

- INTERNATIONAL -

PRESS

CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 9. No. 54

27th September 1929

Editorial Offices and Central Despatching Department: Berggasse 31, Vienna IX. — Postal Address to which all remittances should be sent by registered mail: Postamt 66, Schloßbach 212, Vienna IX.
Telegraphic Address: Inprekorr, Vienna.

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The Social Democrats and the Fascist Constitutional Reform in Austria.

By Guido Zamis (Vienna).

When Federal Chancellor Streeruwitz returned from Geneva, he began his activity — following upon the first official communications — by hearing the reports of his advisers on the results of their preparatory work in connection with the following principal questions: 1. an alteration of the position of the Federal President, with special reference to his election and increased competency, 2. the problem of "depoliticalisation" (i. e. deprivation of the members of the gendarmerie, army, and police of their right to vote), 3. measures to strengthen State authority, 4. regulation of the police problem (meaning the surrender to Schober of the Vienna traffic police), 5. reform of the legislative bodies and of the legislative process, 6. the constitutional position of Vienna, 7. reform of the press laws and of the judicature of the juries, 8. measures for safeguarding the freedom of work (i. e. for protecting blacklegs), and 9. the problem of suffrage reform.

The Government is thus officially engaged in considering the Fascist demands for a reform of the constitution; when the competent departmental advisers have worked up the relative material, it is to be submitted to the National Council. So as to allow the latter peacefully to work out the new, Fascist constitution of Austria, the "Reichspost" or Government organ has called to mind that the constitution does not demand that "the representatives of the people should necessarily be convened in a place where they are subjected to the menace of street demonstrations". The Austrian constitution contains a paragraph (No. 25) which decrees that

"The seat of the National Council is the Federal capital Vienna; (but) during such time as extraordinary circumstances obtain the Federal President may convoke the National Council at some other place within the Federal territory."

To such lengths, therefore, things have advanced in the Government camp. But what about the Social-Democrats? They are now holding meetings at which very radical language is used. Assertions are to be heard in the following terms: "If any attempt is made to proceed with violence against us, we shall know how to defend ourselves. The occurrences at St. Lorenzen will by no means be the last of their kind. Every worker should belong to the Republican Defence Corps, and we shall see to it that every member of the Corps is provided with arms."

These radical words, however, are accompanied by counter-revolutionary deeds. In reality the Social-Democrats are perfectly willing to co-operate in the Fascist constitution, as has been clearly stated by the "Arbeiter-Zeitung" on two separate occasions (on September 15th and 16th).

The articles in question discussed the attitude of the Social-Democrats in relation to the plans for a change in the constitution and made some relative suggestions, mainly with regard to the following points:

1. **Reform of the electoral procedure** by the division of the country into small constituencies, each of which would elect no more than one deputy. The principle of proportional representation would be safeguarded by the provision that after the election each party would be accorded a sufficient number of additional mandates to render its Parliamentary representation proportionate to its share of the electorate.

2. So as to obviate the necessity of an obstruction in Parliament, the minority, say one third of the members of the National Council, would have the right to demand that a legislative resolution be submitted to a referendum before becoming law.

3. **Creation of regional councils**, to which the small local and district councils would be subordinated.

4. **Abolition of the division of public funds** among Federal, provincial, and local bodies, each body being authorised to determine the taxes it requires to cover its expenditure.

5. Establishment of a series of laws still requisite for the realisation of the constitution of 1920, among them some very important laws, such as the regulation of the respective competency of the Federal and provincial Governments in regard to education, and the constitutional law regarding the internal administration of the provinces.

Even a cursory glance will show that all this refers to matters on which the bourgeois parties have long been concentrating their attacks. In particular, the return to the one-member constituency has long been an unfulfilled bourgeois demand. The question of competency in educational matters, again, can at the present time only mean the transfer of such competency, and of the appointment of all teachers, into the hands of the Federal government, which is tantamount to a complete clericalisation of the schools in Austria. The pros and cons of these suggestions, however, are not what is most vitally important, but rather the fact that the Social-Democrats are willing, as they say, to enter into a "material discussion" of the constitutional reform, which means that they are ready to co-operate in the creation of a Fascist constitution. Once they start such a co-operation, they will accord the Fascists far more concessions than that of the one-member constituencies.

This is most clearly apparent in the second article of the "Arbeiter-Zeitung" (on September 17th), which deals with the Fascist suggestions.

On some points the Social-Democrats are very radical. In regard to the plan of abolishing the status of Vienna as a full-fledged Federal state, they answer: "unconditionally and for

ever, No!" That even such an attitude is liable to revision, was to be seen in connection with the tenants' protection laws. Suffice it to deal with the points in regard to which the Social-Democrats show a readiness to compromise from the very start.

Here we have in the first place the question of the direct election of the Federal President by the people and of the extension of his authority to include the right of appointing the Government. This the "Arbeiter-Zeitung" even goes so far as to consider "inevitable". Hitherto, it will be remembered, the Austrian Government has been elected by the National Council. According to oral statements of leading Social-Democrats, however, made to the representatives of newspapers associated with them, they are even willing to concede the Federal President the right of dissolving the National Council.

As regards the next important factor of all Fascist suggestions of constitutional reform, the Social-Democrats cannot be said to view it with hostility either. This refers to the establishment of a Chamber of the States to take the place of the Federal Council (or Upper Chamber of Austria). In this connection the "Arbeiter-Zeitung" writes:

"We Social-Democrats, too, are of opinion that legislative Bills of an economic character ought to be preliminarily discussed and considered by representatives of the leading classes of society before being submitted to the National Council. If to this end representatives of the Chambers were united in an Economic Council such as exists in Germany, it would hardly be possible to object to such an institution."

The "Wiener Neuesten Nachrichten", the organ of the Pan-German Party, writes as follows in regard to these suggestions:

"At any rate the latest articles of the Social-Democratic paper confirm us in our opinion that the Social-Democrats are ready to negotiate."

This hits the nail on the head, though for "ready to negotiate" we may read "ready to co-operative".

True, one small matter has been overlooked, viz. the fact that the Fascist constitution can hardly be established in a normal Parliamentary way, as things now stand. The fight between the Fascists and the working class has assumed an extent and a degree of vehemence which have long exceeded the limits of normal Parliamentary negotiations. An attempt to make out that anything can be attained to-day by demands and concessions made around a table in the quiet premises of Parliamentary committees, is merely an attempt to hoodwink the masses as to the seriousness of the situation. We may register the fact that the Social-Democrats would be willing to aid the Fascists in this way to create a constitution in keeping with their own wishes. In reality, however, a constitutional reform, if there is any, will be born in an altogether different way.

There are, as a matter of fact, other difficulties to be overcome besides the question of gaining sufficient Social-Democratic votes to ensure a two-thirds majority. The more and more violent resistance of the working class proves that the Fascists cannot hope to realise their plans unless the proletariat has been completely vanquished in battle in the streets.

It is a question of class against class. The Social-Democrats may help in altering several enactments of the present constitution in a reactionary sense, but in the last resort the constitution will be decided by the outcome of the struggle between Fascists and workers. And then it will be dictated, either by the Fascist bourgeoisie or else by the revolutionary proletariat.

THE CONSTANCE CONFERENCE

of the Central European Communist Parties against Austrian Fascism and the Military-Fascist Dictatorship in Yugoslavia.

The Constance Conference of the Central European Communist Parties against Austrian Fascism.

Constance, 19th September, 1929.

On the 17th and 18th September 1929 there was held in Constance an international Conference of the Central European Communist Parties which discussed the acute fascist danger in Austria and decided on defensive measures against the threatening fascist dictatorship in Austria. There were represented the Communist Parties of Austria, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Switzerland, the Balkan Communist Federation, the Young Communist International, the Red Front Fighters' League of Germany (prohibited) and the Communist International of Labour Unions. Further individual representatives of various trade unions and trade union federations in various countries took part in this Conference.

The Conference, which was convened by the West-European Bureau of the Communist International, was attended by 47 representatives of various parties and organisations.

