

- INTERNATIONAL -

PRESS

CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 9. No. 71

27th December 1929

Editorial Offices and Central Despatching Department: Berggasse 31, Vienna IX. — Postal Address, to which all remittances should be sent by registered mail: Postamt 66, Schliessfach 213, Vienna IX. Telegraphic Address: Inprekorr, Vienna. — Telephone: No. A-10-1-28.

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The Revolt in Haiti.

By William Wilson.

Haiti with its enormous agricultural wealth, with great undeveloped mineral resources, with an abundant supply of cheap labour, Haiti with immense strategical importance, lying as it does in close proximity to the Panama Canal and still closer to the proposed Nicaraguan Canal with harbours which can be readily converted into naval bases, offering another market for the expansion of American imperialism, was seized and became a part of the colonial empire which American imperialism is forming in the Caribbean Sea region.

The economic basis was laid when the national railroad of Haiti and the Banque Nationale de la Republique d'Haiti became the property of the National City Bank of New York. But politically, Haiti occupies a tremendously important position. Haiti lies in the centre of the Negro population of approximately 15 millions, the British West Indies, Cuba, the Central American States and Brazil. The position of these Negro peoples differs little if at all from the present position of the Haitian Republic, and the influence of the struggle there will undoubtedly play an important part in the further development of the struggles of these peoples against American imperialism.

The finances of the Haitian government were seized and withheld by the agents of American imperialism until the Haitian authorities agreed to the establishment of such a "constitutional government" as the government of the United States considered its duty to support. This "constitutional government" immediately

"accepted" a new constitution for Haiti drafted by the agents of American imperialism. This constitution made possible the "legal" control of the land by American imperialists through the abolition of the law prohibiting the ownership of land by foreigners. This "constitutional government" immediately entered into "treaty" relations with the United States under the terms of a treaty drafted by the officers of the National City Bank of New-York. This treaty provided for a general receiver and officer of the National City Bank of New York to collect Customs duties on Haiti's exports and imports. It provided for a tariff preferential to American imperialism. The agents of American imperialism took charge of all the departments of government, and new taxes were imposed upon Haitian people to meet the costs of this administration. The American dollar became the country's legal currency; English was substituted for French, the former language of the country, in the public schools; a loan, \$22,000,000 of which has already been advanced, was "solicited" by the new Haitian Government. This loan was not to promote industrial development in the country generally, but only such development as would enhance the imperialist exploitation of its raw materials.

A programme of road building with forced labour was introduced. The "corvee" or road law, provided that each citizen should work a certain number of days on the public roads to keep them in condition or pay a certain sum of money. Men

are seized anywhere and everywhere and no able bodied Haitian is safe from such raids which resemble the African slave raids of past centuries. Those who protest or resist are beaten into submission, those who attempt to escape are killed.

A reign of white terror ensued. The Haitian press has been censored almost out of existence and all of those who have expressed any condemnation of the imperialist penetration of the country are now in jail or have been driven into exile. Leaders of the American fascists' organisations, the Ku Klux Klan and American Legion hold a most responsible position in the departments of government. Mulattoes are pitted against blacks and given preference for those positions not in possession of the white agents of American imperialism.

Approximately 80% of the import trade is in the hands of American imperialism, and to increase its volume, the development of native industry is everywhere retarded. One-third of the import trade consists of cotton goods, while at the same time the second largest export is raw cotton. Resources of raw materials, coffee, tobacco, sugar, and cotton are almost all under the control of American imperialism. But no effort is being made to develop the mineral wealth of the country.

More and more rapidly the expropriation of the peasantry is effected. The hut tax has been introduced to accelerate the tempo of its separation from the land. Now a new law forcing the peasantry to prove ownership of the land by deed, has been passed. This is virtually impossible, as the peasantry for the greater part secured its land through the slave revolution of 1804. Thus, the driving of the peasants from the land will now be "legally" accomplished.

At the base of the present uprising lies the land question. The plantation system being introduced by American imperialism effects the destruction of peasant economy and adds to the misery and poverty of the countryside. The wages of the agri-

cultural workers have been reduced to less than 20 cents a day. The price on the market for the products of the peasants, now one-half of what it was before American intervention, while the cost of living has doubled.

The driving of the peasants from the land has enormously increased the number of the unemployed. American imperialism has attempted to solve this question by supplying Haiti with contract labour to the American imperialist forces exploited in Latin America. Last year 20,000 natives of Haiti were sent to work on a banana plantation of Columbia. The wages of these industrial workers have been reduced far below the actual cost of living.

Today's struggle in Haiti is not against American imperialism alone, but also against its native agents. At the present time the Haitian Patriotic Union, an organisation of intellectuals, student organisations and bourgeois and petty bourgeois elements are leading the struggle against American imperialism. But the role always played by these elements must be fully shown to the Haitian workers and peasants. Already we are witnessing the organisation of independent workers' and peasants' defence organisations. The future of Haiti lies in the hands of these

The Haitians have a revolutionary history and revolutionary traditions. A relentless struggle will be carried on against American imperialism, but the liberation movement needs organised leadership. Through the Anti-Imperialist League, the workers' and peasants' organisations must be linked up with the international struggle against imperialism. The time is ripe for the formation of a Communist Party in Haiti, placing the leadership of the movement in the hands of the Haitian proletariat. Only under the leadership of the Communist International can the workers and peasants of Haiti free themselves from American imperialism and establish a workers' and peasants' republic.

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.

(Conclusion.)

Old Claims and Propaganda.

We have pleasure in recording the fact of the resumption of normal relations with Great Britain, which, we do not doubt, also fully and wholly corresponds to the interests of the British people. All sincere friends of peace must rejoice that the state of discord between two such powerful States as the Soviet Union and Great Britain is now at an end. The adjustment of the Anglo-Soviet differences must be considered as the removal of one of the greatest anomalies of international life. But what actually has happened? Is not the existence of diplomatic relations between any two capitalist States looked upon as an altogether normal and ordinary phenomenon, not deserving of any particular degree of attention? Why, then, is the resumption of relations in this instance looked upon as anything extraordinary? There is no satisfactory answer to this question, unless we realise the atmosphere to which I have already referred, the atmosphere of general hostility towards the Soviet Union. In spite of numerous declarations on the part of statesmen of the capitalist countries as to their alleged endeavours to include the Soviet Union in the so-called "family of nations" on the basis of full equality and their readiness to concede to the people of the Soviet Union the right to construct their own social and political system, they are in fact of opinion that the absence of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and capitalist countries is altogether a normal state of affairs. The resumption of relations with the Soviet Union is looked upon as something out of the ordinary, some-

thing calling for explanation and justification. If any European State makes an exchange of diplomatic representatives with the most distant trans-oceanic country, with which it has hardly any political or economic interests in common, no one thinks it necessary to ask for an explanation.

But if it is a question of establishing diplomatic and economic relations with the Soviet Union, a country of 140 million inhabitants, the question is raised as to why and where, as to the interests at stake and the nature and extent of advantage to accrue therefrom, as to whether the trade balance between the two countries will be favourable and whether a guarantee of a favourable balance can be given.

If it is definitely pointed out that a connection with the Soviet State is bound to stimulate trade and industry, to diminish unemployment, to cheapen raw materials and articles of consumption, and, in a word, that this connection will be highly advantageous to all economy and thus also to the entire population, fresh questions are put forward: will such a connection benefit a certain factory owner, a certain bank, a certain insurance company, or a certain group of persons that suffered losses twelve years ago at a historical moment during the October revolution? And if no absolutely satisfactory answer can be given to this question, the interests of the country in its entirety are sacrificed to the apparent interests of individuals or individual groups. I say, to the apparent interests, since in reality even these persons and groups fail to profit by the absence of a connection between

our countries and the Soviet Union. The defenders of these apparent interests, whose plans are bound up with the long fact of debt-annulment and the nationalisation of factories, ought to remember the incidents of a yet more recent time, e. g. the time of the intervention, from which claims arise in favour of our State and of numerous private persons. We do not, however, consider the existence of these extensions an obstacle to the maintenance of normal relations with other countries.

The refusal to resume normal relations with the Soviet Union or the rupture of such relations is not always openly substantiated by a reference to the prosaic interests of certain persons or groups. If there is need of an explanation based on "superior" considerations and more comprehensible to the broader bourgeois class and particularly to politically less marked circles, the "bogey" known as Propaganda is trotted out.

In the capitalist countries, be it remembered, contentment, tranquillity and social peace prevail. All classes of the population — proletarians, peasants, officials, and petty bourgeoisie, are merely content with the state of affairs, aspire to no improvement, and find no reason to protest. There are no street demonstrations, no strikes, no peasant revolts, no Communist movement; no one knows anything of the country that is engaged in building up Socialism or of the dictatorship of the proletariat, not a word penetrates regarding the Comintern. In short there is nothing to menace the foundations of the country. But if in such a country an embassy or trade delegation of the Soviet Union makes its appearance, the aspect of things changes immediately. Suddenly the workers' movement awakes, suddenly, as through by magic, it adopts violent forms of development; the appeals of the Comintern have quite a different sound and are differently interpreted by the proletariat, the hitherto quiet and peaceable colonial peoples begin to rise against the mother country, and the revolutionary movement and discontent start drawing ever wider circles.

This is generally how the consequences of an initiation of relations with the Soviet Union are described whenever some bourgeois group or other or the political party representing does not desire such relations for some entirely different reason. It is useless to prove that a workers' movement of a substantially revolutionary nature existed long before the October Revolution and now exists everywhere irrespective of the existence or absence of a Soviet representation in the country in question, that there is not only a simple workers' movement but a Communist movement, that this movement develops differently even in two countries in which there is a Soviet representation and consequently has altogether different roots, that its development is affected by absolutely different and unchangeable causes of capitalist society, which is based on the exploitation of the workers, and that there has never been any proof of the existence of a formal or actual connection between the Soviet organs abroad and the local labour movements. It is useless to point to the simple truth that in every country and every colony there are plenty of people well acquainted with the local conditions, vernacular, and mentality of their compatriots, who are better in a position to rally and guide the existing economic or national discontent than are the legendary ubiquitous "emissaries" from Moscow.

It is useless to argue because those who scare their fellow countrymen with the bogey of propaganda do not themselves seriously believe in the existence or significance of such propaganda. They merely rely on the ignorance and backwardness of their hearers or readers, who can be served up with any nonsense without regard to facts or documents.

The question broached by me has, however, also a reverse side. What is it that is really wanted of us when we are accused of propaganda?

An authentic reply is to be found in the formulation of those obligations which were suggested by Mr. Henderson and which we agreed to accept in a reciprocal relation with the British Government. This formula, to which we agreed on the basis of the agreement of 1924, runs as follows:

"The contracting parties formally declare their resolution and intention to live in peace and friendship with one another, carefully to observe the incontestable right of a State to arrange its existence according to its own desires within the limits of its own jurisdiction, and to keep themselves and all persons and organisations directly or indirectly under their control — including the organisations receiving any form of financial help

from them — from any overt or covert act which might in any way constitute a danger to the peace and safety of any part of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics or the British Empire, or which aims at undermining the relations of the U. S. S. R. or of the British Empire with a neighbouring or any other State."

The preceding paragraph obviously refers to the indisputable principles by which the States must be guided in their reciprocal relations but which in the past were obviously not adhered to by some one or other.

Let us inquire into these principles. In making use of our unassailable right to fashion our lives as we choose, we have established the irrevocable principle of a foreign trade monopoly. Do the capitalist States show respect for our rights in again and again attacking our foreign trade monopoly and attempting, by an albeit futile pressure exercised upon us, to attain an abolition thereof by all the economic means at their disposal? Do they respect our jurisdiction if foreigners and their governments are not ashamed of openly protesting against the one or other judicial or administrative measure of the Soviet authorities? Can analogous instances of a pressure on our part on other States be cited, for the purpose of attaining a renunciation in our favour of one or other system of their internal institutions? There are no instances of this sort.

