerned with preserving a democratic cloak for the fascist dictatorship.

When the watch-dogs of the bourgeoisie, **Nidzialkowski**, **Zulavski** and **Dabski** declared their willingness to collaborate in applying the "legal forms" to the fascist reality in Poland, the Communist deputies of the Sejm raised their voices in protest, giving expression to the tremendous hatred of the toiling masses against fascism. The demonstration of the Communist deputies, who unfurled a red flag in the Sejm, aroused the bourgeois deputies to fury, and once more the united front between fascism and social fascism in the struggle against the revolutionary movement found clear expression.

On the day of the opening of the Sejm great Communist demonstrations took place in Warsaw, Lodz, Lublin, Zirardow, in Upper Silesia, Vilna, Lemberg and a number of other places. These demonstrations were linked up with the struggle for the defence of the Soviet Union (demonstration before the American Embassy in Warsaw) and for the protection of the political prisoners (demonstration before the Paviak prison in Warsaw). The demonstrations, which expressed the unshakable will of the proletariat to establish the Soviet Power upon the ruins of the fascist government, were dispersed by great police forces which applied the newest technical means. A number of killed and wounded demonstrators is the result of the tremendous intensification of the fascist terror.

But neither the bloody terror of fascism nor the treacherous oppositional demagogy of the social fascists can hold in check the swelling revolutionary tide in Poland. The ferment among the workers and peasants is growing; in spite of the anti-Soviet incitement of the social fascists, the sympathies of the masses in West-Ukraine and West White Russia are turning towards Soviet Ukraine and Soviet White Russia. The recent events in the Sejm will also help to rally still greater masses under the red flag in order to hoist the flag of the Polish Soviet Republic upon the ruins of fascism.

The Struggle in Austria is Still Going On.

By G. Z. (Vienna).

The fascist associations of all shades emphatically declare that they do not intend to remain satisfied with the Constitution adopted by Parliament, and that there can be no question of disarming after their victory.

"What has been achieved is far short of the aim set itself by the patriotic population, as whose representatives the *Heimatbund* and *Heimwehr* have fought shoulder to shoulder. What has so far not been achieved must and will be attained at the next stage of the fight.

The struggle is being continued with redoubled force".

The above quotation is from an appeal of the "*Heimatbund*". And the military parade, with full war kit, of the Vienna *Heimatschutz* under the command of Major **Fey** on Sunday December 8, through several "red suburbs of Vienna", i. e. the industrial districts of the southern outskirts of Vienna and the great military manoeuvres of the front fighters union in *Burgenland* on the same day, show with what means this struggle will be continued.

It would be an illusion to believe that the Parliamentary adoption of the fascist constitutional reform has caused any relaxation of the tension in Austria.

The so-called "left" press, which had the task of assisting the social democracy in its treachery and for this purpose had played with the threat of a struggle by social democracy against the *Heimwehr*, has now, after the Parliamentary agreement, asserted that Austria has been saved from the danger of civil war.

This assertion is absolutely contrary to the facts. The very day after the votes of the social democratic deputies had been given in the National Council for the fascist constitution, the armed bands of Major **Fey** provoked the workers of *Atzgersdorf*, *Neu Erlaa* and attempted to storm the workers' club in *Vösendorf*, and even marched in closed ranks through the whole

of Favoriten (a purely working class district of Vienna) — a thing they had never ventured to do before — thereby defying the prohibition of parades issued by the social democratic Burgomaster. On the same day the fascists in Burgenland beat up workers and peasants who did not show them sufficient respect. A day or two ago members of the Heimwehr in Vienna even broke up a meeting of the christian socialist trade union leader Kunshak because the latter has made propaganda for his own fascist organisation, the christian "Freiheitsbund" (Freedom League), instead of for the Heimwehr.

So much for the "easing" of the situation in Austria!

The profound economic crisis, which is leading to a catastrophe and wholesale unemployment — the number of unemployed has increased by 50,000 within four weeks — renders illusory any "peaceful" solution. Whilst the bourgeoisie is proceeding to increase the customs duties even during the present session of the National Council, which is bound to lead to a tremendous increase of prices, the standard of living of the Austrian workers is already to-day unbearable, and hunger is radicalising the broad masses.

A profound fermentation is taking place among the unemployed workers. How far this has already found organisational expression was shown by the delegate conference convened by the Committee of Action of the Vienna Unemployed on 13th of December, which was attended by 48 delegates, elected by groups of unemployed workers. This Conference adopted a programme of demands, including 50 per cent. increase in unemployment benefit, special allowance of 100 Schillings to meet the extra expenses in the way of warmer clothing, fuel etc. during the winter months. Similar delegate conferences of unemployed are to be held in the provinces.

In this connection special mention must be made of the first Vienna delegate Conference of working women, which took place on the 15th of December. It was attended by 28 delegates elected at factory and workshop, meetings (18 Communists, 3 socialdemocrats and 7 non-party), 3 delegates sent by organisations and 24 guests.

The resolution unanimously adopted by the Conference contained the following demands: Equal pay for equal work, against capitalist rationalisation, for 10 minutes rest after every hour's work on the conveyor, against all night work and child work, against high prices, against the fascist Constitution, against the new imperialist war, for Soviet Russia and for a Soviet Austria.

Thus from these revolutionary conferences of factory workers, unemployed, of working women etc. there is being formed, under the leadership of the C. P. of Austria, the revolutionary cadre of leaders, who in the process of the abandonment by the Austrian workers of social fascism must place themselves at the head of ever larger masses and gain the leadership of the Austrian proletariat in this fight against fascism which is still being waged in an intensified form.

CHINA

The Nanking Government Crisis.

The military and political crisis in China has already assumed such sharp forms that the existence of the Nanking Government itself is endangered. The sanguinary war against Feng Yu Hsiang in North China ended in a draw: both sides were weakened, but Feng's troops retreated, after being paid some millions of dollars for so doing. Immediately after this "armistice" Nanking found itself confronted by new enemies. In the south, Chang Fa Kui and the Kwangsi people continued their attack on Nanking. Two divisions of the former Feng Yu Hsiang General Shi Yu Hsiang rebelled immediately before Nanking. This revolt extended to the whole province of Anwei, at the head of which Shi Yu Hsiang had recently been placed, and spread over to Kiangsu, where the rebellious troops apparently succeeded in holding up the railway traffic between Shanghai and Nanking. Finally, a few days ago another old militarist in the Kuomintang service, Tan Shen Shi, turned against Nanking, captured the province of Honan and is now advancing on Hankow, in which direction the troops of Feng Yu Hsiang are also advancing.

What unites this block of enemies of Nanking?

Nothing but hatred against the "ruling" Nanking group, the fight for power. The moment of the victory of this bloc, therefore, would also mark the beginning of its disintegration, the beginning of new and fiercer conflicts among the present allies. Thus the victory of the bloc would not by any means signify the end of the fights in the feudal bourgeois camp.

