

# - INTERNATIONAL -

# PRESS

# CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 9. No. 39

16<sup>th</sup> August 1929

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Telegraphic Address: Iuprekorr, Vienna.

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## The Tenth Anniversary of the Weimar Constitution.

By A. Norden (Berlin).

The Weimar constitution of the German Republic has celebrated the tenth anniversary of its birth. The chief celebration was a Church service in which the Hohenzollern-Marshall Hindenburg sang in chorus with the social democratic Ministers: "God is with us!" Black-Red-Gold flags, the colours of the German Republic, floated over the police stations. A celebration was held in the Reichstag. The bands of the Reichswehr marched together with the semi-military organisation "Reichsbanner Red-Black-Gold". The day was celebrated with revolver shots against the Karl Liebknecht House, the headquarters of the German Communist Party, and with knuckleduster, bludgeon and pistol attacks by the Reichsbanner and the police upon demonstrating workers.

A hundred and fifty thousand Reichsbanner men were to come to Berlin, so announced this joint organisation of the Social Democratic, Catholic Centre and Democratic Parties. But hardly one-fifth of this pompous number actually demonstrated in the streets of Berlin. Considering the widespread propaganda apparatus with unlimited public funds at its disposal, this represents a miserable failure which was stressed by the fact that

the Berlin workers received the Reichsbanner with unconcealed hostility. Few republican flags in the proletarian districts, but a massed array of flags in the Berlin west-end where the rich merchants, stock-exchange speculators and industrialists live. No cheering audiences and no refreshments for the Reichsbanner in Wedding and Neukoelln, but flowers and waving handkerchiefs and flags in the west, cheering from the luxurious cafés.

In those non-bourgeois districts where workers watched the Reichsbanner march past, the streets resounded with shouts of "Red Front" the call of the prohibited Red Front Fighters League. The social democratic Police President of Berlin, the notorious Zoergiebel, had robbed the Communist Party of its constitutional right to demonstrate and in addition had confiscated the edition of the "Rote Fahne". Despite Zoergiebel, flying demonstrations took place in many places, even in the centre of the Reichsbanner parade in Unter den Linden. Zoergiebel's police attacked the demonstrating workers with the utmost brutality, police were everywhere in great force, 150 revolutionary workers were arrested, but even the bourgeois press is compelled to admit the fact of proletarian counter-demonstrations.

tions and to refer to them in heavy type. The bourgeois democratic "**Montag Morgen**" writes:

"When the Reichsbanner marched passed it was greeted by the communists with loud boosing . . . In various parts of the town where the police was present only in small numbers, fighting occurred again and again throughout the day. In the neighbourhood of the Müller Strasse troops of communists, mostly youths, attempted to tear down Red-Black-Gold flags. A number of people were compelled to withdraw their flags in consequence of the shouting of these mobs."

The bourgeois nationalist "**Montag**" writes:

"In the suburbs numerous streets showed only two or three flags. This is partly due to the fact that in the eastern, southern and northern parts of Berlin the communists have grown considerably in strength lately. Red flags were often to be seen, a protest of the Communist Party against the celebrations."

For over three months the authorities and their supporters have been preparing to make the 11th August a great and impressive peoples fête. Garlands, flags and flag-poles, new monuments and a flood of articles in the bourgeois-social-democratic newspapers, cheap aeroplane excursions — all this was not able to prevent large and decisive masses of the proletariat from remaining immune from the mass-psychology produced by the authorities. No wonder that workers from the provinces in the Reichsbanner demonstrations did not feel comfortable in the demonstrations and that they marched without enthusiasm through the streets. That was something different when the **Red Front Fighters League** marched through the streets and was cheered enthusiastically by hundreds of thousands of working class men and women as the defence organisation of the proletariat.

The last doubt concerning the real character of the Weimar Republic was abolished by the speeches of Severing in the Reichstag and of Hoersing, the slaughterer of the workers in Central Germany, in the Schloss Platz. Severing declared:

"Do not expect from me that I shall express contempt for the past. Those who do not honour the past are not worthy of a better future. It would be incorrect if the new Germany rejected its connection with the past. Under the old State form we also experienced great days."

Here Severing the social democrat makes his bow to the absolutist Hohenzollern regime and established a united front of the former monarchists and the bourgeois republicans under the leadership of the German Social Democratic Party. Hoersing, the Reichsbanner general, went still further and announced openly the anti-bolshevist programme of the coalition government and the task which it is about to fulfil:

"The political atmosphere in Germany must be cleared up immediately. We cannot advise the government too urgently to increase the reputation of Germany abroad by making an end once and for all of the communist rowdiness. If these destroyers do not soon stop their insane struggle against the State, then it may happen that we will fight them with the same means with which they think they can attack us. We have had enough of their insanity."

It must not be forgotten that Hoersing's speech is the result of a joint consultation between the social democratic Reichs and Provincial government Ministers. Hoersing's speech announces the coming armed attempt to crush the Communist Party. We are by no means surprised at this. We have not forgotten that the capitalist essence of the German Republic finds its expression in the Weimar Constitution" and that "the capitalist order in Germany has been stabilised within the framework of the Weimar Constitution" as the leading organ of the Austro-farxists, the Vienna "**Arbeiter-Zeitung**" admits. One of the functions of the executors of the Weimar Constitution is to defend the capitalist State against all the attacks of the workers and their party.

The Communist Party will only be able to answer the attacks of the Severings and the Hoersings successfully, if it

succeeds in penetrating into the ranks of the social democratic and Reichsbanner workers by tireless and persistent enlightenment work. There is a broad field of work for the Party here that was proved by the discussions carried on with the proletarians in the ranks of the Reichsbanner on Sunday. The advantages which the Constitution of the Republic gives the bourgeoisie and the disadvantages which it brings to the workers are so obvious that it should not be difficult to convince the social democratic workers of this, and to bring them out of the alliance with their own exploiters into which they have been deceived by their leaders, the social democratic Ministers, the trade union and social democratic party bureaucrats. Only after a great section not only of the indifferent workers, but also of those who are still under the influence of the reformist leaders have been brought into the fighting proletarian front under the leadership of the Communist Party, will the last hour of the bourgeois Republics sound, the democratic republic which is according to one of its leaders (the democrat Haas writing in the Constitution Number of the "German Republic") "a German republic in republican form, but under the dictatorship of ten anonymous General-Directors".

## POLITICS

### The "Lena" Massacre in Roumania.

(Leading Article of the "Pravda", 9th August 1929.)

In Roumania a mass-murder of workers has been carried out which puts all the other outrages of the year into the shade. In the valley of the Jiul in Transylvania, which a year ago was one of the strongholds of the reformist trade unions, 32 miners have been killed and several hundred wounded at the orders of the government of the National Peasant Party which came to power with the assistance of the social democracy. These figures have passed the Roumanian censorship and are therefore in all probability actually lower than the real figures. We are well aware that the Roumanian authorities are not sparing their lead when workers are concerned.

A year ago these same workers demonstrated in Alba Julia under the leadership of the reformist trade union bureaucracy and the National Peasants Party against the government of the so-called Liberal Party. Thousands and thousands of miners left the mines of Petrosani, Vulcani and Lupeni in order to express their indignation at the brutal terrorist regime of the liberal government. The ferment amongst the miners in the Jiul valley was exploited by the National Peasant Party with the assistance of the social democracy in the interests of the Roumanian bourgeoisie. But even then the workers went further than was pleasant for the social democracy and the leaders of the peasants party. After the demonstration they requisitioned locomotives and waggons in order to save themselves the trouble of walking the long distance back to their homes.

The accession to power of the Maniu government did not pacify the miners immediately. The social democrats, who had obtained 9 seats in the Chamber with the assistance of the National Peasants Party, did everything in their power to nourish the illusion amongst the workers that the government of the National Peasants Party would carry out a democratic transformation in Roumania. It was, however, very quickly shown that the new government was continuing the policy of its predecessor, the Bratianu government, not only in principle, but even formally. Despite the democratic illusions which still existed amongst the working masses, the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade unions succeeded in winning the confidence of the miners in the Jiul valley. The workers turned their backs on the social democrats and the National Peasants Party and took up the struggle against the coal barons for an improvement of their working and living conditions.

It is almost impossible for the outsider to imagine the terrible conditions under which the miners live in the Jiul valley. The miners are dressed in rags, and the greater part of their

ly low wages are paid out in kind, a procedure which reduces the miners into semi-slaves. For months on end they receive no cash payment at all.

Almost all the nations of the Danube and Balkan countries represented amongst the workers in the Jiul valley. Under Hungarian monarchy the authorities and the employers succeeded in playing the various nationalities amongst the workers against each other in order to prevent any organised struggle and to undermine proletarian solidarity. The real rulers of the district were the police. The arbitrary police regime was the normal state of affairs, the normal method of administration in the Jiul valley.

In the years 1918 and 1919 a section of the workers, under leadership of the communists, carried out a regular guerilla struggle against the representatives of the terrorist regime introduced by the Roumanian authorities, which was even worse than the tyranny of the Hungarian authorities before the war. In the suppression of the insurrections, the social democrats succeeded to obtain control of the miners in the interests of the Roumanian landowners and finance capitalists, and above all, in the interests of the mineowners. The social democrats succeeded for a time in bridling the discontent of the miners, but their success was shortlived.

A few months ago, despite the assurances of the National Peasants Party and despite the promises of the social democratic parliamentary deputies, the exceptional regime in the Jiul valley sharpened. The notorious gendarm detachments from the miners were drafted into the mining district together with the army. The social democracy and the reformist trade unions tried their utmost to prevent the workers from commencing wage struggles. They tried to console the workers by telling them that after the stabilisation of the currency the Maniu government would take measures to reduce the cost of living and in any case real wages would rise automatically without any strike movement. At the same time the government of the National Peasants Party strengthened troops in the Jiul valley in order to be able to deal immediately with any strike movement which might break out despite the social democrats.

When the collective tariff concluded by the reformist trade unions expired, the workers demanded a new tariff in which working hours per day would be shortened from 10 to 8. The mineowners refused all negotiations. Out of this situation developed the bloody events reported by the telegraph, of course, without the permission of the Roumanian censorship.

These events show the tremendous progress made by fascism in Roumania under the protecting wing of the "Party of Democracy". The National Peasants Party is not only supported by the Roumanian social democracy, but also by the Second (Communist and Socialist) International as a whole. The press of the Second and of the Amsterdam (I. F. T. U.) Internationals glorified the Roumanian social democrats and the Maniu government to the skies. The two reformist internationals announced to the world that the Maniu government represented the beginning of a new democratic era in which terrorism against the working class would be abandoned and a far-reaching socialisation introduced. The Austro-Marxists organised a campaign against the communists, accusing them of hindering "the actual revolutionary work of the Maniu government". They deliberately spread the falsehood that the communists in Roumania were co-operating with the Liberal Party of Bratianu in order to prevent the "democratisation" of Roumania by the Maniu government and the social democracy.

There is no doubt that even now, after the mass-murders in the Jiul valley, which represent a new edition of the massacre of the Lena Goldfields by the bloody servants of the Tsar in 1907, the Second International will continue to support the National Peasants Party and the Roumanian social democracy.