Who is it that violates the relative principle of international life, we or they? And furthermore, did the intervention of the Powers in 1918—20 create a danger for the peace and prosperity of the Soviet territory? Did the military help rendered to Poland in its attack on Rumania in 1920 constitute a danger for the peace and prosperity of any part of the Soviet territory? And the relations of official personages and even of governments with the monarchist and terrorist organisations of emigrants and their Ukrainian and Georgian "pseudo-governments" — are they perhaps kept up in the interest of the welfare of the Soviet Union? The confirmation of the so-called Bessarabian protocol by Great Britain, France, and Italy with the object of an apparent legalisation of the military occupation of Bessarabia — did it not constitute a danger to the peace and welfare of the Soviet territory? And this same fact of the confirmation of the Bessarabian protocol — did it not aggravate the relations between the Soviet Union and its Rumanian neighbour by creating a lengthy and very serious conflict? The conclusion of military conventions by numerous States with Poland and Rumania, their constant provision with war material and instructors, the delegation of military missions or generals to Poland and Rumania for the advancement of their war preparations, and finally the favouring of various combinations for the purpose of surrounding the Soviet Union with a ring of alliances among the Baltic and other States — does all this improve or spoil the Soviet Union's relations with its neighbours? Did the attitude of certain States during the present dispute with Manchuria, particularly in the last few days, aim at an improvement or at a deterioration of our relations with our Chinese neighbour? Can analogous or even approximately similar actions on our part to the damage of other countries be cited? It will not be possible, since no such instances exist. And if the acts enumerated by me stand for "propaganda", are they not for the most part committed by those States which raise the greatest hue and cry at our alleged propaganda and demand of us guarantees for the future?

If we look more closely at the "propaganda" which is not mentioned but obviously meant in the formula I had occasion to speak of, what is the general impression we shall gain? Hundreds and thousands of press organs in almost all countries have for the last twelve years been daily libelling the Soviet Union, attacking the Soviet system, and insulting the Soviet Government in its entirety and especially certain members thereof, without any squeamishness in the choice of epithets, inveighing, besmirching, trying to prove the bankruptcy of our aims and methods, forecasting our inevitable ruin, and praising the capitalist system at the expense of the Communist.

But it is not only press organs that occupy themselves with this matter; many highly esteemed statesmen do so too — Ministers past, present, and future. Anti-Soviet speeches are delivered from Parliamentary benches in anything but Parliamentary language. Such speeches, indeed, are to be found in the inferences and substantiations of the findings of foreign courts of law, which are well-known to distinguish themselves by their "impartiality". Is not all of this a form

of propaganda directed against the Soviet Union? This propaganda the severe political public prosecutors on the other side of our borders affect not to see. But when the "Isvestia" or the "Travda" or any other of the numerous newspapers in the Soviet Union dares to speak disrespectfully of the capitalist regime or of some foreign statesman or other, at the same time extolling the advantages of the Communist system, there is a storm throughout the international press, questions are asked in the different Parliaments, there is a rain of diplomatic notes and protests, and rumours arise of so-called Soviet propaganda which must be countered by special measures and which even represents an obstacle to the initiation or maintenance of normal relations with the Soviet Union.

If Socialism, which is for the present only being built up in one — albeit a large and powerful — country, is not a prey to misgivings, and fears no breakdown as a result of the spoken and written utterances in Parliamentary speeches, sermons, and thousands of newspapers and periodicals distributed in various countries in millions of copies, why must the capitalist system, which exists in almost all the rest of the world, "tremble" at the literary productions of some Moscow papers or the speeches of Soviet functionaries? All this would be ridiculous if it did not cloud the international atmosphere.

How nonsensical, frivolous, and unfounded the accusation of propaganda is which is directed against the Soviet Government, must be apparent to all.

In this connection I cannot refrain from citing a remark made by Mr. Lloyd George on November 5th in the British Parliament in discussing the question of propaganda. Lloyd George, who is not a man likely to be suspected of friendly partiality towards the Soviet Union, spoke as follows: "As regards propaganda in the East, I must say that I have been a member of the House longer than the leader of the Opposition (Baldwin). I can tell him how we were formerly wont to judge of the propaganda of imperialist Russia in the East. I remember very well how the Russians at all times — and in my opinion rightly — were accused of propaganda in India and plans on that country. I remember one speech delivered by the father of the last Foreign Secretary (Chamberlain), in which he declared that not one word of the Russian Foreign Secretary was to be trusted and that whoever supped with the devil would need a long spoon. No one, and least of all Mr. Joseph Chamberlain then thought of a rupture of relations with Russia and of the expulsion of the Russian Ambassador. If any one in Parliament had suggested it, he would have been considered crazy." Going on to speak of the Soviet Union, Mr. Lloyd George made the following utterances; "It has possibly not quite the table-manners of the older Governments which have more practice in the methods of reservation, in hiding their thoughts, and in the management of propaganda. The thing is, to be prepared to deny everything. That is how it was in the past and that is how it will be in the future. The Soviet Government is slightly cruder, but the old Russian finesse of intercourse will return and then it will probably excel even past-masters in the art. It will manage its affairs in such a way that no one will be able to point a finger at the one or other Minister concerned. This is almost inevitable as long as the nations do not learn to understand each other better and as long as there is no greater degree of goodwill among them."

Mr. Lloyd George is not without humour and takes care to distinguish between himself and other statesmen who make themselves ridiculous when they speak with serious faces of the so-called propaganda. What is of importance, however, is the fact that we now possess the authoritative declaration of Lloyd George, who has occupied a great variety of offices in British Cabinets, including those of Foreign Secretary and Prime Minister. He publicly announced that the British Government, like the other Governments, carries on propaganda against all foreign States. It may be imagined that they make no exception in favour of the Soviet Union. Are further proofs needed of the hypocrisy of the pathetic accusations of propaganda on the part of the Soviet Union?

We ourselves demand of all countries represented at Moscow non-interference in our internal affairs, and this same policy of non-interference we loyally observe and shall continue to observe towards other countries. We must declare, however, that the unfounded general accusation of so-called propaganda or the attempt to make the Soviet Government responsible for persons and organisations over which it neither

formally nor actually, neither directly nor indirectly, exercises any control, cannot be regarded by us save as an intentional trumped-up substantiation of the non-resumption or the rupture of normal relations or of yet more serious anti-Soviet machinations.

The Economic Co-operation of Great Britain and the Soviet Union.

In returning to speak of the significance of a resumption of diplomatic relations with Great Britain, I must express my opinion that there can be no doubt as to the resulting economic advantage for both countries, which is hardly denied by one in England either. The British delegation of industrialists that visited us this year was convinced by reliable data of enormous possibilities which in our opinion attach to the operation of the two countries. It will be on the British business world and not least on the British Government that the extent to which these possibilities are exploited will depend. This is in our opinion a complete and separate task independent of the solution of one or the other question arising from former times. We hold that the liquidation of the questions which in view of the complicated nature of the matter in issue may take a considerable time, need not necessarily precede such measures as are occasioned by the interests of the present and the future. We hope that a way will be found for the satisfactory solution of these questions, provided the other interested party does not make fruitless attempts to force ideas and principles upon us to which we are strictly rather joining us in seeking such a solution of the problems as will prove advantageous to both parties. On our side there is no lack of goodwill or of earnest endeavour to establish friendly relations with the British people and to remove any misunderstanding hitherto created by certain circles with the intention of entailing a mutual estrangement of the two countries.

I have occupied myself mainly with our relations with two foreign countries, China and Great Britain, since the adjustment of our differences with them has constituted an essential part of our foreign policy of late. In our relations with other countries no material changes have come about since my last report at the session of the Central Executive Committee.

Our Relations with Germany.

We continue to entertain the most amicable relations with Germany. We continue to watch with the greatest sympathy Germany's attempts to liberate itself from the fetters imposed upon it by the Treaty of Versailles, under which the working classes suffer most acutely. We should be heartily glad if these attempts lead to a removal or at any rate a loosening of these fetters. Our own interests are not affected by German endeavours towards better relations with other countries, so far, of course, as Germany is not inveigled into anti-Soviet combinations or induced to depart from the basis of the Rapallo agreement, which was so beneficial both to Germany and to ourselves. During the last twelvemonth we have fresh proof that there are persons, groups, organisations, even parties in Germany that advocate a radical change in the entire German policy in the direction of anti-Soviet machinations for the sake of illusory political or economic advantages. Such attempts must be carefully watched, few and unimportant as their initiators may be. But we must not draw conclusions from them in the sense of a fundamental change in Soviet-German relations, which must also not be thought to be affected by a few inevitable misunderstandings or differences of opinion on questions of secondary importance. The circumstances which dictated the Rapallo agreement, laid the foundations of our long friendship, are to a great extent still in existence and must long continue to determine our mutual relations. The presumptions still exist which enabled Germany to occupy the first place in our mutual economic relations with the west. By the conclusion of a number of treaties and agreements, a broad basis has been created for the elaboration of our relations with Germany. Our connection with the Western countries has naturally increased and will continue to do so. This will obviously tend to enhance the competition of foreign countries for our markets. At the same time, the tremendous rate of development

our industry and agriculture has caused our requirements to grow enormously.

It is on Germany itself that its share in the satisfaction of these requirements will primarily depend.

Our Relations with Other Countries.

It is not without regret that we contemplate our somewhat uneasy though undoubtedly normal relations with France. Although the French bourgeois press in its entirety reflects the attitude of the French Government towards us in no more than a very slight degree, this attitude cannot but be considered very unsatisfactory. It is obvious that France is not inclined to occupy the least important place in the international action against the Soviet Union. On our part there are no obstacles in the way of an improvement of relations both political and economic. But we have no cause to assume that any possible steps in this direction on our part would meet with the necessary welcome in France.

Our relations with Italy are quite unimpeachable. During the last twelvemonth an Italian air-flotilla was received at Odessa and Soviet warships visited Naples, a spirit of hospitality being evinced in both cases. The economic relations between the two countries are likewise developing satisfactorily with the support and promotion of the respective Governments. We are glad to be able to establish the total absence of any misunderstandings between the two States.

I have just received a short communication from the Italian Ambassador at Moscow to the effect that his Government has resolved to join the action initiated by the United States. I should be glad to assume that the tardy arrival of this information points to hesitation on the part of the Italian Government and to its recognition of the fact that this step is not altogether in keeping with the relations which the two countries have been endeavouring to develop.

By signing the Moscow Protocol in regard to an accelerated operation of the Kellogg Agreement, we furnished an undeniable proof of our anxiety to ensure peace in general and peace with our immediate neighbours in the West in particular. Quite especially we had hoped that the Moscow Protocol would exercise a restraining influence on those Polish circles which are always endeavouring to sow and perpetuate discord between the two States. Unfortunately these hopes have been disappointed and our relations have from time to time been vacillating by reason of attacks on the part of certain representatives of the Polish State or of the Polish press.

The Polish Government apparently considers the present relations to be sufficient and altogether in order. We have rather a different opinion of what relations should be like and should greatly welcome an improvement; indeed, we once made suggestions to the Polish Government in this sense and it was by no means our fault that they remained abortive. We are glad, meanwhile, to observe a successful development of commercial relations of late.

It is with great satisfaction that we can record an uninterrupted development of friendly relations between the Soviet Union and the Free City of Danzig, a development which recently found utterance in the visit to Russia of Herr Saam, President of the Free City. The Danzig Government, moreover, recently gave us proof of its sincere endeavours to maintain friendly relations with the Soviet Union.

In our mutual relations with the Baltic States, no particular changes have come about of late. I am very glad to be able to record that in our relations with Estonia, with whom we concluded a commercial agreement in May last, undoubted progress has been made. It is my conviction that the better mutual understanding that has arisen between ourselves and Estonia in the last few months will serve as the basis of further development of the relations between the two States.

