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The Internal Position of the Soviet Union and the Tasks of the Immediate Future.

By V. Molotov.

The following is the second part of the report of Comrade Molotov on the Construction of Socialism and the Anomalies of its Growth, delivered at the Party Conference of the Moscow Industrial District.

The Editor.

The Prospects of Development and Its Technical Basis.

It is now apposite to call to mind what Lenin said at the I. Party Congress on the then position and prospects of Socialist development. He defined our tasks in the following way:

"We must unite with the peasant masses, with the simple working peasantry, and begin to advance, slower, immeasurably slower, than we dreamt of doing, but in such a way that the entire mass will be advancing with us. Then the acceleration of our movement will be such as we can not even form any idea of at the present time."

In the first few years of the N. E. P. the reconstruction of the economy of the Soviet Union did, as a matter of fact, advance very slowly in its entirety, in particular as regards the rural districts, where even now we have not regained the pre-war level of output, e. g. in the creation of grain areas. But

we may be said to be beginning to enter upon that phase in the economic development of the Soviet Union of which Lenin spoke in the above quotation. The rate of our progress is certainly such as we should not even have dreamt of in 1922.

Obviously this is only the beginning, no more than the beginning, of such a period of acceleration. This may be seen by our transfer to a Socialist reconstruction of all economy. We are now faced with those prospects of which, as Lenin said, we did not even dream at the time of the XI. Party Congress.

(The speaker here furnishes a short characterisation of the recent changes in the Five-Year Plan in the direction of its expansion.)

It is interesting to notice that the estimation of our economic development on the part of the bourgeoisie is acquiring various fresh characteristics. What, for instance, is the attitude towards our Five-Year Plan of the correspondent of that leading bourgeois paper, the "Berliner Tageblatt?" He writes as follows:

"The greatest and in many respects most up-to-date economic experiment of all times. Original in fact, not only as an idea. Poor old Europe! If the experiment succeeds even to 75 per cent., there can be no doubt of its

ultimate victory. It would mean the victory of the Socialist method, fought with the forces of an unspent, gifted people, capable of great faith."

("Berliner Tageblatt" of Aug. 12th.)

As you will see, Scheffer (the writer) evinces fear that "poor old Europe" might be left in the background, should we succeed to realise the Five-Year Plan even to 75 per cent. And this is said at a moment when we are commencing boldly to overstep the limits of our Five-Year Plan.

I do not intend to speak of the Five-Year Plan in its entirety, but only of one particular aspect of it.

We know that Lenin designated the plan of electrification, the so-called "Goelro-Plan" as the most decisive factor in the economic programme of the Party and the Soviet Power. Undoubtedly, the factor of electrification is also of prime importance in the Five-Year Plan. But it deserves to be pointed out that the Five-Year Plan is not merely the simple realisation of the original plan of electrification. For the last year of the period it covers, the Five-Year Plan provides not for 30 overland stations as in the programme of the Goelro Plan, but for 40, with a total output not of 1,700,000 kilowatts but of something between 2½ and 3 million kilowatts.

If I have referred to the inquiry (in two volumes) into United States economics, I am no less bound to mention the recently published book (also in two volumes) by the Central Statistical Institution on the questions of the so-called energy balance, which is of particular importance for all the tasks of the Five-Year Plan. I refer to the highly important works published by Comrade M. Smita and carried out by the engineer and economist W. U. Weitz, on (a) "Development and Activity of the Power Apparatus, The Balance of Energy and Heating", and (b) "The Rationalisation of Industrial Energetics in the Soviet Union". In these two voluminous books the question of the energetic provision of our industry, which is of such tremendous importance for Soviet economy, is discussed. Compared with the material of the Five-Year Plan, the data collected here shows that, in proportion to the year 1925/26, the increased consumption of electric energy on the part of our industry will by the end of the five years (in 1932/33) have increased by 3½ fold, the coefficient of the electrification of industry moving from 48 to 82. It is of particular interest to remark that per head of the workers employed in production the amount of energy will have increased by 250 per cent. It is also very interesting to inquire how great the increase in the consumption of energy per head of the workers employed in production is in this country in comparison, let us say, with the United States, the leading country in this respect. It appears that, as things now stand, the consumption of energy through the output of the individual Soviet worker will at the close of the five years still fall short of that of the American worker in the year 1925. While, however, the consumption of energy of each American worker engaged in production increased between 1925 and 1927 by 20.5 per cent, or by rather more than 10 per cent, a year, the increase in the consumption of energy of each Soviet worker engaged in production figures at 36 per cent, per annum during the five-year period. This means that in the foundations of economic development, in regard to the supply of energy, we shall in time outstrip even such a technically leading country as the United States.

In regard to the realisation of the principle of "reaching and outdistancing" (the capitalist countries), we have made another very market step forwards of late. The resolution regarding the introduction of the uninterrupted production year is of quite outstanding significance in this connection. This measure ensures the Soviet Union a great advantage in the acceleration of economic development, creating as it does conditions for the progress of industry such as the capitalist countries do not and cannot possess.

(Comrade Molotov next enters into a discussion of the following questions: Lowering of the cost of production and enhancement of the productivity of labour; Socialist competition; measures for regulating the administration of output and the increase of the rights and responsibilities of works managers. He then passes on to questions of agriculture and furnishes a series of figures showing the rapid growth of the socialised section of agriculture in general and of the collective farms in particular.)

How great the changes in agricultural development are, which result from the development of Soviet and collective

farms (Comrade Molotov continues) may be seen even from a number of announcements by representatives of the bourgeois world who have had occasion to become personally acquainted with the facts. I may cite two passages from foreign newspapers in this connection, in the first place an extract from an article from Moscow by P. Farson which appeared in the "Chicago Daily News" on August 24th. Mr. Farson writes as follows:

"The world is accustomed to receive astounding news from Soviet Russia. But nothing can be more surprising or alarming, than the astounding growth of socialised economy, which is at present developing so rapidly that the same rate is continued, it will soon lead to a deep reorganisation of agricultural economy or even of the political position of the Soviet Union."

This was written by the correspondent of one of the largest bourgeois papers of America.

Let us see, again, what the "Daily Herald", the central organ of the British Labour Party, writes in regard to the collective system. Its correspondent, Farbmann, reports as follows for the issue of August 29th:

"After a few days I could easily distinguish a creative field from one in individual possession, not only because the former consists of large unbroken blocks of land, while the latter is made up of narrow strips, but because the crops were higher, better cultivated and every way distinct from the customary crops of Russian peasants."

I may still refer to Scheffer, correspondent of the "Berliner Tageblatt", who states that our collective development surpasses in its rate of progress the socialisation of Russian industry". ("Berliner Tageblatt" of August 23rd.)

If we speak of the state of affairs in the rural districts we must pay special attention to the fact that class differences have been markedly accentuated of late. The growth of the collective and Soviet farms in itself arouses the energetic opposition of the kulaks. In the regions where the collective system is introduced on a broad scale, the class struggle often assumes very pronounced forms. The kulaks attempt, by means of intimidation and even by violence, arson, and provocation, to hinder the development of the collective estates and to undermine the authority of the Party and the Soviets. But in vain, the resistance of the capitalist elements can only enhance our energy for the cause of socialist transformation of the rural areas.

In a number of districts where agricultural labourers are employed on a larger scale, there has of late been a noticeable reanimation of the strike movement. But, as the "Selskohosvayennaia Gazetta" of September 6th points out, some of the alleged trade-union organisations in certain districts not only stand aloof, but even refuse to support the striking agricultural labourers (as in Odessa and Orenburg). In most cases, however, our trade-union organisations have begun to establish close contact with the agrarian proletariat. At the same time we have definite progress to record in the organisation of the poorer peasants. The exhibition arranged towards the close of last year by groups of small peasants showed considerable progress. In some cases, it is true (as at Rlisan), there has been a deterioration in this respect too. In pursuance of the lines laid down by the 16th Party Conference, the Party will find a way of carrying out decided improvements in the organisation of the small peasants.

The improved organisation of the proletariat and the socialised elements is of particular importance for us at present. But we must always bear in mind that without immediate practical support of the collective system by the industrial workers — in the development of collective farms — actually uniting the broad masses of small and middle peasants — no safe, lasting, or really Socialist effects can be attained. The support of the system by the town workers is already being effected by the Party organisations and trade unions in various ways, especially by sending working gangs for certain agricultural campaigns. But this is not yet sufficient. We must also discover new ways of letting the industrial workers participate in the collective development of the peasant farms. Some new attempts in this direction have been recorded of late. I here refer to contracts for supplies entered into by the Moscow

tre of co-operatives (workers' co-operatives) and the agricultural co-operatives for the area on the middle Volga, the thern Caucasus, and Ukraina. True, these experiments are l very primitive. But it is an important fact that several en factories in the Moscow gubernia have entered into mediate relations with certain peasant districts, e. g. on the ga. I may also make mention of the conclusion of a contract ween the Party organisations of Central Asia and Kasakstan the one hand and the Moscow, Leningrad, and Ivanovosenska district organisations for aiding and promoting the evelopment and Socialist reconstruction of the cultivation of ion in Central Asia by the industrial organisations of the ile districts. The delegation of assistants and gangs of rkers, and the constant connection of the works (by means the cotton co-operatives) with the peasants in Central Asia, l be of the greatest significance for the solution of the final t of a Socialist reorganisation of agriculture in this district.

The Foodstuff Question and Wages.

We must now deal with the question of the foodstuff ply and then with that of wages.

For this year we have set up a grain-provisioning plan on considerably larger scale, the realisation of which is quite in the bounds of possibility in view of the relatively favorable harvest. The plan provides for a "bedrock reserve" 100 million poods of grain as the most important safeguard for a uniform economic development. This year the plan already worked out in detail down to the ration per village contains particular provisions for the delivery of grain to the individual kulak farmers. The systematic provisioning of in calls for a great effort and is one of the most important ors in the entire plan. The masses of small and middle ants must be recruited and united for the realisation of task.

Although essential results have been attained, the grain provisioning campaign does not advance at a sufficiently speedy e. However, according to indications reaching down to ember 1st, 126 million poods were collected, as against million last year and 80 million two years ago. In general, rate was also maintained during the early weeks of ember. Nevertheless, the provision of grain for foodstuff poses fell short of the established plan. What concentrated tion our plans require in their practical realisation, may seen in practice by the contracts of cultivation, which are certain cases most negligently executed in spite of the st comprehensive plans. A comrade who is engaged in in provisioning reports as follows:

"In the village of Liubimovka, circuit of Kahov, gubernia of Kherson, the rural community No. 2 had concluded a contract for the delivery of 6750 poods of grain by September 1st. The amount delivered was 450 poods, or only from 6 to 7 per cent. In other words, a complete fiasco. But nobody was called to account and no special measures were taken."

Such a scandalous state of affairs must on no account be overlooked. Grain provisioning calls for the increased attention all Party organisations. Our collective estates and our entire operative system must make an effort. This year the central istricts, which have plans of provisioning of their own, though an insignificant scale, must pay serious attention to the in-provisioning campaign. The Central Committee recently sed a special resolution, pointing to the necessity of increased ert in regard to grain provisioning on the part of such dist organisations as those of Moscow, Nishnigorodska, Inovsky, and Leningrad, as also those in the West.

Nor must foodstuff provisioning itself be neglected. The d cards have proved a useful institution, which is y appreciated by the workers. Their introduction has rendered ssible the better rationing of bread to the workers and at the ne time a considerable saving in the bread consumption. Thus, h a normal extent of the bread supply in the industrial dists, the bread consumption in July and August in the S. F. S. R. alone showed an economy of no less than 8.5 million poods of bread. In Moscow the amount saved in July, ugust, and September may have amounted to 700,000 poods.

What is of particular importance at present, however, is the fact that there is an improvement in the workers' supply of other foodstuffs, such as meat, butter, eggs, and milk. Obviously, similar booklets, or foodstuff cards, will have to be introduced in this respect too. This is a measure which seems particularly necessary for the purpose of avoiding objectionable queuing up. The C. C. attaches much importance to rational measures against foodstuff queues. It will do its utmost to eliminate all bureaucratic obstacles in the path of a normal provision of the workers with the most necessary products. We must immediately take steps to obviate the necessity of queues for the most important foodstuffs and really to improve the provision of the workers.

There follows the question of wages. In the current economic year nominal wages rose by 10 per cent. as against 7 per cent. provided in the plan, real wages rising by 2 or 3 per cent. Add to this that in the current year the contributions of industry to the fund for improving the social conditions of life of the working class increased by 30 million roubles, representing a further average wage increase of 1 per cent. Apart from this considerable sums (up to 142 million roubles) were set aside for the construction of dwellings. The budget of social insurance increased by 177 million roubles.

In the coming economic year, an increase of wages by an average of 9 per cent. has been established on the assumption that the productivity of labour will increase by 23 per cent. A reduction in the cost-of-living index figure is likewise provided for. All this must needs imply an essential improvement in the position of the working masses and create the presumptions for a material increase in the productivity of labour.

The Question of Cadres.

I now come to the problem of cadres. The closer we are approached by this question, the more pronounced becomes the difference between our requirements and the actual state of affairs.

Lenin taught us that special attention was called for in exploiting the old technical and all cultural forces. He likewise taught us that Communists must critically pursue and control their own work. To-day Lenin's instructions are of particular significance. The tremendous tasks of economic reconstruction, the realisation of which at the present time is not possible without a great aggravation of the class struggle, a struggle of the bourgeois-capitalist elements against the proletariat, calls for an incisive improvement in our State apparatus, the elimination of the numerous fossilised bureaucratic elements it still contains, and a comprehensive recruitment for service in the State organs of new cadres from among the midst of the working class, preferably young comrades that have passed through the Soviet schools and high-schools.

The fact that outside elements, alien to the proletariat, have found their way into the State apparatus, has forced the Party to undertake special measures of elimination. I shall not enter into this subject at greater length. The shortcomings of the work commenced in this regard are obvious. In one of the latest resolutions of the C. C. it is pointed out that the cleansing of the State apparatus is a matter for the entire Party, the trade unions, and the working class. The same resolution says that there must be no splitting of forces in the execution of this task of elimination and that for the present we must concentrate on a limited number of sections. It is only in this way that we can succeed in carrying out this work, which is of so much importance to ourselves.

The necessity of such measures of cleansing might be substantiated with a number of instances. I shall limit myself to one instance and make mention of the task of cleansing the apparatus of the Leningrad Academy of Sciences, which deserves our particular attention. Of 469 persons that were examined, 78 had to be removed from their offices. Among these there were not a few genuine representatives of the "déclassés" that were always to be found in the immediate entourage of Tsarist monarchy. Among the so-called scientific collaborators of the Academy, now eliminated in view of their "scientific activity" being unsuited for the purposes of the Soviet Government, there were such persons as E. E. Scholz, formerly chamberlain at the court of Nicholas II., ex-governor Shidlovski, Shinkevitch, formerly departmental chief in the Home Office, Gergens, once condemne!

by the Soviet courts to be shot for espionage (a sentence subsequently commuted to 5 years' imprisonment), Bershbitzki, who participated in the counter-revolutionary terrorist espionage-organisation of 1922, Count J. M. Rostovzev, once tutor at the court of Nicholas II. and secretary to the Tsarina, the daughter of the former Home Secretary Durnovo, the former secretary of the Warsaw archbishop Demusiak, Vyroslavski, whom the Academy took over straight from the service of the patriarch Tichon, and Muranova, proprietress of a bathing-establishment at Yaroslavl. The librarian of the Academy was a certain Martinson, who of all Marx's works knew only "Capital" and that only by hearsay, and who could not name one of the articles by Engels or Plechanov. (Laughter.) And such individuals belonged to the apparatus of our Academy of Sciences. (Sensation.) It remains to be said that the Commission which effected the reforms found, on the other hand, that graduates from the Soviet schools and high-schools were employed in the Academy as cleaners, assistants of the caretaker, messengers and the like. A short time ago we celebrated the 200th anniversary of the foundation of the Academy, but not until quite recently did we cast a glance at the apparatus of the Academy. Such was the state of things in one of our most important institutions, the apparatus of which was obviously hitherto not composed with an eye to the interests of the Soviet Government. We shall have to inquire, broom in hand, into a number of other neglected corners of our State apparatus.

If we occupy ourselves with the question of the State apparatus, we must not forget the damage done it by certain bourgeois experts who are implacable opponents of the Soviet system.

The Shakhty case was a great lesson for us all and for the Communist economists in particular. This lesson has, however, not been taken to heart by all our comrades. Of late we have been repeatedly discovering cases of sabotage in various parts of our apparatus. A short time ago the G. P. U. disclosed such an instance in the Commissariat for Transports and another in the gold and platinum industry. Counter-revolutionary organisations have of late also been revealed in other branches of economy. Even in the armament industry a band of White Guard saboteurs (all engineers and staff-officers of former times) for several years carried on their pernicious activity. All this shows that the class instinct and the revolutionary vigilance of our functionaries is in some cases deficient. The class-enemies in the shape of former private owners and certain bourgeois experts who cannot break with the past, are hard to exterminate. That old serf of capitalism, P. Paltchinski, once Under-Secretary of State in Kerenski's Ministry of Trade and Industry, openly declared at the trial in the G. P. U. which preceded his execution:

"I admit that the political platform of my activity and attitude in the service of the Soviet Government was intentionally anti-Bolshevist and, if I am to identify the Soviet Government with the dictatorship of the proletariat, also anti-Soviet."

This unabashed avowal on the part of Paltchinski means not only that he disagreed with the Soviet Government on principle but that his "activity and attitude in the service of the Soviet Government was intentionally anti-Bolshevist and anti-Soviet". But this implacable enemy of the workers for a time played an important rôle in the scientific and technical committee of the Supreme Economic Council. He was also chairman of the Club of Mining Engineers, which he obviously misused for his counter-revolutionary activity.

(Comrade Molotov then proceeds to mention two other instances of sabotage, that of Narushevitch, employed in the agricultural co-operative, and that of Baron Taube in the State Planning Commission.)

The necessity of a ruthless fight against the pernicious counter-revolutionary elements calls for no special comment. At the same time we must continue an untiring political activity among the old technical cadres. The great bulk of these technical forces works loyally in the interests of the Soviet State. Our task consists in making a differentiation among the old technical cadres with a view (a) to uniting separately the active conscious adherents of Socialist construction, even if they are in the minority, (b) to creating adequate conditions for a fruitful activity of the great bulk of technicians and engineers who are loyal

to the Soviet State, even if part of them have not yet broken with the bourgeois ideology which demands a negative attitude towards Socialist construction, and (c) to punish severely the saboteurs and underminers of our economy who continue to harm the activity of our economic institutions. A certain rôle in this sense was to have been played by the organisation of Technical Forces founded at the instigation of a group of non-party engineers and scientists, but it was altogether incapable and I do not know whether it still exists officially at the present moment or whether it only figures in the list of voluntary organisations. Be this as it may, the unions must in a far greater degree than hitherto carry on the organisation of technical forces with an eye to the different just described.