The events in the Jiul valley show that the spontaneous mass movement of the workers and the poor peasants places demands upon the revolutionary advance-guard of the Roumanian working class, the illegal Communist Party of Roumania. The Communist Party will do everything in its power to prove itself equal to its tasks. It will place itself at the head of the Roumanian workers and peasants and at the head of the oppressed toiling masses in the non-Roumanian districts oc-

cupied by the Roumanian forces (Bessarabia, Bukovina, the Dobruja etc.), and with the assistance of the international proletariat it will conduct a determined revolutionary struggle against the Maniu government and against its agents, the social democrats, until final victory is achieved.

## The Attack Upon Unemployment Benefit in Germany.

By Heinz Evers, Berlin.

The unemployment benefit is one of the most important achievements the German workers wrung from the German bourgeoisie during the times of revolution following the world war. Now, in the era of coalition government, the German employers, in conjunction with the Social-Fascists, are trying to deprive the workers of this achievement, too. Hundreds of millions are to be raised by curtailing the benefit and increasing contributions in order to strengthen the power of the employers.

Unemployment in Germany is at present characterised by two phenomena: 1. Owing to rationalisation, more and more workers are being dispensed with. In spite of the increase in production, the number of superfluous hands continues to grow. 2. The duration of unemployment is also extending, or, in other words, the period of employment is becoming steadily shorter in most groups of industries.

These two factors result in a steady rise in unemployment figures, which fact is illustrated even by the official reports. Official statistics regarding those seeking employment, show the following figures:

	1927	1928	1929
July . . . .	1,040,952	1,154,635	1,300,000

That further augmentation is reckoned upon is also clear from the negotiations of the committee of experts, which is to carry out the preliminary work for the cut in unemployment benefit. These proposals are based upon payment of unemployment benefit to 1,100,000 persons, whereas previously only 800,000 were reckoned with. It will therefore be seen that even official circles reckon with an increase of 300,000 persons in receipt of benefit.

That hundreds of thousands of workers are working for but short periods of time is to be seen from investigations made on the 15th of March by the Ministry of Labour. According to these, unemployed persons in receipt of benefit worked as follows before reporting themselves unemployed:

Season workers:	13—25	26	26—39	39—52	Total	
up to 13 weeks:	13—25	26	26—39	39—52	Total	
	5,279	30,773	24,730	305,989	370,963	737,734
Regular workers:						
	7,590	33,360	20,871	194,956	533,481	790,258
	12,869	64,133	45,601	500,945	904,444	1,527,992

The actual number of those working up to 13 weeks is considerably higher as in the investigations about 500,000 not in receipt of benefit and 885,000 season workers were left out of account. Though exact figures are not available, it may safely be assumed that well over half of these two categories also work less than 13 weeks.

The unemployment rates paid are totally inadequate; they range between 6 and 22 marks per week. 36 per cent. of the unemployed were on May 15th in receipt of benefit from 6 to 10.8 marks per week and only 9 per cent. were getting the maximum rate of 22 marks. Moreover, the insurance law excludes a great number of unemployed from benefit, and only a very small portion of these are supported by the municipalities. On May 15th there were about 400,000 unemployed getting no benefit at all.

This impoverishment of hundreds of thousands of families does not yet satisfy the German trust bourgeoisie. They want to release means whereby to increase armaments and to extend their power apparatus. Further, the unemployed are to be forced through starvation to serve as wage cutters and strike-breakers. In order to gain their objective the employers have been carrying on for months an agitation campaign in their press. And it was no other day than May 1st which the employers associations chose to announce their programme of reduction!

This provocation on the part of the capitalists is supported by the Social-Fascists under the leadership of Wissell, Severing and Hillerding. As early as May 4th, the President of the National Institute for Unemployment insurance, in collaboration with the German Trade Union Federation representatives, Spliet, Löhre und Schröder, issued instructions to the labour exchanges, demanding more strict application of measures of compulsion and punishment in the checking of stamps, in offering work, etc. Tens of thousands of unemployed were deprived of benefit through these instructions. In particular, married women were affected thereby, for they were refused benefit, in spite of the fact that they pay contributions, because 'in consequence of their household duties they are not constantly at the disposition of the Labour market'.

On June 29th, the Social-Democratic Minister of Labour Wissell deprived about 40,000 workers of unemployment benefit by the issue of a new regulation covering emergency benefit.

The committee of experts demanded by the leaders of Social-Democratic Party and the trade unions worked out in July the proposals for further reduction. According to these it is desired to prolong the period for which an insured person must be in work in order to qualify for benefit from 26 to 52 weeks, the period of waiting from 3 to 14 days; to deduct the amount of other social benefits of which the insured person may be in receipt; to reduce the benefit rates considerably; to extend the suspension of unemployment benefit from 4 to 8 weeks in case a job is refused, etc. etc.

By means of these disgraceful amendments 162.5 million marks is to be "saved"! To this is to be added a contribution increase of a half per cent., which will bring in 137.2 millions.

The provincial press of the German S. P. is trying to smother up the fact that the leaders of the party and of the trade unions assented to these measures. This deceitful game will not go down with the unemployed. The unemployed have learned too often that the Social Fascists sell the interests of the workers and unemployed for seats in the Cabinet, high positions in the police and similar offices. At meetings and demonstrations of the unemployed it was also always Social-Democratic chiefs of police who caused their assassins to shoot and bludgeon the demonstrators in the most brutal fashion. Last winter they even went as far in Cassel as to set bloodhounds on the unemployed!

Numerous members of the Social Democratic Party and of the trade unions have been excluded from the leadership because they have acted in the interests of their class comrades on unemployment committees. That the Wissels, Splieths, Leiparts, Tarnovs and company are on this occasion again disposed to swallow the demands of the employers appears from an article of the journal of the German Building Trade Federation. The "Grundstein", number 32, states:

"The trade unions will therefore exert the whole of their power to avoid any cuts. Whether they will be successful is, however, doubtful. It would be possible if the political power of the workers were greater and the German Trade Union Federation had eight million members instead of 5 million. In that case its influence would be so great that it could avoid all cuts. Finally, the workers themselves are to blame if unemployment insurance becomes worse."

The Communist Party will lead the fight of the unemployed against the fresh cuts and will organise it within the sphere of the economic fights and of the anti-war campaign. In the whole press, in Parliament and in the diets they will oppose the infamous agitation and the brutal retrenchment offensive and

will support the demands of the unemployed. demands are:

Allocation of means for extensive provision of work.

Refusal of all overtime in factories, thorough observance of the eight-hour day and curtailment to a 7-hour day.

Adequate support throughout the whole period of unemployment.

In these demands the Communist Party proceeds from standpoint laid down in the resolution of the International Socialist Congress of 1910 in Copenhagen.

"The congress demands from the public authorities general and obligatory provision for the unemployed by the administration of Labour organisations, the cost to be born by the owners of the means of production."

It is now necessary to develop a broad campaign of meetings, demonstrations, etc. in order to mobilise the party.

The strengthening of the committees of unemployed, linking up with the factory councils and revolutionary stewards, as also the convocation of big delegate conferences of the unemployed, Labour and mass organisations, will be the political and organisational preliminary conditions for the fight of the whole of the working class under the slogan

"Work and bread for the unemployed!"

## MacDonald's Break with the Soviet Union.

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

The Labour Government's break with Soviet Russia is a complete justification of the Communist International's campaign against the peril of imperialist war. The fact that the break took place on August 1st, the International Red Day of struggle against the war danger, is a direct challenge to the workers of Great Britain who so recently put the Labour Government in power.

Not only is the break a cynical repudiation of the Labour Party's election pledges, but it is a further step towards a rapprochement with the Soviet Union.

The correspondence between the two Governments, and the statement of the Foreign Office, have shown clearly that the Labour Government has attempted to blackmail the Soviet Union.

Diplomatic relations were to be postponed until October and then the question was to depend on "sufficient progress" with the discussion of debts, compensation for the capitalist propaganda, etc. That is, agreement on these questions is to be the price of diplomatic relations.

This is the exact opposite of the promise and pledges made by the Labour Party before the General Election. It is the continuation of Tory policy.

The Labour Government's double-dealing with Soviet Russia is on a par with its deliberate swindling of the workers on the question of the 7-hours Act, its deliberate swindling of the unemployed on the question of "not genuinely seeking work" and its continued repression and arrests of working-class leaders in India and so on.

The Labour Government is a government of the capitalist class and an enemy of the workers.

The Communist Party warns the workers that behind the Labour Government's shuffling lies a definite policy of continuing Chamberlain's plans for isolating Soviet Russia, and a preliminary for a world capitalist war against her.

One of the first steps taken by the Labour Government was to endorse Baldwin's plans for a Naval Mission to assist Chiang Kai-shek, the Chinese counter-revolutionary leader, who has just organised the attack on Soviet Russia in the Far East.

Thus the Labour Government has created a situation as bad as that of 1920. Once again, as in 1920, the whole working-class must rise around the slogan of "Hands Off Britain! Peace and full relations with the First Workers' Republic!"

In doing so, it will have to fight not only the Labour Government, but the whole treacherous trade union bureaucracy which has broken off relations with the Russian workers in 1927.

There is no time to be lost, MacDonald's rupture with the working class has already encouraged the reactionaries and the Russian agents all over the world, and first of all in China, where the far peril still menaces the Workers' Republic.

The Communist Party calls on the workers to rally to the defence of the Workers' Republic against its enemy, the British Labour Government, and to renew their demand for the restoration of friendly relations with the first country in history where the workers are the ruling class" (as one T. U. C. delegation has said), and where the workers rose as one man to support the British workers during the great General Strike.

It calls on them to join in the Communist Party's fight against the treacherous capitalist Labour Government.

In all factories and trade unions, at all mass meetings and in all working-class organisations, the Labour Government and the Communist Party which supports it must be exposed and openly condemned, and the demand made for the immediate, unconditional, and full diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia.

## The Congress of the P. P. S. Left.

By I. Mar (Warsaw).

On the 26th and 21st of July there took place in Warsaw the Congress of the P. P. S. Left, the only legally existing anti-fascist workers' mass organisation of Poland. The P. P. S. Left was formed in the year 1926 as the expression of the growing class consciousness of broad working masses, who formerly were misled in the wake of the social fascist P. P. S. These masses have become convinced, as a result of their own experience, of the treacherous role of the Polish social democracy and went over into the camp of social revolution. The P. P. S. Left soon became a political workers' mass organisation; local branches were formed throughout the whole country, both in Poland proper and in the districts occupied by Polish imperialism in Eastern Ukraine and Western White Russia). In spite of the systematic repressions and government terror, such as cancellation of the press, declaration of invalidity of election lists, prohibition of meetings; in spite of the arrest of active party members, continual house searches in the party premises, involving the seizure of party documents, the P. P. S. Left succeeded in uniting in its ranks 20,000 members.

When it proved that the party masses remained true to the revolutionary ideology in spite of everything, fascism began an attack aiming at destroying the organisation from within. The first attempt in this direction was undertaken in April of this year when the Plenary session of the Executive Committee of the P. P. S. Left took place. Four renegades, whose membership rights had been cancelled and who by their extreme opportunist policy and by their bargaining with fascism had been ready for a long time endeavoured to subject the party to fascist influence, replied to the disciplinary measures adopted against them by the party with an attempt to get the leadership of the party into their hands.