We entertain normal relations with all the Scandinavian States, though attention is called for in regard to certain imperialist aspirations of some Swedish circles in an Eastern direction.

The new Austrian Government has declared its readiness to promote the maintenance and further development of economic relations.

With Greece we have concluded a provisional commercial treaty guaranteeing the development of mutually advantageous economic relations.

In surveying our relations with Western countries, we cannot help remembering that on our South-Western frontier a province which was never formally separated from the Soviet Union is under foreign domination. This occupation does not seem to worry the self-appointed guardians of the Kellogg Pact. I refer to Bessarabia, the population of which has never ceased to desire a reunion with the Soviet Union, a fact we can never forget.

In passing over to extra-European countries, I must in the first place underline the uninterrupted and unimpaired maintenance of friendly relations with the great Turkish Republic. Friendship with the Soviet Union has the great advantage over friendly relations with other countries in that, in the latter case, a party temporarily in authority may sometimes enter into an amicable relationship which is perhaps immediately afterwards abandoned by the contrary policy of its successor. The friendship of the Soviet Union, on the other hand, is not dependent on transient conjunctions and casual combinations. It is backed up by a hundred million workers and all the peoples of a vast territory. This fact is bound to make itself felt in international politics. We know that Turkey appreciates our friendship just as much as we for the same reason appreciate that of the Turkish people. Comrade Karachan will shortly betake himself to the Turkish capital to transmit in person the assurance of our unchanged friendly attitude. Very shortly, too, there will be negotiations at Moscow in regard to some alterations of the Turkish-Soviet agreement of 1927. In view of the experience gained in the two years during which this agreement has been in operation, I do not doubt that we shall speedily bring these discussions to a satisfactory termination, thus creating a yet better basis for our further economic co-operation.

We are glad to be able to underline the fact that our relations with our great Far Eastern neighbour Japan have become essentially stabilised and that there are proofs of mutual loyalty in our intercourse. In Japan, as in other countries, there are certain groups that seek to bring about a deterioration of our relations and have recourse to all the methods customary in such a connection. In one instance these endeavours led to an action which was altogether incompatible with mutual loyalty. I venture to express the conviction that the endeavours of these elements will continue to fail as they have failed hitherto in view of the earnest desire of the Japanese Government and the Japanese people to extend and consolidate our friendly relations.

Our relations with Persia remain undisturbedly amicable. Persia's aspirations towards economic independence and consolidation of its international position will at all times meet with our understanding and sympathy.

Both countries are taking all possible steps to ensure an unhindered development of the mutual economic relations which are of great importance to both of them.

Our South-Eastern neighbours, the people of Afghanistan, have been through severe trials during the last twelvemonth. The occurrences in Afghanistan awakened apprehensions among us, who are interested in a continuation of the absolute independence of that country. Faithful to the fundamental principles of our policy, we refrained from any interference in the violent internal struggles of Afghanistan and from the support of one party against the other, at the same time paying attention lest interference should ensue from any other neighbouring country of Afghanistan. The troubles in Afghanistan appear to be at an end. Just as in 1919, when Afghanistan first appeared in the international arena as an independent State, the Soviet Government which was interested in a speedy pacification and stabilisation of the inner situation of Afghanistan, lost no time in officially recognising the new government. In reply to the announcement of the Afghan Foreign Minister on October 15th in regard to the formation of a new Government under Mahomet Nadir Khan, the Commissary for Foreign Affairs stated on October 19th in the name of the Soviet Government that the amicable relations between the two States had not ceased to exist and assured the Afghan Government of its readiness to develop these relations on the basis of such agreements as were already in force and in the interest of a consolidation of the independence and cultural progress of Afghanistan.

As regards the trans-Atlantic countries, there are unfortunately no diplomatic relations between this country and

the United States. At the same time, our relations with the American business world have been greatly stabilised and extended. The industry of the United States is particularly well suited to the rate of development in the industry of the Soviet Union. Under given circumstances further important steps can be taken towards an economic approach. We can quietly wait until this economic necessity is also recognised by those on whose part the steps in question depend, as has already been recognised by wide circles of the American business world. The reception recently accorded to our air-plane "Land of the Soviets", speaks, along with many other facts, of the existence and growth of interest and sympathy for our country in the United States.

Suddenly the independent Republic of Panama seems to have remembered the existence of the Soviet Union, and expresses apprehensions as to the safety of the Kellogg agreement. We can only express the wish that the agreement in question may also protect Panama itself and consolidate its independence.

We Must Continue to Consolidate our Power.

From this short survey of our foreign relations it appears that on the whole we have maintained our positions, apart from our loss in connection with the Chinese Eastern Railway, a loss I am certain we shall soon make up for. An undoubted asset lies in the resumption of the normal relations with Great Britain broken off two years and a half ago. It would, however, be naive and frivolous if we were to content ourselves with the stabilisation and improvement achieved and believe we had secured ourselves against all dangers from without. The disturbances affecting the capitalist world, its attempts to settle by violence the differences by which it is rent, and the complete failure of the pseudo-pacifist suggestions of disarmament, which betray the spirit of militarism and imperialism permeating international politics — all these are factors which do not permit us to relax our vigilance. The greatest menace, meanwhile, lies in the unrelenting hostility and ill-will towards the Soviet Union evinced by the capitalist world, which serves as a hotbed for intervention as in the case of Manchuria, for a policy of non-recognition and the rupture of diplomatic relations, and even more serious complications. There is no need to point out when and where warlike actions are prepared against us. It is sufficient to establish the existence of the hostility and the unwillingness of the capitalist States to put up with the existence of the Soviet Union as a fact which we cannot but regard as a continual menace to our country. By diplomatic means alone we cannot neutralise this menace and render it ineffective. A real balance of the situation can only be attained by a further strengthening of our internal power, by a successful realisation of our economic plans, by the promotion and development of the rise and the enthusiasm of the workers and small and middle peasants, by a further uniform consolidation of our Party, and — inasmuch as all our peaceful suggestions are consistently declined — by untiring efforts to strengthen the defensive forces of our country.

It cannot be expected that the hostility towards our country will materially decline, not to speak of ceasing altogether.

While strictly adhering to a policy of peace, it will be necessary to prepare for the possibility of a deepening of the said hostility into acts of violence against the Soviet Union. By economic measures we must render our country so strong and capable of defence that such acts of violence are altogether without prospect of success and that the hopelessness and risk of all such actions become apparent to all our possible opponents. But as long as the capitalist world with its imperialist tendencies continues to exist, obstinately declining all our suggestions of general disarmament and even increasing its armaments, there can naturally be no full guarantee that no violence will be practised on the Soviet Union. In view of this possibility, and only this possibility, we must see to it that the army and navy of the workers and peasants are always ready to answer to a sudden provocation. Our brilliant repulsion of the Chinese bands and of the efforts at conquest is a sufficient guarantee that we may be absolutely tranquil in this respect too. (Long and vociferous applause.)

POLITICS

The Political Situation in Germany.

Social Democracy Acts as Battering Ram of the Capitalist Offensive Against the Proletariat.

By Werner Hirsch (Berlin).

The parliamentary theatre of the German Republic, the Reichstag, has lately put on a new comedy. The scene is laid in the committee rooms, lobbies and the assembly hall, the "exalted house" for the duration of half a week, and the piece was called "Government Crisis". The Government concluded with a laboriously organised vote of confidence, which was voted against not only by the opposition parties, headed by the Communists, but also by 14 supporters of the German People's Party, which is on the government side of the house, while a great number of so-called "left" Social Democrats abstained from voting. The Hermann-Müller-Hilferding-Seydewitz Government, the big coalition of the bourgeois centre and Social Democracy, is once again saved. The government crisis therefore ended as was only to be anticipated from the beginning. It is hardly probable that the bourgeoisie will kick the Social Democrats out before New Year, namely, before the Young Plan has been definitely accepted. Such government crises as this Christmas crisis will surely not be more than prelude to the important things that are to come.

Nevertheless, the Christmas crisis in the German coalition government has a certain amount of importance, for the course of it gives a highly characteristic impression of the relations of the classes in Germany. It was at once apparent what an extent the contradictions within capitalist Germany have undermined all stability of the economic and political development, how serious and menacing for the capitalist order the crisis factors have grown to be. The government crisis in parliamentary chaffering — that was all play. But behind the play the forces of the classes are moving, the class crisis is developing and is in some degree reflected in the unsteady existence of the Hermann-Müller Government.

And what led up to the crisis? Even during the first stage of the negotiations concerning the Young Plan, i. e., towards the end of the Paris Conference of Experts in early summer, binding agreements were made between the Social-Democratic coalition government and the most important capitalist groups as to what domestic-political consequences were to ensue on the basis of the Young Plan. A large-scale programme for the enrichment of the capitalists and to enhance the exploitation of the broad masses was sketched out. The first step in the execution of this programme, to which the Hermann Müller Government was obliged to bind itself, was the attack upon all social-political institutions, for instance, the brutal raid on the coalition government and its social-democratic Labour Minister Wissell upon the pittance which is paid to the German unemployed. The chief blow in favour of capitalist profits and to the detriment of the toilers remained to be delivered in the financial reform proposed by the Social-Democratic National Minister of Finance, Hilferding, "the master theorist" of the S. P. G. For a number of weeks the capitalist press has been urging that this finance programme should be submitted, while the coalition government and Hilferding contemplated the publication of the financial reform only after the definite acceptance of the Young plan. Last week an attack by the heavy industrial and finance-capitalist circles set in suddenly with tremendous aggressiveness, demanding the immediate presentation of the financial programme. The conference of the National Federation of German industry, the leading organisation of employers, was fixed for Thursday, December 12th. Two days beforehand the chairman of the National bank, Schacht, opened his attack.

Schacht's attack consisted of a memorandum, which the chairman of the German National Bank suddenly published. In this memorandum Schacht described the whole policy of the National Government as inadequate, inefficient and light minded. In regard to both foreign and domestic policy, the Government has taken the necessary measures to insure that the Young plan may be executed as desired by its projectors, among whom Schacht sat as German representative.

The step taken by Schacht is of significance in foreign politics and in domestic politics. The chairman of the German National Bank is not only the confidential collaborator of German finance-capital but is also the agent of American Dollar capital, in whose name Schacht is acting as trustee. At the same time, his brusque action, which amounted to a public reprimand of the Social-Democratic Minister of Finance Hilferding, was in direct support of the German Nationalists and a blow at the coalition. Schacht previously belonged to the Democratic Party, but he resigned from it. To-day he is nominally non-party, though he is in fact half German Nationalist.

His attack had decisive effect. On the one hand, it was responded to by the applause of the trust-capitalistic and heavy-industrial circles. When, at the conference of the National Federation of Industry, his name was mentioned in the chairman's introductory speech among the guests of honour, it was greeted with thunderous applause by the assembled industrialists. On the other hand, the scolded coalition government expressed its surprise at Schacht's scarcely loyal action, but it has submitted promptly and completely to his behests. In the same breath that the government expressed its "surprise" it announced that Hilferding's financial reform would be presented to the Reichstag within 48 hours. At the same time the Social-Democratic Chancellor Müller again stated in an important government declaration that, though the National Government was astonished by Schacht's memorandum, it would nevertheless adopt its directives.

Thereupon followed Hilferding with his financial reform programme, which — couched in brief formula — granted tremendous remission of taxation amounting to 1,800 million marks, almost exclusively for the benefit of the propertied classes, while at the same time it increased mass taxation by about 400 millions. Included in this finance reform there is also a system of extortionate customs duties, with the help of which the big agriculturalists will be able to rake in immense extra profits. Even the democratic "Vossische Zeitung" comments ironically that it is positively sensational that a Social-Democratic Finance Minister of all men should advocate duties of this kind. The masses of consumers are really terribly pillaged through this policy, for in this round-about way of price inflation they are actually having thrust upon them a big cut in real wages.