The question of our attitude towards the old technical cadres and towards the intelligentsia in general has again come before. The peculiar significance of this question is connected with the class-changes in the Soviet Union. The aggravation of the fight between the Socialist and capitalist elements requires an unmistakable attitude on the part of the technical cadres and intellectuals in their entirety. This choice between adhering to the army of the builders of Socialism and alliance of destiny with that of the declining classes, is a question of fronting all technicians and engineers and indeed all technical to-day more than ever before. An attitude which is not clearly defined, or in other words a continued footing in the petty-bourgeois swamp, seemed until recently to be a kind of refuge before the revolutionary storm, but the whole Socialist transformation of peasant economy in the rural districts, which must inevitably lead to an aggravation of the class struggle throughout the country, makes such half-measures more illusory day by day. The choice between Socialism and a camp of its conscious or unconscious enemies, now confronts various classes of the intelligentsia more pronouncedly and tentatively than ever.

The differentiation among the intellectuals, especially regards the old cadres, is on the increase. Of late it has found reflection in various facts which have called for public attention.

In literary circles, e. g., quarrel has arisen around the question whether it is admissible for Soviet writers to publish their works published by foreign White Guard concerns, which until recently did not happen. The writer B. Pilnian recently had a story published by a concern run by Russian emigrants in Berlin. This caused a great outcry in literary circles. This kind of thing has greatly contributed towards promoting the process of differentiation in literary circles. In connection with this question as to whether it is admissible for a Soviet writer to have his works published by emigrant concerns, the atmosphere of certain writers' organisations has had to yield to a more definitely outlined position. At length the Federation of Soviet Writers, which came formally into being about two years ago, has emerged from its obscurity. It can only be desired that the fight against anti-Soviet actions on the part of writers permeated with a bourgeois ideology, will lead to a real education of our writers' cadres in the Soviet State.

One more interesting fact in regard to our intellectuals should be mentioned. Among certain intellectuals, especially such as have occupied themselves with matters of agriculture, there have been recorded of open opposition to the policy of the Party and the Soviet State under cover of solidarity with the Right deviationists. In our Soviet organs and high-schools there are "collaborators" who attempt to smuggle in political tendencies which are hostile to our directives. They fail to understand that the policy of the C. P. S. U. is incompatible with the defence of an ideology favouring a deviation to the Right. They fail to comprehend that our Party is carrying on an embittered fight against all tendencies in the direction of a deviation to the Right, for the reason that this ideology amounts to nothing less than the rebirth of capitalism. These people obviously do not stop to reflect that by their open avowal of Right ideology, propaganda for which is incompatible with membership of the Communist Party, they are revealing their petty-bourgeois, Menshevist, or social-revolutionary nature. It means that any relaxation in the fight against the Right deviationists is in point of fact a service rendered to the Menshevists and social-revolutionaries, who are attempting again to rear their heads.

(To be concluded.)

POLITICS

The Pan-European Dreams of the Capitalists.

By P. (Moscow).

Through the bourgeois world press there is passing a thrill which has not been experienced for a long time. The cause of it is Briand's sensational project of the "United States of Europe". The significance of what Briand meant by his celebrated Geneva speech about a "Pan-Europe" is becoming plainer.

The editor of the "Journal de Genève", Martin, whose connections extend to the French Ministry for Foreign Affairs, expressed himself in the "Pester Lloyd" of September 14th in the following manner in regard to Briand's plans:

"Briand's motives are well known. The two most important are the following: In the first place, he is afraid of American competition. It is certain that the attitude of America in the question of war debts and the ominous raising of the American customs tariff have caused great dissatisfaction in the economic circles of Europe. The United States control practically all the gold holdings in the world, they demand that other nations should pay them in gold and at the same time give the European nations no opportunity of exchanging their goods for American gold. This policy forces upon the European nations the necessity to unite under the pressure from abroad. It is therefore comprehensible that, if Europe is to protect its industry from dependence upon the United States, it must form an economic union, which can resist America's economic power."

Again, the memoranda recently published by the economic commission of the League of Nations bear upon the fight against America. According to the "Frankfurter Zeitung" of September 14, "it is quite clear from the memoranda that the economic organisation would in the first place amount to defensive measures against the United States of America." Further on it is stated "that the memorandum, whose author is an Italian economist, Vice Director of the Economic Department of the League of Nations, demonstrates the right of Europe to self-defence through the impressive statistics that the American nation with its 120 million citizens has at its disposition just as much purchasing power as have the 400 million Europeans."

It is probably generally known how rapidly the economic offensive of America is progressing in Europe. The European automobile and electro-technic industries in particular are flooded with American capital. In Germany the Opel Automobile Works and others, in France the Citroën Works, in Italy the Fiat Works are all more or less controlled by Ford and General Motors Limited. In connection with electro-economy such facts may be mentioned as the acquisition of 16 per cent. of the shares of the Gram Company by the General Electric Co., the "interest" of the same company in the A.E.G. (Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft), Germany, the Harriman electrification of Poland, the fight between Englishmen and Americans for the supremacy in the English Electricity Concern.

In addition to this, America's competition is growing on all world markets, especially in Latin America and China, where the United States is successfully pushing out the English and German goods. It is, therefore, absolutely clear that European capitalists are trying at least to protect the domestic market of Europe against American competition. But it requires a great deal of simplicity to defend the view that "United Europe" (if it is at all possible) or, better, the anti-American-customs block, to which Briand's, Graham's and others' plans amount in the end, will remain only a "defensive organisation". There is no doubt that the block contemplated is designed to serve as a weapon for a bitter offensive against America.

The co-ordinating of forces and a common procedure on the part of the European powers would have real foundation if it could be assumed that there are no, or, at least, no severe, conflicts between the prospective partners in the economic "Pan-Europe". As a matter of fact there are innumerable conflicts, the existing conflicts between the European imperialist coun-

tries are so tremendous that to create an economic block of the European capitalist States against America is almost impossible.

When Briand set up as an order of the day the idea of a "Pan-Europe" he must have forgotten the old proverb that a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush. The second plan of this politician versed in all the tricks of the trade is, according to his friends, the anti-Soviet block. Briand is afraid of Communism and is therefore forging a sword for the fight against the Soviet Union.

The above-mentioned editor, Martin, says that "Briand's main incentive is his fear of Bolshevism... If Europe is not able to protect itself against American competition, it will not be able to do away with unemployment, low wages and the discontent of the masses, which serves as a hotbed for Communist propaganda."

That lets the cat out of the bag. "United Europe" is designed to prevent socialist world revolution insofar as it would be means of insignificant concessions on the part of the capitalists create the preliminary conditions for an increase of reformist sympathy among the working class. That is what Briand's "mechanics of cunning" come to in the end.

Martin's statements are supplemented by the former president of the Pan-European Union, Count Coudenhove-Kalergi: At the same time, the present state of Europe is creating the preliminary conditions for Communist revolution... The European revolutionary danger would disappear before rational organisation of European production, doing away with the customs duties between the States and the creation of a European market.

Such are the delightful dreams of the Pan-Europeans! They want to force America out of the Asiatic, South-American, African and other markets, to gain a monopoly in their own spheres of influence, to make tremendous new profits and by distributing them out of the surplus profits to corrupt the leaders of the working class, and to strengthen reformism. Such are the dreams of Briand, MacDonald, Breitscheid, when talking of "Pan-Europe". Destruction of the Soviet Union, the stronghold of Communist world revolution, of the liberation movement of the colonial slaves, is one of the main tasks of this "Pan-Europe" idea.

Whatever value one may set upon the principle of Briand's plans, this new effort towards the foundation of an anti-Soviet block must not be overlooked.

The international proletariat well knows what it may hope for from the manoeuvres of the European bourgeoisie. It will reply to these efforts again to convert the world into an imperialist slaughter house with a tenfold fight against the danger of war. It will transform the imperialist war into civil war against the capitalist world.

Before the Parliamentary Elections in Czechoslovakia.

By K. Gottwald (Prague).

On the 27th October, 1929, there will take place the Parliamentary elections in Czechoslovakia. These will be the third Parliamentary elections since the formation of the Czechoslovakian Republic.

At the first Parliamentary elections the C. P. of Czechoslovakia did not yet exist. The Czech social-democratic party, which at that time was still united, polled 1,500,520 votes, i. e. 25.7 per cent. of all the votes cast, and the German social democracy polled 798,135 votes, i. e. 12.9 per cent. of all the votes cast. In the year 1925 the C. P. of Czechoslovakia polled 942,030 votes, or 13.2 per cent. of all the votes cast. The Czech social democracy polled 591,879 votes, i. e. 8.9 per cent. of the total vote, the German social democracy 407,824, i. e. 6.1 per cent. At the elections to the diets in the year 1928 there were less electors (the soldiers and persons from 21 to 23 were not entitled to vote) and the C. P. of Czechoslovakia polled 822,549 votes (12.9 per cent.), the Czech social democracy 729,226 (10.9 per cent.) and the German social democracy 403,359 votes (6.03 per cent.).

The Chamber of deputies has 300 members and the Senate 150. In the year 1925 the Party obtained 41 seats in the chamber of deputies and 20 seats in the Senate. Of these only 20 deputies

and 6 senators have remained faithful to the Party. The remainder have been expelled from the Party, some going to the liquidators and some directly to the social democrats.

The elections were suddenly announced by the government in order to take the Communist Party by surprise. These early elections are the outcome of the growing general difficulties of the bourgeois regime and the accentuation of the international and inner contradictions. The increased difficulties of this regime are revealed in the foreign trade balance, which, for the first time since the existence of the Republic, has become very unfavourable in the first half of 1929. The conflicts within the camp of the bourgeoisie are revealed in the increase of the agrarian customs duties and in the national question, as expressed by the trial of the Slovakian autonomist Tuka who has just been sentenced to 15 years imprisonment. On the other hand, we observe the increasing radicalisation of the proletariat as a result of the increased economic and political oppression of all sections of the working population by the bourgeoisie.

Prominent leaders of Czechoslovakian capitalism have already before the election campaign sketched out the next economic and political programme, the realisation of which will, it is hoped, overcome all difficulties. Dr. Hodač, General Secretary of the Federation of Industrialists, developed on 20th August 1929, at the meeting of Czechoslovakian manufacturers, a programme of accelerated rationalisation of production, of the concentration of industry, of increased capital export and of State support for the export of commodities by means of the export insurance, State export guarantee, reduction of transport rates, taxes and duties upon exported goods. President Masaryk, the political captain of finance capital, on his return from the great Autumn army manoeuvres, initiated on 31st of August at the Industrial Exhibition at Brünn a broad propaganda action for the militarisation of the people after the model of the *lex Boncour* in France. Further, at an interview with a German journalist, Olden (see "Berliner Tageblatt" of 29th September), Masaryk declared himself opposed to the "Communist equality" and spoke in favour of a "hierarchical", e. g., in the present situation fascist structure of society. Schicht, a well-known Aussig manufacturer, at the meeting of the German section of the Federation of Industrialists held on 21st of September in Karlsbad, advocated the social fascist slogan of industrial peace and an economic programme "upon which all the sections of the population could unite".

In the approaching elections it is before all a question who and by what methods this fascist and imperialist exploitation programme will be realised.

The question of the direct participation of the social-fascists, without distinction of nationality, in the future government is now the order of the day. The press of the social fascists is quite openly declaring that this is the main question of the election. At the same time they completely take over as their election programme, the whole programme of the bourgeoisie as expounded by Hodač, Masaryk and Schicht. The main argument used by the social fascists against the present government is the assertion that it is a weak government and not energetic enough to carry out the plans of the bourgeoisie. And the social fascists are openly and cynically offering themselves as the better defenders and guardians of the capitalist interests.

The approaching elections in Czechoslovakia are, therefore, fascist elections. The object of the elections is to prepare the fascist dictatorship with the participation of the social fascists, using for this purpose the methods of the carrying through of the elections: terror and fascist provocations against the revolutionary movement.

Of the methods which will be employed against the Communist Party in the course of the election campaign we can already today get a concrete notion. Police provocateurs have in the last few days prepared an "attempt" upon the life of the Belgian ex-Minister Vandervelde, who at present is acting as election agent for the social democracy in Czechoslovakia and is being hissed and hooted at the meetings by the working class. As a result of our timely exposure of the intended police frame up, the "attempt" upon Vandervelde, the police abandoned their plans, but it is certain that they will try on another occasion to carry out their intentions. The aim of these dirty provocations is the discrediting of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia in the eyes of the broadest masses in order to be able to adopt the sharpest measures against the Party, including the dissolution of the Party and annulment of its lists of candidates.

The basis of the election programme of the Communist Party is the fighting programme which was adopted by 500 delegates of the Prague factories and of the proletarian mass organisations on 22nd September 1929. This programme includes the fight against imperialist war and for the defence of the Soviet Union; the fight against fascism and social fascism for the economic demands of the proletariat. The next step of this fight will be the 7th of November, the 12th anniversary of the October Revolution. The Prague Conference issued on this day the slogan of one hour's strike and of mass demonstrations.

This election campaign, into which we are entering with the clear revolutionary slogan of "class against class", is a campaign of preparation for the 7th of November. The attack of our election campaign is directed against social-fascism.

The liquidatory renegades are completely defeated. In going to news to date they have nowhere put up any candidate. A section of them has issued the hypocritical slogan of "class against class", another section has come openly forward with the slogan to vote for the social fascists. The elections mean the end of the liquidators as an independent party.

In accordance with our general line we are conducting an election campaign in the factories on the basis of the united front from below. A whole number of factories and proletarian conferences (Brünn, Brüx, Falkenau, Moravian Ostrava) have endorsed the fighting programme of the Prague Conference. Factory meetings have also endorsed the Communist programme of candidates. A number of united front conferences were organised in all important industrial centres before the election. At the same time the Party is endeavouring to organise conferences of the toiling peasantry on the basis of a united fighting programme of the peasantry. The national question raised by the Tuka trial are being made use of by the Party in order to popularise its national slogans.

The Central Executive Committee of the Party, which in its session on the 3rd and 4th of October, dealt very seriously with the question of an increased fight against the Right, which is again threatening, and declared that the removal of the opportunist danger is the most important prerequisite for the success of the election campaign and of the action on 7th November.

The objective conditions are very favourable for the Party and if the indispensable inner-Party preconditions are fulfilled then the Party will not only be successful in the election campaign but will also be able to undertake a bigger attack on 7th November than on 1st of August.

The Attack on the Unemployment Benefit in Germany.

By Werner Hirsch (Berlin).

After weeks of preparation, during the four days from Monday, September 30th, to Thursday, October 3rd, the Reichstag hurriedly passed the law reducing unemployment benefit. In these four days the neighbourhood of the German parliamentary building, on the front of which is written the beautiful phrase: "Dedicated to the German People", was done over by a strong force of police against the approach of unauthorised persons.

Both inside and outside of parliament the Communist Party fought with the whole strength of the masses against the law of the united bourgeoisie and Social Democracy. The negotiations of the Reichstag laboured under the pressure of a gigantic protest action of the workers, which was carried out under the leadership of the C. P. G. A very instructive picture was therefore to be seen: outside, in the streets of Berlin and in numerous other towns throughout Germany, the demonstrating masses of the toilers, factory workers and unemployed, lined up in close order and acted under the slogans of the Communist Party for the fight against the cutting down of unemployment benefit; inside of parliament, under the protection of the bayonets of the Social-Fascist Berlin chief of police, Zörgeler, the clique of the bourgeois and Social-Democratic members of parliament, who, despite indefatigable resistance of the Communist parliamentary faction, fulfilled the instructions of the trust capital.

The fight of the masses, which the C. P. G. organised against the predatory attack upon the pockets of the most impoverished strata of the proletariat, the unemployed, has not come to an end with the perpetration of the robbery of the unemployed by the German parliament. This attack on the part of trust capital upon the toiling masses of Germany is really only the first step in a systematic and unscrupulous offensive, which the Social-Democratic coalition government and the bourgeois-Social-democratic parliamentary front has determined to make in all spheres, in accordance with the wishes of trust capital, against the workers. The cut in unemployment benefit is the prelude to the extensive "internal reform programme", as announced within the last few weeks at the **Düsseldorf conference of the German industrialists**. This programme is most closely connected with the execution of the Young plan and with its effect upon German domestic politics.

Of the plans which trust capital contemplates in connection with the Young Plan, the German working class has now had a glimpse in this predatory campaign against the unemployed.

The Social-Democratic Minister of Labour, **Wissell**, was a man who introduced the now completed robbery of the unemployed. At the same time, the Social-Democratic Minister of Finance, **Hilferding**, has worked out a comprehensive programme for the reform of national finances, of which the bourgeois press already announces that the essential content is the raising of taxes payable by the masses and the reduction of taxes on property and capital. The Social-Democratic Home Secretary, **Severing**, is furnishing the necessary complement with his so-called new Defence of the Realm Act, the emergency and dictatorship instrument against the revolutionary labour organisations, as the political gagging and suppression of the masses is an inevitable preliminary condition for the realisation of the whole starvation offensive of German trust capital.

The first signs of the Young plan slavery, which the German bourgeoisie in common with the imperialist powers, Great Britain, France and the United States, has thought out for the German nation, were the fresh reductions in unemployment insurance, which expose about 100,000 workers to complete starvation catastrophe.

The voting in parliament was 238 for and 155 against the **Wissell** proposition, so that even in a parliamentary sense the complete decision lay with the Social-Democratic Party of Germany. It was they who cut down the benefit drawn by the so-called seasonal unemployed to nearly the half, and completely withdraw that of other strata of the unemployed, for instance, the married women, who, as it was, were getting only a pittance, while, at the same time, on the basis of the Young plan, the employers are accorded tax reductions amounting to seven hundred millions. For the equipping of the national army, for armoured cruisers and capitalist subsidies money in plenty is available. German Social Democracy is not afraid to commit this robbery of the unemployed, even though it is scarcely four months since they issued with great emphasis at their Magdeburg congress the slogan: "We are renouncing our claims in all matters but we will not permit anything to deflect unemployment benefit."

Many a Social-Democratic worker may have trusted these promises at that time. That was in May. To-day, in the first weeks of October, this dream of the Social-Democratic workers has also vanished. The naked and brutal reality of Social-fascism and its starvation campaign against the poorest of the poor, in accordance with the decree of trust capital, now confronts the German workers.

The Communist Party of Germany will see to it that the form of indignation aroused in the masses of the proletariat by this treachery will be converted into purposeful and determined mass action of the revolutionary class fight. The approaching **national congress of the trade-union opposition**, the preparation of which under the leadership of the C. P. G. has already been commenced by the whole of the class-conscious workers, will call upon all class-conscious workers to take part in mighty counter-actions against the starvation campaign on the part of capital and organise the proletarian counter-offensive, thereby resorting to all methods, including intermediate-trial wage movements, economic and political mass strikes.