In view of the great international importance of a fascist dictatorship in Austria, which owing to its central position could form a bridge between Italian fascism and the countries of white terror like Yugoslavia and Hungary, and the great

danger resulting from it for the whole European proletariat, the Conference resolved to initiate and carry through an international campaign of the working class in all European countries for the purpose of a common fight with the Austrian proletariat in order to prevent the fascist dictatorship. It was decided to organise the most far-reaching moral and material support of the Austrian working class and to establish an international fund for the struggle against Austrian fascism.

The same Conference further dealt with the cruel terror of the military-fascist dictatorship in Yugoslavia against which the Yugoslavian working class, the toiling peasantry and the nationally oppressed masses are conducting a heroic self-sacrificing fight under the leadership of the Communist Party. The Conference decided to link up the campaign against Austrian fascism with an action of solidarity for the oppressed worker and peasant masses of Yugoslavia.

The decisions of the Conference will shortly be communicated to the press. The Central Committees and the members of the Communist Parties are already called upon today to make all preparations for the carrying out of this international campaign.

To the Fight against the Threatening Fascist Dictatorship in Austria!

To the International Working Class!

To the Workers and Toiling Peasants of Austria!

The whole European proletariat is confronted by a great danger:

Austria is threatened by a fascist dictatorship. The bourgeoisie, supported by the Heimwehr bands and State apparatus, is openly preparing to set up its dictatorship. The next few weeks, in fact the next few days are to decide the question. The struggle of the classes in Austria has already assumed the form of civil war, and everyday can bring with it decisive fights on a large scale. The danger which confronts the Austrian and international proletariat is exceedingly grave.

The setting up of a fascist dictatorship in Austria would mean not only that the Austrian working class would be bloodily crushed, that its plundering and exploitation by finance capital would be increased to the utmost, it would also have the most serious consequences for the working class in all other countries. A victory of fascism in Austria would give powerful fresh impetus to the fascist offensive in Germany, Czechoslovakia, and in the other capitalist countries. A fascist dictatorship in Austria would mean the closing of the ring of reactionary fascist States round the Soviet Union; and a fascist Austria in a bloc of these fascist States would

be a considerable step nearer to the imperialist war of aggression against the Soviet Union.

In view of such a serious danger for the Austrian and international working class it is necessary to exert all forces in order to do everything together with the Austrian working class to bring to naught the efforts to establish a fascist dictatorship, to get the better of fascism and to achieve the victory of the working class in Austria over fascism. This is a task not only for the Austrian working class. The fight against the threatening dictatorship in Austria concerns and is the task of the whole international proletariat, in the first place of the neighbouring countries.

The Austrian working class has recognised the danger which is immediately threatening it and in all parts of Austria there is a powerful defensive movement against fascism by the working class. There is not a day on which collisions do not take place between the indignant workers and the fascists. The armed fight between the workers and the armed fascists at St. Lorenzen has shown what revolutionary power of resistance is possessed by the Austrian working class. A wave of strikes with anti-fascist slogans is sweeping the country. The call for the arming of the working class is everywhere meeting

with a lively response. The working masses are urging forward to the counter-offensive against fascism, and this is precisely the reason why the bourgeoisie is in such a hurry to set up the fascist dictatorship. The Austrian working class has no intention to submit to fascism and is prepared to fight with all means.

The fight between the classes in Austria is every day assuming sharper forms and is approaching the sharpest form of the class struggle: **armed collisions, civil war**. These fights inevitably confront the classes with the question of power. The fight between the working class and fascism has already raised the question of power in Austria. The development of history is inexorably placing on the order of the day the question: **dictatorship of fascism or dictatorship of the proletariat**. The only question now is, whether the proletariat will submit to fascism or, in determined fight, bring to naught the fascist efforts of the bourgeoisie and set up its own power. There is no other alternative!

But the Austrian working class, which has already given proofs of its revolutionary strength, especially in the memorable July insurrection of 1927, is already beginning to follow this course. Here lies the way to victory. Along this path the Austrian working class must continue with all determination.

The collision of the classes in Austria vividly reveals the **social treacherous role of the social democracy**. The way of Otto Bauer was to have led to socialism — today, every worker can see that this way only leads to fascism. If Austro-Marxism proved its bankruptcy already on the 15th July 1927, since then the development of the "Left" Austrian social democracy towards concluding pacts with fascism and then to social-fascism has been consummated with great rapidity. The social-democratic party of Austria is even now pretending to conduct a fight against fascism, but which represents only a squabble between two fractions of the bourgeoisie, between two varieties of fascism. For the Austrian social democracy, too, is prepared for a fascist alteration of the Constitution, for a fascist dictatorship, and is only endeavouring to carry out this development with the greatest possible preservation of the appearance of "democracy". Its whole activity is aimed solely at disarming the working class which is engaged in the fight against fascism, and it openly declares its readiness to play its social-fascist role against the working class in a dictatorship of fascism which preserves a "democratic" exterior.

We know that the masses of the social-democratic workers in Austria will not join in this social fascist policy of their leaders and their party. The approaching severe fights will find the social democracy on the side of the bourgeoisie, but broad sections of the rank and file of the social-democratic party and of the Republican Defence Corps will fight in the revolutionary fighting front against fascism. They will receive their strongest support and their only leadership from the Communist Party of Austria.

We proclaim to the Austrian workers that it will be impossible for them to throw over fascism if they do not at the same time fight with all energy against social fascism.

Toiling Peasants! Fascism is luring you in its ranks. But your interest is not with the aristocratic big landowners, the monarchist officers, the parsons and usurers. Your interest is in the common fight with the workers against fascism.

In its fight against the fascist dictatorship the Austrian working class has **only one leader, the powerful Communist world Party and its Austrian section** which is conducting a determined and courageous revolutionary fight against fascism and its social fascist assistants. It is necessary to rally round the C. P. of Austria. Organisation of the fighting masses for the counter-offensive against fascism, that is now the command of the hour.

The arming of the proletariat is an immediate task. In the fight against the Heimwehr and fascism the working class must not rely upon the social-fascist Republican Defence Corps. We call to the class-conscious Austrian workers: Out of the Republican Defence Corps and into the Workers Defence! **Form proletarian self-defence formations in the factories!** Prepare the formation of a workers' militia in the fight for power!

Ruthless offensive against fascism is the command of the hour. Fight in the factories, out onto the streets, that is the call to the workers. Drive the fascists out of the factories, capture the streets in spite of all the terror of fascism and the State apparatus of power of the fascist bourgeoisie! The proletariat needs centres and committees of action in order to organise the fight. Hence **anti-fascist committees in the factories** and their linking up locally and centrally are necessary; the creation of a network of **revolutionary shop stewards** in the factories is an urgent task of the present moment.

Working and peasant youth! In this fight your place is in the front ranks.

The working class has a powerful weapon against fascism which it must employ with all determination. It is the **political mass strike**, which goes hand in hand with the **armed fight** of the workers against the fascists.

Every day can bring an accentuation and extension of the fight. If the class struggles assume decisive forms, should come to decisive fights of civil war, which is quite possible and even probable in the immediate future, then it will be necessary to continue with all determination on the path of the fight against fascism: then it will mean **extension of the struggle to the general strike and armed revolt against fascism for a fight for power**, for shattering fascism and setting up the power of the working class, the dictatorship of the proletariat in alliance with the working peasants. While the social-democratic party of Austria wishes to catch you with bombastic phrases and demagogic speeches as to 1848 being the model in the fight against the fascist dictatorship, we call to you: **the way which you have to go and your model is the proletarian revolution of 1917!** The Austrian proletariat, in its severe and heroic struggle, can be sure of the brotherly solidarity and active support of the working class of all countries, before all of the working class in the neighbouring countries. The Conference of the Central European Communist Parties has decided to organise immediately an intensive action among the masses of the working class for the support of the Austrian working class against the threatening fascist dictatorship. This action has already commenced.

There shall now commence an **intensive campaign of meetings** in the factories and public meetings and demonstrations for the Austrian workers. We call upon the workers of all countries to **give liberally to the fund for the fight against Austrian fascism**. It is the determination of the Communist world party to support and strengthen in every way the revolutionary proletariat of Austria in its hard struggle and its advanced guard and leader, the Communist Party of Austria. The Communist International declares the fight of the Austrian workers against fascism to be its fight.