All this — a starvation offensive against the toiling masses — is being executed by the Social-Democratic coalition government and its Social-Democratic National Minister of Finance in compliance with the dictates of trust-capital. Schacht whistles and Hilferding dances to the tune. The cost must be paid by the working Germany. The first effect of the financial reform, one of the chief points of which is the robbery of the municipalities, is the increasing of the price of gas and electricity and of tramway fares in Berlin up to 25 per cent. At the same time, workers are being discharged en masse as a result of the fresh wave of rationalisation. The starvation course of domestic-political consequences of the Young Plan is thus beginning even before the Young Plan itself is formally accepted.

The workers of Germany are gathering their forces for a proletarian counter-offensive under the leadership of the Communist Party. To the mass dismissals German labour is replying with a fight for a seven-hour day and against all overtime. Throughout Germany the C. P. G. is organising a fight for winter benefits and wage increases. The unemployed are marching to the town halls. In Frankfurt on the Maine the bourgeois town council was compelled by the pressure of a demonstration of unemployed to accept the Communists' proposals in favour of the unemployed. In Berlin the unemployed will see to it that the Christmas of the bourgeoisie is not too merry as long as the demands of the unemployed are not fulfilled. Fighting spirit and will to attack are being aroused everywhere among the proletarian masses. A fresh wave of revolutionary struggle is rising.

The class crisis, which has recently been revealed in Germany in all its intensity, comprises not only the Fascist course of the bourgeoisie, their incipient departure from parliamentarism and coalition, their daily accentuated tendency to the Right, not only the unconditional and miserable play of the Social-fascists, who — in order to retain their ministerial seats for a few days longer — will do anything that the bourgeoisie dictate, and even get their own Hilferding to set up the starvation programme of indirect taxation for the masses and of tax remission for the bourgeoisie and of duties on articles of consumption.

Not only this accentuation of capitalist plunder policy, but at the same time growing fighting force of the working class!

It is, therefore, no mere coincidence that at the end of that week of "Government Crisis", in which the bourgeoisie and Social Democracy found so much entertainment, there was delivered the programme speech, in which the leader of the German Communist Party, Comrade Thälmann, outlined the present situation from the standpoint of the proletarian class for the 7000 new members enlisted in Berlin within the last few weeks. It was such a speech that it struck into the very marrow of the bourgeoisie and on the next day bourgeois papers reported it under the flaming headline: "Thälmann prophesies German Soviet State!"

As a matter of fact: though the "Government Crisis" of the Hermann Müller-Hilferding-Government concluded again with a "vote of confidence" after two days of parliamentary bargaining, it is nevertheless certain that the serious class crisis of capitalist Germany cannot end before, or in any other way than, the realisation of that "prophecy" of the leader of the German Communists, which so thoroughly shocked the German bourgeoisie!

The Programme of the New Government in Czechoslovakia.

By Al. Hahn (Prague).

The new Czechoslovakian Government, in which the fascists and the social fascists are united, has come before Parliament with a programme which clearly and unmistakably means fascist dictatorship, preparations for war on the Soviet Union and increased exploitation of the working and peasant masses.

In its programme speech the Government laid main emphasis on the agricultural and industrial crisis, which in any circumstances must be overcome. In the programme speech it was also announced that the Government will submit to the House in brief form social-political legislative proposals in order to "help those who have become socially weak owing to no fault of their own", and that it is the intention of the Government, "so far as its financial means allow, to do everything which could contribute to redress the grievance that certain classes, through no fault of their own, are socially neglected or in straightened circumstances.

The social-fascists have approved these generalities, because they know just as well as the fascist members of the government, that the capitalist crisis can be solved only at the cost of the workers.

The Government Programme, however, characterises all the more clearly its tasks in regard to domestic and foreign politics, i. e. in regard to the question of fascist dictatorship and war on the Soviet Union.

"In regard to foreign policy the Government will unswervingly pursue that line which the preceding governments have begun, and which has always been directed, on the one hand, to supporting the general policy of European consolidation and pacification, and, on the other hand, to strengthening the friendly ties connecting our States with those States which are united with us in friendship . . ."

With regard to the position of the army the government declaration states:

The Government will accord full attention to the secure defence of the State. Keeping an eye on the strength and efficiency of the army, the Government will speedily take all necessary measures in order to carry out in the shortest possible time a shortening of the period of military service."

What this means, it is not difficult to guess. We have the example of France, where all preparations are being made for shortening the term of military service by increased armaments and by the passing of a law for the general militarisation of the country. This government declaration means exactly the same thing for Czechoslovakia.

In order to be able to carry through this war programme, which is directed against the Soviet Union, provision must be made for the maintenance "under all circumstances of law and order which is so necessary for every ordinary citizen."

"We will take care that no illegal influences disturb the proper course of the administration. The Government will do everything in order to secure the smooth running of the public state administration..."

That is a programme of further fascisation, of suppression of the revolutionary labour movement, of fascist dictatorship.

The social-fascists, under whose leadership the new government will work, have agreed to this programme of economic exploitation and political suppression of the working and peasant masses, to this programme of war against the Soviet Union, to this programme of fascist dictatorship. In their press they accept with satisfaction the government declaration.

The Communist deputies and senators received the government declaration with strong obstruction.

On the motion of the social-fascists in the Presidium, most severe measures were adopted against the obstructing representatives of the revolutionary workers and peasants. Seven senators and 22 deputies were suspended for 10 sessions and the whole fraction of the Communists were deprived of their salaries as members of Parliament for a month. Even the so-called opposition parties voted for these severe measures.

The revolutionary working and peasant class will take up the determined fight against the social-fascist government under the leadership of the Communist Party. Neither the terror in Parliament nor outside Parliament will keep the workers from preparing to overthrow the bourgeois democracy and establish a dictatorship of the proletariat.

The New Belgian Government and the Political Parties.

By E. G. (Brussels).

The new Belgian Government of M. Jaspar, which is nothing but a new edition of the old government, has announced its programme to Parliament. This programme promises in the first place remission of taxation to the amount of nearly 2,000 millions for the bourgeoisie, a few crumbs of social reform for the working class, and the conversion of the Ghent University into a Flemish university for the Flemings. In his declaration M. Jasper admitted that the stabilisation of the year 1926 had brought prosperity only to the capitalist undertakings. He represented the tax reductions as being a means of maintaining (capitalist) prosperity. Two days after, the Minister for Finance, who is at the same time on the Board of Directors of the powerful Banque de Bruxelles, brought in a Bill for the abolition of the progressive income tax.

The attitude of the Belgian social democrats in the Chamber towards this programme has revealed the true nature of their parliamentary "opposition". Camille Huysmans bluntly offered the co-operation of his party in the capitalist Government in order to solve the Flemish question. This former secretary of the Second International, in his impatience to obtain a ministerial portfolio, goes beyond the bounds of political discretion. Emile Vandervelde, who is just as impatient, is a better acrobat. He attempted, before all, to establish what points the Government programme and the programme of the Belgian social democracy have in common. He thereupon in a most demagogic manner indicated the points of difference which must be removed in any negotiations which might be conducted with the socialist leaders regarding a future government.

In the course of the discussion the Government openly thanked Vandervelde for the great services which he, although he is in the Opposition, has rendered the Belgian bourgeoisie by his intervention with the governing social democrats of Berlin and London.

In order to please the social democratic workers Vandervelde spoke demagogically of the "palaces of the banks which dominate the places of the bourgeois governments". Baron Houtart, the strict Catholic minister and banker, did not allow the matter to pass without giving a sharp rejoinder. He reminded his hearers that it was precisely under the Poulet-Vandervelde Government in 1926 that bank people were in the Ministry. This effective retort upset the social democrats altogether. It came to a "scene" which rendered it necessary to adjourn the session.

The Communist deputy Jaquemotte exposed the class character of the state budget and the active preparations for im-

perialist war being made by the Belgian bourgeoisie. He contrasted the huge profits of the joint stock companies with the worsening conditions of living of the working class, which are leading to aggravation of strike struggles and reprisals. He designated the remission of taxes as an attempt to make the propertyless classes raise the means for averting the threatening crisis. He contrasted the miserable social insurance and the proposed solution of the Flemish question with the achievements of the Soviet Union in which dozens of different peoples and races have been granted their freedom.

The speeches of the Catholic and the Liberal deputies showed the mistrust with which the two governing parties regard each other. It is evident therefore that the solution of the government crisis which has been achieved at the cost of so much pains, cannot be of long duration. The insurmountable difficulties of the Flemish question and the approaching economic crisis will compel the Belgian bourgeoisie to seek the co-operation of the social-fascists, who are longing to serve the bourgeoisie by other means than by their work in the trade union centrals and in the Parliamentary "Opposition".

THE BALKANS

The Sentences in the Trial of the 52 in Bulgaria.

By D. Iv. (Sofia).

40 of the 52 accused in the great process in Sofia have been sentenced to a total of 326 years' hard labour and the totalling 6 million Levas (34 Levas are a shilling) have been imposed. The remaining 12 accused were acquitted, but they have suffered a year's imprisonment whilst awaiting trial and all the tortures and chicanery customary in Bulgarian prisons.

The three main accused Mladen Stoyanoff, Janko Papatz and Jordan Kessyakoff were sentenced to 15 years' hard labour each and the others received terms ranging from 3 to 12 years' hard labour.

The process was typical of Bulgarian class-justice. The indictment was based upon "confessions" extorted from some of the prisoners by means of mediaeval tortures. The witnesses for the prosecution were for the most part policemen and detectives who had taken part in the tortures. During the course of the trial the chief of the Political Department of the Police Presidium openly admitted that revolutionary workers had been murdered in the Sofia Police Presidium.

One of the accused, Pondo Titoff, was also murdered during the course of the "preliminary examinations". The lawyers for the defence demanded that an inquiry should be made into the circumstances under which Titoff lost his life, but this demand was rejected by the prosecution and by the court. The President of the court declared cynically that what happened in such cases was generally known and therefore there was no need for any special discussion about it (!).

The process stirred up deep emotion amongst the working masses, and on the day the trial commenced a half-day strike was carried out. During the trial itself meetings and demonstrations of protest took place against the police barbarities. The heroic attitude of the accused in court did much to awaken the masses to action. The protest movement was led by the illegal Communist Party and was welcomed by large masses of workers despite all the precautions of the authorities; the trial was held in a military barracks instead of in the law courts, mass arrests of radical workers were carried out; a strict censorship was established over the press and the accused were harried with continual disciplinary punishments every time they attempted to make a stand.

The international protest movement was also particularly important and the court was bombarded with telegrams of protest and with resolutions from working class organisations.

The accused answered their sentences with cheers for the Communist International and the proletarian world revolution. Speaking for all the accused Mladen Stoyanoff declared that they regretted nothing and that the revolutionary workers would violate the Law for the Protection of the State again and again because there was no other way for the Bulgarian proletariat but that of armed insurrection and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship!

Regulär

Fascist Militia and Fascist Trade Unions in Yugoslavia.

By Peter Muzevitch (Zagreb).

In the last few days two extremely important laws have come into force in Yugoslavia: the law for the creation of the "Soko (falcon) of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia" and the new law concerning the Elementary Schools.

The first law provides that all existing "knightly" physical culture associations — the fascist Yugoslavia Sokol (Yugoslavian falcon); the Croatian nationalist Hrvatski Sokol (Croatian falcon); the Slovenian clerical Orao (eagle) — are to be dissolved within three weeks in the event of their not "voluntarily" joining the newly founded "Soko of the kingdom of Yugoslavia", which in future will be the only legal physical culture association.

At the head of this organisation will be the heir apparent. The Central Committee will be appointed by the Government, i. e. the War Minister. The Central Committee will appoint the district committees, which in turn will appoint the local committees. Membership of the "new" association is open to all citizens regardless of their nationality, and to the youth. The aim of the new association is declared to be the promotion of "chivalry", national consciousness and the "physical and moral education of the youth".