FASCISM

Letters from Austria.

III.

The Heimwehr in Styria.

By Fritz Rueck.

Leoben, 1st October 1929.

The impression received from the parades of the Heimwehr on the 29th September is deepened when one examines their organisation and structure in the various parts of Austria. The composition of the Heimwehr is neither socially nor politically uniform. In Vienna which has almost 30,000 unemployed workers who have exhausted the unemployed support, and where misery prevails in all forms, extending to the privations of the poorly paid factory workers, the Heimwehr attempts to recruit declassed proletarian elements through a special sort of labour exchange. To a certain extent it is successful. In these efforts, however, it competes less with the free trade unions than with the Christian Social Trade Unions which are correspondingly angry. In Vienna the Heimwehr has no definite and noteworthy influence in any of the larger factories.

In the great works of the Austrian Alpine Montan Society, which formerly belonged to Stinnes and is now affiliated to the German Steel Works Corporation, however, the Heimwehr is strong. The districts in which Austrian heavy industry wields an unscrupulous terror regime over the workers, have gone through changing fortunes. For a few years a ruthless campaign of rationalisation has been carried on; various works have been closed down on numerous occasions in order to get rid of revolutionary and even social democratic and trade union organised workers. The corporation rules the whole district and owns the villages and houses in which the workers live. The local authorities and police are completely at the disposal of the corporation.

With alternate use of the whip and of special privileges, the corporation has succeeded in forcing a considerable part of the workers into the Heimwehr and into the fascist trade unions controlled by the Heimwehr. Here the workers march as dully and with the same lack of interest with which they work daily in the factories. The fascist badge is for them something different from what it is for the peasants and petty bourgeois youth; it is the sign of their loss of class. These recruits of the press gang are not reliable for the fascist movement. This was shown by the collision in St. Lorenzen where the fascists, for the most part employees of the Alpine Montan Corporation, let themselves be beaten up by a much smaller number of organised workers.

In the district of the Alpine Montan Corporation the free trade unions never had any very strong footing, and this fact favoured the development of the Donawitz company union - for a number of years the whole iron foundry production has been concentrated in Donawitz near Leoben - into a so-called "unpolitical trade union", which is the name under which the fascist trade union works. The same phenomenon can be seen in other districts: the fascist movement can best force workers into its ranks where the working class movement is but weakly developed.

Styria, which is one of the most beautiful parts of Europe, is torn by tremendous contradictions. Coming from Vienna one rises higher and higher into the mountains. The international mountain and winter sport centre Semmering is past. Woods and mountains and between them little villages which have fought a difficult struggle for centuries against the brutal power of nature. In the earlier writings of Rosegger, "When I was still a Peasant Boy", we learn to know this neighbourhood as it was fifty years ago. To-day the situation of these mountain peasants is still bad, and the laws and taxes and all other things which worsen their situation come from Vienna. When the parish priest describes to them what a "Sodom and Gomorra" this "Red Vienna" is, and exhorts them to take part in the expedition to clean it up, they believe him and their whole bitterness and dissatisfaction receives a tangible aim: the march on Vienna. The alliance with the Catholic priests has shown itself to be particularly favourable for the Austrian

Heimwehr movement. The black cassocks are active everywhere; they hold field services and bless the flags, and behind the scenes they carry on their own game in favour of the Papal Curie, which is one of the driving forces behind the Austrian Heimwehr movement. Apart from the big industrialists who finance the movement, the Catholic Church is probably the most influential and most dangerous ally of Austrian fascism.

This open support of fascism by the Church has been contributed to by the fact that since the revolution the recruiting power of the Christian Social Party has sunken considerably. The Heimwehr Movement has considerably weakened the bourgeois parties and its activist phraseology exercises a strong influence on the petty bourgeoisie and upon the peasants. Here in Styria particularly one often meets with a spirit similar to that met with in Germany during the inflation period. It is true, however, that broad sections of the bourgeoisie are hostile to the Heimwehr, and that amongst the peasants there are very many who wish to be let in peace by all political parties, including the Heimwehr.

The attitude of the armed forces is particularly interesting. Strong detachments of gendarmerie travelled with us. They were returning from Vienna after the fascist parades of the 29th September. They declared that they had been on their feet almost uninterruptedly for three days. "That's unnecessary", said one with whom I spoke. "Schober will do the trick and we shall see to the maintenance of order". This jealousy of the police and of the military to the Heimwehr which is generally known to be armed, one can meet often. In Moedling we spoke with a Vienna policeman. He was unreservedly enthusiastic about the parade and abused the Bolsheviks. Since the 17th July 1927, the Vienna police is definitely pro-fascist and its anger against the workers is increased by the fact that recently demonstrating workers, mostly Communists, have defended themselves very energetically against police attacks.

We stopped in a little village in Styria where there was a large saw mill. The workers here are unorganised and receive from 30 to 40 Groschen an hour (about 2½ to 3½ d.). A number of peasants were sitting in the local inn and from their talk they expected that the situation would soon be improved. This improvement was to come in particular from the formation of a new chamber representing industry, commerce and agriculture, to be above parliament. For years the agrarian newspapers have been drumming this slogan into hard peasant heads. This is the newest illusion with which the fascists hope to prevent the peasants from detecting their real enemies: the international and Austrian finance and industrial capitalists and the rich landowners, who own in Styria also the best woods and the best grounds, and the priests who work with all possible means to force the peasants into the fascist camp. The Austrian social democrats have declared: "We have no intention of letting ourselves be ruled by clodhoppers from Styria". This remark and the political attitude which is based upon it is not calculated to win away the peasants from their present leaders.

AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

The "Pacification" of Palestine.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

The assuring bulletins issued in regard to the condition of the fever-spot of the British Empire, the Palestine "mandatory area", are not quite in keeping with facts. In spite of a great concentration of troops and the "extraordinary" reprisals employed, in spite of an imperialist regime of terror, Palestine is not yet at rest, one month after the outbreak of the August revolt. There are not only outward signs of disturbance, such as the movement of Bedouin tribes, repeated collisions, and risings in more distant regions. The population itself is still far from that tranquility which the British bayonets were supposed to inspire. The rancour is too general and too deeply rooted. The endeavours of the people to secure arms continue, both on the part of the Jews and on that of the Arabs, while the nationalist agitation shows anything but signs of a "disarmament".

In so far as the first "balance" of dead and wounded can be surveyed, the total (of Jews and Arabs together) may be put at at least 2000, in which connection the number of Arabs

"netted" by the British punitive expedition has been estimated very low. The results of the bombardments from aeroplanes and with machine-guns were in some cases terrible. As regards the number of ruined fortunes, the official number of Jewish fugitives, obliged by the recent events to quit their abodes, is around 9000, or 7 per cent. of the entire Jewish population of the country. The number of Arabs similarly affected is at least from 20 to 30 thousand, since the movement did not extend to districts where there were Jewish inhabitants spread to many purely Arab areas, such as Gaza, Nabatieh, Tul-Karem, Djennin, etc. The material damage cannot yet be estimated even approximately.

Meanwhile the British are doing their utmost to aggravate the misery of the country, to alleviate which they do not use a finger. The hunt for arms and the imposition of whose contributions are being followed by wholesale arrests. The British issued a law, according to which an indemnity is to be paid where a contribution has been levied on the villages, a measure which caused the Zionists to demand a maximum increase of such contributions!

The number of Arabs arrested is already more than 1500. added to these there are some 150 Jews under arrest. They are placed before British judges (the native judges being considered unreliable in a matter of such vital imperialist interest) and summarily condemned. Needless to say that the "justice" practised here is imperialist class-justice. Verdicts are passed from a purely imperialist standpoint, not those being punished most who have robbed or murdered (many of the robbers indeed, being allowed to go scot-free), but those whose actions appear to be dangerous to imperialism. The Socialist Government of His Majesty desires to impress on the people more that pillage and murder may even be condoned, if only nothing is undertaken against the Government. Even now the British are preparing the deflection of the new revolutionary wave of revolt that is to be expected, into the channels of mutual nationalist strife.

In regard to the Jewish population the same tactics are employed. It is not the Zionist leaders, the unscrupulous Fascist and social-Fascist agitators that are punished, but certain party devils who were found to be in possession of a revolver or whose house was the scene of fighting. (The newspaper of the Zionist trade unions was even permitted to publish a song which says: "Sing the praises of massacre, sing the praise of fire! With fire and blood do we wed you, earth!") The pogromists on the one hand and the Fascist provocateurs on the other, are fully at liberty and devote themselves to the noble task of fawning on the British and securing privileges at the expense of the victims.

Everything is done to prevent the fire of national hatred from dying out. According to the declarations of MacDonald, Lord Passfield (formerly Sidney Webb) and its local representatives, the British Government has retained a "free hand" — as to be able to fire the one boiler or the other according to necessity. So that the explosion, which must inevitably ensue, should not spread to the edifice of the British Government and as troops cannot well be removed from other parts of the Empire, which are also considered insecure, the army of occupation has been re-inforced by a special detachment of 100 bayonets, speedily recruited in London and representing — as they say in Palestine — the first instalment of a larger number of new troops for the "pacification" of the "Holy Land". (Possibly Lord Passfield desires to facilitate his friend Thomas' task of solving the unemployment question, at any rate for men six feet high.)

However this may be, these troops, bayonets, aeroplanes and tanks hitherto represent the only "pledge of peace" that is forthcoming. Otherwise, the reactionary forces are allowed full play. Both Zionists and Arab nationalists carry on a boycott agitation of a truly criminal nature, while the propaganda of lies and alleged atrocities continues. In this connection the Zionists rely more on the imperialist newspaper agencies and the Mohammedans on the rumours they can spread among the people. What is hypocritically said and written in the name of "peace" (e. g. by some of the Zionist papers, which would like to see the "peaceful" elimination of the Arab peasants and workers and the "peaceful" realisation of the Balfour Doctrine on the ruins of Arab Palestine) reminds one of the celebrated "peace offers" of the imperialist Powers during the

ur, when they declared "We are in favour of peace, but : "place in the sun must be secured". This is eyewash, the ly object of which is that of deceiving public opinion, on icht the Zionists depend.

These Anglophile pacifists only show their true colours when there is a question of opposing the only true "peace offer", it made by the Communist Party of Palestine. The platform of the C. P. P., which it has expounded from the very beginning and which it did not abandon for a moment during the recent disturbances, is as follows: No abstract peace under the protection of imperialist bayonets, but a Jewish-Arab union of workers for the purpose of fighting against the main enemy of peace, the British imperialists, and the establishment of national independence and equality by means of a revolutionary government of workers and peasants. The very idea of such a solution, which is the only possible one, is enough to enrage the leaders of the Second International (and with them the so-called "Left Poale Zion", which has proved to be a band of particularly dastardly nationalist rogues). The most perversions of the truth and the most exaggerated "crimes" are made to serve the purpose of decrying international Communism as the ally of the pogromists and the Communist International as an aider and abettor of the "multi-revolution". For if the pacification by MacDonald's bayonets is to be justified, the first thing must be the destruction of the Communists, whose analysis of the position, class forces, and imperialist policy in Palestine has been so emphatically and sanguinarily confirmed by the development of events.

The growth of Communist influence, furthermore, is also aided by the Aab national-reformists, those bourgeois traitors whose rôle the C. P. has unsparingly unmasked. They, too, are commencing anti-Communist agitation and at the same time bowing to the British imperialists.

It is only by the concentration of the best elements of the working class and poor peasantry around the C. P. of Palestine and by a large-scale action of aid and solidarity on the part of the international revolutionary proletariat, that, in the event of the united attack of the imperialists and social-imperialists, Zionists and Arab bourgeoisie, the proletarian vanguard in that country can be enabled in opposition to the pacification by blood and steel, to which MacDonald's mercenaries aspire, to set up the revolutionary united front of the working masses.

THE WHITE TERROR

The Prison Hells in Yugoslavia.

By V. Dragachevac (Belgrade).

After the proclamation of the dictatorship in Yugoslavia, the law for the protection of the Realm was issued in a new and sharper form. Upon the basis of this new State protection act thousands of workers, fighters for national freedom and intellectuals, who sympathised with this fight against the dictatorship, were prosecuted, arrested, tortured and murdered. The inquisitorial methods of torture are used in Yugoslavia with terrible cruelty especially against the revolutionary proletariat.

The former isolated cases of secrecy in regard to the names of persons arrested has become a rule. The police arrest hundreds of workers, whose names are not published and whose families and friends are forbidden to get into touch with them. The press is strictly forbidden to publish any news concerning the position of the prisoners; only such reports as the police themselves issue may be published.

Even on the basis of the legal regulations applying in cases of prosecution under the State protection act, every prisoner must be examined in the presence of witnesses within 24 hours of his arrest; every prisoner has the legal right to be represented by a lawyer, in order that he may raise legal objection to his arrest. As a matter of fact, however, those who are arrested are kept in the police prisons without being heard at all and without legal decision or confirmation in regard to their detention for examination. Protection by a lawyer is not permitted to them. The

police themselves have acknowledged this fact cynically by stating through the bourgeois press three months after the first big mass arrest in Zagreb that they would begin to record the hearings of prisoners.

In the police prisons the workers and fighters for national liberty are exposed to tortures, which it is almost impossible to describe. The "hearings" always take place in the night. Gendarmes and police agents from Macedonia, who have become bestial through their ten-year practice of murder and torture of Macedonian fighters for freedom, were distributed through the country to play the part of torturers at these "hearings". The prisoners are tortured to "confess" to the inventions of the police: plans to assassinate the king, or individual ministers or to blow up State buildings. These tortures are so shocking that Zagreb police agents and gendarmes cannot witness the scenes in the Zagreb police prisons and rush from the rooms in which the tortures are in progress.

The inquisitions are usually carried out in the following manner: first of all, the prisoner who is to be tortured is beaten all over the body with iron rods and with thick ropes, which are first dipped in water. His body is burned with matches or with cigarettes; needle points are forced under his fingernails and then iron pegs are pushed into the holes. His body is tied up into a shapeless bundle and then hung up by the feet with the head downwards. Many cases are known in which prisoners thus bound have been forced to eat human excrement and that such torture has been carried on for nights. In case all these tortures do not achieve the "desired result" and the prisoner still refuses to "confess", the tortures are then accentuated. Weights of a number of pounds are hung to the prisoners' testicles. The bones of his fingers are broken one after another and his hands and feet are beaten with heavy iron bars. In his final condition the prisoner is permitted by the police fiends to languish for several days until he dies of the results of the torture. If death does not take place, the tortures are continued and the prisoner is finally murdered. Then comes the stereotype explanation of the police: "Suicide in prison" or "Shot in trying to escape".

The torture is in some cases continued night after night for 7, 10, 15 or more nights.

Cases of torture and murder have been acknowledged in two official statements. The one document is the protocol of the legal post mortem examination of the bodies of the Communists Djakovich and Hechimovich. For fifteen days these two men were tortured, beaten and fed on excrement in Zagreb police prison. Their bones were broken. The other prisoners in the building at that time saw how the two were carried to the hearings on stretchers. They were then taken to the Austro-Yugoslavian frontier. The post mortem examination report of Section IX of the District Court in Maribor No. VR. IX 405/29 proves that both corpses were covered with wounds caused by torture. The report upon the post mortem examination of the leather-worker Marganovich, who was murdered in the Zagreb police prison, showed that death had ensued as the result of six heavy blows with some blunt instrument.

These tortures and murders in the prisons are carried out under orders direct from the Court and the Ministry for Home Affairs. The Prime Minister and Home Secretary, General Zivkovich, dispatched to the police authorities with the consent of the king a confidential circular offering 500 dinars reward for the capture of any member of the C.P.Y. and 50,000 dinars reward for the capture of a member of the executive of the C.P.Y. Furthermore, the following secret decree was issued:

"The arrested members of the executive of the Communist Party, as also all well-known Communists, are not to be brought before the court but done away with in the police prisons."

By order of the police, the murder of the prisoners is kept secret, and only in cases where the public has already learnt that the person in question is in prison may it be stated that he has committed suicide or been shot in attempting to escape. The method of murder in common use is to throw the prisoner out of a window on the third or fourth floor. This method is the favourite one in Belgrade, Zagreb and Sarajevo. In Macedonia the murder known as "shot in attempting to escape" is retained, because the police prisons there are all single-floor

buildings. The dictatorial chief of police has strictly forbidden the police authorities to give representatives of the press, relatives or friends of the prisoners murdered an opportunity of seeing the corpses.

On account of the secrecy of the police, it is impossible to gather exact statistics of the prosecutions, tortures and murders. From reports which have appeared in the Yugoslav bourgeois press it would appear that during the rule of the dictatorship in Yugoslavia about 10,000 political arrests have been made; 4,000 of these arrested people are still in prison.

From May to September 39 workers, intellectuals and fighters for national freedom have been murdered.

All these terrible persecutions, tortures and police murders have not been effective in frightening the proletariat of Yugoslavia or the masses of the suppressed nations or keeping them from the fight for freedom. But this fight is being carried on under the hardest conditions and needs the quickest and most general support of the international public and chiefly of the international revolutionary Labour movement.

Wrest the Leaders of the Gastonia Strike from the Capitalist Hangmen!

Appeal of the Executive Bureau of the R. I. L. U.

To the working class organisations of all countries!

The storm of protest all over the world and the heroic resistance of the textile workers in the Southern States of the U. S. A., has compelled the capitalist courts in North Carolina to release nine of the workers charged with the murder of the police chief Aderholt and to reduce the charge against the remaining seven accused to one of manslaughter, which, however, can be punished with 30 years imprisonment. The latest events: the raid upon the office of the Labour Defence and of the unions, the murder of **Ben Wells** and other trade union organisers in consequence of their maltreatment by the mob, the mass terror of the fascist bands and the mercenaries of the textile employers, the murder of **Ella May Wiggins** by fascist terrorists, all these things prove that American imperialism intends to destroy the leaders of the Gastonia strike by illegal instead of legal means.

The R. I. L. U. appeals to the workers of the world to support the heroic textile workers of Gastonia by organising a mass action. Seven leaders of the heroic textile workers are still threatened with being buried alive in the jails of American capitalism. The fascist murder campaign is being continued and only the solidarity of the workers of the world will succeed in defeating the efforts of fascist terrorism and of the bourgeois State apparatus, to crush the textile workers. To organise the 300,000 textile workers in the Southern States in the revolutionary National Textile Workers Union presupposes the right of the workers to defend their lives and their organisations against the armed fascists. Help the textile workers in the Southern States to defeat the fascist murderers!

Help to save the leaders of the Gastonia strike from the claws of the capitalist hangmen!

ECONOMICS

A Mammoth Bank in Germany.

Before a New Wave of Capital Concentration.

By E. Kunik (Berlin).