We call upon the working class in all countries, to stand in readiness, in the event of a further sharpening of the situation — and this can happen every day —, to resort to the most effective means of mass action (solidarity strikes etc.).

The decisive struggle against the fascist dictatorship in Austria has begun. The Austrian working class must overthrow fascism in the revolutionary fight. The whole of the international working class is fighting with it.

Down with the fascist dictatorship!

Down with the social-fascist confederates of fascism!

Long live the revolutionary struggle and victory of the Austrian working class!

Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Constance, 18th September, 1929.

The West-European Bureau of the Communist

Communist Party of Germany.

Communist Party of Austria.

Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

Communist Party of Italy.

Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

Communist Party of Hungary.

Communist Party of Switzerland.

Balkan Communist Federation.

Young Communist International.

Red International of Labour Unions.

Red Front Fighters League of Germany.

Close the Anti-Fascist Front for the Struggle against the Bloody Rule in Yugoslavia!

To the Toilers of all Countries!

For nine months already the working class, the toiling peasantry and the oppressed nationalities of Yugoslavia have been weighed down by the bloody regime of the military fascist dictatorship. Under the pressure of the intensifying economic and state crisis the military fascist dictatorship is increasing more and more the bestial terror. Already for nine months workers and peasants throughout the country have been mishandled. The prisoners are being fearfully tortured in the police prisons of Belgrade, Zagreb and other towns. After the most frightful tortures our comrades are murdered in the police stations or they are conducted to the cemeteries where they are compelled to dig their own grave and are then shot. All these bestially cruel methods of the fascist rule of violence are applied by the monarchist-military clique "The white Hand", which is headed by king Alexander Karageorgewitch, the agent of the Great Serbian bourgeoisie and of international imperialism.

In spite of the promises of the Anglo-French imperialists who urged and insisted upon the military-fascist upheaval, the Great-Serbian bourgeoisie did not succeed in obtaining large foreign loans in order to improve the economic position of the country. The failure of the foreign loan causes the dictatorship of the generals to increase the burden of taxes, to collect the enormous taxes by compulsory means. But this means also is of no avail. On the contrary, the proceeds from taxation are declining, the deficit in the State budget is increasing, the foreign trade balance is becoming more and more unfavourable, the number of bankruptcies in Servia and in other districts is increasing; in Dalmatia, Montenegro, in Bosnia and Macedonia famine is raging.

Also in the sphere of foreign politics the fascist dictatorship has failed to achieve anything. In accordance with the Young Plan the sum due to Yugoslavia from the reparations payments is cut down by 16 million Dinars. In addition to this, according to the Hague decisions Yugoslavia has to pay back the pre-war debts to France in gold. Thereby the enormous sum of the State debts — 70,000 million dinars — becomes still greater. As a result of all these circumstances Yugoslavia is faced with State bankruptcy. These are the fruits of the nine months bloody regime of the military-fascist dictatorship.

In this situation the economic and financial crisis is becoming more acute; the position of the broad toiling masses is deteriorating. The masses of the peasantry are burdened by the semi-feudal tithes and taxes, the heavy pressure of usurer-capital. The working class is deprived of all its achievements. The working day has been increased to 12 and 14 hours. Wages are being reduced to starvation level. Unemployment is growing. At the same time a policy of national suppression is being conducted in the most barbaric and brutal forms, as in Croatia, in Macedonia, Montenegro, Dalmatia, Bosnia, in Vojvodina and Slovenia.

A greater radicalisation of the workers and peasants is the result of this tremendous deterioration of the position of the broad working masses. The actions of the workers and peasants on the 1st of May and 1st of August show that in Yugoslavia, at an accelerated pace, a revolutionary upsurge is taking place. The C. P. of Yugoslavia recently succeeded, in connection with the campaign for the 1st of August, to penetrate the ranks of the army. After the 1st of August the bloodstained fascist monster threw itself with particularly bestial terror upon the Communists. Compared with this boundless raging of the fascist terror after the 1st of August, all the former methods of the fascist rule pale. The dictatorship is now pursuing the aim of physically annihilating all Communists and the revolutionary cadres of the peasants and the toilers of the oppressed nations. The Russian white-guardists in Belgrade and Zagreb are actively participating in all these barbarous tortures and murders.

Not a day passes without news arriving regarding the wholesale arrests of workers and peasants who are suspected of Communism, regarding terrible tortures in the prisons of the royal "Ochraná" and regarding the bestial extermination of the revolutionary cadres. Many comrades have been arrested, and have afterwards disappeared without leaving any trace.

In the Summer, in the Belgrade post office, in the railway depot in Nish and in the Save near Agram mutilated corpses without heads, hands and limbs have been found.

The social democrats J. Topalovitch, brothers Jaktchich and Co. are quite openly helping the bands of fascist murderers. The social democrats have become social-fascists. Many of them are openly assisting the police in the search for Communists.

Nevertheless the whole bloody regime of the military-fascist dictatorship could not break for a single minute the resistance of the working class. Our Yugoslavian Communist Party, driven into deepest illegality, is conducting a life and death struggle against fascism.

The Constance Conference of the Communist Parties expresses its solidarity with and enthusiasm for the struggle of the Yugoslavian proletariat and its Communist Party, which can rightly expect active and all-round support from the revolutionary proletariat and the toiling peasantry of all countries. The Conference calls upon all the toilers to carry out an international political campaign against the fascist dictatorship in Yugoslavia; to arouse a mass struggle against the Yugoslavian bourgeoisie which is conducting an unbounded annihilation struggle against the toiling masses of Yugoslavia in order to be able to prepare undisturbed the imperialist war against the Soviet Union.

Comrades! Working men and women! Members of the mass organisations! Agitate in factory and trade union meetings for the mobilisation of all forces in powerful protest demonstrations of all toilers! Set up anti-fascist committees in the factories! Carry out proletarian mass demonstrations!

Trade union members! Railwaymen and transport workers! Workers in the war industries! Isolate the Yugoslavian military dictatorship! Organise systematically the fight for its boycott! Sabotage the production and prevent the transport of war material for the Yugoslavian war mongers!

Young workers of the whole world! Participate in masses in all the meetings against the fascist murderers of your youth comrades! Working peasants of all countries! Set up a close alliance of the workers and peasants for the common fight against the fascist blood-regime!

Toilers of all nationally oppressed peoples! We call upon you to establish the united anti-fascist and anti-imperialist front for the struggle against the dictatorship of the Yugoslavian Generals!

Proletarians of Europe! Link up your international fight against the threatening fascist upheaval in Austria with the support of the heroic struggle of the Yugoslavian toilers against the military-fascist dictatorship!

Down with the butchers of the flower of the Yugoslavian workers and peasants!

Long live the heroic Communist Party and the Young Communist League of Yugoslavia!

Long live international solidarity in the fight against the military-fascist dictatorship!

Long live the workers and peasants revolution in Yugoslavia, the only way out of the present unbearable situation for the toiling and nationally oppressed masses of Yugoslavia! Long live the Balkan Federation of the workers' and peasants' republics!

Constance, 18th September, 1929.

The West-European Bureau of the Comintern.
 Communist Party of Germany.
 Communist Party of Austria.
 Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.
 Communist Party of Italy.
 Communist Party of Yugoslavia.
 Communist Party of Hungary.
 Communist Party of Switzerland.
 Balkan Communist Federation.
 Young Communist International.
 Red International of Labour Unions.
 Red Front Fighters League of Germany.

THE BALKANS

A Balance of the Military-Fascist Dictatorship in Yugoslavia.

By M. Martinovitch (Zagreb).