The new law regarding elementary schools, which is expressly directed against the national minorities and which places all competence in regard to popular education in the hands of the Belgrade government, i. e. the Serbian bourgeoisie, deprives the municipalities of the last remnants of their right to engage teachers, and at the same time transfers the new burdens connected with the construction and maintenance of the schools on to the municipalities. Two paragraphs of this law place cultural, humanitarian, choral and trade associations (!) under the control of the State. At the same time the Minister for "Public Enlightenment" is instructed, to draw up in agreement with the Minister for Social Policy and the war Minister, a decree "for the unification of all State and private activity in the sphere of public enlightenment"; to see that the work of the public and private associations is brought into harmony with the endeavours and tendencies of the State authority; to remove any "harmful parallelism", and, where it is necessary and useful, to unite "associations pursuing the same aims".

The above-cited provisions of the two laws mean not only a strengthening of the compulsory Serbianisation of non-Serbian nations, but are to be regarded as preparations for the setting up of a fascist militia and a fascist trade union movement, and at the same time the subjection of all private cultural activity to the control of the Belgrade government. At the same time these measures mean preparations on the part of the Government — which cannot rely upon the masses of soldiers, who consist for the most part of Croats, Macedonians, Slovenians, Albanians, Germans and Hungarians — for open civil war, and preparation for the coming war in the Balkans, in the Adriatic as well as for an imperialist attack on the Soviet Union.

The formal dissolution of the fascist "Yugoslavian Sokol" is of no significance, but was only carried out as a manoeuvre in order to create the appearance of impartiality on the part of the government to all the three physical culture organisations. As a matter of fact the "Jugosokol" has been converted into the "Soko of the kingdom of Yugoslavia, which has a monopoly of the physical training of the youth and is closely connected with the army and the officers' corps.

The "unification of State and private action in the sphere of public enlightenment" in relation to trade associations as well as the unification of such associations, means that the military-fascist dictatorship is adopting its first measures for the organisational unification of the reformist and of the "national" trade unions in a fascist trade union movement. The leaders of the social democracy and of the reformist trade unions are working hand in hand with the government by "ideologically" preparing for the merging of the reformist and national trade unions in the fascist trade union movement.

The measures of the government are before all the expression of the frantic efforts of the regime — which clearly perceives that the fascist organisations (Jugosokol, Narodna

Odrbana, Tchetnitsi etc.), upon which the government mainly relies, have not succeeded in extending their influence — to enlarge its social basis cost what it may, and to create a mass organisation on which it can rely with certainty. For this reason the government, at first had the intention to declare membership of the new Soko compulsory for all young people, but abandoned this plan as it contained great dangers for the regime itself.

The petty-bourgeois opposition and the oppositional parties (particularly the Croatian Peasants Party) have also this time completely failed. The Croatian oppositional bourgeoisie and the Central Committee of the "Orao" have, it is true, expressed their discontent in an unmistakable manner, but were unable to arouse themselves to active resistance. They have once again shown to the masses their cowardice and political incapability and delivered a further proof that they cannot play any leading role in the fight for national emancipation.

There remains only the Communist Party to which the broad masses and the oppressed nations can entrust the role of leader in the revolution, which will begin as a bourgeois-democratic revolution. The Party must, however, prepare itself for this role. Clearly recognising that the military-fascist Government is preparing for open civil war and war in the Balkans, the Party must not only systematically extend its work in the army, but also adopt the organisational-technical measures for the coming insurrection and open fight.

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

The Pioneers of Communist Work.

By D. S a s l a v s k y (Moscow).

The Soviet Union is the fatherland of the proletariat of the whole world. Moscow is the Red capital of the socialist fatherland. And the Trade Union House is the home of the revolutionary workers of the whole world. The white pillared hall of this house is well known to the leading fighters in the cause of the working class. Its walls could tell a great deal of the enthralling history of the revolutionary labour movement. The joys and sorrows of the revolution are invisibly inscribed on these walls.

The Trade Union House was recently the scene of the "First Congress of the Worker Shock Brigades".

The Congress met for a week, from the 5th to the 10th of December. It was opened with brief solemn greetings. Before it proceeded to its actual work the Congress expressed its feeling and its political mood. The applause said more than words, and I should like specially to mention two moments when the applause developed into an ovation, when one could speak of the tempestuous enthusiasm of the masses, moments in which the eyes shone more than usual and fists were involuntarily clenched. The first occasion was when there appeared on the platform the delegate of the German Red Front Fighters League. Here, where he had no police to fear, he freely wore his uniform which has become popular even in the Soviet Union. In the name of the German revolutionary workers he promised to perform revolutionary propaganda and organisation work as work of the shock troops. In the enthusiasm of the whole hall there was expressed the profound devotion of the labour advance-guard of the Soviet Union to the cause of the international fight of the working class.

For the second time there broke out loud and prolonged applause which seemed to shake the very pillars when the delegation of the Red Army delivered a report on the state of the preparedness of the Army of the Far East, and declared its determination to oppose imperialism in all and any of its forms. This was the brotherly unity of the shock brigades of peaceful work with the shock brigades of armed defence on the whole class front.

There were present at the Congress about 2000 delegates. They represented some hundreds of thousands of workers of the advance-guard, of the shock brigades. The general impression which one gained at the Congress was that here was gathered together the strongest and most powerful section, the very flower of the Soviet proletariat. Only a third of the delegates belonged to the old pre-revolutionary generation of work-

ers who had passed through the capitalist school. Two thirds of the delegates had grown up in the Soviet factories. They were almost entirely unacquainted with the capitalist traditions. There were many young people at the Congress, who brought with them an atmosphere of joyfulness, merriment and infectious laughter.

About half of the delegates were Communists: members of the Party or of the Young Communist League. So the official statistics said. Anyone, however, who heard the speeches and statements would think that the whole assembly was one hundred per cent. Communist. The speeches of non-party delegates did not differ from the speeches of members of the Party. In the general unanimity there were no formal lines of division drawn. In a whole number of factories it has happened that the non-party workers seized the initiative for forming shock brigades and carried the Communists along with them. This was the case in those places where the nuclei of the Party and of the Young Communist League were not up to the mark.

In this great hall the modest group of workers from the Leningrad textile factory "Ravenstvo" were almost lost amongst the delegates. They were the seed from which this Congress

It was in the year 1928. In the Ravenstvo factory a resolution of the C. C. of the Young Communist League was brought in on the participation of the Communist Youth in the work of socialist rationalisation. How was this participation of the Youth to be realised? It was decided to organise shock brigades. The director of the factory was approached. He, however, smiled ironically and regarded the proposal as a pastime of the young Communists. The attitude of the engineers was the same. There prevailed in the factory the general conviction that the youth worked badly, that their work was mainly responsible for badly turned out goods. At a production Conference an old and experienced worker said: if you take a young horse and harness it, it will just stamp around on one spot, but take an old horse and harness it, it will go slowly, but at least it will move forwards. We do not get any further with these young people".

That is how the first shock brigade began in the Soviet Union. In the halls of the Trade Union House there is now organised an exhibition in connection with the socialist competition. There is a table which sets forth the results of the competition between the "old ones" and the youth. The young workers carried off the victory. Within a few months the Youth League was full of members of shock brigades; and within a year it was possible to hold a national Congress of shock brigades. What appeared to be "something to pass the time" became a great step in the building up of Communism. There arose a new form of work which is unknown to capitalist society. There arose the initiative of the workers, which is based not upon hunger nor upon fear nor desire for money nor career, but upon the conscious striving towards socialism.

The movement of the workers' shock brigades was not built on the basis of a plan, nor according to models. Almost everything here was improvised. Every factory worked at first on its own account; and what an amount of initiative, bright ideas, what a wealth of thought and creativeness came to the surface! In a few months so much experience had been gathered that it became necessary to co-ordinate the results and draw the general conclusions.

The social democratic press will, as usual, write that at the Congress everything was cut and dried; that the obedient masses silently listened to their leaders who "concealed the truth". Generally speaking, however, the leaders spoke but little, if one does not reckon the short reports of the representatives of the People's Supreme Economic Council and of Comrade Knybyshev, who spoke in the name of the government. Throughout the proceedings it was plain workers who spoke, more than 150. Achievements and successes were spoken of, but for the main part: (up to 80 per cent.) the speeches dealt with the failures and shortcomings, of that which was hindering the movement of the shock brigades in its development. There was a stream of energetic self-criticism, and when a speaker dealt for a long time with successes and achievements, there were cries "that's all right, we know that, tell us about the faults!" The general success of the movement of the workers' shock brigades is expressed already in the percentage increases in the production of labour, in the reduction of slacking, in a general increase of keenness for work in the factories. All this, however, is not yet enough. The delegates wanted to achieve still more and to remove the obstacles in the path of development.

The social democrats often malign the Soviet Russian workers by saying that they work only under the knout, that the trade unions command and do not lead, and that the workers do not do anything without the orders of the trade unions. Now it is an interesting fact that it was precisely the trade unions which were rather sharply attacked at the Congress by the workers' shock brigades. They were charged with exercising too little activity and being weak in their leadership. Hitherto the leadership has been the weak side of the shock brigade movement. The initiative of the working masses is ahead of the directives of the leaders. That had its good side, but a number of mistakes was connected with it. At any rate this fact demonstrates that there can be no talk of "command". Only a free labour movement could, under the conditions of a proletarian dictatorship, display so much initiative, such a creative form of organisation and such tremendous enthusiasm. The energetic criticism of the leadership was not a criticism from outside, from the other camp, not a criticism on the part of "opposition"; it was a practical, friendly criticism of comrades by comrades.

But there are other hindrances, as for instance the backward ideas of some of the workers, especially those who have come from the villages. The low technical level is also felt very perceptibly in the movement of the shock brigades. Furthermore there is the bureaucratism of the apparatus of the economic institutions and the lagging behind on the part of the engineers and technicians. The weak development of the movement in various factories was explained by the fact that in these factories the brigades were isolated and did not try to draw the whole mass into the socialist competition.

The Congress met together to reveal all the positive and negative sides; to ascertain the victories and defeats on the new front and to draw the balance for the further movement. The balance was drawn. It speaks of a new, strong, thorough successful movement forwards along the path of socialist construction. It showed the main hindrances lying in the way and set up the task of overcoming them in the shortest possible time. From a hundred thousand shock brigade workers to millions! That is the slogan which the first Congress has thrown out to the masses. And there exists no doubt that this slogan will be taken up by millions of workers.

IN THE R. I. L. U.

Plenary Session of the Executive Bureau of the R. I. L. U.

Moscow, 17th December, 1929.

The opening meeting of the sixth plenary session of the Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions took place here yesterday. After the opening of the meeting those present paid respect to the memory of the deceased members of the Executive Bureau Comrades Lepse and Chow-shang.

The following agenda was then adopted:

1. the results and the prospects of the economic struggle (Speakers: Comrades Losovsky and Merker);
2. the situation of the Confédération Générale du Travail (revolutionary trade union federation of France) (Speakers: Comrades Giton and Vitkovski);
3. the situation and the activity of the Trade Union Educational League and the revolutionary unions in the United States (Speaker: Comrade Foster);
4. the situation and the activity of the revolutionary trade unions in Czechoslovakia (Speakers: Comrades Zapotocky and Gey);
5. the preparation for the fifth congress of the R. I. L. U. (Speaker: Comrade Yussefovitch).

Comrade Losovsky dealt in his speech with the Stock Exchange crash in the United States which he declared was of importance for the whole of the capitalist world. The growth of the economic crisis would lead to the intensification of class contradictions and push the bourgeois State apparatus, as also the reformist trade unions, farther along the path of fascism.