On the 26th September 1929 the Deutsche Bank and the Disconto Gesellschaft decided to amalgamate. This decision represents a capital concentration of great international significance.

The two banks have a share capital of 285 million Marks, 156 million Marks reserve and about 400 million Marks deposits. In the year 1928 the two banks had a turn-over of 391,000 million Marks.

As a result of the fusion the new bank will administer 34% of the deposits in the German credit banks, and 45% of the deposits in the large banks. The relative share of the new bank will of course rise rapidly in consequence of the weight of the fusion, but even if the numerical relation should change, the new mammoth bank will retain the absolute hegemony of German capital and already exceeds in capital power the most important European competitors, including the British. The new bank will have its branches or daughter associations in all the most important countries of the world and important shares in many of the "native" banking, industrial, commercial and transport undertakings.

This new powerful weapon of German finance capital will necessarily produce a new wave of tremendous concentrations. The banks are closely connected with large and important sectors of German industry. Their fusion must therefore lead to further fusions. For instance, the two great German shipping undertakings, the Hapag and the Norddeutsche Lloyd are respectively connected with one of the partners in the fusion. The present efforts to secure the amalgamation of these two shipping concerns came to nothing in consequence of the competition of the two banks behind them. There are numerous similar ramifications, and many of them are not yet visible.

Germany's competitors over the whole world will be compelled to take similar steps in order to meet the increased strength of German competition as a result of this new German bank fusion.

More and more powerful concentrations of capital are coming into the hands of small groups of exploiters. Capitalism is developing more and more into a finance oligarchy of parasitic, imperialist elements exploiting the flesh and blood of the masses of the working class. This process is leading to the formation of great boils on the economic organisation of capitalism. The latest of these great boils shows the German working class and the international proletariat how ripe capitalism has become for operative treatment and how necessary it is to prepare the surgeon's knife, the Communist Parties, for the inevitable operation.

The section of the working class most immediately affected by this new fusion is the army of 20,000 bank clerks who are threatened with unemployment in consequence of the inevitable "rationalisation" which must follow from the unification of the two great banks. In Germany the bank clerks are among the worst-paid and at the same time most exploited sections of the working class. The mechanisation of banking is holding them under constant threat of dismissal. Their wages are as much as 40% under the level of pre-war wages.

In addition however, the thousands of millions controlled by the new mammoth bank "work" with hundreds of thousands even millions of workers, cause them to produce masses of surplus value in order to deprive them of it. The aim of the concentration itself is to increase this exploitation of the workers. At the congress of the Reichsverband der deutschen Industrie (industrialists organisation) which took place a few days ago, one of the directors of the Deutsche Bank declared that attention should be made to replace the capital lost in consequence of the war and the reparations payments, not so much by floating foreign loans but attracting foreign capital to take part in German industry, in other words to participate in the exploitation of the German workers. The way to do this was for Germany to set up a record for the return on invested capital and to attract automatically the necessary capital, in other words German capitalism should set up the world record for the exploitation of labour and thus attract profit-hungry foreign capital. In order to achieve this aim the German bourgeoisie is by cutting down the unemployed workers benefit with the assistance of the German social fascists, thus enabling a still stronger pressure to be placed on the wage level of the German working class. Should the working class resist too energetically then the German bourgeoisie is preparing the establishment of a fascist dictatorship.

The inevitable result of this coming wave of capital concentration will be a further intensification of the class struggle, not only in Germany, but all over the world.

TWELFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

Twelve Years of Socialist Constructive Work.

Speakers' Material issued by the Agitprop Department of the Executive Committee of the Communist International in connection with the Twelfth Anniversary of the November Revolution.

1. The twelfth anniversary of the November Revolution takes place in a time of great progress for the socialist constructive work and of intense sharpening of the contradictions between the capitalist world and the Soviet Union. The fact that the crisis of capitalist stabilisation is growing more acute, whilst the socialist constructive work is proceeding rapidly, produces a great and immediate danger of a military attack upon the land of developing socialism.

On the twelfth anniversary of the November Revolution a balance will again be drawn of the struggle between reformism and Bolshevism.

The technically advanced capitalist countries of the West which look back upon centuries of experience of the class dominance of the bourgeoisie, are unable to find their way out of the blind alley of the post-war period. The capitalist system fetters the gigantic productive forces. A number of great capitalist countries (Great Britain, for instance) are experiencing an undeniable process of degeneration. The capitalist world is wasting tremendous resources in preparing for new wars; for the unrestrained competition, the struggle of the imperialists among themselves, the struggle for a redivision of the world are driving the imperialist world to new wars. Eleven years after the close of the world war, the capitalist stabilisation is once again threatened with collapse. It is cracking at every joint in the heart of world capitalism — in Europe where gigantic class struggles are rapidly developing. It is cracking at every joint on the periphery — in the colonies, in India, Palestine and China, where the struggle for national independence against world imperialism is uniting with the struggle of the proletariat against foreign and native capitalism.

Following upon the period of partial stabilisation, the capitalist world has again entered a period in which a new revolutionary wave is rising, a period of the development of decisive class struggles.

Facing the degenerating capitalist West, the crumbling capitalist stabilisation and the anarchic system of capitalism stands the Soviet Union, the country where the productive forces are rapidly developing, where socialism is achieving gigantic successes and where there is a socialist planned economic system.

The Five Year Plan of Socialist Construction.

2. The gigantic progress of socialist reconstruction is a deadly blow against the reformist prophecies and a wonderful confirmation of the correctness of Bolshevik strategy. The tremendous successes of socialism cannot be denied even by the bourgeois economists. It was, therefore, no accident that in analysing the world economic situation, the Hoover Commission mentioned only Canada and the Soviet Union as those countries where "prosperity" prevailed.

The Five-Year Plan ("Piatiletka") of Socialist Reconstruction (from 1928/29 to 1932/33), which was confirmed by the Soviet Congress of the Union, offers an impressive picture of the tremendous progress of socialist construction. The Five-Year Plan is a brilliant illustration of Lenin's words that after the proletariat has seized power, repulsed the attacks of the class enemy and healed the wounds of the civil war, it can develop its constructive work at a speed unknown in capitalist society. Every working man and every working woman, every toiler in the capitalist countries, must know the fundamental points of the Five-Year Plan because they give him an answer to the question, which is in the right, reformism or Bolshevism.

The Five-Year Plan provides for an increase of industrial production of 180% (almost threefold); for an increase of food production by 230%; for an increase of engineering by 250% and of the production of agricultural machinery by 300%.

With regard to the speed of development provided for in the Five-Year Plan, an idea is given by a comparison with the previous five years:

	1923/24—1927/28	1928/29—1932/33
	(in milliards of roubles)	
Capital investments in the national economy	26.5	64.6
Capital investments in agriculture	15.0	23.2
Capital investments in industry	4.4	16.4
Capital investments in power stations	0.9	3.1
The Budget	19.0	51.0

These gigantic capital investments in the economic system, this tremendous development of energy, are carrying out a technical revolution in the country, and particularly in the village.

Approximately 300,000 tractors, millions of other complicated agricultural machines, the electrification of the village, the building of factories to work up the products of agriculture, etc. lend the village technically and economically quite a different face. The village ceases to be cut off from the town by a Chinese wall. Work in the village loses its purely agricultural nature and takes on to no small extent an industrial character.

The Five-Year Plan, which is being carried out under the slogan of "catching up with and exceeding the capitalist countries", is a tremendous stage upon the way of putting this slogan into execution. The tremendous progress which will be made by the economic system of the Soviet Union during these five years is shown as follows:

	1927/28	1932/33
Industrial production	18.3 milliard roubles	43.2 milliards
Electrical energy	5.0 milliard Kw. Hrs.	22.0 milliards
Smelting	3.5 million tons	10.0 millions
Coal	35.0 million tons	75.0 millions
Artificial fertilisers	175,000 tons	8.0 millions

In five years the Soviet Union will have caught up with and passed France with regard to the production of coal and thus advanced from the fifth to the fourth place in world production. In the production of cast iron it will overtake and pass France, Great Britain and Italy and advance from the sixth to the third place. Here, then, lies the reason for the furious campaign of the imperialists and the reformists against the Soviet Union. Here lies the reason why they are doing everything possible to provoke a military conflict with the Soviet Union.

The Five-Year Plan is a plan for the building up of socialism. At the end of 1928/29 the socialist share in the main assets of the country was 52.7%. At the end of the Five-Year Plan it will be 68.9%. The socialist share in the gross production of industry will rise from 80 to 92% and in agriculture from 2 to 15%. After five years 43%, or the half of all agricultural commodity production will be provided by the socialist section of agriculture (collective undertakings and Soviet farms).

25% of the peasant farms will be drawn into collective undertakings working with the assistance of the most modern agricultural machinery. In Five Years one quarter of the peasantry will have been freed from the chains of individualist, antedeluvian and wasteful peasant production, and will have organised itself into powerful collective undertakings.

The Five-Year Plan will bring tremendous regroupings in the class structure of the Soviet Union. It will consolidate the proletariat as a class, draw new sections of the toilers into socialist production into the socialist factories, and rapidly increase the comparative share of the proletariat in the general economic system. In the country the proletariat will win new powerful positions as a result of the growth of the Soviet farms and the increase of the machinery and tractor stations. In the countryside new sections of the proletariat will develop which have gone through an industrial school and which are filled with the collectivist spirit of the proletariat employed in socialist large-scale industry. Based upon these sections, the industrial proletariat will conduct a further attack upon the rich peasants. The collectivisation of the village produces a downright revolution in the class relations in the countryside, because a new and powerful section of workers in the collective undertakings, of members of the new socialist society, will develop in place of the millions of small private owners. In this way the Five-Year Plan delivers a decisive blow at the capitalist elements, because it reduces both relatively and absolutely

tely the role of the rich peasants, turns millions of small owners into co-operators in the collective process of production and develops in the countryside a powerful section of the industrial proletariat and consolidates the main forces of socialism, the urban industrial proletariat both numerically and qualitatively.

The Five-Year Plan is a decisive stage in the raising of the material and cultural level of the masses. The real wages of the proletariat will rise by 71%. Towards the end of the Five-Year Plan the transition of the whole of industry to the seven-hour day will be concluded whilst milliards of roubles will have been expended for building workers homes.

The Five-Year Plan deals a decisive blow against the unemployment produced by agrarian over-population. The technical revolution in the village creates the preliminary condition for drawing the masses of the poor peasantry into the process of production (through Soviet farms, collective undertakings, etc.), those masses who under the conditions of the old antedeluvian agricultural methods were condemned to vegetate or migrate to the towns.

The Five-Year Plan will create a tremendous nucleus of qualified workers. Hundreds of thousands of engineers and technicians will stream into the process of production from the ranks of the working class. The Five-Year Plan is a plan of cultural revolution. The Five-Year Plan provides for the expenditure of sums for cultural work which are almost fourfold those sums expended in the previous five years.

The introduction of universal compulsory education (under Tsarism over two thirds of the population could neither read nor write), the tremendous extension of the high school system, the building of clubs in connection with all the large-scale factories, the gigantic growth of the evening and Sunday universities for self-education embracing millions of workers and peasants, the linking up of town and country with a wireless net, the rapid growth of the literature created by worker and peasant authors — all these and many other facts bear witness of the cultural revolution which is proceeding in the Soviet Union. This cultural revolution is particularly obvious and powerful in the national republics of the peoples who were formerly most backward. The development here is in the closest connection with the rapid process of industrialisation.

The Five-Year Plan is an element of world historical importance. For the first time in the history of humanity a tremendous country embracing one sixth of the earth surface is marching, to use the words of Engels, "from the realm of necessity into the realm of freedom". By the very fact of its existence the Five-Year Plan demonstrates the tremendous advantages of a socialist system of society.

The speed of development of this Five-Year Plan in a comparatively backward country, working in constant danger of attacks from outside and threatened by feverish preparations for war on the part of its neighbours, proves that with the victory of the proletariat in a number of other countries the progress of humanity would proceed with tremendous strides. Inside five years the Soviet Union will have accomplished a development for which Tsarist Russia would have needed decades and for which even the most advance capitalist countries would have needed twenty years. At what speed will the progress of humanity proceed when the fetters of capitalism have been burst not only in one but in several countries?

The Five-Year Plan in the Soviet Union is a tremendous appeal to the proletariat of the whole world to follow the example of the Soviet Union and to tread the path which leads to the proletarian revolution.

The first two Years of the Plan.

3. The bourgeois and the social-fascist press is doing its utmost to present the Five-Year Plan of Socialist Construction as a phantasy and Utopia. However, the dishonest character of the information published by this press concerning the Five-Year Plan, can be seen on the basis of the temporary statistics concerning the first year of the Plan (1928/29) and the directions for the second year (1929/30). The Five-Year Plan is not a plan on paper for the future. It has already been in practical operation for a year and its reality is tested by practice. The imperialists and the reformists may do their utmost to falsify the verdict of history, but they will not succeed in concealing from the world proletariat the fact that the country of socialism is making victorious progress.

The first year of the "Utopian and phantastic" (for the bourgeoisie and its lackeys) plan was not only carried out,

but in some respects even exceeded. The plan provided for an increase of production by 21.4%. (as compared with 1927) for the first year. In reality, however, the increase in production was 24%. The Five-Year Plan provided for an increase of freight transported of 165 million kilometer-tons in the first year. In reality, however, the increase was from 175—177 million kilometer-tons. The Five-Year Plan provided a budget of 7231 million roubles for the first year. In reality, the budget will be 7995 million roubles.

The second year of the plans gives us a still more eloquent picture. The most important circumstance with regard to the second year is that it renders clear the tendencies of development and thus removes the basis of any assertions concerning the fortuitous nature of the total results of the first year. What is the most characteristic feature of the second year of the Five-Year Plan? It is that the speed of socialist construction in the second year proves to be quicker than in the first year. The Five-Year Plan provided for a total increase of industrial production by 20.2%. To-day, however, based upon the results of the first year, it has proved possible to increase the figure to 31.2%. Taking the production of the means of production separately, it proves that the increase of production of the industry is almost double (42.1 and 43.5%) the figure laid down in the "Utopian" Five-Year Plan. 3000 million roubles capital investment in industry (instead of 2290 millions as provided for in the Five-Year Plan); 700 million roubles State subsidies to agriculture; the increase of the area under seed by 7.8% (these are these figures to be reconciled with the incorrect information concerning the degeneration of agriculture?); the growth of the socialised sector of agriculture (collective undertakings on Soviet farms) and its extension to from 15 to 18 million hectares; the establishment of 100 machinery and tractor stations in the villages; the 10,000 million budget; the increase of real wages by 7% instead of the 5.4% provided for in the Five-Year Plan; these are the characteristic features of the second year of the Five-Year Plan. The directives of the Party and of the government show that not only is the Five-Year Plan no "phantasy" but that the enthusiasm of the masses, their unbending will and the strong Bolshevik leadership make possible the carrying out of the Five-Year Plan in a still shorter period.

The Difficulties and Anomalies of Growth.

The Five-Year Plan is a fighting plan. The Soviet Union is putting the Five-Year Plan into operation in a struggle against numerous difficulties and under the conditions of anomalous growth. The heritage of Tsarist Russia was the backwardness and split up character of agriculture. In consequence of this split up character and of the natural economic character of a certain section of agriculture, temporary difficulties result (lack of grain, meat, etc.) from the increased demands of the masses in town and country. The overcoming of these difficulties, however, is quite possible within the limits of the Five-Year Plan.

The cultural and technical backwardness of the country, also a heritage of Tsarist Russia, from which results the low productivity of labour, the high price of building materials, certain mistakes in construction, the bureaucracy of the apparatus (the broad basis of this bureaucracy is formed by the petty bourgeois character of village economy) and the very great lack of technically trained forces.

The carrying out of the Five-Year Plan is taking place in the sharpest possible struggle against the capitalist elements in the country. The development of the socialist attack produces a despairing resistance on the part of the historically condemned capitalist elements. The old ruling classes were crushed by the November Revolution and the civil war, but the petty bourgeois economy of the countryside still mainly serves as a breeding ground for a certain growth of the capitalist elements. These elements grow incomparably more slowly than the socialist elements, but considered absolutely, the village bourgeoisie (kulaks or rich peasants) are now stronger than they were at the beginning of the New Economic Policy. The Five-Year Plan threatens the immediate basis of their existence and growth. The Kulak is therefore striving to interfere with the grain supply and to prevent by agitation and threats the unification of the poor and middle peasants in collective undertakings. The Kulaks instigate attacks upon, and sometimes even murder of communists and non-party officials who are devoted to the cause of the building up of socialism. The Kulaks occasionally

ceed in corrupting socially unstable elements in the Party and in the State apparatus.

In the town the capitalist elements are incomparably weaker, but here also the development of socialist construction, which has given rise to a process of differentiation amongst the technical intelligentsia, leads to an alliance of small groups of the former privileged technical intelligentsia with the Nepmen and the foreign capitalists. The Shachty Process against the mining engineers, the sabotage organisations in the shipping industry, the trial of the former Minister Paltchinsky, etc. show that small groups of the technical intelligentsia are carrying out an active struggle against socialism and carrying out the direct instructions of the bourgeoisie to sabotage the building of Socialism.

The bourgeoisie, and in particular its social fascist lackeys, exaggerate in every possible fashion the difficulties and contradictions of socialist development. They are overjoyed at each setback on the part of the Kulaks and at each act of sabotage by the counter-revolutionary specialists and glorify them. But this measure will be short, and in addition the bourgeoisie and the social-fascists know that it is artificial, because they cannot but recognise the successes of socialist construction. The speedy growth of the collectivisation of agriculture and the increasing development of the Soviet farms will bring a fundamental alteration during the next two years with regard to the supply of the town with agricultural products. The socialist rationalisation of production which is being carried out with the active assistance of the working masses, will lead to a tremendous increase in the productivity of labour. (The Five-Year Plan provides for an increase of 110%.) The proletariat will learn from the mistakes of its first building attempts. It will build more cheaply and quickly. The experience gained in the building of such tremendous undertakings as the Stalingrad tractor factory (in 18 months a factory will have been built producing 1,000 tractors a year) shows that the Soviet Union will build more quickly than capitalist Europe. The extension of the old high school system and the development of hundreds of new technical and agricultural high and middle schools will provide hundreds of thousands of new engineers, agronomists, and organisers of socialist economy during the next few years. (They are ready being supplied.) Based upon mechanisation and the powerful development of the co-operative net, the proletariat is driving the kulak out of his positions. In the economic year which has just concluded, the comparative share of the kulaks in the land under seed decreased, whereas the share of the poor and middle peasants increased. By firmly organising the village worker and by consolidating its alliance with the middle peasants, the working class is preparing an attack of all the toilers in the village upon the Kulak and forces him to throw his surplus gain onto the market.

The Enthusiasm and Will of the Masses — A Guarantee for the Success of Socialist Construction.