When this attempt failed, fascism went over to pure provocation, hoping thereby to deal a decisive blow to the P. P. S. Left.

Andreas Czuma, the general secretary and one of the leaders of the party, was selected by the "defensive" as a tool for this shameful action. This ambitious and corrupt rascal of the P. P. S. Right for a long time skillfully posed as a self-sacrificing fighter. His stay in prison for several months first "opened

his eyes" with regard to the personal career which awaited him in the service of fascism. Andreas Czuma, who was arrested in January of this year, began his new role by making lying statements incriminating various active members of the P. P. S. Left. When he was released in June in return for denouncing and giving the names of the members of the Party secretariat to the defensive, he began his open provocative activity as a direct agent of fascism. Czuma came to an understanding with the renegades who had been expelled from the party and in approved fascist manner he arranged, accompanied by the worst hooligans, an armed attack upon the premises of the party central. He then announced that the party secretariat which had been provisionally set up as a result of the many arrests, had been dissolved by him; that the "legal" leader of the party is only he, Andreas Czuma and his bandit clique. He declared the conference which had been convened for 20th and 21st July to be illegal, and in a leaflet and in circulars called upon the party members to subject themselves to his "legal" rule.

In spite of the concentrated manoeuvres on the part of the "defensive", of the four renegades and of Czuma, the Congress of the P. P. S. Left which had been convened in Warsaw took place at the prescribed date; its course, its strength and the mood of its delegates were a crushing reply of the working masses to the attacks of fascism and its agents.

Nearly 200 delegates, representing all the party organisations, assembled at the Congress. Not a single local committee, not a single organisation had declared in favour of Czuma. Several hundred guests, workers from the important proletarian centres (Warsaw, Lodz, Western Ukraine), represented at the Congress the broad masses of the sympathisers. From all parts of the country the Congress received letters of greeting and declarations of solidarity on the part of the anti-fascist workers' and peasants' organisations of different nationalities. The International anti-Fascist Committee sent greetings from abroad. The Congress welcomed with great enthusiasm the Communist Deputy Syputa, who greeted the Congress on behalf of the Communist fraction of the Polish Sejm.

In two day's proceedings the Congress dealt with all the items on the agenda, which included the report of the provisional secretariat, the political situation and the tasks of the party, its relation to the other parties, questions of the trade union movement, the anti-war campaign, questions of the party programme, work in the self-administrative bodies, and work among the youth and among the women.

## The Increased Activity of the German Fascists.

By Fritz Rueck (Berlin).

For months now the German so-called National Socialists (read fascists) whose organisation is shaken by leader and clique struggles, have been showing a steadily increasing activity and a more insolent and provocative attitude. At the same time they are using terrorist methods to a degree unknown since the failure of the Hitler Beer Cellar Putsch in 1923, the turning point of the Hitler movement. The bomb attempts in Northern Germany show the illegal activity of the fascist bands, whilst the organised raids on the workers quarters carried out during the national congress of the National Socialist Party in Nuremberg show the real direction of the provocative policy of these kept fascist shock troops of German capitalism.

Under these circumstances therefore an examination of the roots and of the previous development of the National Socialist Workers Party, to give it its full title, is of great immediate importance. The territorial commencing point of this national socialist movement was Munich, the town in which counter-revolution raged most fiercely after the overthrow of the Munich Soviet Republic in 1919, and where the Communist Party has been outside the law almost uninterruptedly during the last ten years whilst the social democrats, although having lost their State positions since the Kapp Putsch in 1920, show themselves prepared to render a servile and gratuitous service to the bourgeoisie. The workers who turned away from the

social democracy in disgust and who, in consequence of the continual suppression of the communist movement, were won only here and there for the proletarian revolution, fell victim to a considerable degree to the petty-bourgeois radicalism of the Hitler movement which rails against the Catholic Church, against the Jewish exploiters of the people, against usury, against international socialism and preaches a so-called "People's Revolution". The silent toleration exercised by the organs of the State towards the excesses of this movement, and the financial support accorded to it by various doubtful sources, chiefly however, from certain industrialist circles, contributed to the extension of the movement over the whole of Bavaria and later into the rest of Germany where it competed sharply with the already existing fascist mass organisations.

In recent years the largest of the German fascist organisations, the "Stahlhelm" or Steelhelmet organisation, the name and badge of the organisation being taken from the shrapnel helmet worn by the German soldiers during the war, has developed more and more into a legal imperialist semi-militarist organisation aiming at preparing the peasant, petty-bourgeois and even proletarian able-bodied sections of the population for the coming war both ideologically and practically, and at giving the bourgeoisie the necessary mass basis for carrying out its reactionary internal policy. The "Stahlhelm" "recognises" the Republic and rejects "illegal methods" in its agitation and activities, at least for the moment. The National Socialist Workers Party on the other hand, has maintained its putschist attitude down to the present day. The shock troops of this later organisation are systematically trained for provocative violence and the main expression of the life of the party is represented by the activity of these troops. The parliamentary activities of the deputies of this organisation have never gone farther than creating foolish disturbances and serving the interests of the right-wing reactionary parties. Recently monarchist propaganda has played an increasing role in the ranks of the Nationalist Socialist Workers Party. It is taking the place of the old longing for a "strong man", a dictator. It would seem that certain re-shufflings amongst the financial backers of the party had led to a strengthening of the monarchist propaganda.

Changes in political opinions are frequent in this party, and this is facilitated by the fact that the party has no real inner party life like other parties. Party congresses at which questions of policy or tactics are discussed are quite unknown; what the National Socialist Workers Party calls a party congress is the central demonstration which has just been held in Nuremberg. The policy and tactics of the party are determined by a very small circle of leaders. A letter of Lieutenant-Captain Muecke (former imperialist navy) published in the Nuremberg social democratic organ, the "Fraenkische Tagespost", shows how in one special case the financial backers of the National Socialist Workers Party exercised direct pressure on Hitler, who is still the most influential man in the counsels of the party, in order to secure a change in the tactics of the party in defiance of former party decisions.

It is of especial importance for the German working class and at the same time a lesson for the whole international proletariat, that when the social democracy is a governmental party and when the coalition policy of the social democratic ministers brings the working masses one disappointment after the other and worsens the social and political situation of the broad masses, these so-called National Socialists become more and more active and succeed in extending their influence to certain sections of the workers and in strengthening their hold upon the active sections of the petty-bourgeoisie. Only where a strong communist organisation exists is it possible to guide the growing bitterness of the toiling masses against the socialist democracy into the current of the revolutionary struggle against capitalism and against its social democratic and fascist agents, and to repulse energetically the provocations of the fascists. The growing influence of the Communist Party of Germany is the best guarantee that the National Socialist tree will not grow into the sky, and that the provocations which the brown shirts are able to permit themselves in Nuremberg under the protection of the police, will not occur in other German towns without meeting with a very energetic counter-action on the part of the workers, even if they are not nipped in the bud immediately.

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

### The Lock-out of British Textile Workers.

By Phyllis Neal.

The struggle into which half a million British workers have entered is one that has the greatest significance not only for the entire British working class, but for the proletariat of all countries. The forcing of such a conflict is the endeavour of the textile capitalists to arrest the decline of their industry, effect its rationalisation, with a view to regaining their lost share of the world's markets. It is also a new step towards imperialist war.

The demand of the employers is for a wage reduction of more than 12½% for all workers. The average weekly earnings of men, according to government statistics, are 47 shillings a week, and those of women 30 shillings and 3 pence (It costs at least 40 shillings to provide only the necessities of food, clothing and shelter for a single man or woman. A wife and three children cannot meet their elementary needs on less than 70 shillings. If a woman worker has young children she must pay someone else to mind them: for two children the cost will be about 16 shillings.)

And these are only the average wages paid for a 48 hours' work of 48 hours. In actual fact, on account of long time working, large numbers of workers each week go home with considerably less than even these meagre amounts; there are not a few cases of workers who have not taken full weeks wages once in two or three years. For example we have the following figures for the American cotton textile industry for 1927 (and the situation certainly has not improved, but worsened, since then, extending also to the cotton which works Egyptian cotton), published in the Memorandum of the Labour Research Department on the Cotton Industry:

Month	% of workers short time	Average No. hours lost per week
March . . . . .	8	11½
June . . . . .	12½	14
September . . . . .	14	16
December . . . . .	13	15½

At the same time it frequently happens that even a worker who works a full week of 48 hours receives only half or three quarters of a week's wage, because only 2 out of 4 looms are running, or 3 out of 6. In this way many skilled women workers take only 20 shillings for a week's work, or men 15 shillings.

Wages are still further reduced by the system of "fines" (penalties) for flaws in work, which are most frequently due to the bad material supplied to the workers. Thus, it is no means uncommon to find workers receiving anything less than 20 shillings down to as low as 7 shillings a week.

In addition there are the further depressing effects of growing unemployment, the registered total of which alone in 1928 had reached 12%, without counting the many workers who by harsh regulations had been deprived of relief and were not registered.

Now the newly threatened reduction would take from the average man's wage of 47 shillings the sum of 6 shillings; from the average woman's wage of 30 shillings and 3 pence the sum of 4 shillings; with corresponding losses right up to the scale.

The workers in the cotton industry are organised into an immense number of different trade unions (the cotton and textile industries together have nearly 300) many of which are confined to a single locality and a single grade of workers. They are linked in various larger amalgamations, many of which again are affiliated to national organisations. There is thus an extremely numerous bureaucracy, while the workers are



vided that every section of them is directly subjected to its influence. In character this bureaucracy is reformist to the last degree, appealing always, in the present period of the decline of the industry and of sharpening class struggle, to the practice of peaceful negotiation and mutual accommodation with the cotton capitalists which marked the epoch when Lancashire led the world in cotton manufacture; and fighting viciously against the advance of Communist and Left wing ideas within the unions. The election of a small number of Communists to the Executive Committees of local unions has enraged it beyond measure; and the growing influence of Communist propaganda has already been met in some cases by expulsions of Communists.

It may then be understood how great is the measure of assistance received by the employers from the reformist leaders. Three times between 1921 and 1928 general reductions of wages were effected in the American section of the industry. Speeding-up was carried to an intolerable point. At the beginning of 1928, the employers (with a view to attracting new capital for rationalisation purposes, for which object the promise of high profits was necessary, only to be guaranteed at the expense of the workers) made a concerted demand for universal wage-reductions of 12½% and increase of weekly working hours to 55. In this case the trade union leaders feared the temper of the workers too much to make an immediate surrender; but they entered into negotiations which resulted in the capitalists' withdrawing their united demands and attacking mill by mill. In no single case did the reformist officials lead a genuine resistance. In the great majority of cases they actively opposed and sabotaged. And in the very midst of this period prominent leaders of textile trade unions voluntarily joined a committee appointed by the cotton capitalists, and signed its report calling for intensified work, removal of existing "restrictions" on production, and cheapening of the products! Only the Communist Party and the Minority Movement (British Section of the R.I.L.U.) led the workers against the capitalists and their lackeys: but the slender forces of the revolutionary organisations, though strained to the utmost were not able at that time to succeed in their efforts to link up the struggle over the whole field of the industry, under their own independent leadership, through strike committees elected by the rank and file workers.

Sometimes the struggle was won, sometimes lost.