The economic struggles which increased in the period immediately prior to the crisis and intensified considerably

ould embrace broader and broader sections of the working class and show them the contradictions of capitalism in a still more crass form. The economic struggles showed more and more the tendency to develop into political struggles. This growth and intensification of the conflicts raised the question of the class-conscious proletariat of the independent leadership of the economic struggles despite the resistance of the social fascists and the fascist reformist trade union apparatus. Therefore, special attention would now have to be paid to the problem of a clear and conscious strike strategy and tactic, and sharp self-criticism would have to be exercised and a merciless struggle conducted against all right-wing and conciliatory elements within the revolutionary ranks.

The conclusion of Losovsky's speech was greeted with great applause.

* * *

Moscow, 18th December, 1929.

In yesterday's morning session of the Executive Bureau of Red International of Labour Unions Comrade Merker (Germany) spoke on the first point of the agenda. "The Results and Lessons of the Economic Struggles".

The events since the fourth Congress of the R. I. L. U. had proved the correctness of the congress decisions and exposed the errors of all doubters and right-wing opportunists. In Germany the reformists and social democrats supported the bourgeoisie in crushing the workers more than in any other country. The British trade union bureaucrats were following the example of the German social fascists and of the American Federation of Labour. In the unions led by the German social democrats the rights of the membership had been completely abolished. In all struggles the social democratic shop stewards joined with the employers against the trade union opposition and against the workers as a whole. The conclusion which all supporters of the R. I. L. U. must draw from this was that a merciless struggle must be carried on against the social fascist trade union bureaucracy and against the so-called left-wing social democrats who only confused the masses and supported fascism by their attitude.

The speaker then stressed the revolutionary significance of the struggles which had been carried on recently in various countries. Many of these struggles had been spontaneous and not systematically prepared and led by the revolutionaries. The main task at the moment was to extend these mass struggles under an independent leadership elected by the masses themselves. Co-operation with or toleration of the social fascist "leaders", who had always betrayed the workers, would be a crime. The unemployed workers should become a more active factor and the allies of the workers in these struggles. The working women and the working youth should be organised and drawn into the struggle. The question of international support and the formation of an international fighting fund was of great importance. The International Propaganda and Action Committees should be placed more in the forefront.

In the discussion which followed comrades Chen (China), Foster (U. S. A.), Van de Boem (Belgium), Mahon (Great Britain) and Atchkanov of the International Propaganda Committee of the Transport Workers participated.

The discussion was continued in the evening session when comrades Toman (Austria), Ballan (U. S. A.) and Yussefovitch (Soviet Union) participated.

The plenary session then received the greetings of the representatives of the electrical work Elektrosavod in Moscow. The representatives of these workers described the great achievements of these works and challenged the workers of the General Electric Company in America and of the General Electric Company (A. E. G.) in Germany to enter into a socialist competition in connection with the preparation of the fifth world congress of the R. I. L. U.

Comrade Vitkovsky answered in the name of the Executive Bureau and the discussion was then continued. Comrades Heckert (Germany), Musso (Indonesia), Lambau (Belgium), Arbore (International Working Women's Committee of the R. I. L. U.) and Koritchoner (International Propaganda and Action Committee of the Commercial Employees) participated.

* * *

Moscow, 49th December 1929.

In the morning session of the plenum of the Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions yesterday, the discussion on the speeches of Comrades Losovsky and Merker was continued. In a thorough spirit of self-criticism the speakers in the discussion analysed the activities of the R. I. L. U. supporters in the various countries.

Comrade Yu Fi (China) declared that despite the oppressive terror of the Chinese counter-revolution, the red trade union movement was alive and developing well.

Comrade Nat Watkins (Great Britain) pointed out that the leadership of the National Minority Movement in Great Britain under-estimated the radicalisation of the masses. The principle of the independent leadership of the wage struggles of the workers despite the reformist leaders should be put into action in Great Britain also. It was particularly necessary to increase the activity of the International Propaganda and Action Committees.

Comrade Strachovenko (R. I. L. U.) dealt with the role of the distributive co-operatives in the wage struggles of the workers, with the formation of workers defence organisations against the fascist offensive, and with the work amongst the soldiers with a view to preventing the bourgeoisie using them as strikebreakers.

Comrade Vassart (France) dealt with the exchange crash in the United States and declared that the crash had made itself evident in advance. He also stressed the importance of the unemployed problem in France.

Comrade Santini (Italy) stressed the necessity of an exchange of experiences between the various R. I. L. U. sections and pointed to the enlivenment of the red trade union movement in Italy.

Comrade Kirshai (Youth) regretted the underestimation of the youth movement by many leaders and spoke concerning the role of the young workers in industry. He declared that a radical change would have to be made with regard to these questions.

Comrade Henrikovski (Poland) discussed the weaknesses of the R. I. L. U. work in Poland and stressed the necessity of a decisive struggle against both the right and left-wing deviations.

Comrade Avdeyeva (Soviet Union) discussed the fundamental difference between the rationalisation in capitalist industry and the technical rationalisation in the Soviet Union. She declared that in capitalist countries the rationalisation brought with it a worsening of the working class standards, whereas in the Soviet Union, the rationalisation improved the conditions of the workers and raised their cultural level. She also dealt with the great significance of the work amongst the working women.

Comrade Billoux (France) declared that the French delegation was in complete agreement with the theses put forward by Comrade Losovsky, and stressed the importance of the question of international red trade union solidarity raised by Comrade Max (Germany). The coming struggles demanded much closer relations between the R. I. L. U. sections in the various countries.

Comrade Dimitrov (Bulgaria) declared that the Balkan countries were at the beginning of a new revolutionary wave, and that it was therefore necessary to conduct a merciless struggle against opportunism, which was fundamentally not different from fascism and social fascism. The question of the internationalisation of the labour struggles was very important.

Comrade Gallopin (France) discussed the question of the activities of the International Propaganda and Action Committees, which he declared would be faced with great tasks in connection with the coming crisis. He stressed the necessity of fighting against the right-wing tendencies in the Soviet Labour Unions, which he declared were decisive in the International Propaganda and Action Committees. The activity of these latter bodies should be enlivened by the organisation of labour struggles and by a struggle against the danger of war.

Comrade Shvernick (Soviet Union) discussed the deficiencies in the work of the International Propaganda and Action Committees and put down the faults to the account of the previous right-wing leadership. The decisions of the 3rd plenary session of the Central Council of Soviet Labour Unions demanded a decisive change in this respect and the all round support and intensification of the work of the R. I. L. U. and the International Propaganda and Action Committees.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Fiftieth Birthday of Comrade Stalin.

Moscow, 19th December, 1929.

Numerous Telegrams are arriving from all districts of the Soviet Union, from workers and Party organisations, congratulating Comrade Stalin on his fiftieth birthday which falls on the 21st inst. All the congratulatory telegrams express the warm desire that the iron will, the energy and great revolutionary experience of Comrade Stalin will still remain for many years at the disposal of the Party and of the working class in their struggle to build up socialism and help the cause of Communism to victory in the whole world." (Telegram from the shock brigade of the Stalino district.)

All telegrams praise in the warmest terms Stalin's sublime, self-sacrificing struggle for the unity of the Party, and his unshakable fidelity to Leninism. The Charkov Bolsheviki write: "With the steering-wheel of the Party in your hand, you were and always will be the model of strict bolshevik discipline and intolerance towards any deviations from the Leninist line, a model of irreconcilable fight against vacillations in policy and against all attempts to substitute Leninism by petty-bourgeois

in four years". The workers in the Stalin Mining Works press to increase the production of ore in the course of the year 80 per cent. as compared with the previous year; to promote collectivisation of agriculture by sending mineworker brigades into the villages; to support with all their power the policy of the Party which has been commenced in the mining area to carry out completely all points in the agreement for revolutionary competition entered into with the "Trud" mining works".

These few extracts from the congratulatory telegrams to Comrade Stalin, all of which are permeated with the warm revolutionary feeling, bear eloquent witness of the close fraternal bond uniting the Party and the working masses of our country with Comrade Stalin.

From the Open Letter of the E. C. C. I. to the Members of the C. P. of Hungary.

The crisis of the leadership of the C. P. of Hungary, which threatened to develop into a general crisis of the Party, to serve as a means for a thorough self-criticism in regard to political and organisational questions of the Party. The Party must also be prompted to this by the circumstance that in its mass influence after the destruction of the greater part of its legal possibilities. The fractional disintegration which lasted for ten years in the emigration and which has been regenerated, has contributed much to the fact that the Party cannot make use of the favourable objective situation in order to mobilise the masses against the fascist dictators, and to organise the revolutionary struggle under its leadership. In addition, there are a number of opportunist political groups and the whole Party membership must be mobilised for the thorough eradication of all shortcomings and mistakes of the leadership and of the whole Party work.

I. The third period in Hungary.

The chief features of the third period in Hungary are in general outline, the following: 1. Complete development of the economic structure of the country to an agrarian-industrial type, whilst retaining considerable feudal survivals both with respect to the distribution and the nature of landed property and the agricultural mode of working, together with a progressive industrialisation in general and the increasing mechanisation of agriculture in particular; forced formation of monopolies under the leadership of finance capital, in which bank, industrial and agrarian capital are increasingly merging; growing penetration of foreign capital into industry; further growth of the indebtedness of the whole of Hungarian capitalism to foreign capital as a result of the rationalisation of industry and of agricultural big undertakings; application of the most advanced methods of rationalisation with a simultaneous shortage of capital, which leads to the fact that rationalisation is carried out even less than in other countries by a renewal of the means of production but chiefly by increased exploitation of labour power.

2. Rapidly growing disproportion between the development of industrial and agricultural production on the one hand and the home and foreign markets, as a result of the accentuation of competition, on the other; rapid growth of the phenomena of crisis of industrial and agricultural production; as a result of reduced market possibilities, in spite of starvation wages there is a very low degree of competitive capacity against the highly developed and rationalised industries and the agriculture of the neighbouring countries.

3. Owing to these circumstances finance capital and the ruling class of Hungary is compelled by iron necessity to narrow down by its whole economic, taxation and credit policy the social basis of its fascist rule in the petty bourgeoisie and in the peasantry. In order to prevent a narrowing down of its social basis it is using a nationalist-chauvinist demagogic (imperialist) struggle for the revision of the Trianon Peace Treaty, i. e. restoration of the rule of oppression over the

NOTICE.

Change of Address.

All communications for the "Inprecorr." should be sent to the new address:

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GERMANY.**

ideologies, by Trotzkyism or by right opportunism. You have helped us, and are helping us, to become true disciples of Lenin and to continue his work undaunted."

The C. C. of the C. P. of White Russia declares in its congratulatory telegram: "Your persistency in the fight for the Leninist line of the Party and the unity of the Bolshevist ranks imbues us with still greater courage and greater assurance in our persistent work for building up socialism in our country and in the fight for the victory of Communism in the whole world."

The masses of Communist workers see in Stalin "the true disciple of Lenin and a bold and devoted fighter for the proletarian revolution (from the congratulatory telegram sent by the Plenum of the district Committee and the Control Commission of Stalino). At the conclusion of their warm greetings the workers give expression to their readiness "to exert all our forces for the work of socialist construction under the banner of the Communist Party." (From the telegram sent by the staff of the Kiev factory for the manufacture of surgical appliances) "I demand and pledge themselves to make ever fresh achievements for the cause of socialist construction".

The District Conference of the Shock Brigades of the Stalino district writes: "The conference of the Shock Brigades assure you and the whole Party, that the Shock Brigades and the old factory workers will be a reliable support of the Party and of its Central C. C. in the fight for the great tasks indicated in the five-year Plan and in the struggle for the fulfilment of these tasks

formerly oppressed nations of the succession States. The imperialist policy of Hungarian fascism leads to constant international conflicts with the neighbouring countries, and finds expression before all in the joining of the anti-Soviet bloc (England, Poland, Italy) and in increased armaments.