Let us assume, however, that Nanking succeeds in suppressing the revolt of Shi Yu Hsiang and Tan Shen Shi, in detaching Canton and retaining "power". Even in this case they still remain in reserve the anti-Nanking Feng Yu Hsiang, Yen Si Shen, the Mukden people, not to mention the smug generals. Thus even in the event of a temporary success of the Nanking government there still remains every prospect of continuation of the fights of the Kuomintang generals.

It must be emphasised that the sharpening of the war of the Generals in China has been called forth by the contradictions among the imperialist groups who stand behind the Kuomintang generals. As a matter of fact the power of the Nanking government is already broken everywhere, with the exception of a few small districts in Central, South-Eastern and Southern China. At bottom it matters little whether the Nanking clique is formally overthrown or whether its numerous enemies (who are not united among themselves and each of whom is pursuing his own ends) previously turn upon each other and the crisis is solved by a rotten compromise, which only perpetuates the present state of affairs. In either case there exists the obvious fact that the Kuomintang reaction of the bourgeoisie and large landowners has proved itself incapable of accomplishing its historical task of uniting China and creating the necessary presuppositions for the economic development of China.

The events of the last few days destroy the last illusions regarding the possibility of stabilising the regime of the bourgeoisie and the large landowners in China. The failure of attempts to establish unity and the collapse of the Kuomintang regime in general, is accompanied by a revival of the revolutionary movement of the working and peasant masses, which points to a new and powerful upsurge of the real workers' and peasants' revolution in China. Only by this victorious revolution will it be possible to unite the country and to eradicate it from the chronic economic crisis.

The Chinese counter-revolution, which has changed to some extent as regards its class structure, finds itself in a vicious circle from which neither Wang Chin-wei nor any "reorganisationist" can help it to escape. It is again a question of preparing a "northern expedition", of a new revolt of the working and peasant masses, but this time not under the flag of the Kuomintang but under the red fighting flag of the Chinese Soviets. It is in vain that Cheng Fa Kui and Wang Chin-Wei are striving to get Canton into their hands. Canton, the scene of the great Commune, will never become the base of the prostitute Kuomintang.

AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

Partisan and Mass Fights in Palestine.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

After the events of the last few weeks there can be no doubt that the anti-imperialist fights in Palestine have entered upon a fresh stage. This stage is characterised by the increased efforts of the Arab feudal-bourgeois leadership to put a complete end to the insurrection and to arrive as quickly as possible at a settlement with the British and — as is shown by a number of signs, such as the visit to Palestine of the British adventurer Captain Canning, projects for the solution of the Palestine question by the well-known "pro-Arab" Philby and by a number of articles in the Arab press — even with the "moderate" Zionists. But neither the terrible methods of Terror of the British Government (death sentences, imprisonments, fines) nor yet the treachery of the leaders will be capable of destroying the movement, which, with the support of the masses themselves, is spreading in two directions: in the direction of unorganised partisan fights (especially in the rural districts) and in the direction of spontaneous mass outbreaks (especially in the towns).

The partisan fights are chiefly of a peasant character. Now it is the resistance of the peasants to attempts to disarm them (for instance, in the villages around Jerusalem), again the defence they put up against the confiscations by the Zionist colonists, whose appetite and predatory methods have not been modified by the events (conflicts between native Arabs and colonists have taken place, especially lately, near Wadi Havaras), and again primitive attempts at attacks upon British posts and individual Zionist colonies — such is the expression of the partisan movement in various parts of the country.

Although, in view of this movement, the Zionists shout about "brigandage" and the British make every effort to trace the "bands", "peace and order" cannot be restored. Nor can the terribly high tributes be collected. The Arab fellah and edouines — the poorest of the poor — whose yearly budget amounts — as was stated in reply to the representative of the British Labour Party on the investigation commission — to 2 to 18 pounds sterling, whose conditions can hardly be worse than they are — continue to fight with the courage of despair and with their own primitive methods, even though they have long been betrayed by the feudal clique.

As to the mass movement in the towns, this, too, has got quite beyond the control of the leaders. As the interests of the commercial bourgeoisie lie chiefly in competition with the Jewish traders, the leaders wanted to use the mass movement by proclaiming a boycott slogan and thus augmenting their own profits under the cloak of nationalism. But their plan to make the movement purely anti-Semitic was doomed to failure. On the contrary, when the Government utilised the boycott agitation as a pretext to arrest several anti-imperialists (including Hamdi el Hussein and some of his supporters, who were summarily hassified as "Communists", although they had never represented a radical-nationalist programme), there was a big mass-rotest movement in Jaffa, which developed into a general strike.

The strike and the disturbances in Jaffa lasted several days. There was a demonstration in front of the government buildings and it was no easy job to disperse the crowd; several of the people arrested (who were sentenced to deportation by the administration) resisted the British police and the masses made attempts to rescue the prisoners. Things became so tense in Jaffa that a warship was sent to stand by and a number of warplanes were mobilised. But effectual help was again rendered to the Government by the national-reformist leaders: when the movement in Jaffa threatened to become an armed rebellion, when the fellahs from the surrounding villages began to swarm into Jaffa and, when it became necessary to support the action at Jaffa from several other points in the country, the Arab leaders thought it time to call the movement off; they liquidated the strike and stopped the solidarity demonstrations in the other towns.

"As long as the investigation commission remains in the country", ran the decision, which was issued in the name of the Great Mufti, "the Arabs must preserve peace."

This was, of course, only an expedient to give the leaders a chance during the lull in the movement to bargain in London, for the representative of the Arab executive, Jamal el Hussein, had gone there for that purpose.

In the proclamations of the Communist Party of Palestine, which are distributed in the Arab language, the people are called upon to convert the general strike into an anti-imperialist insurrection, to form revolutionary workers' and peasants' committees for the purpose of taking the leadership from the hands of the traitors. The slogan of the seizure of the land of the big landowners and of the rich Zionist colonists is set up. In the proclamations, which are issued at the same time in Hebrew, the Jewish workers are called upon to fraternise with the supporters of the revolutionary Arab movement. Both proclamations close with the slogan: "Down with imperialism! Long live the workers' and peasants government!" In Jaffa large red flags with Arab inscriptions have been hoisted to call upon all workers to unite for the fight against Zionism and imperialism.

The progressive radicalisation of the masses opens up from stage to stage of the revolutionary events greater and greater perspectives for its consciously revolutionary leaders.

The Whitley Commission in India.

By A. G. E. (London).

In January 1929, the appointment of a Royal Commission "to explore all aspects of the Labour problem in India" was announced by the British Viceroy.

Repression of the worst form has been carried out against the working class in India; the shootings of strikers, ruthless dispersal of demonstrations by armed police and soldiery, intimidation laws and other repressive legislation; arrests of the chief leaders of the workers in all the chief industries, the chief example of which is "Meerut", where the most prominent leaders are now undergoing trial for organising the workers, but charged with conspiracy.

Ruthless and brutal repression is the chief form of the activity of the British Labour Government, but "Commissions to investigate" is an attempt at a more subtle form to head off the militancy of the Indian workers.

The Whitley Commission in Britain in 1917 played its role and served the purpose of capitalism by partly diverting the attention of the workers at that most critical post-war period when militancy was at a very high peak. A number of prominent British Trade Union leaders were in hearty accord with the Commission. Was not Clynes, now the full-blooded Social fascist member of the Labour Imperialist Government a signatory of the British Whitley Commission Report?