5. The difficulties and contradictions of our development cause vacillations from time to time amongst individual sections of backward workers, and these vacillations are reflected in individual groups in the Party. The working class and its Party on the other hand, are developing an unshakable firmness in the struggle for socialism. A splendid example of this firmness and enthusiasm of the masses is offered by the socialist competitive scheme. The factories and workshops, the villages and collective undertakings enter into the competitive scheme in order to develop industry, increase the harvest, decrease the costs of production and increase labour discipline. Voluntarily and upon their own initiative the masses conclude agreements concerning the struggle against absenteeism and slackness, and for the increase in the quality of production. The socialist competitive scheme in the Soviet Union is a crushing answer to the argument used for years by bourgeois ideologists that socialism means stagnation because the driving force of private competition is excluded. The socialist competitive scheme of the free toilers of the Soviet Union shows that socialism instead of anarchic competition produces a more fruitful and more powerful driving force — the socialist competition in the process of production, the competition for new successes in the struggle against nature and as long as capitalism exists) in the struggle against the regime of exploitation.

The socialist economic system gives the proletariat the powerful weapon of planned economy. An eloquent expression of

this planned economy as a weapon in the struggle for increasing the pace of development is the introduction of the uninterrupted working week. The uninterrupted working week is a great gain for the workers of the Soviet Union, for it introduces a working week of five days plus a day of rest. It reduces unemployment by absorbing a great section of the unemployed in the process of production and deals a heavy blow against religion and other prejudices. It increases the speed of economic construction and abolishes the loss previously suffered by all factories and workshops of almost two months in the year as a result of the frequent general holidays. The uninterrupted working week is impossible under the conditions of anarchy and competition existing in the capitalist world. Under capitalism it is only conceivable as a means of exploitation.

The socialist competitive scheme and the uninterrupted working week are splendid examples of the enthusiasm and will of the proletarian masses of the Soviet Union. A merciless self-criticism conducted without respect to persons, creates the preliminary conditions for winning the masses to an active participation in the constructive process, for the eradication of faults for the correction of deviations from the class line made by individual members of the Party and of the State apparatus. Every serious error on the part of the local and central economic, Soviet, trade union and other organisations is brought publicly before the bar of the working class. The wave of self-criticism cleans the apparatus from top to bottom from conservatism, bureaucracy, waste, degeneration, etc. In the process of self-criticism thousands and thousands of proletarians are going through a political and organisational school which will produce new and active builders of the socialist economic order.

The process of purging which is at present being conducted all over the Soviet Union in the Soviet, trade union and other institutions, serves the same aim. Everything leading to ossification, bureaucracy, etc. and away from the proletariat will be thrown out of these institutions and the gaps will be filled up by tens of thousands of new co-operators from the ranks of the proletariat. The crown of this tremendous work for the mobilisation of the masses in the struggle against conservatism, bureaucracy and the influence of non-proletarian elements is the purging of the Communist Party, which is proceeding with the active assistance of broad masses of non-party workers. The social fascist parties throw honest proletarians out of their ranks and attract with all possible means the scions of the aristocracy, the bourgeois business men, the liberal ideologists, the technical intelligentsia and the officials. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union does exactly the opposite, because it is the leader of the gigantic socialist constructive work and is not a part of the capitalist system. It clears out of its ranks all offsprings of the old classes, all the good-for-nothings and careerists, all the corrupt elements and bureaucrats, whilst at the same time it seeks to win all class-conscious and active working men and women as members of the Party. Here lies its strength as the leader of the Soviet Union and the advance-guard of the Communist International. Here lies the strength of the working class of the Soviet Union and of the world revolution.

World Imperialism, Social-Fascism and their Efforts to Prevent the Socialist Construction.

6. The proletariat of the Soviet Union is working to carry out the Five-Year Plan under constant military provocation and constant danger of being attacked. World imperialism and its social fascist lackeys are striving with all the means in their power to tear down the socialist achievements. They know that the carrying out of the Five-Year Plan of socialist construction will be a powerful factor for revolutionising the world proletariat under the conditions of the intensifying class struggle in the capitalist West, and a powerful weapon in the struggle for the world revolution. Here lie the causes for the feverish preparations for war against the Soviet Union. Regarded in this light, the provocative attacks of the Chinese generals and the raids of white guardist bands are not mere acts of wantonness on the part of the Chinese hangmen, but a deliberate system of war provocations organised by world imperialism. Only the iron discipline of the working masses of the Soviet Union and of the Red Army is responsible for the fact that war has been averted so far in the Far East. This is admitted even by a portion of the bourgeois press (for instance "The Manchester Guardian"). Apart from organising military provocations in the Far East, world imperialism is working to prepare similar provocations

on the Western frontiers of the Soviet Union. British and French military experts are working continually in the armies of the Polish, Rumanian and Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie and in the armies of the Baltic States in order to unite them for a common effort. At the last meeting of the League of Nations the bourgeois governments of the latter States openly raised the question of financing the small States in case of war against States threatening peace (read: "against the Soviet Union"). In the course of the last few years there has been no end to the attempts to draw Germany into a military alliance against the Soviet Union. The reason that this alliance has not yet been concluded is simply that up to the present the parties have not been able to agree about the price. The present coalition government of Hermann Mueller is more ready than any other government to join a military alliance against the Soviet Union: this is shown by its aggressive attitude in the Soviet Russian-Chinese conflict. The next step in the preparation of an economic blockade of the Soviet Union and of a war alliance against the Soviet Union is Briand's campaign for Pan-Europe. The land of the Soviets celebrates the twelfth anniversary of its existence in a situation in which it is seriously threatened with a military attack. The danger of war was never so acute as at present. Up to the present the firm peaceful policy of the Soviet Government in the Russo-Chinese conflict has prevented war, but there is no guarantee that world imperialism will not unleash its bloodhounds in the Far East. In consequence, every working man and every working woman must say: **We will be on guard, we will be prepared to come to the assistance of the proletariat of the Soviet Union at any moment.**

Social Fascism, the Organiser of Imperialist War and the Suppressor of the Colonial Revolution.

7. The war danger threatens the world proletariat not only as the war against the Soviet Union, but also as an imperialist war because, side by side with the preparation for an attack upon the Soviet Union, the imperialists are working feverishly at imperialist war preparations. The capitalist stabilisation has not only failed to diminish the imperialist contradictions, but it has reproduced them on a higher level. Under the cloak of pacifist conferences and declarations, armaments are developing unhindered. The centre point of this imperialist antagonism is the struggle between Great Britain and the United States for world hegemony. This struggle determined the character of the Paris and Hague conferences and of the Young Plan. This struggle is the object of naval "disarmament" conferences whose task it is to provide the pacifist cloak for gigantic naval building programmes.

Having regard to the difficulty of preparing new wars after the bloody experiences of the masses of the peoples in the first imperialist war, the social-fascist parties, these counter-revolutionary bourgeois "workers" parties, are being pushed into the foreground as the organisers of new imperialist wars. In Germany the social democratic Hermann Müller Government is building cruisers, whilst the last congress of the social-fascists adopted the defence programme (termed war programme with involuntary clarity by Paul Levi) which favours Germany's armament policy under the pretence of protecting Germany's "neutrality". In Great Britain the MacDonald Government has taken over the task of preparing war against the United States by mobilising the masses with the assistance of pacifist agitation. The only difference between the policy of MacDonald and the policy of Chamberlain and Churchill is that MacDonald continues to build cruisers without sabre-rattling and without showing the masses his cards, and that he declares that the cruisers are not for use against America but to protect British possessions.

8. Social-fascism does not only appear in the role of an organiser of new wars. Its functions in the present-day capitalist system are wider. Social-fascism takes over the main work in the suppression of national revolutionary movements. By compromises with the colonial bourgeoisie and concluding blocs with the colonial militarists, the social-fascists carry on a ruthless suppression of the working class movement in the colonies and of the struggle of the national revolutionaries for the independence of their countries. The police of the MacDonald "Labour" Government shoot down worker demonstrators in Bombay and Calcutta; the MacDonald Government arranges national massacres in India and Palestine; it throws thousands of class-conscious Indian proletarians into prison and at the same time it

flirts with the hangman Chiang Kai-shek, with the Egyptian dictator and the Indian Rajahs. The alliance with the reactionary feudal elements of the Orient to crush the struggle of the revolutionary peoples of the Orient — that is the strategy of European and American social-fascism.

Social Fascism, the Chief Weapon of the Bourgeois Counter-Revolution in the Mother Countries.

Social Fascism has become the chief support of the bourgeois dictatorship in the capitalist mother countries. In order to be able to compete successfully upon the world market, the bourgeoisie must carry out the capitalist rationalisation, throw millions of workers out of the process of production, set up a driving system, force down the wages of a section of the employed workers to the level of unqualified workers and generally depress the standard of living of the whole working class. The social fascist governments which perform this task for the bourgeoisie. They reduce wages (for instance, the arbitrary decision of the MacDonald Government for the reduction of wages of the textile workers by 6 1/4%), they reduce social legislation and in particular the unemployed support (see the democratic Hermann Müller Government), they raise direct taxation and with the assistance of the social bureaucracy, they ruthlessly crush the attempts of the working class to answer the bourgeois offensive with a counter-offensive.

The intensification of the class struggle drives the bourgeoisie to adopt dictatorial measures against the revolutionary working class movement. Social fascism also fulfils this task for the bourgeoisie. At its party congresses (for instance, the Magdeburg congress of the German social democracy) social fascism announces its readiness to establish a dictatorship in the struggle against the revolutionary working class movement. The social fascist governments are carrying out this programme. They shoot down working class demonstrators (Berlin), prohibit revolutionary working class organisations (The Front Fighters League) and are preparing a decisive blow against all revolutionary working class organisations.

9. Social fascism has become the chief weapon of the counter-revolution. In the struggle against the revolutionary working class movement, social fascism keeps pace with fascism. Social fascism and fascism fight each other solely for the leading role in the struggle against the revolution. The verbal struggle against fascism is used by social fascism in order to conceal from the masses its real cooperation with fascism in the struggle against the revolutionary movement. The social fascist Reichsbanner co-operates with the fascist Stahlhelm. Severing permits the fascists to commit terrorist acts with impunity whilst he utilises these acts in order to issue exceptional laws against the revolutionary working class organisations.

The Austrian social fascists are disarming the workers just at the moment when the Austrian fascists are feverishly preparing for a coup d'état. The growth of the fascist movement during the last year is closely connected with the treacherous activity of social fascism. The social demagogue of the fascists meets with a certain amount of success among backward sections of the proletariat which have been deceived and which no longer believe in the possibility of defending their class interests through the trade unions led by the social fascist bureaucracy which betrays the working class at every decisive moment of the struggle.

The Rising Revolutionary Wave and the Tasks of the World Proletariat.

10. The proletariat of the Soviet Union will celebrate the twelfth anniversary of the November Revolution in the month of its socialist constructive work and after having traversed a gigantic stretch along the path of its social and cultural development, and in full confidence of new victories upon the field of socialist construction.

The bourgeoisie is robbing the proletariat of those concessions which it was compelled to make in the years of the revolutionary crisis. In most countries the standards of living of the proletariat are below pre-war level. Capitalist rationalisation and the danger of new wars bring new privations and horrors. The question of how to find a way out of this situation arises. The twelfth anniversary of the November Revolution shows this way out. It can only be found along the path of the proletarian revolution. If the proletariat of the Soviet Union which was culturally and organisationally in a much

able situation than the proletariat of the West, was able to attain such tremendous successes in a backward country, what splendid successes await the proletariat of Europe if it has once vanquished its bourgeoisie!

The class struggle of recent years shows that broader and ever masses of the proletariat have become convinced of the correctness of the path taken by the proletariat of the Soviet Union, and pointed out by the Comintern.

The strike wave of the past year, the Berlin barricades, the demonstrations on the 1st August, and the successes of the communists, all these things show that broad masses of the proletariat in the countries of capitalism are rising in a new revolutionary wave. The twelfth anniversary of the victorious November Revolution must impart confidence and new strength to the ranks of the world proletariat. The response to the Five-Year Plan of Socialist Construction must be the extension of the fighting front of the working class and its consolidation under the leadership of the Communist Party. The bourgeoisie and its social fascist lackeys are depressing the standards of living of the working class.

The reply must be couched in terms of a proletarian answer to raise the standards of living of the working class; the answer must be given in terms of economic mass strikes against the heads of the social fascist trade union bureaucrats. The bourgeoisie and its social fascist lackeys are destroying the working class organisations and wish to annihilate the revolutionary organisations. The answer must be the formation of mass organisations for proletarian self-defence and the arming of the proletariat through political mass strikes and allying of the working masses around the Communist Party in order to prepare for the coming decisive struggle.

The mass strikes played a tremendously important role in the history of the Russian revolution because they drew the best masses into the class struggle, compelled the ruling classes to make considerable concessions and prepared the masses for the immediate struggle for power. Under the present conditions, where the working class is faced with the unholy alliance of the employers, the bourgeois State and the socialists, the proletariat cannot win any serious concessions without developing its economic struggles into political struggles and political strikes. In the present situation of an intensified class struggle, the political mass strike can and must be made the lever for the mobilisation of the masses for the decisive struggles for power.

With the view to preventing the carrying out of the Five-Year Plan, the bourgeoisie and its social fascist lackeys are preparing for war against the Soviet Union. The answer must be the formation of anti-war committees, the growth of the Party of Friends of the Soviet Union and the organisation of a revolutionary competitive scheme with the proletariat of the Soviet Union in order to prepare a joint fighting front against the world bourgeoisie.

It is necessary already now to give the preparations for resisting the war provocations an organisational basis. The formation of anti-war committees in every factory and in every workshop, above all in the heavy and war industries, must be the first serious step in the organisation of the defence of the Soviet Union and the struggle against war.

The revolutionary competitive scheme of the workers of capitalist countries with the proletariat of the Soviet Union must consolidate their fraternal alliance and act as a powerful stimulus both to the socialist constructive work in the Soviet Union and to the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat in capitalist countries.

By concluding revolutionary competitive agreements the workers of the capitalist factories will undertake to adopt all measures to defend the Soviet Union, to struggle against capitalism, to develop the struggle against the capitalist rationalisation and to struggle against fascism and social fascism.

The workers of the socialist factories of the Soviet Union must, by concluding such agreements, undertake to adopt all measures in order to increase the industrialisation of the country, improve production, consolidate the alliance with the peasantry, strengthen the defensive capacities of the Soviet Union and be prepared at any moment to come to the assistance of their comrades in the capitalist countries in their revolutionary struggle against capitalism.

By mass demonstrations on the day of the twelfth anniversary of the November Revolution, the world proletariat must

show that it is prepared at any moment to spring to the assistance of the Soviet Union.

For the fraternal alliance with the proletariat of the Soviet Union!

For the determined support of the Five Year Plan for Socialist Construction!

For the revolutionary competitive scheme with the proletariat of the Soviet Union!

For the broad-scale offensive against the capitalist rationalisation!

For the revolutionary united front in the struggle against the danger of war!

For the defence of the Soviet Union!

For the political mass strike in the struggle against fascism and social fascism!

For the preparation for the proletarian revolution!

For the dictatorship of the proletariat!

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

120,000 Tractors in two Years.

By A. Orjonnikidse.

The following is taken from a speech made by Comrade Orjonnikidse at the Party Conference of the Moscow industrial district. Ed.

A few years ago, at our twelfth party congress, an annual increase of production of 12—13 per cent. was regarded as the desirable rate which would permit us to catch up with and surpass the capitalist countries. What happened, however, in reality? In fixing the control figures for the year 1927/28, it was assumed that there would be an increase of production of about 18—19 per cent. In reality, however, the increase was about 21—22 per cent. The control figures for the year 1928/29 assumed an increase in production of 20—21 per cent. In reality, however, the increase was about 24 per cent. The Five-Year Plan which was adopted in the spring at our 16th Party Conference and at the Soviet Congress provides an increase of industrial production of 20—21 per cent. for the year 1929/30. In reality, however, the control figures fixed by the Supreme Economic Council of the Soviet Union together with the State Commission for Planned Economy show a tremendous development: for heavy industry 40—44 per cent., for light industry 28 per cent. and for industry as a whole 32 per cent.

Let us now take a look at the State budget. When, last year, we worked out a budget of 7500 million roubles for the year 1928/29, everyone declared that this proposal was rather risky. At the end of the third quarter it was feared that our proposal was not practical and that the result would be behind the planned figures. We are now at the end of the economic year and we see that our bold project has been exceeded by about 200 millions. The Five-Year Plan for the year 1929/30 provides for a State budget of 9200 million, whilst at the moment a further proposal of 10,200 million is being worked out and the Commission of Planned Economy even reckons with 10,500 million roubles. This, comrades, shows the real growth, the real progress of our time.

However, side by side with this tremendous growth we can also witness such phenomena as the queues before our co-operatives. In this respect we are faced with great difficulties which we must not attempt to minimise. To-day, immediately prior to the 12th anniversary of the November Revolution, we are short of all agricultural products. Our right wing comrades are of the opinion that this is the result of our wrong policy. As you know, Comrade Bukharin declared last autumn in his article "Remarks of an Economist", that our agriculture was degenerating, in other words that the productive forces of peasant economy are being destroyed, that the peasant farm retrogressed instead of developing. What is the truth of the matter? What has the past year to tell us? No one can deny the fact that, upon the basis of statistical information, the "degenerating" peasant economy increased the area under seed this year by 6 per cent. with the assistance of the Party and the Soviet Power.

The development of the collective undertakings is unexpectedly great and exceeds all the figures of the Plan. The Soviet farms which we commenced to build up last year and whose utility was very much doubted by our right-wing comrades, are already beginning to prove the correctness of this course. It is sufficient to point out that the cost of a pood of grain on the Soviet Farm "Gigant" is only 70 Copeks.

This is the answer to the struggle we had last year concerning agriculture with the right-wingers. I am of the opinion that every Communist who honestly wishes to obtain clarity with regard to the dispute between us and the right-wingers must admit that reality has defeated the right-wingers. No opposition was ever so quickly deprived of its arguments than the right-wing opposition. Less than a year has passed and the right-wing opposition is in fragments, ideologically defeated. However, the danger of right-wing tendencies in our country is extremely great. This we must never leave out of consideration. Every opposition which wishes to slow down the development of our socialist economy, even by a little, will immediately find hundreds of thousands of supporters. It would be absurd to believe that in a petty bourgeois country like the Soviet Union, the right-wing tendencies had no support. The peasantry must be enlightened upon the basis of tractor stations, collective undertakings and Soviet farms concerning the advantages of agricultural large-scale production as against small-scale peasant farming. In our tremendous Soviet apparatus, there are also numerous elements which want neither the progress of socialism nor the victory of the working class. They will always support any opposition which wishes to retard our socialist development. As Comrade Stalin has pointed out on many occasions, the victory of the right-wingers would mean the re-establishment of capitalism. You may ask in surprise: You make such an accusation against Bukharin? Does Bukharin want to lead us to capitalism? Was he not with us in the November days? Comrades, there is no question about Comrade Bukharin wanting capitalism. He was with us in the November days and I have no doubt that he is still prepared to a ruthless struggle against the bourgeoisie. However, it is not a question of what he wants, it is a question where his policy would lead us, and it would lead us backwards.