Such partial gains as the employers could effect by guerrilla warfare, however, by no means satisfied them: Hence the over-coming of the differences in their own ranks, and the advancement of this renewed demand, supported by a great majority of the organised employers, and backed by the threat of a lockout. A ballot of the workers showed 95% in favour of fighting the cut.

This situation, as was natural, reduced the reformist officials to a condition of frantic alarm. Dreading of all things the unloosing of the united discontent of the half-starved men and women of Lancashire, desiring with fervour to surrender and yet not daring to do so, they made one concession after another (the effect of each being to harden the insistence of the capitalists) until, forced against the wall, they had miserably to allow the lockout to begin.

A characteristic role has been played also by the Labour Party and the MacDonal Government in this struggle. For long enough while in Opposition the Labour Party, true to its policy of preserving "industrial peace" and of assisting capitalist rationalisation, preached that the hope of the workers of the cotton industry lay in a government inquiry. Prior to the General Election conferences of textile workers were organised to popularise the proposal (a number of "demands" being advanced at the same time, designed to create the illusion that a Labour government would support the workers in their determination to have better conditions). On assuming office, it announced the appointment of a commission of inquiry on which the only "representative" of the workers was to be a reformist trade union official.

The findings of such a body are a foregone conclusion.

The commission does not even propose to begin work until September, and by general consent must occupy many months. And meanwhile — ? The Labour government has taken

no single step to strengthen the resistance of the operatives to the wage reduction. On the contrary, when the trade union leaders, driven by the determination of the workers, had once broken off negotiations, the government, in the person of the permanent secretary of the Ministry of Labour, reopened them.

The employers bluntly refused to withhold the wage-reduction pending the result of the government inquiry. The trade union officials then agreed to discuss wage reduction. In an endeavour to avoid direct responsibility for the contemplated treachery, they requested that the matter be effected by the Permanent Industrial Court, promising to abide by its decision, whatever it might be. The employers refused. They merely offered to modify slightly the amount of the wage-reduction originally demanded, provided that the trade union negotiators would recommend the — reduction.

The miserable negotiators (after twice begging for an extension of time in which to make up their minds) pleaded that they dared not use the word "recommend". Would the employers not "find another word which would ease the situation?"!! The employers found one; but refused to allow any extra time for the officials to secure the necessary authority for a surrender. So the wretched farce closed, as far as the representatives of the largest body, the weavers, were concerned. Even then the leaders of two sections — the cardroom workers and the spinners — offered separate negotiations; but the opposition of the cardroom workers proved strong enough to persuade the officials that it was dangerous to proceed, and thus by isolating the spinners' leaders compelled them to abandon the attempt also.

The role which such traitors will play in what is the greatest industrial struggle in England since the miners' lockout is not for a moment to be doubted.

The Labour Party also, through its organ "The Daily Herald", continues to preach despicable defeatism, even when the fight has actually begun.

In a leading article it regrets "that there is division of opinion among the workers' representatives on the tactical question of whether... some cut — however unjust and ultimately useless — should, as the lesser of two evils, be accepted."

Against this combination of capitalists, trade union bureaucracy and Labour government, the workers of Lancashire who have entered into the struggle so resolutely, can only win by waging the fight on the lines advocated by the C. P. and M. M., which have all along been warning them that they would have to fight such a combination. The C. P. and M. M. called upon the workers to set up under revolutionary leadership their own committees of action, representative of all sections, organised and unorganised; and to transform the lockout into an offensive struggle for an increase of wages, a guaranteed weekly minimum wage, the 40-hour week, abolition of fining, compensation for had material.

They have urged that especially the women workers, who form the majority of those involved, must be drawn into these committees (the C. P. already, some weeks before the expiration of the lockout notices, allocated a special woman organiser to the area); and that the young workers, whose conditions are worst, and who will be spirited fighters, must also be well represented there.

A vigorous offensive fight of the cotton workers will have immediate repercussions in the wollen industry, where the employers, encouraged by recent betrayals on the part of the trade union officials (who either accepted wage-cuts in defiance of the workers' ballot votes for resistance, or reluctantly called a strike, only to isolate and defeat it) have made a similar demand for a universal wage-reduction. The cotton workers, by a militant example, can show how the capitalists of the entire textile industry may be defeated: can show to the miners how the 7-hour day and a living wage should be fought for; in a word, can become the vanguard of the British working class in its fight against capitalist rationalisation.

## The Election of Revolutionary Factory Councils and Shop Stewards.

(On the Resolution of the X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I.)

By W. Ulbricht.

The X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. regarded the fight for the leading role in the working class and the leading of the working masses into the fight as the main task of the sections of the Comintern. The economic and political strike movements, demonstrations, forming of strike committees and organising of delegate conferences, creation of committees of action for the fight against Fascism and organising of proletarian self-defence organs — all these depend largely upon our influence in the factories. The above-mentioned fighting organs for leading the broad masses of the organised and unorganised workers are united-front organs of a temporary character for the execution of certain tasks, for instance, fighting for wage increases, warding off Fascist attacks, mass mobilising in connection with war provocations.

In order that such fighting organs may be formed in the preparation and carrying out of partial fights, and so that in unexpected movements a rapid organisation of such mass fighting organs may be possible, there must be a constant systematic light-training of the workers in the factories. The party organisation in the factory, the nucleus, should do this work, but its strength is not sufficient directly to cope with and influence the large number of factory workers. The strength of the supporters of the revolutionary trade-union opposition is also not great enough for this task. It is therefore necessary to create an organ with an appropriate apparatus of delegates, supported by the will of the mass of organised and unorganised workers in the factory. This comprehensive organ for the carrying on of the daily fight of the workers in the factory must be elected in democratic fashion by all the workers. Such organs should be the factory councils. The fight for the factory councils should, therefore, be carried on not only where they may exist legally but also in those countries where there is no factory-council law.

The task of the factory councils is to mobilise the masses of workers in the factories and to lead them into the fight against the economic policy of the social fascists, against factory fascism and terror on the part of the employers; to lead the fight for the shortening of working hours, against over-time, against piece-work sweating and for higher wages; to try to reduce the competition among the workers and to fight for equal pay for equal work, and against lack of sanitation and danger of accidents. In the fight for the numerous partial demands in the factory the demarcations become apparent in the putting through the claims in the factory and within capitalistic society in general.

It is the task of the factory councils to carry on the fight for the demands of the day as a fight for the abolition of capitalist wage slavery as a whole. All grievances in the factory, all questions which kindle the fighting spirit of the workers must be used for revolutionary mass mobilisation, for the organising of partial fights, and for class-struggle training in general.

The name factory councils should not lead to the illusion that the factory council can in any way be a substitute for the soviets. The revolutionary factory councils are the general leader of the daily fight in the factory; in so far they help to prepare the ground, so that in an acute revolutionary situation the preliminary conditions for the fight for the creation of soviets may be provided.

The factory council can also not be a substitute for strike committees, although through their daily work they create the essential preliminary conditions for the formation of strike committees, and may also be elected as members of the strike committees. The strike committees are in a position to lead the masses of workers properly and are the proper expression of the will of the workers only if they are elected directly for the fulfilment of specific fighting tasks. It would be wrong to transfer to the factory committees a role for a longer period

and under different conditions, the function of the strike committees. Through this, many active workers, who would be very necessary in leading the concrete fight, would be kept out of the leadership. The strike committee embraces a greater number of workers than the factory council.

In countries with legal factory councils such as Germany, Czechoslovakia, Austria the main danger to the work of the factory councils is their restriction within the limits of the law. It often occurs that even opposition factory councils are of the opinion that they must carry through their activity within the limits prescribed by the law governing the factory councils. In reality this would mean nothing but a fight against the interests of the workers and would bring the factory councils into the greatest disrepute. Even the nature of their election is of great significance in regard to the purpose of the work of the factory councils. If the setting up of the list of candidates takes place at a general meeting of factory workers on the basis of a concrete fighting programme, this manner of setting up the list is in a measure a guarantee that the best of the factory functionaries become candidates. Within the scope of the general tasks of the class struggle the fighting programme must embrace the special partial demands and the fighting tasks of the factory in question. This makes it possible to unmask the reformists as also the Christian Socialists, Fascists, etc. as enemies of the workers on the basis of the concrete attitude to the factory questions.

It would, therefore, be a great mistake if in countries with Red trade unions, such as Czechoslovakia, the members of the Red trade unions alone made up the list of candidates. In such tactics we should be giving up the development of the activity of the non-organised workers and the winning over of those workers who are organised in other trade unions. The setting up of the list of candidates as well as the election must be carried through by us on the basis of the broadest democracy, i. e. at meetings of the workers of the factory. The fight for the factory councils must be a systematic fight for the winning over the masses of factory workers on our policy of revolutionary class struggle.

It is the task of the Red trade unions to adapt their organisation to the basis of the factory, and they must develop such activity in the factories that the trade-union functionaries may gain the confidence of the workers and get the vote of the workers at the election. By thus mobilising the organised and unorganised workers, by putting up non-union workers as candidates we at the same time are paving the way in countries with Red trade unions for the strengthening of the Red trade unions and for the reanimation of their cadres and functionaries. Functionaries who in a democratic election have gained the confidence of the factory workers are easily persuaded to become trade-union functionaries.

In the countries in which there are no legal factory councils the present rising wave of the revolutionary movement must be exploited for the creation of factory councils. To this end it is necessary to carry on a broad campaign of enlightenment concerning the significance of the factory councils but, at the same time, all strike movements, wage reductions, accidents, lack of sanitation, etc., must be exploited for the election of revolutionary factory councils. If during strike movements fighting leaderships have been formed, it is easy at the end of the strike to elect a factory council in the factory at a meeting of the hands on the basis of experience acquired during the fight. The creation of the factory councils naturally depends upon the activity of the Communist factory nuclei, a nucleus with relatively few members, which, however, systematically influences the workers through regular publication of a factory newspaper, through factory meetings and so on. It may be able in case of a strike, a mine accident, piece-work sweating, or the like to organise the factory workers for the election of a factory council. If in a town there exists only one single factory nucleus which is able to organise the election of a factory council, this nucleus must as quickly as possible show a good example so that the workers in other factories may profit by the experience to carry through the election of other factory councils.

It must be borne in mind that in their activity on the factory councils the functionaries are subject to extremely heavy pressure from the employer, the Social-Fascists and other



s enemies in the factory. Therefore, it is not sufficient for factory nucleus to guide the work of the Communist factory councils; it must systematically train all revolutionary factory councils by means of factory councils courses, con- g of factory councils conferences, organising of in- ation centres for factory councils etc.

Experience of factory council elections in countries with l factory councils, and, especially in Germany, shows that mere creation of factory councils is not sufficient. The ory council alone would be like a head without a body. refore, in all departments of the factories the election of olutionary shop stewards must be organised. This election shop stewards by all the workers in the department is the e necessary as the reformists systematically build up a y of Social-Democratic functionaries under cover of trade- on activity for the purpose of carrying out their industrial ce and strike-breaker policy. The social-democratic bodies trade-union functionaries in the factories are the mainstay of ial-Fascism. The revolutionary shop stewards should be ports of the factory council, i. e. in their departments they e functions essentially similar to those of the factory council regard to the whole factory. The election of such shop ste- rds not only constitutes a guarantee that the resolutions of a factory council are really carried out, but it is also a ecessary condition for rapid mobilisation of the factory wor- s in case economic or political fights break out unexpectedly. rough the help of the shop stewards the factory council keeps e closer touch with the mass of the factory workers and is e thereby enabled rapidly to mobilise the workers in all de- rtments for the fight.