The Indian Nationalist press have criticised the membership of the Commission, or as a "costly experiment" and that "there should be more Indians on it, not imported foreigners" etc. etc. Messrs Joshi and Chaman Lal, the champions of the 2nd International, are members of the Whitley Commission. They had not the sanction of any section of the Indian Trade Union movement to sit on such a commission. While it is true the boycott of the Simon Commission was backed by the Nationalist leaders, it was the working class movement in India who recognised the need to take active steps to boycott it completely.

The Whitley Commission landed on October 11th, 1929. On Sept. 14th at the Trade Union Conference of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh held at Cawnpore, at which 1000 workers were present, a resolution to boycott the Commission was unanimously passed.

A Boycott of the Whitley Commission has also been decided by the following organisations:

1. The Barabazar Labour Union, Calcutta;
2. The Workers and Peasants Party;
3. The Bombay Youth League;
4. The Independence of India League;
5. The Mill Workers' Union, Bombay;
6. The Girni Kamgar Union Bombay;
7. The G. I. P. Railway Kamgar Union;
8. The Bombay Port Trust Railway Union;
9. The Bombay Port Trust Employees Union;
10. The Tramwaymen's Union;
11. The Hawkers' Union.

The above Bombay organisations also arranged Mass Meetings where resolutions to boycott were enthusiastically passed. At a mass meeting in Bombay on Sept. 25th, the speakers denounced the Commission as "an Imperialist camouflage to facilitate the exploitation of Indian workers by capitalists and imperialists".

Joshi and Chamann Lal were denounced as "agents of British Imperialism". The Hall was decorated with slogans: "Down with Imperialism"; "Withdraw the Meerut Trial"; "Remember our Meerut Comrades"; "Remember the class war prisoners".

It was also arranged to conduct a series of mass meetings to further the boycott.

At Nagpur, two mass meetings were held, one on Sept. 24th, under the auspices of the G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union and on Oct. 1st under the auspices of the Nagpur Youth League, at both of which boycott resolutions of the Commission were passed.

The Bombay G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union held a mass meeting in Bombay on Oct. 14th and a resolution of boycott

was passed. At the sitting of the General Council of the All-India Railway Federation complete boycott was advocated, but a few dissentient voices were raised and it was finally decided to relegate the matter to the Annual Congress.

While the Commission were taking evidence at Karachi, the workers of Karachi came out on strike. Some of the newspapers made out that it was a strike to call the attention of the Commission to the grievances of the dock workers, in reality the strikers were demanding a nine hour day (they work 11 hours without a break) and an increase in wages (The wages of a seaman are Rs. 22 and a fireman Rs. 27 per month).

Meanwhile the type of witnesses who appear before the Commission at Karachi is significant; e. g. the Buyers and Shippers Chamber, Karachi, handed in a memoranda, the witnesses were, the Chairman of the Port Trust, Karachi; the Chief Engineer, Lloyd Barrage and the President of the Karachi Municipality. The Government of Madras, and the Punjab Chamber of Commerce also presented memoranda, while at New Delhi, the Director of Industries, the Inspector of Factories and several of the Railway Board acted as witnesses. A furore was raised in the press due to the reports of the Railway Board being refused to the Press. The Bombay Chamber of Commerce submitted a memorandum which will weigh with the "Commission" because it is a re-hash of the arguments put before the Fawcett and the Pearson Commission, with the object of stifling militant trade unionism. One paragraph is as follows: "Communism is encouraging the Indian labourer to demand that which he could not earn and was not worth in the industrial market of the world."

Finally at the Nagpur Session of the All-India Trade Union Congress, the question of the Whitley Commission created a split. Joshi and Chaman Lal, the leaders of the Reformists, left the Congress. They refused to accept the Congress decision. Later, the Congress, after the decision, passed several far-reaching "left" proposals.

Despite terrorism, arrests and brutality, the Indian workers are marching forward; the boycott of the Whitley Commission denotes a tremendous advance in international class consciousness and a realisation of imperialist exploitation.

THE BALKANS

Yugoslavian Social Democracy in the Service of Imperialism.

By Peter Muzevitch (Zagreb).

Throughout the existence of the Yugoslav State Yugoslavian Social Democracy has played the role of lackey and helper of the ruling Great Servian bourgeoisie. This role found particular expression at moments which were critical for the role of capital and the bourgeoisie, for instance, during the period immediately after the war and the demobilisation crisis in the years 1918 to 1920, when the Social-Democrats Koratch, Kristan and, later, Bugshak entered the first "Yugoslavian" Government and when, afterwards, the "Democratic-Socialist Government" was formed. Even at that time it was the chief task of the Social Democrats to combat "tribal separatism" among the working masses of the non-Servian nations, i. e. to fight against the efforts towards national freedom made by the Croats, the Slovenes, the Macedonians, the Montenegrins, the Hungarians and the Germans, and by means of propaganda for class peace, sabotage and prevention of strikes, to render possible the political and economic consolidation of the ruling Great Servian bourgeoisie, "all in the interests of our young National State."

As soon as the Belgrade potentates felt strong enough and no longer needed the services of Social Democracy in the Government, the Social-Democrats were removed from the Government, and since 1920 there has been no further bourgeois-socialist government in Yugoslavia. But the Social Democrats continued to enjoy privileges, and the Servian bourgeoisie supported them by every means. They got the monopoly of the labour exchanges and the whole of the social insurance. In these institutes there were no elections, even though elections were provided for by the law. All functionaries of the Social Democratic Party, from the lowest to the highest,

are employed at these institutes. The reformist trade unions managed by the Social Democrats were not only supported by the ruling bourgeoisie in every direction, there were also in the provinces and in small towns where the workers were driven into the reformist trade unions by the police.

During this period (1921 to 1929) the Social Democratic leaders tried to simulate the class struggle and oppose the ruling Servian bourgeoisie and to fool the working masses naturally, in all big wage conflicts and strikes they did their best to help capital, but at the same time they made a great deal of play with such phrases as "pure class struggle" and the like. It became their task "ideologically" to fight the Communist Party, which, with the help of the Government, taken up a clear and revolutionary attitude on the national question (right of self-determination for all non-Servian nations, even to the extent of separation), while the Government fought the Communist Party by means of the State Protection Act, prison and assassination.

As, however, since the murder of the Croatian peasant deputies in the Belgrade Parliament (June 1928) a fresh crisis of the whole system has begun seriously to erode even the foundations of the dominion of the Servian bourgeoisie at court and in the military camarilla, Social Democracy has laid aside its pretence of opposition to the ruling class. In their proclamation to the masses the executive of the Government of Yugoslavia tried in conjunction with the Government to thrust the responsibility for the crime in Parliament on the victims themselves and called upon the masses to be "reasonable". The absolutely open support of the Government by the Servian Social Democrats at the head of the party led to quarrels with some of the Social Democrats in the provinces (particularly in Croatia), which, however, did not change the basic fact, the conversion of the Social Democratic Party into a Social-Fascist party.