Last year, when we wished to invest 1600 million roubles for the development of our industry, Comrade Bukharin declared in his "Remarks of an Economist" that there was a lack of building material and that new factories could not be built out of bricks that did not exist, etc., although he did not directly oppose the investment of this sum.

In reality it transpired that we had enough bricks and that our building operations proceeded much better than in the previous year. With this, however, I do not mean to suggest that there are now no errors left. There are still mistakes, sometimes hair-raising mistakes, but with the passing years they are becoming fewer. What capital sum will be expended in the coming year for industrial building works? The Five-Year Plan contains the sum of 2200 million. The Commission for Planned Economy reckons with 3000 millions, whilst the Supreme Economic Council even demands 3200 millions. You see therefore that reality is not in agreement with Comrade Bukharin.

Last year Comrade Bukharin spoke very much about the lack of "incentive" for the peasants. Comrades, you may speak of incentive as much as you like, but there will be no result unless you take real measures to assist the poor and middle peasants. If you do not take these measures, then all your talk of incentive will only assist the Kulaks and enslave the poor peasants. The Party energetically rejected Bukharin's "incentive" theory and proceeded to take measures for the support of the poor and middle peasants by importing tractors from abroad, increasing the production of tractors at home, by speeding up the building of the tractor works in Stalingrad which will have a production of 40,000 tractors a year, by commencing to build a new tractor work in Tchelyabinsk. What does that mean? It means a real assistance for the poor and middle peasants. With the assistance of these tractors they are being organised and thus led by the Party along socialist lines.

If we had not adopted this policy and if we had not proceeded firmly in this direction, then it would mean that we had no future in the village. If we had permitted the Kulak to have his own way, we would perhaps to-day receive more

grain from him, although even this is doubtful, but in the immediate future we would have been faced with a serious offensive of re-awakening capitalism. If we would permit the kulak a free hand, we could perhaps reduce the queues before our co-operatives, although I strongly doubt it. But we must realise clearly that the question of completing the November Revolution, the question of building up socialism in our country would not be solved by this, on the contrary, it would be seriously damaged.

Remember what Lenin said: "If we had 100,000 tractors the whole agricultural question would be settled". We have adopted this standpoint of Lenin and are determined to put his words into action. In two years, at the very latest in three and a half years, over 120,000 tractors will be built in our country.

Comrades, when one speaks of the alliance of the workers and peasants, the usual basis is: Give the peasants salt, give them petroleum and other industrial products. To-day this is not enough. The real spirit of the workers and peasants alliance must be based upon production upon the tractor, upon the thresher, upon the plough, etc. This is the basis of the policy being carried on by the Party with regard to agriculture to-day, and it is a basis which the right-wing comrades do not understand.

We must concentrate our whole work and our whole energies upon the strengthening of our economic system, upon the increased productivity of labour in the factories, in the workshops and in the trusts, and set ourselves the task of carrying out the Five-Year Plan in a period of from three to four years. This will be the best way to carry out practically the general Party line. Some parts of the Five-Year Plan can really be carried out in three years and the whole Five-Year Plan probably be carried out in four years. When we rejoice about our successes whilst not forgetting our difficulties and the queues, we must remember that when the Five-Year Plan has been carried out, our difficulties and the queues will have vanished. We are on the broad path which leads to the building up of socialism and we shall march on and on.

Trade Union Congresses and Struggle against Reformism.

By J. Berlioz (Paris).

(Conclusion.)

The Congress, however, did not treat merely the important question of political orientation. The fact that the resolutions passed at the Congress reflect the platform of the Sixth World Congress and the Tenth Plenary Session, and that the question of the leading rôle of the Party was for the first time officially raised at a trade union congress and made the subject of a resolution; the fact, finally, that our Comrade Cachin, who was enthusiastically received, transmitted the delegates the greetings of the Central Committee — these facts are all eminently significant results for the development of the class struggle.

But what our opponents reproach us with is just the fact that we (allegedly) devote our attention solely to higher politics and neglect the daily demands of the workers. They have proved to be wrong, for, once the problem of political orientation had been discussed, the Congress occupied itself with detailed reports, which set forth a programme of demands of the Unitarian Trade Unions and suggested the best fighting methods. In these discussions, attention centred on the fight against rationalisation, for higher wages, and for a diminution of working hours, together with a fight for the legality of the C. G. T. U. and against war preparations. Suitable resolutions were passed in regard to the strategy of strikes and the necessity of uniting and co-ordinating the sporadic movements which arise in hundreds of instances, once here and once there, and of continuing to conduct them on a uniform basis. In all these fights we must assume the lead, raise them to a higher political level, and prove to the workers that the question of power is about to be solved.

The Congress of the C. G. T. U., moreover, passed a resolution in favour of concentrating on the unorganised workers (i. e. 90 per cent. of the French proletariat), who represent the most exploited sections of the population, and recruiting them in a greater degree than hitherto for co-operation in the pro-

tion and conduct of the struggles by means of the factory committees and strike committees, which must be democratically elected. The C. G. T. U., which counts only 500,000 members, must be strengthened and improved in its social composition by means of vigorous propaganda, a task we have greatly neglected in our agitation and our tactics. To this end practical measures have been resolved, such as a better footing of trade unions in the works, the collection of subscriptions in the works and dwellings, an increase of the ridiculously low rate of subscription (which would permit of a financial centralisation), and the establishment of a "solidarity fund", which would greatly benefit the trade unions and keep them within their organisation.

In the discussion of all these points, the minority refused to express an opinion or else limited itself to adverse criticism, in which line it specialises. The minority refused to avoid coming to grips with the bourgeoisie and fears responsibility. The majority, as a matter of fact, desired to see four of the most prominent representatives of the minority as members of the enlarged executive committee, in which tendencies in the trade union movement would thus have been made able to find utterance, while the guidance of affairs would be placed in the hands of a yet greater body than hitherto, and the co-operation of young, unspent forces. In this way, as was hoped, the manoeuvres of the "Trade Union League" would be unmasked, which will at some future date possibly permit to bring about a definite split. On the strength of the most threadbare excuses, the anti-Communists refused to follow the advice. They prefer to continue their disorganising activity in the service of the bourgeoisie in secret or in a less exposed situation.

Apart from these positive factors, however, the unfavourable side of the C. G. T. U. Congress must not be overlooked. A great part of the tasks confronting the Congress could not be solved, in view of the indifference evinced even by our own Communist functionaries. The participation of the unorganised masses in preparing for the Congress and in the Congress itself was neglected. It is here a question of overcoming the deeply rooted traditions of a haughty attitude on the part of bureaucracy and trade-union conservatism towards the "unorganised masses", traditions greatly due to the fact that the trade-union leaders are still composed to a great part of so-called "elevated" workers. Great efforts must be made for the purpose of solving organisational tasks, which have remained far behind our situation. The social composition of the Congress, too — even without taking consideration of the fact that there were far too few delegates from among the broad mass of members present and far too many delegates commissioned by the trade-union administrations — revealed a great weakness of our organisation. More than 40 per cent. of the trade unions represented were organisations of employees (railwaymen, post clerks, State and municipal clerks, and teachers), while the strategically decisive callings (seamen, metal workers, chemical workers, etc.) were poorly, or at any rate insufficiently, represented.

The course of the Congress of the yellow C. T. G. is easy to summarise. As already remarked, the workers led by the reformists are restless and bewildered and start movements which usually bring them under our own influence. They do not see their way very clearly, but are already conscious, albeit hesitantly, of the failure of the methods of class co-operation, without however reducing this dissatisfaction to a precise political basis. The reformist leaders, who feel this vague, not united, opposition, manoeuvred against it and tolerated an awkward and timid utterance of opinions in this direction, relying in connection with the report of activity, only to pounce on those voicing them later with a pronouncement of treason. Thus, at the early sessions, about one dozen speakers were invited to criticise the reformist policy and to advocate a return to "direct action". A tame criticism, which nevertheless reflected (however incompletely and indirectly) the ferment among the workers and their increasing determination to fight, the more so as the workers could hardly be said to have been represented at all at this assembly of "bosses". This was expressly pointed out by the "Populaire", the central organ of the Communist Party: "Why refrain from saying so? There was a melancholy tang in the atmosphere. Milan's cry for greater independence on the part of the trade unions, appeared to me to sum up the disappointments and lost illusions of the Congress. The workers' movement is by no means satisfied."

Then a hymn was sung in praise of the National Economic Council and of Geneva. A lyrical discourse of several hours' duration praised class co-operation, deprecated the "ignorant masses", recommended economic democracy, villified the Soviet Union, which "alone desires war", and burnt incense to the League of Nations — all almost word for word in the same terms as employed by Briand in his last speech. Above all, however, the thesis of a complete unity between the trade-union movement and the bourgeois State was proclaimed, in which connection it was obvious that participation in the Cabinet was envisaged and co-operation in the "construction of democracy" willingly conceded. Less importance attaches to the other discussions (the Congress lasting no more than four days). There was no mention of the national or international position, nor yet of the danger of war or of the destiny of the working class. Strikes were condemned as an antiquated method of fighting, while in regard to capitalist rationalisation a benevolent neutrality was proclaimed. The reformist leaders thus reply to the Left development of the working class by a still more pronounced orientation towards the Right.

It is clearly to be seen that there is not much difference between Jouhaux and the minority of the C. G. T. U. Reformism is therefore observable both within the C. G. T. U. and outside it. In this respect the bourgeois press has not been disappointed. The papers praise the Congress of the C. G. T. as marking the "close of the heroic period in the workers' movement and its entrance upon a period of industrial peace". At the same time they express the frank hope for an increase of the minority in the Unitarian trade unions, as being a "guarantee for their emancipation from Communist tutelage and for increased prospects of unity among the workers". Against these two camps the fight must be doubled by means of an independent conduct of the workers' conflicts, which now show a tendency to spread and intensify and which must be brought also under the political guidance of the Communists. The great merit of the Congress of the C. G. T. U. lies in the fact that it provided our comrades with a definite starting-point and with the necessary clarity to cope with this task and gain over the majority of the working class to the cause of Communism.

FIGHT AGAINST RIGHT DANGER

The C. C. of the C. P. of Austria against the Right Danger.

Vienna, 4th October 1929.

On the 2nd October the Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Austria adopted the following resolution against the right-wing danger:

The Plenary Session of the C. C. of the C. P. of Austria expresses complete approval of the decisions of the Tenth Plenary Session of the E. C. of the C. I. and declares that recent developments in Austria have proved the correctness of these decisions and the perspective they set up:

1. The intensification of class contradictions in Austria and the attempts of the bourgeoisie to solve them by establishing a fascist dictatorship against the attacks of the working class, show clearly how insecure and shaky is the international partial stabilisation of capitalism, and how the contradictions are being intensified in the third period.

2. The social fascist role of the social democracy which represents an essential part of the development to fascism in Austria, is already clearly to be seen as pointed out by the tenth Plenary Session. The Austrian S. D. P. is rapidly developing its social fascist character.

3. Above all, the international radicalisation of the working class, pointed out by the tenth Plenary Session, is being shown with particular clarity in Austria where the class struggle has already taken on the forms of civil war, and where the working class is drawn into a great mass movement and inspired with an increasing revolutionary fighting spirit.

4. In connection with the growing intensification of class contradictions and the developing immediately revolutionary situation in the various countries, the tenth Plenary Session put forward as the main task of the Communist Party the winning of the majority of the working class by the application of more daring revolutionary forms of leadership. This task applies particularly to the Communist Party of Austria which has now con-

menced to prepare and organise an armed struggle against fascism and to draw the attention of the workers to the question of the struggle for power.

5. The preliminary condition for the carrying out of the revolutionary tasks facing the Communist Parties is, upon the inner political field, the struggle against the overt and covert opportunist tendencies inside the Party which hinder its struggle and its development as the leader of the working class. This also applies particularly to the Austrian Communist Party.

The Central Committee refers particularly to the following decision of the tenth Plenary Session:

"The tenth Plenary Session of the E. C. of the C. I. which expresses complete approval of the decisions of the Presidium of the E. C. I. in the American question, and in the German question, of the Open Letter to the German C. P. and the decisions in the Czechoslovakian question, considers the defence of the opinions of the right-wingers who have been condemned by the C. I. as enemies of the Party and enemies of the proletarian revolutionary movement, as put forward by certain members of the Communist Party, to be incompatible with membership of the Communist Parties."

The Plenary Session of the C. C. of the Austrian C. P. therefore instructs the political bureau to take immediate and concrete measures to clean the Party from the open right-wing elements and to compel all overt and covert conciliatory elements to support unreservedly the policy of the Party or, in case they refuse to do so, to take measures against them.

Characteristics of Soviet Economy.

By A. Leontiev.

(Continued.)

II.

Such is the position as regards the tangible political import of the last utterances of Comrade Bukharin on questions of economic construction in the Soviet Union. But besides a very tangible criticism and fairly tangible suggestions (couched, it is true, in a somewhat circumscribed form), these utterances contain a series of general theoretical considerations, figuring, so to say, as a preliminary substantiation of the more material part. We are of opinion that for quite a number of reasons it is necessary to pay particular attention to these theoretical assumptions. In the first place, this element in the utterances of Comrade Bukharin received the least attention in our press, whereas the system of practical questions and tangible differences of opinion between ourselves and the Right was treated fairly in detail. Our Party, however, has at all times roundly denied the charge of "carelessness in regard to matters of theory". In the present case, carelessness in this regard would be particularly harmful and dangerous, for it is obvious that the concrete criticism and suggestions advanced by Comrade Bukharin are based on definite theoretical conceptions of Soviet economy and the laws governing its development. If the definite system of concrete suggestions has already been refuted and discredited by the experience of our actual economic development, the mistaken theoretical presumptions may under given circumstances become the starting point of a fresh series of fallacious practical conclusions. It is all the more requisite to inquire into the present theoretical mistakes of Comrade Bukharin in regard to Soviet economy, seeing that in a certain sense they represent the further development of certain inaccurate and incorrect opinions expressed in earlier works from his pen.

The central problem of a general character set up by Comrade Bukharin in his "Remarks of an Economist" is the problem of a systematic economy in the widest sense of the word. The tremendous importance of this problem under the conditions of the economic construction of the Soviet Union is sufficiently apparent. The task of a systematic conduct of national economy brings up a colossal number of extremely complicated questions. As in everything, practice precedes theory in this connection too. Whereas very much success has been achieved in the practical fight for the "plan" and in the practical systematic conduct of economy during the last few years, the theoretical treatment of the general problems of a systematic economy has not yet made great progress and is in a number of respects still at quite an embryo stage. The

systematic treatment confronts Marxian scientists with problems of very varied volume and character, ranging from the general and abstract (almost purely philosophical) methodical problems, to questions which are incomparably nearer daily practice. Clarity as to the fundamental principles such as "starting-points", is, however, an indispensable presupposition for the proper solution of concrete practical problems of a planned economy.

These fundamental questions, then, are quite inconceivable in those remarks of a general nature which Comrade Bukharin devotes to matters of our systematised economy. In his "Remarks of an Economist", he approaches the question of the rôle played by the "plan" in Soviet economy in the following way: "In the period of transition (from capitalism to Socialism) the classes remain intact, nay, in part the class differences may be said to be even more pronounced. The society of the transition period, however, is at the same time a sort of — albeit a contradictory one. For this society we may then establish (with increased "justification", indeed) certain spheres of reproduction — analogous to those in Volume 2 of "Capital" — that is to say, the condition of a regular co-ordination of the various spheres of production and consumption and of the various spheres of production in relation to one another. In other words, the conditions of dynamic economic equilibrium."

"This is the essential task in view in working out a plan of national economy, which comes more and more to resemble a "balance" of all economy, a consciously conceived plan, which is at the same time a prognosis and a directive." The apparent fundamental idea in this connection is that of the task of working out a plan of national economy "essentially amounts to an establishment of the "conditions" of dynamic economic equilibrium. Can such a definition of the task of a systematised economy in the Soviet Union be considered correct?

By no means. Such a definition of the task of a systematised economy robs the systematic conduct of its vital significance. The most essential aspect of it is lost. For this essential aspect is the pursuit of a definite "aim", without which the systematic plan is lifeless.

The reduction of the bases of systematised economy to the idea of equilibrium is characteristic of bourgeois economic theory and of critics of a systematic Socialist construction. It is such economists — Kondratiev, Yurovsky, Oganovsky, and others — who have repeatedly declared that "the crucial problem ... in the establishment of an economic plan ... is equilibrium" (Oganovsky.)

The reduction of the significance of systematised economy to the idea of equilibrium amounts to an obliteration of the Socialist aspect of our plans and a denial of their class significance. If the plans are conceived in this spirit, they will retain only their outer features and lose their entire inner contents. As a matter of fact, any one can see that the "conditions of dynamic economic equilibrium" may be established in any concrete situation in different ways, according to the tasks and aims in view. At the present time we are all aware that there is no such thing as a permanent, God-established "proper combination of the various spheres of production and consumption and of the various spheres of production in relation to one another". There are not so that it is merely a question of discovering and establishing this "proper combination" so as to arrange economy to the satisfaction of all. On the contrary, every one knows that this "combination" will have certain characteristics if we pursue a policy of pronounced industrialisation and reconstruction of economy, and quite different characteristics if we adopt the opportunist attitude of a capitulation to the kulaks and a renunciation of speedy industrialisation. The reader may well be asked to be equally "correct". And here we have the gist of the matter for the entire conception of the "correctness" of the one combination or the other among the spheres of production loses its significance and becomes altogether worthless and meaningless if the entire task of systematised economy is reduced to the discovery of such "combinations" and the systematic conduct deprived of its guiding star, the direction towards a definite aim. The task of systematised economy would in such circumstances become altogether vague and nebulous.

In this connection we have another remark of Comrade Bukharin's, to the effect that the economic plan "comes more and more to resemble a "balance" of the whole national economy. An over-hasty comparison of our plan with such a balance

brings some dangerous consequences. In the case of a systematised conduct of economy, very great importance attaches to the method of budgetary balancing, which is on the one hand a criterion for the feasibility and practicability of the plan and the risks it involves, while on the other hand — and this is of yet greater significance — it shows up those **weak points**, which it is one of the main directives of planned economy to overcome. Every plan must be "balanced" in the above sense. This does not mean, however, that every conceivable or possible variety of such a balance is acceptable. The comparison of the plan itself with a balance tends to obliterate the direction of the plan towards a certain aim, deprives it of its essential contents, and renders its entire character vague.