During the present period of marked aggravation of the uss struggle, of broadening and deepening of political mass ghts, of the use of the political class fight as a weapon, of e creation in the factories of organs for the mass fight, the ht for the election of revolutionary factory councils and shop ewards is one of the most important tasks in the organising e revolutionary mass fight to attain the aims of the Com- unist International.

## INTERNATIONAL RED DAY

### August 1st in France.

August 1st is for France an important section in the fight f the workers against imperialist war.

In some industrial centres it was possible with the help f terror, of police dictatorship and of mass arrests to prevent ass demonstrations of workers, which, however, were given xpression with wonderful energy in the works against the ar policy of the bourgeoisie. Experience will enable us to vercome all weaknesses and to sharpen our weapons for ne approaching fights. But from recent reports it appears that undreds of thousand of workers in France went on strike or e monstrated in the streets.

It must be particularly pointed out that such a complete nited front — from the socialist and reformist hounds right p to the worst of Fascists — has seldom before be formed against the working class. As early as eight days before August 1st the revolutionary proletariat was living in a state of emergency: campaigns of calumny, constant arrests and house searches, attacks upon the offices of its organisations and its journals, confiscation of proletarian newspapers, appeals of the socialists and of the reformists against any suspension of work, reinforcement of the police by bourgeois and socialist town councils, police brutalities throughout the country, a state of siege in the industrial districts, Paris a military camp etc. . . .

#### In the Paris District.

In the Paris district the proletariat answered the call of the Communist Party. In spite of the measures of oppression

outside and the precautionary measures taken by the employers' spies in the factories themselves, the proletariat demonstrated in numerous factories and drew thousands of workers on to protest against war.

The two biggest demonstrations were held in Argenteuil and Bezons, where 3000 workers of the factories of these industrial towns left work and, in spite of the brutal conduct of the hundreds of police, who had positively occupied the town, held demonstrations, while at the Citroen automobile factory, which is the largest on the Continent, 8000 workers knocked off in the afternoon. The Citroen works were positively besieged by police. The attitude of the workers towards the police was admirable. The proletariat of Paris must follow their example.

In Paris itself the demonstrations were repeated and in- creased in several industrial districts and especially in the XIV. District, where the strike movement was particularly strong.

All the workers at the gas works, in the market halls and at the slaughter houses left work before knocking-off time.

In the repair works of the big railway lines the percentage of strikers ranged between 60 and 90 per cent; 80 per cent of the navvies and 85 per cent. of the building-trade workers knocked off before time. In the metal industry a very great many workers left work early, while the 100 per cent. of the carpenters and joiners knocked off early.

In the big public enterprises, however, the full day was worked through.

#### In the Proletarian Outer Districts.

In the surroundings of Paris the strike movement in the fairly strong everywhere. In Clichy the workers at the Cast over Works and at William Pigalau's went out. In Saint-Denis deputies, 65 per cent. of all workers went on strike and the ab whole of hands at the works of Hotchkiss, Lambert, Cazeneuve of August, the ship yards on the Loire, Floquet, at the wor concentrated International Sleeping Car Co. etc., was strikingly on the 1st of In St. Ouen the greater part of the staff at the tinued. The Somua and Alsthom left early. In Levallois the extial" against early stop was significant: for instance, at the Moreaux, Benjamin, Gnôme, Rhône. In Puteaux tl be an un- strikes at the Zodiac factory, Telbouze's and Muhlbe lture of the Suresnes at Bleriot's and Saurer et Unic, etc. t the con-

Our slogans were heard as far as the most distant t the con- of Paris: in Juvisy, were at the railway works the ion itself, almost a hundred per cent. strike; In Bobigny, Reuil, ion itself, Chaville et Viroflay, Persan-Beaumont, Ermont-Eau, of reason Mantes, Mitry-Mory, St. Cyr, where thousands of wor, ss were left the work as a protest against the preparations for w, We against the menacing of the Soviet Union by the imperialists, and joined our anti-imperialist demonstration.

#### In the Northern Industrial Districts.

The various forms assumed in the provinces by the de- monstrations against imperialist war show that our comrades in many places developed a happy initiative in circumventing the measures of persecution and displaying their fighting spirit.

In many industrial districts the extent of the movement was very considerable.

In spite of the calumnious campaign of the bourgeoisie and of the reformists, the proletariat of the northern industrial district courageously responded to the call of the Communist Party.

In spite of the state of siege in Lille, the workers at Manet's spinning mill, at the railway works and at numerous factories made the early stop a great inconvenience. In Roubaix the mill workers occupied the streets for two hours and demonstrated against war and for the defence of the Soviet Union.

In Allouin, the Red Town, several thousand workers parti- cipated in the international fight day against imperialist war.

In Waziers-Douai, Denain and in many other localities the miners demonstrated in spite of the reformist machinations, and in many mines the strikers numbered up to 70 per cent. The Red Flag was flown above the mines of Cail.

In **Boulogne-sur-Mer**, in order to show the bourgeoisie and the imperialists that they would never load munition destined for use against the Soviet Union, the dockers knocked off.

In **Rouen** a considerable portion of the dockers, metal workers and cooper struck. In the building trade among the navvies there was practically a hundred per cent. strike. The workers held the streets with tremendous demonstrations for about two hours against the police force.

#### In the Eastern Districts.

In several industrial areas of the Eastern districts the demonstrations of the workers were very important.

In **Nouzonville** (Ardennes) the work in the metal works was stopped unanimously; in Nancy the building-trade workers and the quarrymen left work to an extent of almost 100 per cent. In **Audincourt** 2000 workers demonstrated after leaving the big metal works before time; in **Chaligny-Maisons-Neuves** there was held an impressive demonstration of miners and metalworkers. In the industrial district of **Briey**, the stronghold of the mighty Comité des Forges, the strike movement ranged from 40% to 80%; at the famous steel works of **Longwy**, over 50% of the workers went out.

In **Alsace-Lorraine**, too, there were demonstrations of miners, who were also supported by the building-trade workers, many of whom went on strike.

In both **Jura** and **Morez**, the strike movement was strong.

#### Against the war industry.

In three districts the workers gave the demonstrations against imperialist war a particular direction: in the districts of **Loire-et-Loire**, in the **Loire** district and in the **Lower Loire** must be mentioned.

In the first of these districts a great portion of the miners at **Boulogne-sur-Mer** and **Moloy** went out. In **Autun** there were big demonstrations; also at **Chalon-sur-Saone**. Several thousand railway workers, hands

of the aeroplane factories, glass workers, metal workers and other workers formed a big demonstration procession with red flags and marched to the **Schneider** works, where the submarines are built. The whole thing was an imposing demonstration against competition in armaments and against imperialist war.

In the **Loire** district, too, the demonstrations were most impressive. In this rich industrial district, where munitions of war are produced by big factories, the early stop was extensive, and thousands of workers took part in the demonstrations and meetings. In **St. Etienne** 75% of the workers left the mines.

In **Chambon** the percentage ranged between 60% and 100%. Numerous lesser works, who are, however, known to specialise in certain articles of the munition industry, were closed.

The workers at the various shipyards of the **Loire** district, for instance, **Chantiers de la Loire** and the **Penhoet** Shipyard, as also the workers of the **Batignolles** factory at **Nantes**, are aware from their own experience of the increasing of armaments and the danger threatening the Soviet Union and the world proletariat. Also in the districts, where the fighting spirit of the workers has flagged somewhat in the course of recent years, there was an important strike movement on August 1st — from 55% to 90%. Thousands of workers took part in the meetings and vowed to fight more resolutely than ever against war and for the defence of the Soviet Union.

#### The Peasants on the Side of the Workers.

There were but few districts from the Alps to the English Channel where the International Anti-war day did not for a few hours hold up economic life through demonstrations and strikes.

In the **Isere** district, in **Voiron**, the stoppage in the textile mills and metal works was almost complete. In **Nimes**, the taxi-drivers, hair-dressers and railwaymen set a good example, which the workers of other branches shortly followed. In **Clermont-Ferrand**, the rubber town, the workers took part

in a demonstration. In **Port-de-Bouc** the dockers went on strike. In **Béziers**, a procession of 600 workers, including all the men of the **Fouga** metal works, marched through the town with red flags. In **Hérault** and **Avignon** the agricultural labourers demonstrated in the villages or joined in the demonstrations of the workers in the towns.

At **Alés**, in the **Gard** district, 6000 agricultural labourers, factory workers and miners took part in the demonstration. At several mines the stoppage was complete, and in many of the mines there were more than 50% of the workers present.

#### In the South-West.

In the south-west, the turnout of the workers against the preparations for war against the Soviet Union was most impressive. In **Toulouse**, the demonstration procession marched past the biggest factories, halted in front of the nitrogen factory belonging to the State. The workers of the **Pierrefitte** phosphate factory near **Toulouse** left work en bloc; the foreign workers and the workers of the colonies joined their French workmates. In **Lavelanet**, although the workers remained in the factories, they kept the machines run without material, and a little later they knocked off for an hour. At the **Boucau** shipyard the stoppage was almost complete, and in the afternoon the workers went in masses in a huge procession to **Bayonne**, where they held a demonstration.

The threats of the Social-Democratic mayor of **Bordeaux**, **Marquet**, and his police, in whose support the Socialist Party's mobile guard had been called up, did not prevent the workers of **Bordeaux** from demonstrating. About 90 per cent. of the dockers and 80 per cent. of the building-trade workers knocked off. All the men at the **Roppartz** shipyard were out, and a good many of the men from the **Gironde** yard and the **South-West** yard joined them. Late in the afternoon thousands of workers demonstrated about the town.

In **Périgueux**, in **Limoges**, in **Millau**, in **La Rochelle**, **Tours**, **Niort** and **St. Junien** the workers responded in thousands to our slogan: "War upon Imperialist War! Hands off from Russia!" — either by knocking off work or taking part in the course of the day in demonstrations.

After the International Fight Day against imperialism and for the consolidation of results achieved, the working class will make every effort to convert every works, every factory into a new stronghold of the proletariat by coming revolutionary fights and for the promotion of the struggle against imperialist war.

## The 1st of August in Czechoslovakia.

By K. Gottwald (Prague).

Czechoslovakia plays an important part in the war preparations against the Soviet Union. Aggressive Czechoslovak imperialism, in the hunt for markets and profits, has defined itself up in the anti-Soviet war front and is actively taking part in the war preparations against the Soviet Union.