The creation of the military-Fascist dictatorship brought this conversion into clearer expression but within the last few months has called forth from the Social Democrats the recognition of the special Yugoslavian form of Fascism, absolute, military-Fascist dictatorship.

The Social-Democratic Party was dissolved along with all the other political parties. The dissolution was, however, only of a formal character, for, on the one hand, prior to the dissolution the Party really consisted merely of officials and committees, practically without members, and these committees, etc., were permitted to continue in existence even after the "dissolution" of the Party, and, on the other hand, the reformist trade unions were not only not dissolved, on the contrary, the Government tried by dissolving the Red trade unions to give the reformists a monopoly of the organisation of the working class. While, after January 1929, an awful wave of Terror set in, thousands of workers, peasants, Communists and national fighters being thrown into prison, hundreds of them being sentenced to long terms of imprisonment and hundreds assassinated, all trade-union, cultural and sports organisations not under Social-Democratic leadership were dissolved, the Social-Democratic trade-unions and organisations not only continued their activities undisturbed but were supported in every way by the regime (cheap fares on the State railways for persons going to attend Social-Democratic gatherings, etc.) Right from the beginning it was clear that there was good feeling and a perfect understanding between the military-Fascist dictatorship and the Social Democrats.

The Social Democratic Party became a political support of the military dictatorship, while the reformist trade unions together with the "national" trade unions of the civil servants, railwaymen and the seamen constituted the basis upon which, according to the plans of the regime, the future Fascist trade union movement was to be built up.

The co-operation of the leaders of Social Democracy and of the reformist trade unions with the military dictatorship found expression in two directions:

1. In regard to the trade unions, in that the reformist trade unions try to prevent every wage fight and strike movement.
2. In regard to politics, in the intensified agitation against Communism, against the Soviet Union and against the national freedom movement, in the "ideologic" defence of the military-Fascist dictatorship and of the Servian hegemony, as also

ideological preparation of war in the Balkans and on the Adriatic Sea.

Dr. Zivko Topalovitch, general secretary of the Social Democratic Party and of the labour chamber, multi-millionaire and Belgrade lawyer and former defender of the notorious corruptionists (army contractors), appears as chief ideologist of Yugoslavian Social-Fascism. When, in connection with the constant incidents on the Yugoslavian-Bulgarian frontier, the Bulgarian Social Democrats sent a memorandum to the II. International, Topalovitch replied with an open letter to **Friedrich Adler**, which was published by the whole of the Yugoslavian government press. In this letter he openly defended the Servian hegemony thesis in regard to Macedonia and tried once more to disprove the accusations of Bulgarian Social Democracy to the effect that the Yugoslavian Government is preparing a Balkan war, by "theoretically" showing that, on account of domestic difficulties, the Belgrade Government is obliged to be "pacifistic" in foreign affairs. But Topalovitch's greatest feat was performed recently, when the Croatian question again became very prominent, the hostile feeling of the Croatian masses against the military-Fascist dictatorship became steadily more threatening and the crisis in Yugoslavia became more and more acute. In the government press (the Belgrade "Politika" and the Belgrade "Pravda") there appeared several leading articles by this "socialist" leader in support of the Government.

There remains but one thing more to say: The disgraceful favour-carrying of Social Democracy in relation to the military-Fascist dictatorship is resulting in the fact that the broad mas-

NOTICE.

Change of Address.

From the 28th December next the address of the "Inprecorr." will be

**BERLIN, C 25,
BARTELSTRASSE 1-5, III, GERMANY.**

All communications, both business and editorial, intended to reach us on or after that date should therefore be sent to the above address.

ses of workers and peasants are now eschewing more than ever this party and its trade unions. The Social Democratic Party was previously losing its influence upon the working masses (in spite of all the support rendered to it by the regime, at the last parliamentary elections in 1927 it polled scarcely 23,000 votes, while the **Republican Workers' and Peasants' Federation** received 43,000 votes, despite the extensive persecutions), and to this is now added this phenomenon of workers leaving the reformist trade unions, although these are the only labour organisations which are permitted. The broad masses of the workers and peasants, as also of the oppressed nations, see clearly that the **Communist Party** is the only party which is carrying on a serious fight against the regime of oppression, and they will entrust that party with the leadership of their revolutionary and national fight for freedom.

Report by Eye-Witness of the Trial of the 52.

Berlin, 12th December 1929.

The French lawyer and Member of the French Chamber **Berthon**, who passed through Berlin on his way back to Paris from Sofia, reported to German press representatives concerning his experiences in Bulgaria, where he attended the trial of the "52" at the instance of the **International Red Aid**.

He dealt first with a visit to the Sofia Central Prison where hundreds of political prisoners are serving life sentences or long sentences for political offences. The prisoners, he declared, were confined in airless and gloomy cells and were chained hand and foot with irons weighing about 16 kilogrammes. The political prisoners had been charged for the most part with being members of the Communist Party or with having succoured political fugitives. Political prisoners were treated even worse than common criminals. In the prison hospital, and also in the cells, he met numerous prisoners suffering from tuberculosis contracted in prison. Amongst the political prisoners was a 13 year old child. The age of full responsibility commences at 12 in Bulgaria. He also reported that many prisoners were confined in punishment cells below the ground, in cells without windows and without bedding. These prisoners slept on the floor and existed on bread and water.

The trial of the 52 workers' leaders, who were charged under the law for the protection of the State with belonging to the illegal Communist Party, or even to the legal "Workers Party", was held in a barracks heavily guarded by troops and not in the usual court buildings. Despite all the precautions of the authorities they had not been able to prevent public opinion learning of the frightful tortures to which the accused had been subjected. It had been proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that a number of the accused were murdered before the trial or committed suicide in order to escape from the continual torture and maltreatment. During the trial a number of the accused produced pieces of their own flesh which had been torn from their bodies during the tortures. These tortures had taken place for the most part in the police prison, where the prisoners had been held for two months instead of the permissible 10 days.

During the trial the judges rejected at the request of the prosecution all the witnesses called for the defence. The trial would end with terrible prison sentences for the accused unless the international conscience of the world were sufficiently aroused. The trial had been organised in order to destroy the leaders of the working class movement, which was becoming more and more dangerous to the ruling classes. In conclusion **Berthon** expressed his pleasure at the fact that the **International Jurists Conference**, which is at present taking place in Berlin and in which lawyers of all shades of political opinion are participating, unanimously decided to send a telegram of protest against the President of the court before which the monster process against the "52" is taking place.

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

The Victory of the Party on the Grain Front.

By A. Mikoyan.

We can and must already draw the political conclusions from the grain procuring campaign which is now ended.

There is nothing more instructive than to compare our actual situation at the present time with those predictions and prophecies with which the Rights attempted to frighten the Party.

"A simple arithmetical calculation suffices in order to prove that they (the Soviet estates and collective farms) cannot in the next few years be the main source of supply of grain", declared the Rights.