The extension, intensification, and accentuation of the economic and political crisis in Yugoslavia impelled the Great-Serbian bourgeoisie to attempt a solution by means of a military-Fascist dictatorship. They would naturally not have chosen this course, if the French and British imperialists had not accorded them full support. The interests of the Great-Serbian bourgeoisie coincide all along the line with the dastardly designs of the international imperialists on the Soviet Union. Since the establishment of the military-Fascist dictatorship in Yugoslavia, attempts have been constantly made, not only to throttle the revolutionary movement of the working class, the working peasantry, and the oppressed nationalities, but also to aid the Franco-British imperialists to obtain cannon-fodder among the Yugoslav peasants for the intended war on the Soviet Union.

When eight months ago the Franco-British imperialists cooperated with the Great-Serbian bourgeoisie in effecting the military-Fascist upheaval in Yugoslavia, they naturally did not think of limiting themselves to the introduction of Fascism into Yugoslavia. It is already apparent that the international imperialists intend to carry their assault yet further. Fascist upheavals in Austria and in Czechoslovakia are already envisaged. The Austrian bourgeoisie has adapted its Fascist plan entirely to the policy of the international imperialists. The differences between Austria and the countries of the Little Entente have been relegated to a secondary place. The international imperialists are endeavouring to eliminate these differences in the interest of a better preparation of the war against the Soviet Union.

But these predatory plans meet with the greatest resistance in Yugoslavia. Eight months of military-Fascist regime in that country have clearly shown that the working masses offer serious resistance to the rule of the generals. In the course of eight months, the social basis of the military-Fascist dictatorship has not extended but decreased. In no sphere of political or economic life can the sanguinary regime of military-Fascist dictatorship boast of any success whatsoever.

A balance of the economic policy of the military-Fascist dictatorship clearly shows that the economic position has not only not improved but that on the contrary there is a further intensification, extension, and accentuation of the crisis throughout economy. It soon became apparent that it was not possible to liquidate the permanent crisis prevailing in the country by means of emergency laws and decrees. The fall of the prices of agricultural products, the inundations and other misfortunes, and the tremendous burden of taxation, which has been markedly increased since the establishment of the dictatorship, have further aggravated the crisis. The peasants now pay 311 per cent. more in taxes than they did before the war. The united front of the capitalists and landlords against the peasantry is most apparent in the liquidation of the agrarian reform and in the return of the ground to the landlords. The maximum limit of permissible real estate was increased from 300 to 1000 hectares, which figure does not even include the enormous forest area in the hands of the landowners. The Zivcovitch Government takes away the land from the poor peasant farmers and gives it back to the landlords. In carrying out this anti-peasant policy, the Fascist Government aims to benefit a small number of rich farmers and users. The position not only of the poor, but also of the majority of the middle peasants has greatly deteriorated, and a further deterioration in the position of the working population of the rural districts is to be expected. The policy of the Government has called forth the most furious indignation and revolutionary ferment among the broad masses of poor and middle peasants.

The accentuation of the agricultural crisis is reflected in industry. It is only such industries as manufacture directly or indirectly for war purposes that flourish at present. Commerce is at a standstill. The epidemic of stoppages of payment draws ever wider circles. Credit difficulties of an international nature

are being felt more and more acutely in the country. The foreign trade balance for the first half of 1929 showed a deficit of 670 million dinars.

The accentuation of the economic crisis in Yugoslavia enhanced the struggle of the workers, i. e. both the class struggle in general and the struggle for national liberty. The promulgation of new Fascist laws regarding the increase of taxation, which particularly affect the working population of town and country, the liquidation of the eight-hour day and the introduction of a sixteen-hour day, the lowering of wages, the removal of "unreliable" elements from the army, and measures of a like nature have accelerated in a great degree the process of the revolutionary development of the broad masses of the proletariat, the peasantry, and the oppressed nationalities. In the execution of its policy, the regime of the knout and the bayonet meets with the violent resistance of the workers under the leadership of the Communist Party. Therefore this regime is making its greatest efforts to destroy the vigour of the vanguard of the Yugoslav proletariat, the Communist Party and the Yugoslav Communist League.

The campaigns of May 1st and August 1st showed and proved that the broad masses of the workers, peasants, and oppressed nationalities warmly sympathise with our cause and are willing to support it. Under the immediate pressure of the peasant masses, the bourgeois leaders of the peasant-democratic coalition were forced to renounce the idea of negotiations with the bloodstained monarchy and a participation in the Fascist rule. Some of the leaders of the Raditch Party emigrated, but not with a view to supporting the revolutionary fight but rather for the purpose of soliciting the intervention of the League of Nations in the interest of a pacific solution of the Yugoslav state crisis.

The revolutionary upsurge throughout the country and the appearance of bands of armed peasants even in Serbia prove that the "Vendée" of Yugoslav Fascism, bears eloquent testimony to the narrowing down of the social basis of the dictatorship. The fight of the workers for their full emancipation has driven the Fascist rulers to unparalleled measures of white terror against the working class, the peasantry, and the oppressed nationalities. The entire country has become a camp. Formidable detachments of police and troops patrol the streets. Day by day, workers are attacked most brutally, while the atrocities practised throughout the country on imprisoned workers can be compared with those of the Inquisition. Besides the bestial murder of the best champions of the workers' and peasants' cause, the Great-Serbian Fascists went to the length, on August 23rd at 3 a. m., of transporting Comrade Brashnarevitch and two Macedonian revolutionaries (after execrable tortures) to the cemetery of Zagreb and there forcing them to dig their own graves, where upon they were promptly shot. At Senitsa on August 26th, Comrade Wan, a metal-worker, was assassinated. The series of murders is being continued. The object in view appears to be the physical annihilation of our Party, under whose war-banner the workers, peasants, and members of the oppressed nationalities are waging an unrelenting fight. But the hour is approaching, when the rising revolutionary wave will assume the dimensions of a powerful revolutionary movement for the overthrow of the dictatorship.

This heroic fight of the working masses under the leadership of the C. P. of Yugoslavia for the overthrow of the military-Fascist dictatorship is a matter of great international importance. This revolutionary fight will assume ever greater dimensions and grow more and more fierce. The Communist Party of Yugoslavia will continue to resist the sanguinary attacks of the authorities and to organise the self-defence of the masses, while for a moment sacrificing its close alliance with the proletariat of the working peasants, and the workers among the oppressed nationalities.

The ripening of a revolutionary situation in Yugoslavia shows a marked acceleration. The presumptions for a fatal blow against the bloodstained Fascist regime may be considered favourable. In this great struggle, which is of the greatest international significance, the C. P. of Yugoslavia and the working masses of Yugoslavia reckon to be supported by all Communist Parties and by the entire revolutionary proletariat and the working peasantry.

AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

The Situation of the Workers in Palestine.

By Alini (Jerusalem).

Owing to the lack of statistical material, a circumstance which makes any exact determination of the numerical strength of the proletariat in Palestine extremely difficult, one is, as far as the Arab workers are concerned, compelled to rely upon calculations taking into consideration the economic situation of the country and the division of the population according to national characteristics. According to such calculations there are from 45,000 to 50,000 Arab wage-workers in Palestine. According to the figures of the "Histadrut" (Jewish Trade Union Federation) the number of Jewish wage-workers in Palestine in 1926 was 15,389, or including the unemployed approximately 20,000. The total figure is about 65,000 to 75,000 including a great percentage of women, youth and children engaged in the process of production.

According to the numerical strength of the workers employed, we receive the following picture of the importance of the various branches of industry etc.: agriculture and plantations (orange plantations and vineyards), building, transport (railways and harbours), manufacture (soap boiling works, cement works, textiles, tobacco works and match factories).

Since 1925 the economic life of Palestine has been dominated by a continual offensive on the part of the employers, who have been exploiting the three years of mass unemployment and the lack of a united organisation on a class basis of Arab and Jewish workers, in order to depress the conditions of the workers. Indeed, the employers have achieved their aim to a very considerable extent: wages have been greatly reduced and the working day has been lengthened.

The statistical material collected by the "Histadrut" for 1928 shows that the wages of Jewish workers in Palestine are lower than those prevailing in London and Berlin for similar work by 40 to 70% and 30 to 40% respectively, while at the same time the Jewish workers in Palestine worked a longer working day. It must be pointed out that the disparity between the wages of the Jewish and Arab workers has been constantly decreasing of recent years, whereby however, the former still earn considerably more than the latter. The average wages contained in the Histadrut figures are therefore not valid for Palestine, or in the best case they are valid only for the Jewish workers.