4. Lowering of the standard of living of all toiling sections of the population, to a pauper existence, especially as a result of rationalisation and unemployment; in particular chronic unemployment of the agricultural workers; growing pressure of taxation; growing indebtedness of the main mass of the peasantry; rapidly growing differentiation of the village and the termination of the sham land reform, also as a result of the agrarian crisis and the growth of capitalisation of agriculture.

5. Forced continuation of the extension of the fascist apparatus of power by the inclusion of the feudal survivals in the fascist apparatus of power; rallying together of the forces of fascism by drawing in the social-fascists and using them to an increased extent for the suppression of the working class. This is also shown by Horthy's speech and the return of the emigrant social democratic leaders Garamy and Buchinger. Repeated attempts to establish its "own" openly fascist organisations of the working class, which however have not met with much success owing to the resistance of the working masses; social fascism is the chief method to fascise the workers and the trade unions; combination of fascist methods with democratic slogans owing to the crisis of fascism.

6. Decisive movement to the Left on the part of the working class in town and country; growing, mostly spontaneous, strike movements; struggle of the workers against strike-breakers and factory fascism; systematic expulsions from the social-fascist trade unions; growing fighting will of the workers not only against the capitalists but also against the social democratic trade union and party bureaucracy; commencement of the struggle for the streets; beginning approachment between the workers and the peasants; growing ferment among the poor and middle peasants and also the petty bourgeoisie.

One cannot speak yet of a general crisis of fascism in the whole of Hungary in the sense of an immediate revolutionary situation; nevertheless the crisis of the "national united front", the disintegration of the "consolidated" (i. e. stabilised) system of fascism is extremely profound. The accentuation of the contradictions between the ruling and the oppressed classes is so big, that the C. P. of Hungary, proceeding from the symptoms of disintegration of the fascist regime in the third period, must mobilise the masses and show them much more sharply and clearly than hitherto the perspectives of the revolution in Hungary, its driving forces and its character — while taking into account the experiences of the defeated proletarian revolution.

II. Driving Forces and Character of the Hungarian Revolution.

It follows from the economic-social structure of the country that the revolution in Hungary must liquidate a number of feudal survivals while overthrowing the capitalist system. The most important and most decisive feudal survivals are: the distribution and composition of the landed property and the mode of working of agriculture. Of decisive importance for the driving forces and the character of the revolution in Hungary is the fact that the working class has already once captured the State Power and established its dictatorship.

The main driving force, the hegemon of the revolution in Hungary — the industrial and the numerous agricultural proletariat — will carry along with it into the revolution, under the leadership of the C. P. the main mass of the peasantry, the semi-proletarian dwarf peasants, the small peasants who are fighting against the survivals of feudalism for land, but not the whole peasantry.

The revolution in Hungary can only be a proletarian, a socialist revolution, which in the course of overthrowing the capitalist system, as a by-product will also abolish the feudal survivals of the distribution, composition and working method of the soil and will and must solve a whole number of other bourgeois-democratic tasks.

The liquidation of the feudal survivals in the land question must not, however, be jumped over, as the C. P. of Hungary

once attempted — a fact which proved disastrous to the revolution. The important bourgeois-democratic tasks which have to be solved give the proletarian revolution the character of an agrarian revolution carried out under the leadership of the former and intertwined with it.

These circumstances determine the strategical line, the main tasks and the aims of the C. P. of Hungary in the revolution. These are:

1. Capture of the majority of the industrial and agricultural working class in the revolutionary class struggle for their daily demands, against fascism and imperialist war, under the slogan of the workers' and peasants' government — the dictatorship of the proletariat — under the slogan of the revolutionary seizure and expropriation of the whole large landed property, its transference to committees of small peasants, agricultural workers and day labourers for the purpose of distributing it among the toilers engaged in agriculture, isolation of social democracy from the industrial and agriculture workers in these struggles.

2. Establishment of an alliance with the semi-proletarian dwarf peasants, with the small peasants, winning of the lower sections of the middle peasants and neutralising the upper sections of them in the struggle against the survivals of feudal landed property and against capitalist landed property, against the big peasants, monopoly capital, pressure of taxation, fascism, war. Isolation of all the big bourgeois, peasant and petty-bourgeois parties — including social democracy — from these masses.

3. To attempt to neutralise the lower sections of the petty-bourgeoisie in the struggle against big capital and the fascist regime.

(To be continued.)

AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

For the Complete Independence of India!

The International Secretariat of the League Against Imperialism has, on behalf of the Executive Committee, the General Council and all affiliated organisations of the League Against Imperialism, addressed an Open Letter to the 44th Session of the Indian National Congress, which is meeting in Lahore, to all delegates to the Congress and to the revolutionary working and peasant masses of India. The letter states:

The Lahore Session of the Indian National Congress takes place at a momentous period in the rapidly developing struggle of the vast majority of the Indian people against ruthless British imperialism. A gigantic mass movement headed by the Indian proletariat and poor peasantry is already in action against imperialism.

The brutal actions of the British Labour Government, their vicious prosecution of the courageous prisoners at Meerut, their imprisonment of hundreds of revolutionary fighters all over India, their daily prosecutions of newspapers for sedition in order to suppress the real facts, their shooting down of striking Bombay workers, their murder of the hunger strikers, can only be interpreted as bloody and futile attempts to stop the tremendous anti-imperialist wave which is so rapidly surging up in India.

The British imperialists, anxious to rivet still more firmly the chains upon the Indian people, find allies in the Indian bourgeoisie, the landlords and employers of labour who openly support the British domination. The British imperialists also find allies in those elements who today dominate the Indian National Congress itself, and make of it a bulwark against the demand of the Indian masses for action to end British misrule in India.

We call upon all genuine anti-imperialist delegates to the Congress to fight for the complete exposure and elimination from the Indian National Congress of those elements who endeavour consistently to impede the action of the Indian masses by

compromises with British imperialism, i. e., Dominion Status, Round Table Conference, etc. All honest fighters against imperialism must come out openly and resolutely for the demand for complete national independence, for the withdrawal of the British mercenary army, for the freedom of action of all economic, political and labour organisations, for genuine support of every mass action against the exploiting class, white or native, for a propaganda and organisational drive for mass revolutionary action against imperialism.

The Indian people must be prepared to wage an implacable war against this Labour Government, they must be prepared to drive out of their ranks all those who support this Imperialist Government indirectly or directly.

As the agents of British imperialism still dominate the Congress, and as the economic and political interests of the broad masses of workers and peasants, who constitute the heart of the anti-imperialist movement, are not reflected in the Congress Programme, it is clear that the Congress cannot be regarded as an instrument for prosecuting an uncompromising struggle against imperialism.

It is necessary for all the sincere anti-imperialist elements and organisations in the country — especially all those organisations that have already joined the League — to unite and coordinate their efforts by forming an **All-India Anti-Imperialist League** or Federation with the minimum object laid down in the Statutes of the International League Against Imperialism, namely, the organising and carrying on of a determined mass struggle for the full independence of the country.

LENIN-LIEBKNECHT-LUXEMBURG ANNIVERSARY

Preparations for the Lenin-Liebkecht-Luxemburg Campaign.

From the 15th to the 21st January next there will be held the **Lenin-Liebkecht-Luxemburg Commemoration Week**. In connection with this event we publish as a highly important document the following letter sent by the Political Secretariat of the E. C. C. I. to the Communist Parties of all countries. Editor.

The Lenin anniversary campaign to be held in January is of extraordinary significance for the revolutionary, international education of the masses.

The combining of the three anniversary campaigns viz. Lenin, Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, last year, on the suggestion of the E. C. C. I. proved to be successful. We propose therefore that the same thing be done this year.

The central theme of agitation in the campaign must be the Five-Year Plan of socialist construction in the U. S. S. R. The necessity to defend it in connection with the menace of a military attack (the provocation on the Soviet-Chinese border and the possibility of imperialist intervention headed by the United States), and all militant tasks of the Comintern.

1. **Socialist construction in the U. S. R.** (the five-year plan) as a factor undermining capitalist stabilisation, as the greatest monument to Lenin, as the fruit of the persistent struggle of the proletariat of the U. S. S. R. and of the correct policy conducted by the C. P. S. U. must be given the widest possible publicity during the campaign.

An important place in our agitation must be allotted to the contrast between the achievements of the 12 years of October Revolution and the results of all coalitions and of reformist governments. The campaign must depict the steady economic, political and cultural development in the U. S. S. R., the unprecedented rates of development and the unprecedented rapidity of this development on the one hand, and the growing crisis of capitalist stabilisation and the decline of the standard of living of the working class (growing unemployment, reduction of wages, lengthening of the working day, restriction of social insurance, etc.), the cutting down of the achievements won by the workers of Europe in the period of revolutionary crisis

(abolishment of the right to strike, establishment of compulsory arbitration, the anti-Trade Union Act in Great Britain, the abolition of a number of political rights in Czecho-Slovakia and other countries, etc.) on the other. It must be made perfectly clear to the broad masses amongst whom the pacifist prattle of the social-fascists and legends about the Red imperialism of the Bolsheviks still find attention that the proletarian dictatorship is vitally interested in maintaining peace and that the imperialists must inevitably strive for another war, especially a war against the U. S. S. R. as the only means of solving capitalist difficulties.

The exceedingly great interest displayed towards the Five-Year Plan by the broad masses in the capitalist countries must be utilised in the forthcoming campaign in order to raise the campaign of information about the U. S. S. R. to a higher stage. Wide publicity must be given not only to general statistics of the Five-Year Plan but also to the conditions in which it is being carried out, the difficulties standing in its way. Special attention must be given to the part played by the masses in surmounting these difficulties: the success of socialist competitions, the birth of Communist forms of labour, the social and economic changes to be observed at the present time which will develop with still greater rapidity when the Five-Year Plan is fulfilled. All these points must be strongly emphasised. Special emphasis must be laid on the fact that the Five-Year Plan is the fruit of the correct Leninist line, successfully conducted by the C. P. S. U. in the struggle on two fronts and which compelled the representatives of the most dangerous and deep-rooted deviation, — the Right deviation, to capitulate. The popularising of the work of socialist construction carried on in the U. S. S. R. must be accompanied by an exposition of the splendid way in which Lenin's view of the importance of the respite has been confirmed, that the Leninist peace policy of the Soviet Government has proved to be correct and how important it is to continue the struggle for peace and that the workers of all countries should fight in defence of the U. S. S. R.

The close inter-dependence between the imperialist preparations for new wars, the growth of fascism and the accelerated process of fascistisation of social-democracy must show the broad masses that the struggle against war, the struggle in defence of the U. S. S. R., is primarily a struggle against social-fascism. The defence of the U. S. S. R. against the impending attack of the combined forces of imperialism and social-fascism (the provocation on the Soviet-Chinese border) is the greatest task bequeathed by Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg to the international proletariat.

In connection with the questions already indicated, all the militant tasks of the Comintern, — this great creation of Lenin in the preliminary work of which Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht took part — must be widely elucidated in the course of the forthcoming campaign.

These tasks must be dealt with in the light of the decisions of the X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. The tasks of fighting against imperialist war and in defence of the U. S. S. R.; for the emancipation of the colonies; against capitalist rationalisation, against fascism and social-fascism; against the Right deviation in the Communist Parties; for the further bolshevisation of the Parties; for the conquest of the masses; all these tasks must be explained by means of concrete examples from actual experience closely connected with the situation in the given country.

2. While serving to mobilise the masses around the slogan of defence of the U. S. S. R. and of all the militant slogans of the Comintern, this campaign must at the same time mark a new stage in the work of the Communist Parties of winning the broad proletarian masses, of establishing closer contacts particularly with the factory workers, of strengthening the proletarian base of the Communist Parties and increasing their membership, of hastening the change in the methods of work of the Y. C. L. 's., and the growth of all mass organisations, of strengthening the Communist press and improving forms of mass work of the Parties.