According to their calculations we should not be able in the next few years to connect the successes of our policy in the village with the successes of the Soviet and collective farms. The arithmetic of the Rights has proved to be all wrong, both in regard to the collective farms and the Soviet estates. On the basis of our Bolshevik arithmetic the Soviet and collective farms have yielded in the present grain procuring campaign about 2,100,000 tons, that is over 15 per cent. of the total grain obtained, and in the year 1930 have to supply about half of the grain to be obtained. The Grain Trust, which in the year 1929 cultivated 150,000 hectares and supplied 131,000 tons, will in the year 1930 cultivate one million hectares, which will yield 819,000 tons of grain. According to the Plan for 1931, the area cultivated by the Grain Trust is to be increased to four million hectares and to yield 3,276,000 tons, while according to the first proposals of the Five-Year Plan the Grain Trust was to supply only 1,638,000 even in the year 1932/33. This quantity is being supplied by the Grain Trust alone, which comprises only the new and most modern Soviet estates and not the older Soviet estates.

The process of the socialist transformation of peasant economy is a severe blow to the Kulaks. By establishing our socialist authority in the village by means of the combine and the tractor, sorted seeds, chemical fertilisers and — consequently — an increased yield, we are breaking the active resistance of the kulaks and creating and securing the presumptions for a broad movement of the masses of poor and middle peasants for collectivisation. While in the year 1928 the appeal of the Central Committee on the tasks of the Party in the grain procuring campaign stated that the kulak is "the economic authority in the village", the collective and Soviet economic construction, with its machine technics, is now annihilating the economic authority of the kulaks in the eyes of the peasantry. We are laying in an incredibly short period the firm foundation of socialism, and upon this basis there is taking place the **thorough solution** of the whole grain problem, the complete transference of agricultural economy onto socialist lines.

The correct line of the Party secured the success of the grain procuring campaign just ended. The most important prerequisite of the victory on the grain front was the fact that, the Party carried out its policy **without vacillation**. It unswervingly pursued the line of victory on the grain front by organising the masses of poor and middle peasants, exerting pressure on the kulaks and achieved a complete victory on the most important economic front.

A comparison of the provisional results of the grain procuring campaign up to the 1st December, i. e. for five months, with the corresponding period of last year gives the following picture (including the deliveries of flour, i. e. the percentage of deliveries in kind prescribed by law).

Plan year	Amount procured in five months		
	Tons	Tons	Per cent. to which plan realised
1929/30	13,923	12,810	92.1
1928/29	9,418	4,750	50.4
1927/28	10,106	4,341	43.0
1926/27	10,598	5,569	52.5

Without including the deliveries of flour the year's plan of the whole grain procuring had been already realised up to 90.3 per cent. by 1st December.

This table sufficiently characterises the present grain procuring. In five months 36 per cent. more grain was obtained than in the whole of the previous year. If we compare the figures for the past five months with those of the corresponding period of still earlier years, the result is simply astounding.

When we commenced the grain procuring campaign we first made it our task to carry it out by the 1st January in the majority of districts and by the 1st February in the most remote districts and those which have a late harvest. Later, however, we shortened these periods by one and a half months, i. e. altered the final dates to 1st December and 1st January respectively.

By the 1st December all districts had carried out their plan, with the exception of the central Volga district (95%)

and central Asia (92.2%), which will probably complete the grain collecting within the next few days. The campaign was very successful in the Ukraine, where the plan was exceeded by 14 per cent. Last year the Ukraine delivered only 1,785,000 tons, while this year it delivered 4, 422,000!

If we ask, by what means has the Party achieved these results, we can be convinced beyond all doubt that the achievement of these results was possible thanks only to firm Bolshevik will and steadfastness in the realisation of a number of measures.

In the first place we exercised influence upon our organisations. We have energetically opposed any competition in the procuring of grain and created right from the beginning a united front of planned economic grain procuring organisations against the kulaks, the Nepmen and the speculators.

Further, we pursued a determined tactic against the enemy, and concentrated our blows on the chief adversary, the kulak, and thereby secured a successful course of the campaign. There were mistakes, but these mistakes were overcome in the course of the campaign. With regard to the kulak we firmly adhered to our line, which, as is now to be seen, was the correct thing to do. The implacable resistance of the kulak, his acts of terror and murder, were answered by an annihilating blow on the part of the proletarian dictatorship. The active elements in the village saw that the Soviet power is strong enough in order to deal with the enemy; that the functionaries in the village, who carry out the policy of the Party and the Soviet power, are adequately protected by the State.

The Contract Action (system of supply contracts) proved to be the most important means for the systematic compression of the small peasant farms in the State plan and indicated the way to the exchange of products according to plan between the town and country by eliminating, step by step, the anarchy of the market.

In its further development the Contract Action is beginning to assume forms of production and pledge the town and country to reciprocal tasks, with the result that the collective economic movement receives a powerful impetus.

How many threats and evil prophecies the Party had to hear from the Rights in this connection! They frightened us with "degradation", with the annihilation of the incentive to production, with the impermissibility of converting the small producer of commodities from a seller to a "deliverer" of grain. The Rights were not capable of grasping those phenomena, the new stage of the alliance which we are approaching.

An essential factor of the grain procuring is the considerably increased supplying of the village with industrial articles. In the period just past 43 per cent. more industrial articles (amounting in value to 1,100 million roubles) were supplied to the village than in the previous year.

An important role in the grain procuring was played by the mobilisation of the active elements of the poor and middle peasants. We would never have achieved the results we have if we had not, by a whole system of measures, succeeded in inducing the middle peasants to adapt themselves to the new conditions of production, to the collective farms, machine and tractor stations. We succeeded in achieving this by introducing machines and tractors into agriculture, by mobilising the forces of the party and the Young Communist League, by mobilising thousands of the best workers, by organising workers brigades. The great political significance of the campaign which has been carried out is that it has been accompanied by a decided improvement of all Soviet apparatuses, by a consolidation of the Party nuclei and by a growth of the active Soviet elements in the village.

The result is not only that we carried out the grain procuring plan to 100 per cent. and put by a considerable reserve of grain, but that we have also given a powerful stimulus to further collectivisation. We have attracted the poor peasants to us, increased their activity, seriously shaken the power and the economic authority of the kulak; we have succeeded in getting the middle peasants to go over to collective farming and in consolidating the co-operatives. This campaign has confirmed the words of Lenin, that "the struggle for grain is at bottom, the struggle for socialism".

TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

The V. Congress of the All-China Federation of Labour.

By Pantus.

The All-China Federation of Labour has successfully concluded its V. National Congress. The Congress bore the character of a workers' Congress. The delegates were not only representing the Red trade unions affiliated to the A. C. F. L., but they were elected at conferences of workers which included representatives from factories not organised by the unions belonging to the A. C. F. L. The preliminary agenda sent out to each organisation was discussed at all gatherings, and decisions were made which formed the workers' proposals which the delegates submitted to Congress. The Congress had to be held secretly, therefore the number of delegates had to be limited. Those present came from most important industrial and commercial centres and provinces.

The opening of the Congress was proclaimed on November 1, the XII. anniversary of the Russian Revolution. The formal opening included the endorsement of circular telegrams sent to the Russian workers and peasants, the R. I. L. U. and its affiliated organisations and to the workers and peasants of the Pacific and the P. P. T. U. S.