In these circumstances it was perfectly clear that the bourgeoisie would mobilise all its forces to render impossible the action of August 1 in Czechoslovakia and to nip it in the bud. But it did not succeed in doing this. In spite of all the political, "ideological" and violent measures of the capitalist state power, of the employers and of the social-fascist demonstrations were held in Czechoslovakia at more than a hundred important places; some thousands of workers carried out partial demonstration-strikes and some tens of thousands of workers participated in the street demonstrations. Thousands of workers held meetings in the factories and at the factory gates; even the soldiers demonstrated in some of the barracks. The bourgeoisie wanted to prepare a "new Red Day" for the Party. It conducted against the Party a concentrated offensive of the like of which had never been seen before even in Czechoslovakia. The Party withstood this offensive; it did not

from the battle-field, but fought. It made a definite breach in the most important sector of the bourgeois-social-fascist front, in the sector of preparation for imperialist wars. It achieved for the first time since 1920 some thousands of workers in Czechoslovakia proclaimed a political strike and tens of thousands of workers held a political demonstration; there were strikes and demonstrations under the slogans of revolutionary fight against imperialist war, revolutionary defence of the Soviet Union. The Party prevented a repetition of last year's Red Day; the Party made a step forwards.

But the weaknesses of the action of 1st August were so great that the Party judges the action as being a failure. It was not a real mass action. It embraced only a small part of the workers. In general it was based hardly at all on the big enterprises and in particular not on the most important: war industry and transport. The anti-war day was very weak especially in Prague, where only the workers in some small enterprises and some building workers went on strike. In general we witnessed on 1st August a phenomenon similar to what was to be seen at the last elections in December 1928: the Czechish industrial centres — Prague, Kladno, Pilsen, Brünn, Moravian Ostrau — lagged behind the districts populated by the national minorities, a fact which should give cause for thought.

The Party made the preparations for the 1st of August at a time when it was beginning to overcome the results of the great inner crisis. The big landworkers strike, which was carried out successfully in Slovakia, and a number of smaller strike struggles nevertheless showed that the Party is recovering its capacity for action and that it is beginning to break through the ice of its passivity and isolation.

Nevertheless the preparations for the 1st of August encountered in the Party a strong wall of pessimism, of scepticism and doubt as to the Party being capable of carrying out such an action. Considerable cadres of the Party were still subject to the defeatist mood of last year's red Day.

It was in such a situation that the Party had to proceed to mobilise the working masses. It endeavoured to transfer the centre of gravity to the factories, to connect the daily economic questions of the workers with the problem of the danger of fascism and war, and to give the movement a broad basis of the united front with the help of anti-war committees of action elected in the factories and in the localities. Here also the Party was only partially successful. In a number of important localities conferences of workshop delegates and of mass organisations were held and anti-war committees were elected — but the centre of gravity of the preparations for the 1st of August lay not in these organs, the number of which, for the rest, was very small. In the course of the preparations smaller demonstrations were carried out with good results in a number of districts. The Party did not, however, prove itself capable of sufficiently and energetically extending these demonstrations, especially in connection with such important affairs as the recent Czechoslovakian-Hungarian conflict, the war provocations against the Soviet Union on the Manchurian frontier, as well as the persecution of the Party by the bourgeoisie. After the suppression of the Communist press, the Party devoted itself energetically to issuing illegal agitation material — factory newspapers, illegal newspapers, leaflets — but it did not succeed in calling forth a mass resistance of the workers against the fascist offensive of the bourgeoisie. If, therefore, the mobilisation of the Party membership was inadequate, the mobilisation of the working masses for the 1st of August showed still greater weaknesses.

It must be stated that the enemy made thorough preparations. The political preparations began already in the spring, and it is characteristic that here the renegades were in the forefront alongside of the social fascists. The Czechish bourgeoisie made full use of the opportunity afforded by the conflict with Hungary in order to arouse chauvinist feelings; the attack of the Chinese Generals upon the Soviet Union was used by the bourgeoisie and social fascists for the purpose of a shameful incitement against the Soviet Union.

These ideological preparations were accompanied by unheard of measures of violence. The C. P. of Czechoslovakia

is formally a legal Party, but in actual fact it is not. For months and even years the Communists in Czechoslovakia have been prevented from holding public demonstrations. In fact meetings of members and functionaries have been dispersed by the police. A considerable portion of the Party employees, editors and other functionaries are continually in and out of prison. Even when the Communist press appears it is subjected to a censorship such as did not exist even in Tsarist Russia. The immunity of Parliamentary deputies, which is respected even in fascist Poland, does not in actual fact exist for the Communist deputies in Czechoslovakia. Nearly all the Communist deputies have been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. The speeches of the Communist deputies are censored by the Parliamentary and police censors.

The bourgeois offensive was of course intensified before the 1st of August. Not a single demonstration was allowed. The demonstrations which were called in spite of the prohibition were broken up by the gendarmerie and the police in the most brutal manner. The so-called confidential consultations, meetings and conferences were also forbidden; they were raided by the police and those participating in them were arrested. The police even broke up factory meetings. Then it came to the suppression of the Communist press. About 30 newspapers of the Party were suppressed. It was impossible to issue a leaflet or a pamphlet legally. House searches followed one after the other. The local Party premises in the whole Republic and the private houses of the Party functionaries were ransacked, again and again. Wholesale arrests took place. Nearly all the leading functionaries were arrested. Of the editors and district secretaries only a few remained at liberty. The shops stewards were arrested even in the factories. In the night before the 1st of August the police carried out wholesale searches in the houses of known Communist functionaries and arrested all whom they could lay hands on. Thus even before the 1st of August over a thousand functionaries of the Party, including some deputies, were held in prison. The bourgeoisie mobilised the whole of its gendarmerie, police and spy apparatus for the 1st of August. Thus, for example, 8000 gendarmes and police were concentrated in Prague. The military were held in readiness. On the 1st of August of course the wholesale arrests were continued. The bourgeoisie is preparing a great "high treason trial" against the arrested.

But the Party is fully aware that it would be an unpardonable error to see the main cause of the failure of the 1st of August in the bourgeois white terror or in the consequences of the crisis through which the Party has passed in the last few months. In the preparation of the action itself, we committed serious errors and this was the chief reason of its failure. In the first place considerable vacillations were to be seen in the whole political preparation of the action. We did not sufficiently sharply emphasise right from the beginning, the political anti-war character of the action. We underestimated the possibility of a mass mobilisation under political and anti-war slogans. Secondly, with a few minor exceptions, the organisational preparation of the action was conducted in the old stereotyped manner outside of the factories, and therefore the organisational basis of the united front, the proletarian anti-war committees, the proletarian defence etc., was very narrow. Thirdly, the Party was not sufficiently prepared and did not prove capable of reacting adequately to the increased persecutions, the aim of which was to force the Party completely into illegality and to shatter its organisations. The situation called for the mobilisation of the workers to repel the offensive against the last remnants of their political rights, the rapid re-formation of the ranks of the Party and its adaptation to a really illegal mass work. This was done, however, only to a very insufficient extent. Finally, we almost entirely neglected the fight against opportunism in our own ranks. The failure of the action is actually a result of opportunism, which is still deeply rooted in the Party and against which we had ceased to conduct an energetic fight.

The 1st of August did not throw the Party back. The Party withstood the furious offensive of the bourgeoisie. The authority of the Party has been enhanced. The experiences which the Czechoslovakian proletariat had in the weeks before the 1st of August and on the 1st of August will facilitate the struggle of the Party for the majority of the decisive sections of the Proletariat.

## The 1st August in Italy.

By S.

The news which has arrived from the various towns goes to show that the Italian proletariat gave a good account of itself on International Anti-War Day. In nearly all districts, before all in the working class centres, numerous manifestoes, newspapers and illegal leaflets were distributed exposing and denouncing the war preparations of fascism. Special mention in this connection should be made of the newspapers "L'Unita" and "Avantgardia", as well as a small paper for the women, "Compagna"; the organ of the Trade Union Confederation, "Battaglia Sindicali", and various leaflets against war and for wage increases.

In Turin, where some of the departments of the Fiat Works and of the "Areonautica" aircraft factory had already gone on strike some days before the 1st August as a protest against the introduction of so-called minimum wages, in addition to the distribution of literature against war, small factory meetings were held at which imperialist war was denounced.

Resolutions against war were adopted at trade union meetings in Milan and in other working class centres, particularly in the Province of Venetia. At the same time in this district illegal literature in the Slavonian language, opposing the machinations of Italian and Yugoslavian imperialism and advocating the defence of the rights of the national minorities, was distributed. In Monfalcone and in Trieste, as well as in other towns, the workers gave expression to their militant spirit by contributing to the "Fund against War and for Revolution". In the shipyard San Marco, where various cruisers and submarines are being constructed, in spite of the increased vigilance of the police, the workers succeeded in holding a small meeting.

In various places, such as Leghorn, Bologna and in parts of Piedmont and Lombardy, slogans for the Soviet Union and against fascism were painted on the walls of the houses. Mention should also be made of an appeal by the Communist Party in connection with the 1st August, which was distributed in the factories of Turin, Milan and Venetia Giulia, protesting against the attack by the hirelings of world imperialism, the Chinese militarists on the Soviet Union, and also another appeal, also issued by the Communist Party, against the fascist robber-campaign in Libya.

Numerous arrests were carried out before the 1st August. All comrades who had been recently released from prison or "preventative arrest" were arrested again a few days before the 1st August.

The 1st August has shown that in spite of the increased terror during the last few years, the class-consciousness and the international spirit of the Italian proletariat still live, and that the organisations of the revolutionary proletariat, and in the first place the organisations of the Communist Party, are in the midst of the workers in their fight against fascism and against world imperialism.

## THE WHITE TERROR

Save the Proletarian Victims of the Roumanian Prisons!

As a result of the powerful pressure of the amnesty movement which the working masses are conducting throughout the country, the national-zarist government promised a general amnesty, to be proclaimed on May 10, the tenth anniversary of the conquest and bloody suppression of the non-Roumanian nations by the imperialist Roumanian bourgeoisie.

An amnesty decree was issued by the Regency. In addition, Parliament passed an amnesty Act. A further Bill was introduced explaining the Amnesty Decree and the Amnesty Act. The Minister for War and the Minister for Justice also issued extra instructions regarding the carrying out of these laws. The workers after all this fuss and set-out about an "Clermont-Ferrand, the political prisoner had been released!

Comrades Dobrogeanu and Pauker went on hunger and thirst strike for 25 and 38 days respectively, supported by the powerful campaign of the Roumanian and international proletariat for their release in accordance with the "amnesty law".

According to the decree and acts providing for the "general amnesty" all comrades who had been condemned in Cluj and Galatz trials, but whose cases were now being heard by the court of cassation are to be released. The court of cassation, however, is sabotaging their release and continually postponing the hearing of their cases. The court of cassation sent the relative papers to the military court in order to ascertain whether the amnesty laws can be applied in these cases. The hearing of the trial by the court of cassation was fixed for August 9.

As is known, Comrades Peter Imbre, Ernest Máthé, Alexander Szenkovits, David Avramescu, Arpad Lénárt, Edmar Lázár, Alexander Rosenberg, E. Klein and our woman comrade Haia Lipchitz declared a hunger and thirst strike on June 1 as a protest against the sabotage of the amnesty laws, and demanded their immediate release.

The Maniu Government intend by this means to murder all workers who are entitled to release under the amnesty laws. All the comrades were conveyed to the military hospital in Cluj. According to the report of the bourgeois newspaper "Brassoi Lapok" of August 5, Comrades Haia Lipchitz, Peter Imbre, Ernest Máthé and Alexander Szenkovits are suffering agonizingly.