Despite the low wages, the cost of living is greater in Palestine than in Berlin. Taking the price level in Palestine in 1928 and comparing it with that of Berlin, we obtain the following figures:

Commodity	Berlin	Palestine
Rye-bread	2.2	2.7
Butter	21.0	44.0
Veal	11.0	15.6
Potatoes	0.6	1.5
Sugar	3.0	3.22
Cheese	7.5	12.5
Milk	1.5	3.75

Rents in Palestine are also very high. In 1928 the German worker paid on an average 18% of his wages for his home, whilst the worker in Palestine had to pay 21% of his wages for rent.

The above figures give some idea of the cost of living in Palestine. They also give some idea of the semi-starvation and misery of the working population when one considers also the permanent mass unemployment.

The laws in Palestine do not limit the working day for adult and young workers; only for child workers from 12 to 16 years of age is the working day limited officially to 8 hours. In fact, however, the children work just as long as the adults and something longer.

The Arab workers always worked more than eight hours a day, and the Jewish workers long ago lost the eight-hour day. The statistical material collected in the Palestine towns for 1928 by the Histadrut does not show the length of the working day.

Only the figures concerning the situation in Jerusalem ("Davar", No. 831) deals with the working hours of child workers up to the age of 16: of 221 children 122 worked 10 hours a day and more; 58 children worked 12 hours a day and more; and 4 children worked from 14 to 15 hours a day. With regard to the proletariat in Palestine as a whole it must be said that the working day is generally from 9 to 12 hours.

There exist two labour protection laws in Palestine; one is the accident insurance law, and the other is the labour protection law for women and children. Both of these laws are more of a mockery of the workers than a protection of them.

The first law leaves out of account the majority of the proletariat (Landworkers, plantation workers, employees and brain workers, workers in factories without electrical power etc.). The second law is so formulated that under Palestine conditions it loses all significance. Woman and child labour is prohibited for instance in occupations dangerous to health, as understood in Europe, but such occupations hardly exist in Palestine. But women and child labour in the production of matches, tobacco, cement etc., which is deleterious for both women and children, is not prohibited. Night work for women is also prohibited, but night work is non-existent in Palestine. Important provisions for the protection of women are however not included, such as the prohibition of work for women immediately before and after confinement, etc.

It has already been pointed out that the working hours of young and of women workers are not fixed by law. The law has also nothing to say about paid holidays, minimum wages, apprentice protection etc.

The government has promulgated laws, but it has made no provision for controlling the carrying out of these laws, and the result is that the laws are practically ignored. Children of 8 and 9 years go to work and work as long hours as those from 12 to 16 years, 8 hours a day and over.

There exists no law in Palestine regulating the labour market, the employment and dismissal of workers. There is no health insurance, no unemployment insurance, and no old age pensions, and this in a country with a hot climate, widespread infectious sicknesses like malaria, and permanent unemployment.

The Histadrut has, it is true, a health insurance scheme, but it applies only to a section of the Jewish workers and is maintained exclusively by them. Recently this institution has got into financial difficulties and has been compelled to limit its payments.

The above is a short sketch of the economic situation of the workers in Palestine. Like the situation in all other colonial countries, it is characterised by hard conditions of life, boundless exploitation, and the complete lack of all effective labour protection laws. It was thus at the time of the conservative government, and it remains so under the MacDonald Labour government. To-day also the working day is ten, twelve and more hours, to-day also starvation wages are being paid, to-day also the unemployed are in great need because no provisions have been made to assist them. The MacDonald government is just as much a supporter of capitalism in Palestine as was its predecessor. It assists in exactly the same fashion in the task of dragging the workers of Palestine down to the economic level of the Chinese coolie by brutal exploitation supported by equally brutal methods of repression.

The Revolt in Palestine.

Communiqué by the C. C. of the C. P. of Palestine.

a) The Reasons.

The reasons of the sanguinary August revolt in Palestine are to be found in the entire policy of British imperialism in the Arab countries since the war. In its endeavour to make Palestine a strategic outpost on the Eastern bank of the Suez Canal, a stage on the air-route to India, and a military basis for the conquest of the entire Arabian peninsula on the one hand and for a war against the southern republics of the Soviet Union on the other, British imperialism elected to pursue a peculiar policy in this area, which is ethnographically and economically merely a part of the great Arab territory. The country was wrenched out of the total Arab territory, turned into an independent state, and by the help of British bayonets and British administration turned into a national home for the Jews.

The entire post-war policy of the British imperialists in Palestine, it is true, has shown that they never really had the true realisation of Zionism, i. e. the erection of a national Jewish home, at heart. Not even the most elementary support for a colonisation by Jewish emigrants was afforded by the British Government; on the contrary, it turned the unfortunate immigrants who had been lured to the "national home" by the siren voice of the Zionist organisation and their Social-Democratic advocates (both in the pay of the British imperialist politicians) into poor, hungry "natives", politically quite devoid of rights and economically exploited to the utmost by Anglo-Zionist capital. The Zionists themselves declare that by reason of the British policy the realisation of a national home for Jews in Palestine has become a chimera, an altogether Utopian idea.

On the other hand, however, the Zionist policy inaugurated by a Conservative like Lord Balfour has fully realised the object which the British imperialists really had in view, for it has driven a wedge of 150,000 Jews in between their military and civil apparatus on the one hand and the Arab population on the other. Though themselves persecuted and bullied by Great Britain (always with the exception of a small group of Zionist capitalists and Socialist leaders directly in the service of the imperialists), these 150,000 are yet the most advanced outposts of British imperialism in the Arab countries. Unlike the European colonies in South Africa, China, etc., this small colony has, thanks to the ingenious British policy, been turned into an outpost which, itself unprotected, yet serves to protect the interests of imperialism.

The main elements of this wily British policy lie in the fact that on the one hand the Jewish capitalists, who, with the aid of the Jewish social traitors of the Second International, have taken over the tutelage of the Jewish masses, and on the other hand the feudal Arab landlords and the Mohammedan clerical apparatus, are cleverly played off, the one against the other.

Since the end of the war there has been a systematic expropriation of the poor Arab "fellahs" or small peasants. The establishment of the few agricultural and urban colonies, which Zionism has managed to create within the last ten years at an enormous expense (there is mention of as much as 20 million pounds having been invested in various ways) could only be effected on the basis of an expulsion of the small Arab peasants. The smallness and poverty of the Jewish settlements, which the British only suffered with a view to maintaining the illusion of a Jewish national home as a political card in their hands, is just a proof of the practical impossibility of such a home under British rule. But the manner in which even these few settlements had to be erected on the ruins of the small Arab holdings, sufficed to make the Jewish colonies and the "Jewish danger" into a regular bogey for the poor, semi-nomadic peasants of Palestine and the surrounding countries. The hatred of imperialism, which had established its "civilising" rule in the land by means of an unscrupulous exaction of taxes, of forced labour, illtreatment of the peasants, and measures of terrorism, was united with hatred of the colonisers introduced under the protection of the imperialists; nay, it was even overshadowed by the enmity felt for the intruders who took away not only the money and work of the poor peasants but even what was dearest to them of anything, their small holdings of land.

The agrarian unrest which has set in since the British occupation, has been aggravated particularly within the last two years and has taken on the form of a serious agrarian fermentation. Hundreds of small incidents — **Aluleh, Jedro, Caesarea, Wadi, Hwaras, Infiath**, etc. — all over the country have borne witness to the great embitterment of the working population in the open country. In the cities the proletarianisation of the petty-bourgeoisie and the pauperisation of the intellectual classes made rapid progress. True to their imperialist mission, the Zionist leaders drew a line of demarcation between "Jewish" and "Arab" Labour, whereby the attention of the workers in the cities was to be diverted from the real reason of their impoverishment — the imperialist policy which hindered the development of productive forces, and the dastardly exploitation by colonial operators and "compradors" — and directed against the Jew. For even the official "Histadruth" trade unions (attached to the Amsterdam International) not only refused to admit Arab workers but set up the rule of "kibush avodah", i. e. the replacement of Arab workers by Jews, which amounted to an expulsion of the Arab workers from their jobs.