But the comparison of our plan with a balance, the reduction, so to say, of the plan to a mere balance, not only leads to an extreme emptiness as regards the contents of the plan; it becomes the basis of such a supposition as is revealed in various passages of the "Remarks of an Economist", a supposition that the economic difficulties we encounter are mainly the outcome of a deficient "balancing" of the plan. The under-estimation of the **objective** causes of our economic difficulties, the wilful ignoring of those reasons of the present lack of proportion which reach back into a historical past and characterise the entire present time, and the forgetfulness of the fact that the class resistance of our opponents is to a great part responsible for our economic difficulties — all these are logical consequences of that conception of the plan which we have just outlined. In spite of the opinion of Comrade Bukharin, the tasks of the plan in Soviet economy are by no means limited to finding out the conditions of dynamic economic equilibrium. Even under present conditions the plan is **not only** an economic balance, though the necessity of "making both ends meet" is obvious in any bona fide plan. Under present circumstances the plan is one of the weapons — and a very essential one too — of the **class struggle**. The plan is the very banner in the fight for Socialism. On the other hand, the opponents of Socialist construction seek to undermine the plan. The triumph of systematised economy has become the watchword of the proletariat in its fight for Socialism, just as the omnipotence of market anarchy is the watchword of the kulaks and capitalists. With the aid of the collective system, the "contracts" and the new forms of the "Smytchka", the proletariat conducts the predominant mass of poor and middle peasants into the channels of an organised economy (not to be confounded with the "organised lack of economy"). The kulaks attempt to separate the peasants from the workers by opposing to the plan the anarchy of the market.

It clearly follows that the mutual relations between the plan and anarchy may by no means be reduced to a parallel existence. It is wrong to make out that the plan and anarchy can continue to exist side by side. We may not even assume that a solution might be found in a mutual penetration of the two. Under present conditions the plan and anarchy on the market are alternative possibilities. But this is not all. Between the plan and anarchy there is a **fight** which it is quite inadmissible to ignore or seek to forget. Comrade Krshishanovsky, chairman of the State Planning Commission, is quite right in reminding us constantly of the "**fight for the plan**".

Comrade Bukharin fails to define this question with sufficient accuracy. As we have seen above, the plan is in his opinion both a prognosis and a directive". Such a definition, however, implies nothing definite, as even bourgeois economists will own. It merely conceives the combination between prognosis and directive in such a sense that the latter is made to appear as a mere appendage to the former. According to this standpoint the plan consists of directives which blindly follow the "prognosis" if every turn in an anarchic development, proceeding without any real plan. This leads to a complete distortion of the idea of a systematised conduct of economy. Comrade Strumilin was quite right in giving the following reply to Professor Kondratiev a few years ago: "There is no sense in setting up a plan for eclipses of the sun or crises in economy, since they are bound to occur at a given time even without any plan."

In another passage, Comrade Bukharin speaks more accurately in regard to the mutual relations of prognosis and foresight. "In this plan," he says "there are many elements of foresight in regard to the anarchic factor (e. g., calculation of harvests, of the volume of grain, of the volume of farm products in general and therefore also of prices, etc.), which foresight becomes the start-

ing-point of some directive or other." The reader will observe that here again the question is not put very clearly. "The anarchic factor . . . becomes the starting-point for the directive." Whether the contents of the directive is solely **confined** to the result of foresight as regards the anarchic factor, is a **fundamental** question of the active rôle of the plan which is left unanswered.

Meanwhile it is obvious that it is just the imposition of a task, the directive, which is the **guiding** rule for a systematised conduct of economy. The direction towards an aim, the main characteristic of a directive, may be said to represent the **essential feature** of the plan. Without this element there can be no talk of a plan, but merely of prevision as regards events (or "factors") which are **beyond** our conscious influence.

The sentence quoted here from the book of Comrade Bukharin is, moreover, at fault inasmuch as it is **one-sided**. The influence of the anarchic factor on the contents and character of the directive is taken into consideration, whereas the no less important influence of the "directive factor" on the character of the resulting anarchic factor is ignored. As regards the economic factors enumerated by Comrade Bukharin — the condition of the harvest, the volume of output of commodities and above all the **price** — it is well known to every one that our measures of systematic economy exercise a certain influence thereon. To ignore this side of the question means to distort the actual perspective, in which the systematic principle is justified as a **directive basis** of Soviet economy.

(To be continued.)

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

On the Discussion in the C. P. of Great Britain.

The following statement has been issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain:

"Considerable comment has appeared in the press in connection with the discussion which has now opened in the Communist Party.

According to the general tenor of the comments, the discussion is concerned with expulsions and is calculated to lead to a split in the Party. Nothing could be further from the fact.

The discussion will be of the greatest value to the Party and will weld it together stronger than ever it was. It is, however, natural that the representatives of capitalism should be unable to understand what is going on.

The Labour Party, for instance, could never survive such a discussion as has opened in the Communist Party. Every member of the Labour Party is absolutely controlled by the machine, and must keep on grinding out the same specious humbug and chicanery that was so recently the special platform of the Liberals, while the Labour Government easily surpasses the Tory Party in its devotion to and leadership of blood-soaked British Imperialism.

No member of the Labour Party dare even hint at criticism of this Government of rationalisation and war preparation, or he is immediately attacked for 'disloyalty' and threatened with, if not actually, expelled from the Party.

The Labour Party can only thrive by deceiving the workers, by hiding its true character behind a screen of demagogic verbiage.

With the Communist Party it is exactly the opposite. Its great task is to provide the workers with revolutionary leadership in the war against capitalism. To succeed in this it must openly discuss its weaknesses and mistakes before the workers. It must get the workers interested in these discussions and interested in the question of the leadership of the revolutionary party of the working class.

At the present time such a discussion is especially necessary because of the illusions that exist throughout the whole working class on the question of stabilisation and the effect

of rationalisation on stabilisation, and the role of the Labour Government and the trade union leaders in relation to these.

Desperate efforts to stabilise semi-bankrupt capitalism have been made since the end of the war. These efforts have all been directed towards worsening the conditions of the workers and new oppressions on the colonial peoples.

As a result of this offensive of capitalism a measure of stabilisation was secured. But the attack on the workers led up to the General Strike of 1926. The General Strike raised sharply the question of the struggle for power — the organised workers against the capitalist State.

This was so obvious to the Labour Party leaders and the leaders of the trade union movement that their one concern was to get the strike betrayed as speedily as possible. After the betrayal there was immediate coming together of those leaders and the capitalists to take such measures as were necessary to prop up the decaying foundations of capitalism.

This meant a concentrated drive for rationalisation. Rationalisation can only be carried through against the working class. Under a Tory Government such a drive could not be prosecuted effectively. Thus, the Labour Party is steadily forced to the front as the only possible leadership of capitalist rationalisation, and stands out before the world as a more effective government of capitalism than the Tory Government of Baldwin was.

But the drive for rationalisation, going on in all capitalist countries, has demonstrated the rotten character of capitalist stabilisation and has brought to the fore-front all the inherent contradictions of capitalism, the fight for markets, for spheres of influence, for the division of colonies (Britain and America) and the most out-standing contradiction of all, the rapid construction of socialism in the U. S. S. R., where the advantages go to the workers, whilst in the world of capitalism workers' conditions are steadily worsened.

It is in this situation that the Labour Government takes the leadership of British Imperialism and directs its policy against the workers of Britain, against the colonial peoples (Bombay, Meerut, Egypt and Palestine), and against the workers of Russia, (the demand for the repayment of debts).

Along with this development the trade unions begin to change their character. From being organs of working class resistance and struggle, they are transformed, through Mondism, into organs of capitalist rationalisation.

Just as the Labour Government is a government of capitalist rationalisation, so the trade unions are now used, not for resisting wage cuts, but for assisting the capitalists to get wage cuts.

The Labour Party leaders and trade union officials deliberately pursue this policy because they know that resistance to wage cuts on the part of the workers or any attempt of the workers to better their conditions must essentially lead to mass insurrectionary struggles. Thus, the period of partial stabilisation, with its reformist illusions has passed, and we are now in a period of developing class struggles, leading up to the mass insurrectionary struggle for power.

In order that the Party shall be able to carry out this role, it is essential that the Party overhaul its policy in order to get rid of all illusions carried over from the period of partial stabilisation and reformist quackery. Only thus can the Party prepare itself for the great task that lies before it. Only thus will it be able to fight the pseudo-Labour Government and its trade union allies. In all parts of the Communist International this cleansing process has taken place and the results have been to the great advantage of the International. In Russia it has effectively cleared out all elements of policy that hampered the progress of the Five Year Plan, and has enabled the Party there to concentrate all its forces on its successful prosecution. In Germany it enables the Party to gather the workers around it as never before, as was clearly manifested in the heroic fight for the Berlin streets on May Day. In all other parties it has been the same; so it will be here. There will be no split in the Party. On the contrary, there will be a concentration of all Party forces for the organisation of the workers in the factory as the sure and certain basis for independent leadership of the workers in the insurrectionary struggle for power."

The Constance Conference

against Austrian Fascism and the Military-Fascist Dictatorship in Yugoslavia.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS.

Convoked by the West-European Bureau of the Communist International, an international conference of Communist Parties took place at Constance on September 17th and 18th 1929. It was attended by 47 representatives of different parties and organisations, the Communist Parties of Austria, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Switzerland the Balkan Communist Federation, the Young Communist International, the illegal Red Front Fighters' League of Germany, the "Fahne", the Red International of Labour Unions, and various trade unions and national trade-union organisations being presented.

The agenda of the Conference comprised the following questions: 1. The international fight against Austrian Fascism and Social-Fascism and its practical organisation; 2. A fight against the Military-Fascist Dictatorship in Yugoslavia, to be carried on in connection with the above campaign.

The Conference was opened in the name of the West-European Bureau with an allusion to its particular importance and practical aims. The representative of the W. E. B. underlined the international character of the fight against the menace of Fascist dictatorship in Austria and pointed to the close connection between the fight against Fascism in Austria and the fight against the military-Fascist dictatorship and cruel White Terror in Yugoslavia. In the treatment of its agenda, it was resolved that the Conference start from the resolutions of the VI. World Congress and of the X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I.

CONTENTS OF THE REPORTS.

In connection with the first item on the agenda, there were reports by a member of the W. E. B. and a member of the C. C. of the C. P. of Austria. In connection with the second item there was a report by a member of the C. C. of the C. P. Y. The reports on the first item of the agenda may be summed up somewhat as follows:

It would be wrong to attribute the state of affairs in Austria to specifically Austrian conditions. In Austria the characteristic factors of the third post-war period of the crisis of capitalism are particularly pronounced. As already predicted on the occasion of the X. Party Congress of the C. P. A., the situation in Austria has grown decidedly more critical. The occurrences at St. Lorenzen showed that the collision of class forces has entered into a decisive phase. The class struggle in Austria has already assumed the forms of civil war. Therefore we must concentrate our daily efforts, our tactics, and our methods of work immediately upon the class struggle in its most pronounced form.

The Austrian problem is of the greatest importance for the entire international workers' movement and for the revolutionary class struggle. It is the most vivid illustration not only of the development of capitalist rule into Fascism but also of the necessary development of "Left" Reformism into Social-Fascism and at the same time a typical instance of the organisation of resistance to capitalist dictatorship by the immediate action of the proletariat along revolutionary lines. These three main points must be clearly envisaged if we are to understand the entire position in Austria and explain to the workers the European tendencies of development which are embodied in it.

To-day it is absolutely obvious that the July rising of the Vienna proletariat in 1927 was not an enigmatic phenomenon in the process of development of the class struggle, as the Right Brandler people and conciliators would like to make out. To-day, after the more recent events at St. Lorenzen and in view of the inevitable armed collisions in the immediate future today, when hardly a day passes in Austria without armed workers fighting against armed Fascists in broad daylight and in public, it is altogether obvious that the great rising of the Vienna proletariat in July 1927 was the beginning of a period of the most pronounced forms of class war, a period which can but end in the defeat either of the proletariat or of Fascism.

Naturally we cannot yet repeat or confirm what is to be read in every second bourgeois paper, viz. that one of the

next days can already bring us the "decisive battle" or else a decision without recourse to arms. We can only point out the peculiar characteristics of the Austrian situation. They lie primarily in the fact that the changes that are coming about in Austria are not resulting from a change of government, by new laws, or by other Parliamentary measures, but that these changes and decisions are being put through in the streets by force of arms. The great revolutionary force evinced by the Austrian working class in its different collisions with the Fascists, is a more powerful argument than all attempts to solve the Austrian crisis by legislative paragraphs and Parliamentary negotiations.

If we wish to understand the present position and estimate the proportion of the rival forces, we must in the first place revert to July 15th, 1927, on which day the Vienna proletariat revolted against the menacing danger of Fascism and of a Fascisation of the State apparatus, signs of which were most clearly apparent in the form of class justice.

In spite of all the treachery of the Social Democrats and in spite of the furious raging of the police and the army, the 15th of July was a victory for the workers over fascism. This could be seen most clearly in places where Fascism was most pronounced, as in the Tyrol and Styria, where the Fascists were disarmed and dispersed by the workers. During the July revolt public authority was for a time completely in the hands of the workers. Nor could the treachery of the Social Democrats and the aid rendered by a great part of the Republican Defence Corps to the police and the army change the fact that the workers had succeeded in controlling all public "order" in Vienna and the provinces.

The defeat of Fascism on July 15th, 1927, induced the Fascists to mobilise in earnest for the purpose of getting all authority in Austria into their hands. Whereas formerly the Heimwehr were limited completely to the rural population, the Fascists now set out to gain over the workers. The 15th of July showed the Fascists the tremendous potential power dormant in the working class and convinced them that without gaining the workers, or at any rate a considerable portion of the workers, for the purposes of Fascism they would never be able to get the power into their hands.

As a matter of fact, the Fascists have succeeded in cleverly exploiting the growing difficulty of the position of the Austrian proletariat for the purpose of making breaches in the Social-Democratic trade-union front. It must be borne in mind that to the working class in the capitalist world is so greatly organised as is the Austrian working class. Every twelfth Austrian belongs directly or indirectly to the Social-Democratic Party, either directly as a member of the Party itself or else indirectly as a member of one of the reformist trade unions. The Fascists have succeeded in conquering the great heavy-metal factories in Styria. The Workers, disappointed by the treachery of the trade-union bureaucracy, have turned to the Fascists, who have indeed by their radical demands managed to secure the sympathies of broad masses of workers.

At St. Lorenzen it was to be observed that those fighting on the Fascist side against the Social-Democratic workers, were not so much the farmers' sons as the converted workers of the great Styrian metal works. The fight at St. Lorenzen was a fight between the class-conscious workers and the Fascists for the predominance in Styria.

To-day the Fascists are on the point of conquering Vienna. The demonstrations of September 29th serve this purpose, and the Heimwehr leaders have clearly announced that they will take Vienna by storm. They do not merely wish to hold the city, however; their object is rather to gain over the workers in the Vienna factories and workshops. In the meantime it has ranspired that the Fascists have succeeded in conquering certain tramway depots and that the Vienna tramwaymen, who as employees of the municipality were always considered reliable Social Democrats, have in part gone over to the Fascists. Similar occurrences have been recorded in various Vienna factories, in which the Fascists have gained considerable influence.

The situation in Vienna is highly complicated. In many of the works the Fascists have been thrown out by the enraged workers. In other enterprises, in which the Fascists have already gained a footing, the two parties are spoiling for the fight. In yet other factories, as in the tramway shops mentioned above, the Fascists have the upper hand and are beginning to remove the class-conscious workers, in which connection they have the support of the Social Democratic municipal representation. When

called upon by his comrades of the municipal concerns to see to the removal of the Fascists, Seitz, the Social-Democratic Mayor of Vienna replied that he would rather "lose his position than dismiss a single worker on account of his convictions."

Fascism is nothing but the special form of the rule of financial capital in a period of increasing class differences; through its fighting methods it dominates the entire apparatus of the State and of society and with it entrenches itself against the threat of proletarian revolution. This could be seen accurately in Italy, where Fascism was the immediate consequence of the renunciation of the Social Democrats to carry out the proletarian revolution. It is to be seen just as clearly in Austria, where at present all bourgeois parties are amalgamating for the purpose of joining the Heimwehr in establishing a Fascist dictatorship.

It is the most shameless betrayal of the workers that the Social Democrats now practice in declaring that the ultimatum of the Heimwehr is directed against the State apparatus, against State authority, and against the bourgeois Government. In reality the members of the Government and the entire State apparatus are the promoters and organisers of the Heimwehr. Nay, the individual Ministers of the bourgeois Government are members of the Heimwehr organisations, and it is the height of hypocrisy that Otto Bauer and his friends pretend that the Heimwehr ultimatum is directed against the Government and not against the working class.

This brings us to speak of Austro-Marxism and of the reformist trade-union movement. On the outside the fight of the Fascists would appear to be directed against such men as Otto Bauer, Julius Deutsch, and Karl Renner, and, contrarywise, as if Otto Bauer and his friends were fighting against the Fascists. In reality this problem of the struggle, the decisive issue between Fascism and Austro-Marxism, has already been settled, the Fascists having carried off the victory over the Social Democrats, whose wings have been clipped. Now that they can no longer flit to and fro as they were wont to do, they have revealed themselves in their true colours and have proved to be just as servile in their defence of financial capital as the Fascists.

Nor are there any fundamental differences in the demands and aims of these two parties. The Heimwehr demand a change of government. Otto Bauer replies: Well and good; let us change the Government, but only in a democratic way. Which means that both parties are agreed as to the change of the constitution in a Fascist sense. The Heimwehr demand dictatorial powers in the hands of the President. Otto Bauer thinks this demand "just", seeing that the Hindenburg Government also has a Paragraph 48. The Heimwehr demand to have Seipel as their dictator. Otto Bauer and his friends call for Schober, the butcher of hundreds of workers on July 15th, 1927.

In the streets armed workers face armed Fascists. The leaders of the Austro-Marxists, Otto Bauer and his friends, sit in concave with the Fascist chieftains, bargaining over the yet unslain bear, the class-conscious Austrian proletariat. This immediately illustrates the situation as it is to-day, and also the rôle allotted to the Austro-Marxists, who in no way distinguish themselves from the Social Democrats of Germany and are thus pronounced Social-Fascists. The more barefaced and cynical the demands of the Fascists become, the more speedily do the Social Democrats gravitate towards Social-Fascism.

The Social-Fascist character of the Austrian Social Democrats is today no less marked than that of the German Social Democratic Party, but the reasons of the development are different in the two cases. In the case of the German Social Democrats it is the coalition policy which drives them into the channels of Social-Fascism, in that of the Austrians it is the desire to feed at the government trough, either with the bourgeoisie or without, which makes them willing to enter into a coalition with bourgeois parties. This explains why pronounced Social-Fascism is expressed more emphatically in a negative than in a positive sense, as in the fact that the Social Democrats make use of their entire apparatus, their functionaries, the Republican Defence Corps, and the like, for the purpose of keeping the workers from fighting. Nay, in situations in which the working class seriously menaces capitalist State authority, as was the case on July 15th, 1927, the Defence Corps attempted to take over the duties of State authority, the police, and the army and to fight against the workers on the side of the capitalists.