The most important of the tasks enumerated above is that of recruiting new members, especially working men and women in the big industrial enterprises. The Communist Parties must consider the question of utilising the campaign for another "Lenin drive" and adapt all the preparatory work of the cam-

campaign to that end. By advancing this as the central task, the Parties will be enabled to take another step forward towards improving all forms of mass work and eliminating the discrepancy that exists between their organisational strength and their political influence.

Such are the fundamental slogans and the immediate practical tasks of the campaign.

3. Simultaneously, the campaign has a special task — viz. — widely to popularise Lenin's theories and to bring to the knowledge of the broad masses the part played by the three great leaders of the proletariat in the struggle for Communism.

In this connection the E. C. C. I. wishes to impress upon you that the propaganda of Leninism must under no circumstances be of an abstract nature, but should be closely linked up with the militant tasks of the respective Party, and the Comintern as a whole. The E. C. C. I. equally warns all Parties against converting this campaign into an exclusively "memorial" campaign, i. e. against restricting it merely to historical reviews and reminiscences. The E. C. C. I. maintains that the task of Leninist propaganda is to endow the millions of proletarians and semi-proletarians with wide and varied experiences of the class struggle so that Leninism may become their "guide to action".

The Lenin campaign should be first and foremost a broad agitational, political campaign.

I. Lenin's theory of imperialism as the final stage of capitalism, the stage of its collapse, its downfall, and as an epoch of war and proletarian revolutions is now a matter of immediate importance. It is precisely against this fundamental theory of Leninism that all the post-war theories of social-democracy about "the new era of prosperity", ultra-imperialism, "organised capitalism", of the internal and external contradictions of capitalism tending to become softened (the theories of Hilferding and Otto Bauer), as well as the theories of the exponents of the Right deviation in the Communist movement, which tend towards Hilferdingism (Bukharin's theory of organised capitalism, the mitigation of its internal contradictions), are directed. The Lenin campaign must serve as a means to expose these anti-Leninist theories as well as the crude Right opportunist tactical mistakes which arose out of these theories (the under-estimation of the precariousness of capitalist stabilisation, the under-estimation of the war danger, the under-estimation of the process of radicalisation of the masses, the disbelief in the strength of the proletariat and the exaggeration of the strength of capitalism, the embellishment of the role of social-democracy, the under-estimation of the process of its fascisation, the theory of concessions to the kulaks in the U. S. S. R.).

The description of the "third period" of post-war development of capitalism given by the VI. Congress of the Comintern and the X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I., which has been splendidly confirmed by the progress of events during the past year, — to the utter refutation of the opportunist contentions of the Right Wingers, is a logical continuation of Lenin's analysis of the imperialist phase of capitalism. The present state of affairs in each country separately and in world development as a whole provides splendid material for illustrating, during this campaign, the soundness of Lenin's theory of imperialism. The popularisation of this theory by means of concrete examples to be taken from each given country will best enable a severe blow to be delivered to all wavering and hesitation on this question, a correct Leninist appreciation of which is a necessary pre-requisite to correct tactical postulates of Communism.

II) It is particularly important at the present time to popularise Lenin's views on the tasks of the Proletariat in connection with the wars of the imperialist epoch and the role of Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg during the imperialist war 1914—19 as the theoreticians, initiators, and organisers of the conversion of that war into civil war. The resolution of the VI. Congress of the Comintern on the war question, the subsequent Comintern documents on this question reflecting the tasks of Leninists in face of the imminence of new wars and signalling the danger of a military attack on the U. S. S. R., give a correct Leninist position and should be given wide publicity during the campaign, together with Lenin's speeches and writings on this question. Facts like the events on the Russo-Chinese border and the open military, technical and ideological

war preparations against the U. S. S. R. on the part of the united front of imperialism should be brought forward during the campaign to refute the pacifist lies of the Second International and the Right deviationist under-estimation of the war danger. These will serve as a splendid antidote against deviations and as a splendid illustration of the soundness of Lenin's idea. The broad masses must be reminded again and again during the L. L. L. week of revolutionary internationalist conclusions drawn by Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg on the question of national defence, on the class struggle prior to and during the war, on taking advantage of the war crisis for the benefit of the proletarian revolution, on converting imperialist war into civil war, as the only just war — that of the oppressed against the oppressors.

One of the most important weapons to be employed during the campaign for the international education of the masses should be to recall to the minds of the broad masses the undying story of the heroic struggle of the three leaders of the proletariat in the cause of proletarian revolution under most difficult conditions of rampant military dictatorship, chauvinism and nationalism, which was dominated by wild beast instincts; of their struggle against all varieties of opportunism, — from downright renegade social chauvinism to Centrism and Trotskyism which is a species of Centrism.

III) In the present atmosphere of tottering capitalist stabilisation, of a rising revolutionary tide, of an extreme accentuation of the class struggle, which more and more frequently assumes the form of economic and political strikes, demonstrations and armed clashes, clearly indicating the possibility of an imminent outbreak of decisive class conflicts, uprisings and civil war it becomes exceptionally important to popularise questions of Leninism like the question of the mass political strike and armed insurrection. No more opportune time than the present could be found to familiarise the rank and file Party members and the active non-Party workers standing close to the Party with Lenin's views (as far as possible in his own words) on strike strategy, on transforming economic strikes into political, on the role of the mass strike in the Russian Revolution, and on the inter-relationship of economic and political strikes in the high tide of the labour movement of Russia, before the war. At the same time it must be clearly shown to the masses that no successful struggle can be waged against the bourgeoisie, the bourgeois State and social fascism without mass strikes.

While focussing the attention of the masses on the problem of mass political strikes, the Party must at the same time familiarise the rank and file with the speeches of Lenin on the question of a successful rebellion, on the role of the masses and the Party in a rebellion as the highest form of class struggle, on rebellion as an art, all of which will serve as the best weapon in the struggle against anti-Bolshevist passivity, liquidatorism and the capitulation of the Right wingers on the one hand and putchism and sectarianism on the other. An analysis of rebellions in Western Europe in the post-war period (1919, 1921 and 1923 in Germany, July 1927 in Austria), an explanation of their causes and their failures, Lenin's analysis of the 1905 experience in Russia (25th anniversary of which will be celebrated in 1930), Lenin's analysis of the victorious October revolution, as well as the Comintern analysis of the lessons of the Chinese revolution (particularly the Canton insurrection), must as a result of the L. L. L. campaign serve not only as a means of raising the political level of the whole Party, but also as the best means of mobilising the Party and the masses that follow it, in order to meet the impending events in complete political equipment.

IV) In the course of the Lenin campaign, the attention of the masses should be drawn particularly to the problems of the trade union movement and the proletarian united front. The attack of the united front of the employers, the bourgeois State and the social fascists on the economic and political positions of the working class, which hastens the process of radicalisation of the masses, imposes a series of important and complicated tasks upon the revolutionary trade union movement and the Communist Parties. The fulfilment of these tasks will be best facilitated by the widest possible circulation among the Communists and the broad masses of non-Party workers of Lenin's views on the trade unions being a school of the class struggle, on the relations between the trade unions and the

Communist Parties, on the struggle for the masses chiefly through the trade unions, the struggle against craft-unionism, economism, khvostism, syndicalism and the boycottist tendencies in the revolutionary trade union movement.

V) More place than ever must be allotted in this campaign to the **role of the masses and the role of the Party in the proletarian revolution**. The wide elucidation to the rank and file Party members and Young Communists and among the non-Party active workers of Lenin's theory of relationship between the vanguard and the masses, the importance of a single and strong leadership, the importance of iron Party discipline, proletarian self-criticism, self-control and the cleansing of the Party ranks, will be a splendid antidote to all varieties of opportunism.

VI) In this connection the elucidation of the experience of Lenin, the C. P. S. U. and the Comintern in the struggle on two fronts is also one of the most important tasks of the campaign*). The history of the Comintern and of its Sections during the last 2 or 3 years provides splendid material for the elucidation of this question, which is reflected in the principal decisions of the VI. Congress of the Comintern and the X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. The exposure of the **conciliators** as a concealed and dangerous type of opportunists constitutes an inseparable part of Lenin's theory of struggle against deviations.

Such is the list (far from complete) of the most important problems of Leninism. It may be curtailed or enlarged in accordance with the available resources of workers and literature and the urgency of one or another of these questions for each given country. For example, Lenin's theories on the peasant and national problems, the colonial question, the State, the proletarian dictatorship, bourgeois democracy, etc. could be added where circumstances warrant.

4. The commemoration of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, who will always remain dear to the memory of the proletariat and to its Communist vanguard, and a worthy appreciation of their great role in the class struggle **does not exclude but presupposes** also a presentation of their differences with Lenin on a number of questions, the chief of which are, the role of the Party and the role of the masses in the revolution, the extent of Party discipline and struggle for Party unity, the national problem, and several other questions in the solution of which **Liebknecht and Luxemburg stood between centrism and bolshevism**. It goes without saying that the form in which this should be presented will depend on the political level of the audience, and the tactfulness and ability of the speaker. Such criticism is absolutely necessary, however, especially in the struggle against the Right renegades in Germany (the Brandlerites), who in their fight against the Comintern use the famous flag of the Spartacists and the names of the organisers of the Spartacus Bund — Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

5. The campaign can be successful (both ideologically and organisationally) only if our Parties will do the necessary **preparatory work** and mobilise all agitators, propagandists and organisers to work amongst the broad masses of Party members and non-Party masses.

It goes without saying that the **rank and file** of the Party must be prepared before the broad mass campaign begins.

Hardly enough time remains for preparation for the campaign to be made corresponding to the requirements outlined above. We think, however, that the experience of past campaigns will enable you to cope with the task.

*) In 1930 will also be the X. Anniversary of the II. Congress of the Comintern. That Congress, which played an extraordinary role in the life of the Comintern, was the arena of a big struggle on two fronts, a struggle conducted under Lenin's direct leadership.

The material of that Congress is very useful and should be utilised during the Lenin campaign.

More detailed instructions on the methods and forms the campaign will be sent you in a special bulletin of the Agprop Department within the next few days. We suggest, however, that you immediately proceed to discuss the plan of the L. L. L. campaign without waiting for further instructions, to adapt it to the conditions prevailing in your country and the means at your disposal. It is the business of each Party to adapt, and also to extent and specify the E. C. C. I. instructions according to the concrete conditions prevailing in the respective countries.

The preliminary work should begin with the organisation of special **committees** both in the centre and in the localities. You will be in charge of the campaign. These committees should consist of representatives of **all mass organisations and especially of the young communist leagues**. It is extremely important to appoint at the very outset **responsible propagandists** and wish to give instructions, select literature and supply the press with articles both in the preparatory period as well as in the special numbers dedicated to the anniversary.

In conclusion, we wish to remind you that the results of the campaign will be judged not only by the number of meetings and gatherings held, or the number of speeches delivered, but chiefly by political and organisational results obtained — on the one hand the **open actions of the broad masses of workers** (demonstrations and strikes, even if only in the form of a five-minute stoppage in commemoration of the dead leaders, calls of fraternity to the Soviet proletariat and to the workers of other countries, especially of those which are threatened with military conflicts, to the workers of "your" colonies, speeches by representatives of national minorities and representatives of fraternal parties, etc.), and on the other hand the number of workers joining the Party and the non-Party organisations standing close to us. Of special importance is the strengthening of the basic factory organisations and the organisation of proletarian self-defence.

The E. C. C. I. is firmly convinced that, on the basis of the experience of the past campaigns, the parties will do their utmost in order that the Lenin anniversary may be celebrated as a mass international demonstration of the determination of the proletariat and of the broad toiling masses to fight under Lenin's banner for the defence of the U. S. S. R. and for the victory of Communism all over the world.

Political secretariat of the E. C. C. I.

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