The "front" thus erected between the Jews and the Arab by the imperialists, Zionists (poorly cloaked by a few impudent lies as to the "blessings" which Zionism has conferred on the Arabs in town and country) was on the other hand completed by the Arab big landowners, the clerical apparatus and the bourgeois "compradors". These classes, which have ruled the country for centuries, have taken active part in the exploitation practised by the imperialists and Zionists, for it was big landowners such as Sursuck, Tayan, and many others who sold the land worked by "their" fellah tenants to the Zionist colonisation agencies, thus seconding the expropriation by the colonisers. It is these circles, too (e. g. the heads of the clerical apparatus, "Medjless Islami or Supreme Council of Islam), which administer the real estate of the Mohammedan "Waki" and collect the heavy taxes from the peasants by means of the Government apparatus. The British have taken good care never to interfere with this clerical apparatus or with the feudal rights, while the interests of the workers were trodden under foot. It is these circles, finally, that constantly exploit the peasantry by means of usurious rates of interest, fraud, and barefaced robbery. The bourgeoisie of the towns, meanwhile, is no less avid of profit than are the Zionists and imperialists, though they employ feudal-mediaeval methods alongside the modern capitalist ones used by the latter.

But it was just because this class of Arab parasites (which finds its political utterance in the national-reformist heads of the Arab Congress) saw the growing wrath of the masses and rightly appraised the menacing symptoms of the advancing agrarian movement, that they were determined to maintain control of this movement and not allow it to advance directly against the British imperialists either, since in this latter case it would probably have got beyond their control and they would have been landed in a difficult situation, or they would, at any rate, have had to make too great economic concessions in favour of the people. In collusion with some of the British colonial officials, who, inspired by Colonel Lawrence, desire to make a coalition between British imperialism and Arab clerical feudalism into the dominating factor throughout the Middle East, the national-reformist leaders took all possible steps to prevent the movement rendered inevitable by the radicalisation and revolutionisation of the masses, from turning into an anti-militarist revolt and to deflect it in the direction of an anti-Jewish pogrom.

b) Incentive and Outbreak.

That the excitement had reached its highest point and that the movement was likely to become acute at any moment could be seen by a series of incidents on the occasion of the Mohammedan festivals of "Nebi Mussa" and "Aual Muharrem", when there were turbulent demonstrations of the masses. Again and again, the Government proclaimed a "state of emergency" with a view to preventing demonstrations. This particularly, when there was some danger of the masses adopting an openly anti-imperialist attitude under the lead of the Communist Party. All the police and military forces were mobilised to prevent this, as on the occasion of August 1st. The British imperialist Government, which continued to follow the old Conservative line even after the MacDonal Government came into office, would at no cost permit an outbreak of popular anger against imperialism and made careful preparations to deflect the struggle into the channels of national feeling.

The question of the Wailing Wall, which finally gave the immediate occasion for the events, had been dragged in "by the hair", so to say. Both the British and the Mohammedan "Medjless" considered such a religious struggle the best safety-valve. The Zionists did their share towards turning the Wailing Wall into a symbol of power; it could no longer be a question of the possession of the wall (the question at issue between the Jewish rabbis and the Medjless) but rather that the victory in this regard was made out by the agitational press on either side, as also by the religious and nationalist notabilities, to be symbolic of the virtual rule over Palestine. On the one hand, the Medjless took advantage of the backwardness and the almost complete illiteracy of the fellahs and bedouins for the purpose of depicting the fight against the Jews in the light of a "holy war" and at the same time making them believe that the imperialist Government would refrain from intervening in the case of a massacre of the Jews (a clever Anglo-clerical trick, whereby the masses were to be prevented from settling

ords with the Government itself, which, they were made to believe, would help them to destroy the Jews). On the other hand, the Zionist Fascists played upon the national chauvinism of the young generation of Jews, educated on imperialist lines, making out the fight for the Wailing Wall to be a "defence of national honour" and so forth. "Judah was born in blood and fire, in blood and fire it will grow", sang the foolish fascist youths who paraded with flags through the Mohammedan quarters, thereby deliberately provoking the Arabs. The Government fanned the flames on either side, desiring to strengthen its own position by this outbreak of a national and religious conflict, acquire an excuse for terrorising the masses of the bedouins, fellahs and proletarian workers, and demoralise the national movement. The Government recognised the danger of a revolutionary, anti-imperialist peasant movement led by the working class of the towns and therefore preferred to drive the masses into the arms of the clerical and feudal Medjless and to let them vent their fury on the Jews.

The outbreak really ensued just in the way the representatives of the hyper-pacifist MacDonald, and the Zionist and clerical wirepullers desired it to. After a meeting of 10,000 Mohammedans, mainly representing the smaller peasant class, in the Mosque of Omar at Jerusalem, a powerful anti-Jewish movement broke out throughout the country with elementary force. In this connection there could be observed the "benign" results of Zionism for the Jews of Palestine itself. Zionism as caused the mob in Palestine to treat the words "Zionist" and "Jew" as synonymous. Much of the blame is due to the non-reformists, who, in response to the repeated appeals of the Communists to the Arabs to differentiate between the rich and corrupt Zionist leaders and the Jewish workers, who have common interests with the Arab working masses, again and again asseverated that the Jewish workers were the "best Zionists". Thus the slogan of the Arabs was not "Death to the Zionists!" but "Death to the Jews!" and this was uttered with all the fanaticism of a "dshehad" or holy war. It now became regarded a sacred duty to slaughter as many Jews as possible, whether guilty or innocent, Zionists or workers. No one was to touch the British or other Christians, for had it not been announced "Dola maana", "the Government with us"? The Jews had to be killed because they were Jews. The savage, senseless mutilations, such as were perpetrated at Hebron, Motza, and Safed on old men, women, and children (the bedouins singing in religious ecstasy while they slit abdomens and struck off the heads of little children) were the outcome of this splendid political "manoeuvre" by which the Government of progress, civilisation, and the Labour Party, allied with the most reactionary clericalism, drove a subject country into an orgy of blood so as to strengthen its own undermined political position. There is documentary evidence to the effect that in the early stages of the events the British police had orders to allow the Jews to be massacred at will without intervening.

(To be concluded.)

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

Decision of the Executive Bureau of the R. I. L. U. and the Secretariat of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union on the International Revolutionary Competition.

A Joint Meeting of the R. I. L. U. Executive Bureau and the Soviet C. C. T. U. Secretariat was held in the R. I. L. U. Headquarters on Friday, August 30, to discuss the question of an International Revolutionary Competition. Comrade Germanetto, R. I. L. U. Executive Bureau member, and Comrade Weinberg, the Secretary of the Soviet C. C. T. U., reported on this question.

It was clear both from the reports and the discussion that the initiative of organising a Revolutionary Competition on an

international scale was coming from the rank and file, from the broad working masses. A start was made in this direction by the Hamburg railwaymen and the workers of Oppeln and was caught up by the Soviet Railwaymen. The railwaymen of Hamburg declared that they would like to start a Revolutionary Competition to counter and resist the aggressive designs of the imperialists. In this fashion the Socialist Competition in the U. S. S. R. could be linked up with an International Competition among all the revolutionary workers. The successes of the Soviet workers in their Socialist Construction and the achievements of the workers in the capitalist countries in struggling against imperialism, to defend the U. S. S. R. and in strengthening and consolidating the Revolutionary Labour Movement and the Revolutionary Unions, could all serve as indices of the International Competition.

It was urged during the discussion that close contact and co-operation be set up between the R. I. L. U. and the Soviet C. C. T. U. in organising this Revolutionary Competition, in drawing up its forms and methods and exchanging experience, especially the good experience gained by the Soviet Unions in organising the Socialist Competition in the U. S. S. R.

Comrades Akulov (Secretary, Soviet C. C. T. U.), Yusefovich, Strahovenko, Zhugar, Diamant, S'utski and others took part in the discussion and the following decision was adopted unanimously:

International Revolutionary Competition.