Among the various resolutions the most important was the one dealing with the work in the yellow unions. Hitherto there had been some hesitancy in entering wholeheartedly upon the difficult task of penetrating the Kuomintang yellow unions whenever they have attained a membership. The Congress was unanimously agreed that far more attention must be paid to combating the influence of the treacherous Kuomintang fascists, that the Kuomintang unions are more distinctly fascist unions than reformist unions with a voluntary membership. Therefore the recent international decisions emphasising the need for turning attention to the formation of factory committees as a basis for forming class unions are of first-class importance for China.

The militant workers will attend all meetings and put forward their demands, if the Kuomintang should be forced to allow them, especially when the workers are developing a militant mood. If at such meetings the workers, under militant leadership, should challenge the yellow traitors it will be the duty of the red union members to demand a vote to unseat them and to be elected in their stead. But this is far from being a question of policy under such conditions. It is now purely a tactical question. Having replaced the traitors the militant leaders will prepare the new policy and form a class union. But this does not mean the yellow unions will cease to exist, for the Kuomintang fascists will attempt to reorganise and attempt to oppress the militant unions. From this, however, the greatest political experience will be obtained in practical struggle. By developing the struggle along these lines, upon a factory basis, rallying the masses by putting forward their demands and attending to their grievances, exposing the treachery of the yellow Kuomintang traitors daily in the factory, connecting the struggle or immediate workers' demands with every important political issue, leads to a winning of the masses and formation of class unions, and not to the control of the Kuomintang yellow unions. These are a few of the conclusions we can draw from the discussions and the resolutions.

The factory committee resolution explains in simple language the character of a factory committee. Because unions in China are based upon the factory many workers have hitherto thought factory committees to be trade unions. Not only will factory committees now be formed in all factories where red unions do exist, but those already in existence will be given additional tasks. Factory committee conferences will be held and the delegates will form a Council whose duty it will be to organise conferences to which delegates shall be elected by the workers of each factory. These will form united front movements against yellow union leaders, discuss the demands of the masses, draw up plans for extending factory committees and other forms of factory organisation. This will give the militant class unions

a proper basis of work and a correct perspective which must lead to a branch of the militant class union in every factory, etc.

The next most important resolution is the one dealing with the women and the youth. This resolution settled the question: is rationalisation possible in China? It is definitely stated that rationalisation is taking place. But this does not mean there are large amounts of capital available for expansion of industry in China, although the resolution states "new machines are being introduced". That all the worst forms of rationalisation have been introduced is clearly proven: "In the silk industry hours have been prolonged from 12 to 15, workers are forced to attend more machines and wages reduced. In the light industry adult workers are greatly reduced. No longer do they occupy the dominant position. Therefore the youth, women and children have become an important factor in strikes. It is because the militant class unions have neglected them, and therefore through their lack of experience, most struggles in which they have been involved, are defeated... It must be noted the employers not only exploit them terribly, but both foreign and Chinese capitalists employ them to smash effectively the fighting front of the class struggle." Rationalisation in China is worse than oppression. It will send additional hundreds of thousands of youths and children to an early death. It was therefore decided that revolutionary unions must connect the special demands of the youth, women and children with those of adult workers; give them participation in all organs of the unions and create auxiliary organisations for them. In educational classes it was decided to combat the "San Min Chu I" which is utilised by the yellow unions. Youth and women's papers must be established to combat the doctrines of the yellow union officials and to put forward their demands.

The Congress enthusiastically endorsed a proposal to send a workers' delegation to the U. S. S. R. and to commence a campaign in the factories to collect funds and prepare workers' conferences for the election of delegates. This will be the first time a Chinese workers' delegation has visited the Soviet Union, and it is certain that the Chinese workers will receive much enlightenment from such a visit.

Other resolutions dealt with organisation (red unions), alliance of trade unions and peasant organisations, propaganda, press and education, pickets (the workers' army), workers' aid, and the attacks upon the U. S. S. R., and the seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway.

The Congress was of great value, for the delegates were able to compare their experiences in the various struggles they have been engaged in. Each related the different methods employed by the Kuomintang reactionaries to control the masses, ranging from bribery to murder. \$70,000 was cited as the price paid by the Japanese to the Kuomintang to settle one textile strike and to bring about the defeat of the workers, while everyone could relate how their comrades are languishing in prison or being executed.

The objective self-criticism was upon a friendly basis and a high level. Especially were the delegates very critical of the members of the Executive Bureau of the A. C. F. L. They urged them to maintain a closer connection with the masses and to respond more rapidly to strikes and other situations. The relationship between the A. C. F. L. and its affiliated unions, they claimed, was not close enough. The propaganda must be better adapted to the masses. Self-criticism was not confined to the centre but also to the bad tactics used in other localities. "Commandism" is nearly completely eliminated, and gradually actual workers are taking leadership in the various unions and Federations. There is an increase of local militant unions, although no one denies the extension of the yellow union apparatus under the fascist methods of the Kuomintang. Those who previously fought against entering yellow unions are forced to see they are a factor preventing the development of the class struggle, and must be fought, both from within and without, and supplanted by militant unions.

Under the Kuomintang dictatorship no one had any illusion about legality of class unions in China, although everyone agreed that legal and semi-legal forms must be maintained. By such forms it is possible to have a large mass influence and even a very wide membership.

Both the **Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat** and the **Red International of Labour Unions** were represented at the Congress. Great enthusiasm prevailed upon the appearance of the representative of the R. I. L. U., the delegates rising to give their appreciation of the great work of the Profintern.

The new E. C. is composed of a large majority of employed workers drawn from the important industries and centres, a large number of whom do not belong to any political group or party. This Congress has been a great success from every aspect. It has laid a good basis for future work and it is to be hoped that the incoming E. C. will carry through its tasks without such casualties as the last E. C. suffered, a majority of whom lost their lives, being caught and executed for carrying out their duties on behalf of the Chinese working class, as well as on behalf of the international proletariat.

Message to Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat from All-China Federation of Labour.

To the P. P. T. U. S. and Trade Unions of all Pacific Countries:

Dear Comrades!

Just at the present critical juncture when the imperialists the world over are utilising the Kuomintang of China to launch a most provocative violent attack upon the U. S. S. R. in order to precipitate the outbreak of the imminent world war, especially affecting the Pacific and when the conflicting military groups of the Kuomintang are acting under the instructions of their respective imperialist pay masters, and are engaged in severe dog fights and smashing the revolutionary movement of the working class in China by ruthless and savage persecution and white terror, the **V. National Labour Conference of China** was officially opened.

All the delegates, assembled at the Conference, unanimously adopted a resolution that a telegram be addressed to the P. P. T. U. S. and to all our brother trade unions of the countries bordering upon the Pacific. The Conference accepted with the most sincere thanks the valuable assistance and instructions given us by the P. P. T. U. S. for the past two years. The campaign for the defence of the U. S. S. R. against imperialist attacks and against the reformist traitors of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the International Labour Office of the League of Nations, so clearly pointed out by the recent **Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference**, is a central task of our Conference. We feel very much gratified that the recent P. P. T. U. S. Conference has strengthened the solidarity of the Pacific workers.