"To-day — writes the 'Brassoi Lapok' — the hunger strikers have not eaten anything for 38 full days. After the thirty-sixth day of the hunger strike the military command of the prison had a consultation. The military command reported to the Military Court that it could not be responsible a minute longer for the lives of the political prisoners who are on hunger strike. In response to demands from higher quarters forcible feeding was ordered for the condemned. The nine prisoners had to be kept alive under any circumstances until the day when the case is to be heard by the court of cassation. All attempts have, however, failed. Only diabolical torture, convulsions and hemorrhage were the results of the attempts at forcible feeding."

On July 12, Comrades Caceno, I. Driceno, Lázár and Bó in the Doftana prison and the women comrades Jeni Averbur and Dora Schwarz in the Mislea prison went on hunger-strike and demanded their release under the amnesty laws.

The international proletariat must at the last moment prevent by energetic protest campaigns the murder of the fifteen revolutionary workers by the bloody Maniu Government.

## SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

On Industrialisation Day.

By Kuybychev.

Every day of work on the economic front furnishes fresh evidence that the C. P. S. U. was perfectly right in rejecting the theory of adaptation to the "weak" positions. As a matter of fact every year, every month and every day we are overcoming these "weak" spots, and frequently find quite unexpected methods of overcoming the difficulties and achieving apparently unattainable aims. We can point in this connection to the very considerable successes on the raw material front and in the sphere of wool and cotton production. Here we have achieved a technical victory which permits of a radical alteration of the five-year plan so far as the textile industry is concerned. At the same time it is particularly worth noting that this victory was achieved before the conclusion of the first year of the plan.

We are profiting more and more from the achievements of our own and of world technics. We are unable at present to measure and to foresee the full extent of the enormous

ibilities which are opening up to us in this sphere. They however, determine in one way or another the economic momentum in the next few years.

To fail to take into consideration or to employ the technical achievements in Western Europe and of the United States, as well as the results of our own scientific researches, in immediate connection with the problems of socialist construction would mean unpardonable short-sightedness. Precisely the fact that we kept in mind the advance in technique rendered possible the working out of a real five-year plan. A too "sober" conservative view, based upon the present status of technical conditions of production, would of course not have been capable of mastering this task.

It is not only that we have at present exploited our natural resources only to a very trifling extent; we frequently experience "surprises" in the factories and workshops. The organisation of the Putilov works teaches us how we continually underestimate the hidden reserves which are at our disposal. According to the five-year plan the production of tractors by the Putilov works was to be increased to 10,000 in the year 1933. After a careful study, however, it transpired that these 10,000 tractors could be produced already by 1930, although the plan had provided for only 5000.

It is not necessary to point to the tremendous importance which every 1000 new tractors means for the building up of socialism.

A whole number of the tasks contained in the five-year plan can now be solved more favourably owing to the fact that we are able to produce the required quantities in a shorter time than originally anticipated. It will not be denied, for example, that the fulfilment of the programme for construction of tractors in three instead of five years will considerably facilitate the realisation of the whole of the five-year plan. The building of a factory within 18 months instead of three or four years will doubtless have the same effect. This applies to an equal degree to the construction of large engineering works, to the extension of the electric industry.

A correct, systematic carrying out of the building programme will render the problem of industrial construction more easy, the shorter the periods and the more rapid the pace of work. It is from this point of view that the control figures for the economic year 1929—1930 are being worked out.

Enormous possibilities are opening up to us both in regard to the extension of industrial capital and its better exploitation. We are confronted not only with the task of the three-shift system, but also of that of uninterrupted production, which will give us the possibility of increasing the value of industrial production by further hundreds of millions of roubles. All this opens up prospects which were not exhaustively considered in the five-year plan.

A solution of all these tasks is possible only under the assumption that the broadest masses of the working class actively participate in the building up of socialist industry.

A decisive driving force of industrialisation is the will of the working masses to achieve socialism. The day of industrialisation, just as the socialist competition, is a clear expression of this will. The working class of the Soviet Union, which today is voluntarily sacrificing millions of hours of leisure in the interest of industrialisation, thereby demonstrates that there are no difficulties which it is not capable of surmounting.

No capitalist country, no matter how rich it may be, has such possibilities at its disposal as we have. The creative forces of the working class which the proletarian revolution has released from its fetters, are the decisive power in the fight of the two worlds: the world of capitalism and the world which is engaged in the building up of socialism.

Moscow, 6th August 1929.

In accordance with a decision of the Soviet Labour Unions, the 6th August was declared Industrialisation Day. Although normally the 6th August is a holiday, work was carried on all over the Soviet Union. The wages earned by the workers on this day will be invested in the industrialisation

fund. All reports showed that the 6th August was celebrated with great enthusiasm and increased labour intensity. Only in very few cases were infringements of labour discipline reported. In the evening, meetings took place everywhere, at which lectures were given concerning the significance of industrialisation day and of the Five-Year Plan, etc.

## AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

### The Terror in Indonesia.

By Reesema.

The Indonesian Independence movement has tried to re-establish itself in spite of the permanent terror exercised by the Dutch government during the last years. This has mainly taken place in the form of a revival of the trade union movement.

The Dutch government has now delivered a fresh blow to the movement. The Dutch papers report that at the end of July in Surabaya, Djokakarta, and Solo in Java, and in Medan in Sumatra, 25 leaders of the independent trade unions were arrested. House searches took place in the editorial offices of the Malayan paper "Pewaita Deli" and of the Chinese paper "Sin Huan Po"; Kusuma Sumantri, a barrister, was arrested.

The Dutch Telegraph agency (Aneta) reports that the independent trade unions (Sarekat Kaum Baru Indonesia) are under the leadership of the Communist Marsuti; that the government had long been in possession of information regarding the activity of these trade unions but only intervened at the moment when the Sarekat Kaum Baru Indonesia affiliated to the Anti-Imperialist League. All the arrested are to be interned on the isle of New Guinea.

The Independent trade unions were founded after the insurrection at the beginning of 1928. The organisation took the form of a unity federation; issued a paper and recently organised the metal workers, the railway men and the post officials, before all in Eastern Java.

The government intervened as soon as these trade unions started to organise the workers of the powerful sugar industry.

This blow against the independent trade unions, which in their paper attacked the Right nationalists and the Dutch social democrats, is characteristic of the policy which the Dutch government is pursuing of late.

This policy consists in the sharpest terror against the Left elements while at the same time trying to corrupt the Right nationalists by appointing these elements to government commissions, by promising measures for raising the position of the native middle class and the native trade and by holding out to the moderate nationalists the prospect of a greater freedom of movement being granted to them.

In this policy the Dutch government enjoys the support of the Dutch social democracy.

The arrest of the leader of the independent trade unions was the first act of Mühlentfeld, the social democratic Director of Indonesia's Ministry of the Interior, on assuming office. Stockvis, a member of the Executive of the Dutch social democratic party, who quite recently was active in Indonesia and during the insurrection advised the governor general to hang the arrested Communists, some weeks ago came forward as a denouncer; he wrote in the Dutch social democratic daily "Het Volk" that Communist nuclei are working inside the left nationalists and the independent trade unions.

It is an undeniable fact that the new wave of terror in Indonesia is inspired and carried out by the Dutch social fascists.



## PROLETARIAN YOUTH MOVEMENT

### The First International Anti-Imperialist Youth Conference.

By R. Leibbrand (Berlin).

Since the anti-imperialist youth movement has existed, the youth have been in its front ranks. In most of the colonial and semi-colonial countries oppressed by imperialism the youth were the first agitators and organisers of the struggle for emancipation. Since the existence of the League against Imperialism the youth have been amongst its best supporters.

The tasks of the first international anti-imperialist youth conference which took place in Frankfurt on Main on the 20th and 21st July immediately preceding the Second World Congress of the League against Imperialism, were to improve the organisation of the anti-imperialist youth in the League against Imperialism by founding special youth sections of the League in the various countries and to discuss the special tasks and the special demands of the youth within the ranks of the anti-imperialist struggle.

There were 65 delegates and 20 guests at the anti-imperialist youth conference, and almost half of them were the representatives of the colonial youth. At the head were the Indian and Chinese delegations with 5 delegates each, then came Latin-America, Indonesia, Korea, Indochina, North Africa and the representatives of the Negro youth. Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Sweden, Switzerland and the Balkans also sent delegations. As international organisations, the Young Communist International, the Youth Secretariat of the Red International of Labour Unions, and the Red Sport International were represented. The delegation of the toiling youth of the Soviet Union was of especial importance for the conference.

The significance of these strong delegations becomes clear when the various difficulties are considered which stood in the way of the delegations, and in particular of the colonial delegations. Many organisations were willing, but unable to send delegates owing to the high cost of the journey. It took months for the International Preparatory Committee to break through the censorship of British imperialism in India and to inform the Indian youth organisations that the conference would take place and to invite them to send delegates. The result was that there was no longer time enough to send a delegation direct from India, and Indian friends in Europe had to fill the gap and bear the mandates of the organisations in question. The elected delegates of the Arabian youth from Palestine and Syria were prevented from attending the conference by the authorities and many of the elected French delegates were able to attend the conference only by crossing the frontier illegally.

The fact that despite all the difficulties and persecutions and the short space of time in which the conference had to be prepared, such strong delegations were present at the conference shows the determined will which exists to take up international connections and to co-ordinate the work of the youth against imperialism. The whole proceedings at the youth conference were conducted in this spirit.

The first and most important question on the agenda of the conference was the tasks of the working youth in the struggle against imperialist war. The youth in particular are faced with extremely difficult tasks in the struggle against imperialist war, for it is the young workers and peasants who are forced into uniform to serve as cannon-fodder for the aims of imperialism. The bourgeoisie also addresses itself chiefly to the youth with its imperialist propaganda and with its attempts to militarise the civil population.

The speech of the representative of the Young Communist International, Comrade Rust exposed in particular the imperialist preparations for war against the Soviet Union which was manifested in a very crass form in connection with the seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway. Amidst the issued ex- laws which at Clermen

applause of the delegates, he declared that these militarist provocations were directed against the exploited and oppressed masses in all countries, and that in the present situation the most important task of the anti-imperialist youth was the defence of the Soviet Union against the attacks of the imperialists.

In this connection the speech of comrade Kosarev, who dealt with the life and struggle of the working youth in the Soviet Union, was of particular interest and importance. Comrade Kosarev who is the chairman of the Young Communist League in the Soviet Union, described the living and working conditions of the young workers and peasants in the Soviet Union, the part they play in the work of the Soviet organs and their enthusiastic participation in the work of social construction. His remarks concerning the working and peasant youth in those territories which were formerly oppressed by Tsarism but which are now free and equal Soviet Republics of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics were listened to with particular attention by the delegates of the colonial youth.

At the conclusion of Kosarev's report, a proposal of the Chinese delegation to send an address of greetings to the working class and peasant youth in the Soviet Union, expressing satisfaction at their great achievements and assuring them of the fraternal solidarity and active support of the anti-imperialist youth in all countries, was unanimously adopted.

The report upon the situation of the working and student youth in the colonies gave a terrible picture of the intolerable conditions under which hundreds of millions of young toilers are compelled to live in the colonies.

Shaikh (India) reported in the name of the All-India Youth Congress concerning the life of the youth in India and the active part played by them in India's struggle for emancipation.

Lo Tien (China), the representative of the Young Communist League of China, reported upon the heroic struggle of the Chinese youth against the counter-revolutionary Kuomintang government.