Another circumstance of the Social-Fascist development of the Austrian Social-Democrats is their alliance with the fascist trade unions. The Hüttenberg treaty concluded between the

reformist and Fascist trade unions, guarantees the Fascist trade unions "equal rights" with the reformists inside the works. In this treaty, the reformist trade unions engage to keep their members from measures of violence against the Fascists. Thus the reformist trade unions became the pronounced pace-makers of Fascism in the works.

In the great Styrian enterprises, employing tens of thousands of workers who were formerly all in the reformist unions, the latter have now almost wholly disappeared, leaving none but the Fascist organisations. None put organised Fascist workers are now tolerated in the works. The managers deduct the subscriptions for the Fascist unions from the wages of their workers, whose status as regards the unions is thus completely controlled.

We often hear it said that Austro-Marxism had to capitulate to Fascism. We do not think that is quite accurate. Austro-Marxism has capitulated not to Fascism but to the proletarian revolution. The fear that the revolt of July 15th might spread all over Austria, confronting the proletariat with the immediate question of power, drove the Austro-Marxists into the arms of the Fascists. The internal policy of the Austro-Marxists is at present concerned solely with the question of finding suitable ways and means to settle things on a level with the Fascists.

This was most clearly expressed in the utterances of Austro-Marxists in their polemics with the Fascists. Otto Bauer, who a few months ago would talk of nothing but social and proletarian revolution, threatens the Fascists — in the Vienna "Arbeiter Zeitung" — with the spectre of the revolution of 1848. The old bourgeois revolution of 1848 is supposed to impress the Fascists and ensure their complaisance. Otto Bauer no longer dares to threaten the bourgeoisie with the Red October of 1917 for fear lest a Red October really ensue. Therefore he goes 80 years back to the bourgeois insurrection, which, moreover, did not conquer feudalism but — as the participation of landowners in the conduct of the Fascist movement in Austria clearly shows — again threatens to conquer the working class. All this shows that the Austro-Marxists have neither the strength nor the will seriously to attack Fascism.

And yet there is no choice in Austria to-day save the choice between a fight against Fascism on the one hand and a Fascist dictatorship on the other. But this fight cannot be fought out in Parliament or at a council table, however much is said there about the "solution of the crisis". The Austrian classes are under arms and the decision will be reached in the streets. A class struggle in such exalted forms cannot be based on the preservation of the status quo, nor can it be fought "in defence of democracy"; it can only be conducted if the working class which feels menaced in its existence and its freedom of movement, proceeds beyond the limits of a defence of the past to an open struggle for power. An armed fight has its own logic and can, once it has broken out, very soon destroy its old traditional forms and strike out in a new direction.

Here it is that we must intervene. We must see here that the counter-revolution, the aim of which is the establishment of Fascist rule, immediately lets loose the revolution, thus forcing the working class to overstep the limits of old classrelationships.

Our Party in Austria must therefore face the prospect of great events and sudden changes and must clearly recognise that serious events may occur in the course of the class struggle. The independent and self-acting organisation and conduct of the proletarian struggle, separated from a treacherous Austro-Marxism, is the most important thing to which the Party must point the workers in their fight against Fascism. Anti-Fascist committees in all works, local and central co-ordination of these committees, congresses and conferences among them, a suitable executive committee for the central guidance of the fight throughout the country — such are the most important organisational measures to which the Austrian proletariat must have recourse and which must furnish the guiding directives of the entire anti-Fascist fight against the treacherous institutions of Austro-Marxism. Thus the Austrian working class must be politically united in a fight of self-defence.

The political organs of the proletariat must rely on the armed forces which will have to wage the immediate fight against the Fascist Heimwehr. Workers' defence corps in the works and in the residential districts must form the foundation for the proletarian defence force to be organised throughout the country. The organisation of self-defence by means of the orga-

nisational development of the workers' defence corps, a regular publication of the press organ with a view to an ideological influence on the militant proletariat, and an energetic propaganda in the Republican Defence Corps for an abandonment of the Republican formation for that of the workers' defence corps — measures such as these must arm the workers against Fascism. In the actual course of a civil war, the main task devolving upon the workers' militia will be that of rallying the entire revolutionary proletariat.

In the Styrian works, the Austro-Marxists are now organising the so-called "Red Levies", which are to comprise all the workers from 18 to 40 years of age. In view of the entire position of the Austro-Marxists, the actual object of these "Red Levies" can only be that of keeping the workers out of the fight, as the Social-Fascists tried to do at St. Lorenzen, where the fight was broken out against their will. The appeal of the Austro-Marxists to reason and discipline is nothing but a trap to catch the workers, condemn them to inactivity, and deliver them to the Fascists without resistance. In contradistinction to these "Red Levies" the class-conscious revolutionary proletariat must organise its workers' militia, if it is to have a really reliable fighting organisation at its disposal. Such are the immediate tasks facing the C. P. A.

This definition of Communist tasks, which is requisite in the present circumstances in Austria, contains all arguments for a fight for power. The aim in view, resulting from the very nature of the fight, cannot be other than that of confronting the proletariat with the immediate question of power. For this reason it is requisite that the question of a workers' and peasants' government should no longer be put in the form of propaganda as in former times, but rather as a general slogan of the fight against Fascism. And just as this slogan can no longer be advanced merely in the form of propaganda, it must be rendered tangible and the organs of power of Soviet dictatorship must be made familiar to the masses in the daily fight.

In this connection the workers must be made familiar with the workers' and peasants' councils as the basis of the workers' and peasants' government. The Fascists call for the so-called "Guild Chamber" in place of the Parliament. Otto Bauer expresses his agreement to such a Chamber, though only if subordinate to Parliament. The Fascists and Austro-Marxists are looking back to institutions of the 18th century. It is up to us to direct the glances of the proletariat forward to the proletarian dictatorship, to the workers' and peasants' councils, to the government of workers and peasants and to the social revolution of the 20th century.

We must comprehend, however, that the Austrian question is not merely a problem of the Austrian proletariat. Fascist development in Austria is nothing but the outpost of the entire Fascist development of Europe. The establishment of a Fascist military dictatorship in Yugoslavia, the violent suppression of the Communist movement in France, the development of the Social Democratic Party in Germany into a party of Social-Fascism as markedly demonstrated at the barricades of Neukölln and Wedding, prove the development of Fascism in all Europe to be that of an instrument in the hands of financial capital. What an international matter Austrian Fascism really is, may be seen by the fact that it is financed by the industrialists of the Ruhr and that the conspiratory Fascist organisations of Germany are now providing the leaders of the Austrian Fascist movement while the arms of the Heimwehr are supplied by the Fascists of Italy.

The victory of Fascism in Austria would entail a speedy Fascist development in the other European countries. The central position of Austria between Fascist Italy and terrorist Yugoslavia and Hungary would guarantee a uniform Fascist bloc in southern Europe and exercise great pressure on the other European countries in the direction of an accelerated Fascist development. Austrian Fascism is therefore at the same time the enemy of the entire European class-conscious proletariat. Austrian Fascism can only be successfully averted by a common international fight on the part of a revolutionary class-front throughout Europe. The Communist world Party is therefore confronted with the duty of organising this fight and carrying it out with all the means at its command. The present task of all the Communist Parties of Europe is thus that of rousing the entire revolutionary proletariat for the common purpose of averting Fascism.

The fight against Fascism in all countries is thus immediately in support of the fight against Austrian Fascism. What is more important, however, is that we should direct this international fight against Fascism in Austria in the first place. The critical days immediately facing the Austrian proletariat, the entire European proletariat must rise and assume an attitude of the most emphatic opposition by means of a mass action of political strikes and general strikes in collaboration with the Austrian proletariat. If the proletariat is sufficiently well prepared, the revolutionary rising of the Austrian proletariat against Fascism will entail a pronounced revolutionary mobilisation in the other capitalist countries too.

The Communist Parties must immediately organise assemblies both in the works and in public, calling upon the proletariat and drawing attention to the imminent revolutionary events. In the first place, however, the Communist Parties of all countries must accord the Austrian proletariat the most vigorous material support. For this reason we suggest that the West European Bureau of the Comintern establish an international fund for which contributions must be collected in all countries, as materially to enable the revolutionary workers of Austria to carry on their fight successfully.

At the same time, workers' delegations from the Austrian works must describe to the workers of the surrounding countries the position in Austria, while similar delegates from those countries visit Austria for the purpose of gaining personal impressions of the state of affairs there, so that the works-staffs and mass-organisations of the proletariat may obtain a first-rate idea of the situation in Austria.

If we immediately proceed to put our shoulders to the wheel for the purpose of rousing the masses and mobilising the workers in town and country, the Austrian proletariat, under the lead of the Communist Party, will be enabled to avert the menacing Fascist danger. That is the only way out of the present position in Austria; there is no other.

(To be concluded.)

PROLETARIAN YOUTH MOVEMENT

The Eleventh National Congress of the Y. C. L. of Germany.

By Kurt Müller (Berlin).

From September 26th to 29th, 1929, the Young Communist League of Germany held its Eleventh National Congress in Red Vienna. This Eleventh National Congress was characterised by enhanced tasks and the rising tide of revolution in Germany.

The chief report of the congress on the political situation — the Y. C. L. of Germany and the Party — was made by Comrade Hermann Remmele on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party. The new phenomena of the international class struggle were described with great clarity. The extensive speech gave the outlines of the growing class conflicts on an international scale. Dealing with the shakiness of the capitalist stabilisation, the treacheries of the open and secret opportunists, who in theory did practice doubt the convulsion of the capitalist stabilisation and "admire" the solidity of capitalism, were energetically repudiated. For the first time, the work of the socialist development and the accelerated execution of the Five Year Plan of socialist construction were appreciated at a National Congress of the Y. C. L. of Germany, and thereby the growing antagonism between the capitalist world and the proletarian world of accelerated growth and socialist development was depicted for the delegates. The questions of war, of the conversion of social democracy to social-fascism, the necessity of the Communist Party's taking over the leadership in all the fights of the proletariat were among the main points of the speech.

In the three industrious days of disciplined session of the National Congress, the main problem brought forward in the speeches as also in the discussions was the capture of the majority of working youths. A task which can only be fulfilled by the Young Communist League manages in all economic and political fights of the young workers to employ ruthlessly

offensive tactics and if the Y. C. L. of Germany is able to assume the leading role in all the fights of the young workers. In this line the League Congress was obliged to put up a ruthless fight against all objections to the use of the new offensive strategy, against all open and secret opportunists. In its resolution in regard to the report of the C. C. of the Y. C. L. of Germany — which, like all the others, was accepted unanimously — the National Congress brought the old C. C. to book for all its mistakes and deviations. In this resolution the political mistakes of the old C. C. of the League (the Wittorf case, resistance to the resolutions of the V. World Congress, rejecting and underestimating of self-criticism, resistance to the creation of fresh cadres, inadequate intervention in regard to the deviations of the Berlin organisation, lack of co-operation with the Party, etc.) were condemned one after the other and a fight was thus carried on against all the symptoms of the open and secret opportunism in the League.

The National Congress of the Y. C. L. of Germany is of special political significance not only for the German but also for the international work of the Young Communists. For the first time, the questions of the position of the Y. C. L. and of the brother leagues were dealt with at a National Congress of the Y. C. L. of Germany. The high level of the discussion upon this item of the agenda showed the growing interest in the German League for international questions. The treatment of these questions of the position of the Young International at the German National Congress may be regarded as the beginning of a discussion of the questions of the Young Communist International and of the Young Communist Leagues in the German League in preparation for the plenary session of the Y. C. L. to be held in November.

In the speech and discussion on this item of the position of the Y. C. L., as also in the other speeches and discussions of the Congress, the chief thing was the question of the transition to mass work in the direction of achieving of the strategic objective: the capture of the majority of the working youths. In this connection, the National Congress was obliged to fight against non-political views of the new tactic and against all tendencies towards withdrawal from politics. In view of the experience and of previous discussions in Germany, especially on the basis of the growing revolutionisation of working youth, the Congress was able to give a concrete and precise definition of new course. It was clearly pointed out at the Congress that the new tactics is not merely a question of change in the system of operation. The transition to mass work, as carried through by the Y. C. L., consisted of: a. — the carrying out of the political line of the Party; b. — the changing of the system of operation and c. — the development of a broad youth policy. It was plainly demonstrated by the XI. National Congress that for the carrying out of the change, i. e. taking over of the leadership of all the fights of the young proletariat, for the elimination of the present loss of momentum in the direction of the fight against all open and secret opportunists, the renewal of the leading cadre of the League is necessary. This renewal was demonstrated by the National Congress by means of the election of a new Central Committee, those comrades, who were responsible for the mistakes made during the last period of activity being left out of the new committee. The Congress of the League stated boldly that for the fulfilment of the big task of capturing the majority of the young workers by the new tactic of the Y. C. L. of Germany of Bolshevik mass work the process of renewing the cadre of functionaries must be tremendously promoted. In place of the old ossified elements, which have not comprehended the nature of the present situation and fighting tasks, must be nominated those young, fresh Labour elements, which have actually proved capable of employing the offensive strategy. The new tide of revolution in Germany demands peremptorily of the Young Communist League of Germany the acceleration of the application of the new tactic, and the assumption by the Y. C. L. of Germany of the leadership in all the fights of the young proletariat and, in conjunction therewith, the ideologic-political consolidation of the whole League and especially of its cadres. The reports of the XI. National Congress of the Y. C. L. of Germany must be issued in closest connection with the practical execution of the resolutions of the Congress in the direction of transition to mass work.

PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

Women's Part in the Red Day in the U. S. A.

By Celia Paransky.

The participation of Women in the International Day against Imperialist War was widespread and energetic in the United States. They were prominent in the many processions and meetings which took place in all parts of the States, both as demonstrators and in many cases as speakers. They offered determined resistance to the attempts of the police to disperse the workers and played a worthy part in fierce battles with the police.

In **Chicago** especially the women showed great spirit, fighting with tenacity and injuring policemen. In a battle in **New York** (where a demonstration of 25,000 workers took place) women were likewise noticeable for their militancy. The same story could be repeated of many other towns; for example, **Milwaukee** (Wisconsin) where the demonstration was attacked and re-formed four times. **Grand Rapids** (Michigan) where police and employers gangsters made vain efforts to break up a demonstration of seven hundred men and women, by driving motor cycles around it with tremendous noise, by throwing a can of flaming chemicals into the crowd, and calling upon hooligan elements to attack the demonstrators. Or again, **Ironwood** (Michigan) where no sooner was one demonstration broken up by the police than the workers re-formed in another place, and continued the meeting despite the continual roaring and hooting of cars driven by the mineowners along the edges of the crowd, and the endeavour of the police to blind the speakers with a searchlight. Or **Waukegan** (Illinois) where the American Legion tried to stop a demonstration of two thousand workers (the largest ever held there), using tear gas bombs and firecrackers, and young girls struggled with the attackers who endeavoured to seize and destroy the leaflets which they were distributing.

A number of women were among the workers arrested in Chicago, (Illinois) Pittsburgh, (Pennsylvania) Martins Ferry, (Ohio), Grand Rapids, (Michigan), Hancock, (Michigan) Los Angeles (California), New York and many other places.

Although the results are encouraging, nevertheless we have to confess that in many places they could have been much better. In **Detroit** for instance, where thousands of women work in the automobile industry, no outdoor demonstration took place. This was also the case in **Philadelphia** and in many cities in the Chicago district.

Moreover it must be said that in the most important aspect of the campaign — that of strike action, the results among the women workers (just as among the men) were weak. **New York** was the only district which issued the clear call "Down Tools at 4 P. M.". Here the best results were shown in the shoe industry, where about forty shops with three thousand workers (men and women) left the work at the appointed hour (4 p. m.). With smaller number of food workers, needle workers and others, in all about 10,000 (men and women), responded to the strike call. But even this fell far short of what might have been achieved. The needle trade union, for example, which is under our control, did not sufficiently respond to the call.

In the Westinghouse Electric Co's works (**Pittsburgh**) women workers together with men remained away from work for five minutes at mid-day. This was not such a small thing as it might at first appear. When the strict regulations which

prevail in American factories (and this factory in particular) are taken into consideration, even a five minute strike is a significant demonstration.

Except in these two cities, the Party failed to set in motion strikes of women workers and in most cases did not even attempt them.

We must regard especially seriously the failure to organise strikes and demonstrations in the **South**, where the workers are in the midst of a grim struggle against capitalist reaction. Here the Party had a great possibility to expose clearly before the working women the connection between capitalist rationalisation and imperialist war, and to increase its revolutionary influence among the masses of women workers in the artificial silk industry, which is of such vital importance to the potential war industry.

Reviewing the campaign, therefore, it is to be seen that very large masses of working women were ready actively to demonstrate their hostility to the preparations for imperialist war, and were not intimidated or terrorised by the police or other capitalist hirelings. The events of August First gave evidence that the radicalisation of the working class in capitalist countries which was noted by the Sixth World Congress despite the pessimism of the Right renegades of the type Lovestone and his associates, is proceeding fast among women as well as men.

But there was insufficient energy in the Party ranks to carry out the campaign, due firstly to an underestimation of the war danger, and secondly to a lack of appreciation of the readiness of the workers to struggle against it, both of which shortcomings represent a persistency of the right tendency which has yet to be completely rooted out of our Party. It showed itself in inadequate preparation both among workers in general, and among women workers in particular (the latter was inevitable in view of the fact that work among women is not organised on a national scale by the Party). No posters or pamphlets were issued. These were especially necessary for women in order to combat both patriotic propaganda and pacifist illusion spread among working women by bourgeois women's organisations. Chicago was the only district which issued a special women's leaflet. United front work was weak. Only New York had one conference, in which union shop committees (in which were large numbers of women) and workers fraternal organisations (including the United Council of Working Women) participated.

Above all there was totally insufficient preparations in the factories. This was in the first place a result of the neglect of Communist work in the factories inasmuch as there exist very few shop nuclei and even most of these did not function well. But in addition, in the Red Day campaign the Party failed to make the factories the most important centres of work. Only in New York and Pittsburgh were there serious efforts to organise anti-war committees in the factories.

Consequently in many places the Party, instead of leading and encouraging the workers, acted as a brake upon them.

We must learn from both our successes and failures among the working women in this campaign. We must go forward with greater confidence in the readiness of the working women to struggle against capitalism and the war plans of the capitalists. The Party must turn its face to the women in industry and especially in the potential war industries. Striving earnestly to overcome its own weaknesses and shortcomings, improving its work in the factories and its united front work, it will find itself under the guidance of the Comintern to lead them through all struggles to the emancipation of their class.