The imperialists are attacking the only proletarian State of the world, the revolutionary movement of the Chinese working class and peasantry, and are making feverish preparations for the impending world war that will be largely a Pacific war, in order to engage the masses of all the countries around the Pacific in slaughter of each other for the interests of imperialists. Furthermore, they are directing their running dogs, the traitors of the Amsterdam International and other yellow reformist bureaucrats (Suzuki and his associates) to organise an **Asiatic Labour Conference** with a view to splitting the militant P. P. T. U. S. and assisting the capitalists and the ruling class to intensify their attack upon the working class and break the resistance and solidarity of the working masses. It is true they have not made much progress because large masses of Asia's toilers already understand these manoeuvres; but to under-estimate our enemies would be a mistake. Therefore in this condition the task of the working class of all Pacific countries has become heavier and more urgent. Only the strengthening of the united front of the working class in the Pacific area can defeat the international reformists and yellow traitors, resist the most violent attack of the enemy and transform the war upon the U. S. S. R. and the imperialist war into anti-imperialist and anti-bourgeois wars and into national revolutionary wars in the colonies.

The delegates assembled at the **V. National Labour Conference of China** are of the firm and unanimous opinion that in order to attain the object mentioned above and in order to fulfil the great task of the Pacific working class, all the trade union organisations of the Pacific countries must strengthen their ranks and unite and fight shoulder to shoulder under the leadership of the **Red International of Labour Unions** and the **Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat** against the imperialists and their agents, the Amsterdam International, the proposed Asiatic Labour Conference and all yellow traitors and renegades.

With the most sincere and fraternal greetings, We remain

Presidium of the **V. National Labour Conference of China.**

Shanghai, Nov. 7, 1929.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

New Mass Struggles in Greece.

By P. RYNOs.

The economic situation in Greece is becoming more and more every day. The exceedingly high taxes, of which 36 per cent are devoted to the repayment of loans and payment of interest and 20 per cent. to the Ministry for War and to the Ministry for Marine, mean a great impoverishment of the small peasant and town petty bourgeoisie. In order to check the growth of the crisis a leading bourgeois paper has put forward the demand that the peasants be forbidden by law to migrate to the town. The government has partly met this wish by excluding about half of the students from universities by enormously increasing the entrance fees. The attack on the part of the native and foreign capitalists upon the working masses is being carried out along the whole line. In connection with the rationalisation of industries the employers have launched a general offensive for cutting down the already low wages of the workers, who amount on an average to about half a crown a day.

This offensive was commenced simultaneously against the workers in the tobacco, the textile and the transport industries. Large numbers were dismissed and unemployment benefits considerably reduced. The employer's offensive has now been extended to other sections of workers: the gas workers, tramway workers, railwaymen, electricians etc. At the head of this offensive is an English company which by a special agreement has secured to itself the monopoly of the electric lighting and the maintenance of the tramway service connecting Athens with Piraeus. At the same time the tobacco trust is directing a general attack on the tobacco producers, who this year, as a result of a 50 per cent. increase of production, are compelled to sell their products at half price.

The radicalisation of the toiling masses in this struggle is quite obvious. In the course of a single week about 11,000 peasants, according to the bourgeois papers, met together in the great demonstrations against the government. Although the leadership of these peasant demonstrations was in the hands of bourgeois politicians, the masses of peasants adopted a revolutionary attitude and threatened an armed insurrection in the event of the government not fulfilling their wishes. About 4,000 students have been already for some weeks on strike against the measures of the Venizelos government. In the first days of the strike mass demonstrations took place, in the course of which it came in various places to fierce collisions between the police and the students.

At about the same time a strike broke out in Athens and Piraeus which involved the gas workers, the tramway motor-bus drivers, and electricians. The workers in the electricity works of Piraeus have decided to proclaim a solidarity strike, a fact which considerably increases the sharpness of the struggle. At the same time there is also noticeable among the railway workers a movement to join the strike in order to prevent a wage cut by the government and the employers.

This fight has a clear political character. The dictator Venizelos openly declared that his efforts are aimed at raising the wages of the better paid workers to the same level

the worst paid workers. He likewise declared that the peasants (who according to his opinion belong to the most privileged section of workers) can only achieve their demands by a strike. In order to keep the essential services going, said have been drafted in from the warships, and these are led by a strong military force.

The attitude of the social fascists is, as is usual in such cases, very ambiguous. In view of the revolutionary mood of the masses they do not venture to declare themselves openly against the strike. In fact they have on occasion declared themselves in favour of the class struggle in order to obtain the leadership of the strike, and it looks as if they have achieved their aim in Salonika. In general, however, the leadership of these matters is in the hands of the Communists. This was especially the case in Athens and Piraeus. The successes of the social fascists are to be attributed solely to the weakness and inefficiency of our movement. In those places where the social fascists declared themselves in favour of the strike, our Party members ceased their fight against them, declaring that the peasants did not wish to hear their criticism and that they wished to maintain unity at all costs. In spite of all the mistakes and weaknesses, this strike is of great importance for the Greek peasant class which has shown that it is prepared to fight.

THE PEASANT MOVEMENT

Before a European Peasant Congress.

By P. Schultheiss.

During the past few months the public has displayed considerable interest in a forthcoming Congress of working peasants of Europe. This Congress is being prepared by a committee which has its headquarters in Berlin, and which includes among its members the well-known Sejm deputy Vojtovics, the former leader of the Italian peasant party "Popolari", Dr. Migon, whom the fascist terror has driven into exile, and several more or less well-known leaders of the radical peasant movement of France, Czechoslovakia, Holland as well as of the Baltic and Balkan countries.

The action of the Committee has aroused a great response among the working peasants in Europe and even evoked a peasant movement in some countries. It is all the more surprising, therefore, that the Communist press, with a few exceptions, has also the Communist Parties have remained entirely passive towards and ignored this movement. The European peasant Congress and the movement aroused by it deserves the attention of the Communist Parties, as this movement signals the taking away of the broad masses of the peasants from the traditional leadership of the big agrarian interests.

This phenomena, which is nothing but an accompanying phenomenon of the economic differentiation of the peasantry, is one of the characteristic features of the third period of imperialist capitalism. This process which, it may be remarked, is more or less consciously recognised by the agrarian economists of the bourgeoisie, is pointed out quite plainly by the well-known scientific agronomist Professor Kurt Ritter, who writes:

"We who are living in the present period, are witnessing the most powerful revolutionisation which has ever affected the agriculture of the whole world. Capitalism in agriculture is nothing fundamentally new. It is long since the first beginnings were made. But the extent to which capitalist methods have been applied to agricultural production in the first quarter of the 20th century is simply enormous.... The ominous slogan "transference of the land to the best cultivator" is making headway. This change, which is economically quite understandable perhaps necessary, is unavoidable. (Professor Kurt Ritter: Einflüsse des Kapitalismus auf Art und Größe der landwirtschaftlichen Produktion, Berlin, Paul Parey, 1929.)

The same tone is noticeable in the report of the American Agricultural Commission when expressing an opinion on the situation in German agriculture in the last few years:

The visible change is so great that the period in which we are now living will undoubtedly appear in the future as one of agricultural transformations comparable with the industrial revolution of the last century.