Hurwitz (Latin-America) dealt with the situation of the toiling youth in particular in Mexico.

Ramontiak reported concerning the situation of the Youth in Indonesia, and J. W. Ford dealt with the situation of the Negro youth in the United States.

In all the speeches and in particular in the following discussion both the open and covert enemies of the colonial youth were condemned, and the most dangerous enemies were declared to be the European social democracy and reformist trade union leaders, and in particular the leaders of their youth organisations. The attitude of the national-reformist youth organisations in the colonies was also sharply criticised. The Chinese representatives stressed in particular the importance of the experience and the lessons of the Chinese revolution for the other colonial and semi-colonial countries, the inevitable treachery of the national bourgeoisie and the abandonment of the national-revolutionary struggle by the national bourgeoisie, the urgent necessity of independent mass organisations of the young workers and peasants.

Representatives of the anti-imperialist youth in Great Britain, France, Germany and Holland spoke concerning the tasks of the working youth in the European countries. They stressed in particular the joint interests of the working youth of all countries and all nationalities, and declared that only a joint struggle of all the oppressed and exploited all over the world could overthrow imperialism, thus free the toiling masses in the capitalist "motherlands" also from exploitation and oppression. They dealt also with the concrete task of the toiling masses in the countries of capitalism to support the revolutionary struggles in the colonial and semi-colonial countries by actions of solidarity. All the speakers demanded a merciless struggle against the bourgeois youth organisations which represent supplementary troops of the imperialists. Those social democratic and pacifist organisations which declare themselves the friends of the colonial peoples and of the toiling masses, but which in reality support the imperialists, were especially condemned and exposed.



his sharp attack upon the open and covert enemies of colonial peoples caused excited discussion at the conference itself. At a preliminary conference in Holland representatives of the anarchist youth had appeared and opposed the effort to defend the Soviet Union against the imperialists on a ground that allegedly the workers and peasants in the Soviet Union were oppressed and that the Soviet Union also had imperialist aims. At the international anti-imperialist conference the representative of the Anarchist Youth International delivered a speech in the same spirit, but much more carefully. His attitude was condemned by the whole conference as an objective support of the imperialist campaign of vilification and slander against the only workers and peasant State. The representatives of the colonial youth were who condemned his attitude most sharply and stressed the tremendous anti-imperialist role of the Soviet Union, the inseparable connection between the existence of the Soviet Union and the success of the anti-imperialist struggle and the absolute necessity of complete solidarity with the Soviet Union.

In his concluding speech in which he summed up the discussion, comrade Rust declared amidst great applause that the chief tasks of the anti-imperialist youth in all countries was to defend the Soviet Union against the attacks of imperialists, and that anyone who was not prepared to part in fulfilling this task had no place in the ranks of anti-imperialist youth.

The second group in the conference which opposed the general line of the overwhelming majority of the delegates, a little group of pacifist and left-wing social democratic delegates and guests. They warned the conference against a severe criticism of the social democracy and the pacifists. In this would, they said, estrange those sections of the youth which still followed the reformist and pacifist leaders. The majority of the delegates answered that only merciless criticism and the ruthless exposure of these leaders could win over those young workers who were still deceived by the reformism and pacifist pseudo-radicalism of these leaders.

The international anti-imperialist youth conference sharply rebuked the pacifist "World League" circle which had arranged the colonial conference in Freusberg following upon the close of the Second World Congress of the League against Imperialism. It was pointed out that this circle had adopted resolutions and declarations two years ago against the colonial policy of imperialism in favour of complete independence for the colonies and even in favour of a joint struggle together with the revolutionary proletariat, but that in the meantime absolutely nothing had been done to give these fine sentiments any substance of action, and that this time these elements had invited open representatives of imperialist colonialism to attend the conference, such as the notorious former Reichsminister Brüning, in order to discuss the questions once again. The first international anti-imperialist youth conference declared that it would fight sharply against any further attempts on the part of these people to dodge the practical results of their words and would expose their attitude to the masses of the young workers.

The sharp discussion with the vacillating and unreliable elements at the youth conference did not damage the conference, the contrary it assisted it to establish greater clarity and determination. The unanimous adoption of all the resolutions at the conference was not the result of a mechanical unity, but of a real and energetic struggle of opinions. The decisions adopted by the conference describe with all possible clarity the chief tasks of the anti-imperialist youth. They do not contain phrases, but show concretely the practical tasks and the next steps of the youth in the struggle against imperialism and against imperialist war.

The first anti-imperialist youth conference represented the commencement of a great task which is facing the youth sections of the League against Imperialism. The conference showed the universal sympathy of the youth for the work of the League, and the strength of the anti-imperialist forces and the will to struggle which inspires the youth of all countries and nationalities in the struggle against imperialism. Not all these anti-imperialist forces are yet organised unitedly. Fraternal conditions still remain to be opened up with many organisations

and hundreds of thousands of young toilers in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. In Europe also there is much work to be done. The League against Imperialism has not yet won the great mass organisations of the working youth, the trade unions and the sport organisations. The decisions of the conference provide a basis and point to the way in which this work must be continued. They represent an appeal to the working youth of all countries to rally to the League against Imperialism and to organise themselves in its youth sections.

## OUR MARTYRS

### Miho Oroski-Jagitch, Janko Mischitch, Slavko Oroski.

#### Fresh Victims of the Fascist Dictatorship in Yugoslavia.

The murder of Comrades Juro Djakovitch and Nikola Hekimovitch is still in memory and already there are fresh reports of murders of young workers in Yugoslavia. The Agram police received information that in a locality in the neighbourhood of Agram there was an illegal bureau of the Communist Youth. On the 27th July, at three o'clock in the morning, a detachment of Gendarmes under the leadership of the Agram chief of Police surrounded the house. The comrades were called upon to surrender, failing which the house would be stormed. Comrades Miyo Oreski-Jagitch, Janko Mischitch and Slavko Oroski nevertheless determined to defend themselves, and a fight ensued between the gendarmerie and the young communists which lasted a full hour.

When no more shots came from the house the gendarmerie forced their way in and found three corpses. The wife of Comrade Oroski who was also in the house but left it during the fight, was arrested.

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Comrade Miyo Oreski-Jagitch was a building worker of twenty-four years of age, and since the end of 1928 had been political secretary of the Young Communist League of Yugoslavia. He was one of the most gifted worker-functionaries of the League. In the year 1923 he entered the legal Young Workers' League and later on joined the illegal Young Communist League, where he worked with great revolutionary enthusiasm and devotion. He was soon elected secretary of the Agram local group. In the year 1925 he became district secretary for Croatia and Slavonia, and in 1926, at the 3rd Congress of the League, he was elected to the Central Committee and as Organising Secretary. He exercised these functions until he was called up for military service. Even while a soldier he still worked unweariedly for the Movement. He often left the barracks secretly in order to take part in meetings of his local group and in conferences. From the barracks he conducted the work of the local group and in the year 1928 organised a peasants' conference which he attended personally. When Comrade Oreski Jagitch had finished his period of military service he took over the political leadership of the League. At the V. Congress of the Young Communist International he was elected to the Executive Committee. A few months ago the fascist regime set a price of 50,000 dinars on Oreski's head on account of his having aided in the flight of a leading member of the Young Communist League. The Young Communist League, as well as the whole revolutionary movement of Yugoslavia, loses in Comrade Oreski one of its most courageous and best leaders.

Comrade Mischitch was twenty-eight years of age, a fitter by trade, and one of the founders of the Young Communist League. At the time when the Communist Party and the Young Communist League were dissolved and the opportunist leadership of the Party did not react to this act of violence on the part of the bourgeoisie, it was Mischitch and a few Youth comrades who determined, by means of an attempt in Parliament, to voice the protest of the proletariat before the world. The plan, however, was discovered and Mischitch and a number of other comrades were arrested. He and Zlatko Schneider (who was condemned in 1925 to five years' hard labour) were each bound over for six months. Comrade Mischitch continued his

revolutionary activity as member of the illegal Young Communist League and in the year 1925 was its secretary. He was also for a long time a member of the Central Committee and occupied various other offices in the League. He was arrested on numerous occasions and expelled from all the big towns. He spent two years abroad for the purpose of restoring his health and pursuing his revolutionary studies. He returned at the end of 1928 in order again to devote himself entirely to the revolutionary movement. In the last few months he occupied important positions in the Party and in the Young Communist League.

Comrade Slavko Oreski, who was twenty-eight years of age and a slater and tiler by trade, was not actually a member of any revolutionary organisation, but nevertheless stood in the front ranks of the illegal revolutionary struggle. He was just a simple worker who day in and day out had to lead a hard proletarian life, and who by reason of his class position sympathised with the Communist Party and the Young Communist League. As such he carried out every commission which he knew would serve the cause of the proletarian class struggle. He fell in the fight at the side of his brother.

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The Yugoslavian capitalists, with the dictator King Alexander and General Zivkovitch at the head, have set themselves the aim of depriving the revolutionary movement, and before all the advance-guard of the proletariat, of its leaders. These new murders undoubtedly severely hit the revolutionary movement in Yugoslavia and especially the Young Communist League. But the fascist dictatorship will not succeed in annihilating the advance-guard of the workers and peasants — the Communist Party and the Young Communist League. Nor will these murders intimidate the masses and the proletarian youth. On the contrary, the lives and the struggle of the three fallen comrades will serve as a shining example and inspire the proletarian youth, as well as the whole of the working class and the poor peasantry, to intensify the fight against the fascist dictatorship.

## OBITUARY

### Ignaz Gögös.

We have received from Budapest the sad news of the death of Comrade Ignaz Gögös. This faithful fighter for the cause of the proletariat died of disease of the lungs which he contracted during the three and a half years in which he was in prison. He was set at "liberty" only three months ago, when he was already in a dying condition. Comrade Gögös' defending Counsel had repeatedly applied to the authorities in order to secure his release in view of his very serious condition, but without success. Comrade Gögös has been deliberately murdered by the bourgeoisie.

Comrade Gögös was one of the best working-class leaders of the C. P. of Hungary. He was among the best of those

workers who, as prisoners of war in Russia, joined the ranks of the army of Communism during the civil war. He became inseparably bound up with the Communist Party.

After his return home he maintained close connections with the advance-guard of the working class and was one of those who, after the collapse of the proletarian dictatorship in the year 1919, reawakened and rallied the Hungarian working class.

He took a prominent part in the mass movement which arose in the years 1924/25 against the compromise policy of the Hungarian social democratic leaders. As chief organ of the C. P. of Hungary he worked in order to make Communism again a mass factor of the Hungarian Labour Movement. He was arrested in September 1925 together with Comrade Rákosi.

Comrade Gögös was an indefatigable, devoted, self-sacrificing and determined fighter; and he remained such in prison. Behind the prison walls he took part in the struggle which the C. P. of Hungary conducted against the liquidation of Comrade Gögös' behaviour before the court martial later before the "ordinary" court in the Rákosi trial. It will always be a shining example in the history of the C. P. of Hungary.

The C. P. of Hungary has lost in Comrade Gögös one of its best members; the bourgeoisie has again wrested a fighter from the vanguard of the revolutionary class struggle. The C. P. of Hungary and also the Hungarian working class will always preserve and revere his memory.

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