Nevertheless, this process is not a simple process of the penetration of capitalism into agriculture. It differs from the normal process of capitalisation, firstly, in that it is taking place in the third period, which means a general sharpening of antagonisms not only in individual spheres but in the whole system of bourgeois economy. The second difference consists in the fact that this process, which is taking place in the third period, is further aggravated by a special crisis of the whole of agriculture. The third difference is, that this process, owing to the impoverishment and indebtedness of the agrarian countries of Europe, that is to say, owing to their lack of capital, is marked by an unusual intensity.

It is on the basis of the above factors that the differentiation of the peasantry is taking place. As, however, the peasantry of Europe, as a result of the general shortage of capital, are affected to a greater extent by the crisis of agriculture than the peasantry of the overseas countries, and therefore the differentiation degenerates much more into a pauperisation, it naturally follows that the political differentiation is much more advanced than in other parts of the world. Another factor contributing to this increased political differentiation is the historical development of agrarian conditions, which in the European countries has raised the peasant movement into a tradition. The increased political activity of the peasants is a phenomenon to be seen only in the last few years. This activity, however, often constitutes a strong support of reactionary tendencies, in particular of fascism, which is striving, not without success, to create for itself a broad basis among the discontented masses of the peasantry.

It is all the more necessary, therefore, that attention be devoted to a movement which — like the European Peasant Congress — does not follow in the wake of fascism, but which has such planks in its platform as: Alliance with the proletariat, Fight against fascism and danger of war. The other aims which this movement has set itself are: Fight for land, fight against exploitation by the big landowners, capital and the State. All these are demands to achieve which we must not fail to help the working peasantry.

In spite of these aims and demands there is much that is unclear in the platform of the Committee. We do not know, for instance whether in the slogan "Fight against war danger" a pacifist illusion is not concealed. Moreover, in this platform the slogan "alliance of the peasants with the proletariat" is not precisely formulated. We do not know in what sense this alliance, which for us communists is inseparable from the principle of the leading role of the proletariat, is meant.

In spite of such lack of clarity, or better said, precisely on account of such lack of clarity, we communists are in duty bound to take an active part in this movement, and to endeavour to lead it into the proper channel. It is our duty to see that, by the work of the Committee for preparation of the European Peasant Congress, not only the masses organised politically in various parties are mobilised, but all the great mass of the unorganised, the peasant women and the peasant youth.

The winter period of work which has already commenced in the rural districts is very favourable for our work among the peasantry, and renders it necessary that we carry it on with increased energy. In addition to extending and strengthening the village nuclei, in addition to trade union work among the agricultural workers, faction work in the mass organisations of the peasants is one of our most important tasks. A considerable part of this work consists in participating in the district and village committees for the preparation of the European Peasant Congress, in order that this movement, and the Congress itself, shall become a factor making for the practical realisation of the alliance of the workers and peasants.

PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

The Position of the Working Women in Fascist Italy.

By Ita Mint.

The Italian working class is in a particularly difficult position. Fascism created for the Italian workers a regime which completely deprives them of all rights and subjects them to a barbarous exploitation, for fascism has to raise the means for the upkeep of the army, for the maintenance of its power in the colonies and for the realisation of its new predatory plans. The Italian bourgeoisie is seeking, and finding, ever fresh methods of reducing the already miserable wages of the Italian workers. According to Italian official statistics, real wages in various branches of industry have fallen by as much as 20 to 40 per cent. since the fascists came into power. For example, the wages of the building workers have fallen by 32 per cent., those of the dock workers by 40 per cent., those of the railway workers by 30 per cent. etc. The working class families have to endure chronic starvation. The workers have no possibility of uniting in class trade unions for the purpose of conducting economic struggles; they have no freedom of press and assembly, and are completely crushed under the burden of taxation.

The conditions under which the Italian working women live are even worse. Their wages are much lower than those of the men even when they are performing the same work. Since the establishment of the fascist regime the wages of women have fallen disastrously, while at the same time prices have continually risen. Whilst, for example, in the year 1921 a woman textile worker working eight hours a day earned on an average 150 lire a week, she now earns not more than 50 to 60 lire a week working nine to ten hours a day. Male labour in the textile industry receives on an average 90 to 95 lire for the same work.

Fascism wishes to have a superfluity of workers and a plentiful supply of cannon fodder for the predatory wars it intends waging. It is therefore carrying on propaganda for increasing the birthrate among the Italian workers, and demonstratively grants a bonus of 200 lire to the mother who brings ten or more children into the world. But every increase in a worker's family means, with the existing beggarly wages, still greater poverty and misery.

In order to stifle every inclination to resistance Italian fascism avails itself of the aid of the Church. Religious propaganda has been considerably increased especially since the conclusion of the pact between fascism and the Vatican. The imperialist robbers and the hypocritical "representatives of the divine power on earth" do not shrink from using any means in order to eradicate the militant spirit of the Italian proletarian women. Evidence of the shameful activity of the Italian fascists and of the heroic and self-sacrificing struggle of the Italian women workers is furnished by an article which appeared in the illegal communist women's paper "Campagna" (The Woman Comrade) on August 1st under the title "The Italian working women against fascism". The article states:

"The working women have taken their place and fought honourably in the hard fight waged by the Italian proletariat. Many of them have fallen as heroines.

The fascist Special Court condemned 28 proletarian women to a total of 129 years' imprisonment. We will take this opportunity to mention our imprisoned comrades: Giordina Rosetti, a young textile worker from Biella, has been sentenced to 18 years' imprisonment on account of communist propaganda; Felicita Ferrero from Turin has been sentenced to six years' imprisonment for supporting the families of political prisoners; Anna Poviniano, a young working woman from Como, and one of the accused in the great trial of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, has received a sentence of six years' imprisonment; Lea Giacale, the wife of Comrade Betti, a functionary of the C. P. of Italy who was driven insane by torture, has been sentenced to four years' imprisonment. Comrade Viana Isida, a textile worker from Biella, Corona Fiesco from Padova, and many others have likewise been sentenced to four years' imprisonment.

Many of these women have distinguished themselves by their bravery; many of them were cruelly tortured. An example Zaira Cianchi, a young clothing worker from Florence, who has been sentenced to three years' imprisonment. She appeared before the court with the most fearful marks of torture, which had completely distorted her face. Many of these women have already become dangerously ill in prison. Comrade Pusterla has contracted tuberculosis. Lina Morandoti had to be removed to a lunatic asylum. It is only in rare cases, however, that we get exact details.

The frightful exploitation and misery are impelling the workers to take up the decisive fight against fascism.

The peasant women are in the same situation. It suffices to quote the figures given by the central organ of the last trade union, "Il Lavora Fascista", which admits that 70 per cent. of the income of the agricultural labourers and peasants is subjected to 13 different taxes. The news of serious peasant outbreaks in a number of districts of Italy shows that the cultural workers of Italy will be good allies of the Italian proletariat in the fight against the fascist yoke. Victory can be achieved, however, only if the Italian working women, who have already given sufficient proof of their militant spirit, are drawn into this fight.

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