1. The Socialist Competition in Soviet Russia, a mighty expression of the great effort being made by the broad working masses of the U. S. S. R. to realise the gigantic plan of Socialist construction, has been caught up in every corner of the U. S. S. R.

In spite of the assertions of the malcontents, the Rights and the conciliators, the workers of the U. S. S. R. are realising the tempo of industrialisation and the reconstruction of agriculture on Socialist lines as laid down in the Five-Year Plan, and in many cases are even surpassing all expectations.

The militant appeals issued by the workers in all parts of the U. S. S. R. who are conducting a successful drive against the kulaks and the Nepmen, and surmounting the difficulties of Socialist construction at a time when the class struggle has become intensified, have found hearty response also among the revolutionary workers of the capitalist countries, who well realise that the successful advance of the U. S. S. R. to Socialism is playing a decisive part in undermining capitalist stabilisation and in intensifying the general crisis of capitalism.

2. Welcoming the appeal sent by the Railwaymen of Oppeln and Hamburg to the railwaymen of the U. S. S. R., the decisions of the workers of the Kursk, Northern and other railways, and the Open Letter of the "Red Profintern" plant on its readiness to take part in an International Revolutionary Competition, which all bear witness of the fact that revolutionary workers the world over realise clearly enough the close connection existing between the progress of Socialist construction in the U. S. S. R. and the strengthening of the militant positions of the international revolutionary working class movement — the R. I. L. U. Executive Bureau and the Soviet C. C. T. U. Presidium urges all affiliated organisations to take active part in organising and developing an International Revolutionary Competition.

3. The International Revolutionary Competition, which has arisen on the initiative of the masses and which must serve as a new means of strengthening the international ties of the revolutionary workers and of reinforcing connections between the workers of Soviet Russia, the land of socialist construction, and the working class of the capitalist countries, must be directed to strengthen and enhance the revolutionary class struggle, to fight the new war danger and to defend the U. S. S. R., as the Motherland of workers everywhere, to strengthen the economic power of the U. S. S. R. and should be based on the adoption of mutual obligations regarding these questions by all workers' organisations in the factories and districts entering the Competition.

4. The International Revolutionary Competition places the Socialist construction of the U. S. S. R. under international proletarian control and makes it incumbent upon the working class of the U. S. S. R. to consolidate its successes, to develop still further their active participation in the present Socialist Competition and the building up of Socialism. At the same time

this International Revolutionary Competition will make it incumbent upon the workers' organisations in the capitalist countries to enhance their revolutionary activities, first of all in the large scale enterprises and most important branches of industry.

5. The R. I. L. U. Executive Bureau and the Soviet C. C. T. U. Presidium note the important role international workers' correspondence is playing in developing the present International Revolutionary Competition, and charge:

6. the R. I. L. U. A. P. & W. E. Dept. and the Soviet C. C. T. U. Cultural Dept. to develop a broad agitational campaign to popularise the task of the International Revolutionary Competition;

7. all the revolutionary T. U. papers, "Red International of Labour Unions", and "International Labour Movement", the organs of the R. I. L. U. and "Trud", the Soviet C. C. T. U. paper as well as all papers published by the Central Committees of the Trade Unions of the U. S. S. R. to give good publicity to and propagate the idea of an International Revolutionary Competition;

8. to consider it essential that the Soviet C. C. T. U. Foreign Relations Commission make use of the arrival of every foreign delegation in the U. S. S. R. to popularise the idea of an International Revolutionary Competition;

9. to endorse the proposals outlined in the memorandums submitted by the R. I. L. U. A. P. & W. E. Dept. and the Soviet C. C. T. U. Tariff-Economic Dept.;

10. to appoint a Special Commission composed of Comrades Germanetto, Yusefovich, Strahovenko from the R. I. L. U., Akulov, Weinberg, Alexeev from the Soviet C. C. T. U. and Slutski and Shugar from the I. P. C.'s to consider all the concrete and practical questions connected with the development of the International Revolutionary Competition on the initiative of the broad working masses and to submit concrete proposals within a fortnight to the next Joint Meeting of the R. I. L. U. Executive Bureau and the Soviet C. C. T. U. Presidium.

For the Security and Accelerated Execution of the Five Year Plan of Socialist Development.

Proclamation of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union.

To all Trade Union Organisations, to all Members of the Trade Unions, to all Working Men and Women.

The Central Council of the Trade Unions appeals to all workers and employees of the Soviet Union. It requests that every one of them should give earnest attention to the extremely important tasks set out in this communication of the Central Committee.

Comrades, in the revolutionary fight, in the October fights and in the setting up of the dictatorship of the proletariat the trade unions played a rôle of the greatest historic significance. Without the self-denying heroic work of the trade unions the dictatorship of the proletariat would not have succeeded. In the difficult years of the civil war the trade-union associations were the citadel of the Bolshevik Party, of the Soviet State; it was they who bound together the million masses of the proletariat. From the front of the civil war the fight was transferred to the economic front. The proletariat has beaten capitalism in an open fight.

Capitalism, however, still has strong roots. The proletariat must tear them up completely, it must carry on the fight to a finish not only for the overthrow of the old capitalist system, but also for the establishment of the new socialist order. This is the most difficult task of the socialist revolution, especially in our country, in the country of backward techniques and of low cultural level, in a country which was for hundreds of years under the iron heel of Tsarism.

The revolution has raised our toiling people to a higher level. But if it does not succeed in anchoring the achievements of the revolution in economy, of transforming our backward country into a country of industry and culture, we cannot maintain the victory of October 1917, and the return of capitalism will be inevitable.

The proletarian party of the Bolsheviki therefore sets before the working class the tremendous task of a socialist transformation of the country, of the erection of new factories, generating plants and a complete reorganisation of our backward peasant agriculture, which up to the present has in great part been dependent on the wooden plough as a means of production. Therein lies the socialist reconstruction of our national economy. This is the period which we call the reconstruction period of the Soviet Union.

The difficulties in this period are very great. Just as in those of the civil war, they demand the greatest exertion of the physical and mental forces of the proletariat and of the broad masses of small and middle peasants who follow it. The class enemy — Nepman, Kulak, injurious elements in the apparatus of State — want to exploit the difficulties in the reconstruction period in order to bring confusion into our ranks. But the class enemy is suffering defeats just as it did in the years of the revolution. These lie not only in the facts that the proletarian dictatorship imprisons its active opponents, that the saboteurs in socialist industry are shot — the great defeat of our class enemy is that the proletarian State is every year and every day becoming stronger, growing and progressing in creative socialist development.

Even now, the activity of the working class in the development of socialism is already of huge extent and has reached an unprecedented momentum. Even the first year of the five year plan has shown that we are making more rapid progress than the plan anticipated. The huge successes of the Soviet State in socialist economic construction have been possible only on account of the support given by the millions of workers and of the peasant masses, on account of their immensely increased activity in the development of socialism. The boundless devotion of the class-conscious masses of the proletariat has only rendered possible the successful fight against the open class enemy, but also the successful surmounting of the backward petty bourgeois sentiments among the workers, in the trade unions and in other Labour organisations. The C. P. S. U. as the party of the proletariat, and the progressive trade unions under its leadership successfully overcame and is still overcoming the manifold attacks of the Trozkyists and also the present attacks of the Rights upon the only correct general line of the party of Lenin, upon the prescribed pace of the industrialisation and of the socialist transformation of agriculture. It is, however, not sufficient to combat the petty bourgeois influence upon the proletariat merely by means of resolutions. The fight must be carried on in every-day life, in the daily petty round of work in every factory, in every mine, in every work department and especially in the State, economic and trade-union apparatus. But among us there are still many workers, many employees, who through their middle-class ideas shut themselves off from the outer world, neither seeming to feel the magnitude of socialist construction and its tremendous significance.

The Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union does not hesitate to declare openly that there exists not only among the ordinary members but also in the ranks of the trade-union functionaries such middle-class, narrow-minded, craft trade-unionist petty-bourgeois sentiments. There is lack of perception in regard to the new epoch and the new tasks. There is sluggishness in the working pace of the trade unions, bureaucratism and aloofness from the masses, narrowness and inability to link up the representation of the ordinary interests and needs of the workers with the decisive tasks of the proletariat, with the raising of socialist industry, with the further raising and socialist reorganising of our whole agriculture.

In the capitalist countries the class duty of the revolutionary trade unions consists of opposing the interests of the working class to those of capitalist industry, to capitalist rationalisation, which is most closely bound up with a further enslavement of the workers and worsening of their position. The revolutionary workers of Europe and America set themselves the task of smashing the bourgeois machinery of State which is organically coalesced with the organisations of the employers.

In the Soviet Union the class fight of the proletariat is a fight for the strengthening and improving of the Soviet State for the further extension of socialist industry, for the unswerving execution of socialist rationalisation, for overcoming the enemy classes and their relics, which forces back to capitalism.

the Soviet Union the improvement of the situation of the working class is directly connected with the consolidation of socialist industry, with the successful realisation of the socialist conversion of agriculture, with the successful offensive against the capitalist elements in town and country. It is particularly workers and trade-union members, who do not recognise that an improvement of the situation of the working class in the Soviet Union can only come about through the promotion of socialism, through the successful eradication of capitalism, through the fight against the Kulak and the Nepman — who obviously wander into the Menshevistic-Trotskyist morass of conflict between the interests of the working class and those of the socialist industry of the proletarian Soviet State. It is only the Mensheviks who can in our country sever the representation of the interests of the working class from the tasks of socialist rationalisation, advancement of the individual output of the workers, qualitative improvement of industrial production, curtailment of overhead costs, etc.

The changing of the working methods and forms of the trade-union organisations in adaptation to the tasks of the tremendous socialist construction which is being realised before our very eyes in town and country; we repeat, the re-organisation of the trade-union working methods and forms consists chiefly of turning about the trade unions and their organs of all degrees so that they may be directed towards production, of bringing them closer to socialist economy and hereby giving a powerful impulse to the comprehensive, conscious and profound participation of the working class in the development of socialism.

The creative activity of the million masses of the workers must in the first place be directed towards production. It is necessary that the creative enthusiasm of the masses should find general expression in the work of increasing the economic strength of our country.

The tremendous rising wave of the socialist competition is a new socialist form of the organisation of labour, which constituted the decisive link for the organisation of the masses about the questions of production, the decisive method of the socialistic training of the masses, especially of the training of the new Labour cadres entering the ranks of the proletariat. Socialist competition began without direct participation of the trade unions. The trade unions must, therefore, now subjugate themselves to this tremendous movement with all the more persistence in the interests of its further expansion, its better organisation and its more profound exploitation as a means towards the promotion of the national economy of the Soviet Union, in order to make the maximum contribution to the realisation of the task — catching up and overtaking the capitalist countries.

The control figures laid down for the coming economic year presume that fresh strata of the workers will be drawn into socialist competition. In the first place, they afford a check upon the course of the socialist competition during the period which is now elapsed, of the fulfilment of the contracts between the individual factories, departments and worker columns so that the advantages actually achieved for the economy of the Worker State may be ascertained.

It is equally important that special attention be devoted to the transition to uninterrupted production, which will play a prominent part in the acceleration of industrialisation, execution of the five-year plan, improvement of the economic and cultural situation of the working masses. The difficulties in connection with the introduction of uninterrupted production require of the trade unions an essential improvement of the contact with the masses and with the measures for the organisation of production.

In practice it is necessary that the functionaries, from the very highest to the very lowest trade-union authorities, should cease using general phrases about the activity of the masses and devote their attention directly to the matter of production, study the concrete forms of socialist competition and the concrete peculiarities of every factory, organise the introductory work of the conclusion of agreements concerning socialist competition, be constantly informed about the fulfilment of such agreements, find ways and means for the removal of deficiencies in the execution of the agreements by attracting every individual worker of the respective factory and keeping him interested in the course and progress of the work.

The inexhaustible initiative of the masses often fails merely because it is insufficiently organised, because it is not directed towards a concrete matter, because the decisive questions of production are not explained in sufficient detail to the workers. For instance, the reports of managers of factories and trusts are very often of a merely formal nature. They are delivered in order that an unpleasant job may be got rid of. Resolutions, too, are worded "in general", "on the whole". In this manner it is impossible to interest the worker in the increasing of production. We must arrange matters so that every worker feels the pulse of production... the daily fight in the factory for the improvement of production, for perfection of the machines, for improved equipment of the works, for the reduction of overhead charges, etc. We must see to it that the fight for the promotion of production arouses enthusiasm in every worker. The workers would then, as many of them say, very gladly attend the production conferences, discuss the report of the factory manager and make proposals in connection therewith. The production conferences and control commissions in the factories are the best means of comprehending, arousing and considering the activity of the workers, their proposals, suggestions and complaints. Why do we come across the fact that dozens and hundreds of production conferences are merely nominal and that the workers cease to attend them? Because hundreds and thousands of valuable proposals made at the production conferences are not utilised. And this, again, happens, because in our practical work there is still very much red tape, because in the economic bodies as also in the trade-union organisations there are many bureaucratic excrescences. Therefore, along with an active support of the principle that only one person in the factory may make decisions and a strict discipline in the administration of production must prevail a determined fight is necessary against the bureaucratic, bumptious behaviour on the part of economic authorities in regard to the proposals of the workers, to the initiative of the masses; hence also a determined fight is necessary against the bureaucratic aloofness of the trade-union organs and functionaries from the masses.

On the other hand, there are in the factories numerous cases of inconsiderate behaviour on the part of workers and employees in regard to their duties. Such workers shout the loudest when there is a question of ten or twenty copecks in their wages but they do not believe that increase of production, reduction of overhead charges, qualitative improvement of production, rationalisation of production, development of factory questions have anything to do with them.

The Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union declares openly that such workers are, just like the bureaucratic economist and trade-union functionaries who ignore the masses, conscious or unconscious internal enemies in the ranks of the proletariat. An end must be made of this. If we do not put up a determined fight against the disintegrating elements in the Soviet, economic and trade-union apparatus, as also in the ranks of the workers themselves, we may not succeed in finally bringing the class enemy to his knees, we may not succeed in realising socialism in our country.

In this matter the trade unions, which unite ten million proletarians, must play a leading role. The working masses must produce from their midst thousands and tens of thousands of capable representatives for the work in the State, economic and trade-union apparatus. The working masses and the leading trade union organs must themselves set about improving the trade-union apparatus and find thousands of fresh working men and to fill trade-union offices. The trade union must set up a day-to-day systematic control of the work of the economic bodies, relying upon the help of the leading Soviet organisations and, under the leadership of the Communist Party, begin to remove the bureaucratic excrescences in the economic apparatus in determined, revolutionary fashion.

The trade-union organs must, in addition to attending to the socialist training of the masses towards Labour discipline and enhancing the productivity of Labour, better organise the representation of the daily social and material needs of the workers.

Care of the workers, fight against queuing up before shops, erection of dwellings, protection of labour, regulation of the Labour market and combating of unemployment are the decisive questions, apart from production, to which the trade-unions must at present direct their attention. The successful realisation of socialism is intimately connected with the cultural revolu-

tion, with the raising of the cultural level and with the international training of the working masses, and, in the first place, with the raising of the cultural and political level of the staff of functionaries in the trade-union movement.

The activity of the trade unions must be carried into the masses, into the factories and into the factory departments. Less time should be wasted upon the formal activity of the chairmen and executives; the work should be so organised that every worker should know his trade-union representative and the trade-union representative should know the worker, his needs, complaints and demands and bend his endeavours to the consideration of the complaints and their satisfaction, and insofar as satisfaction is not possible, he should explain the circumstances to the worker in a comradely manner.

It is only by strengthening the relation between the trade unions and the million masses, only by attracting of hundreds and thousands of new leaders and organisers from among the workers, through the removal of the red tape and the signs of decomposition and decay in the trade-union apparatus; it is only through the realisation of a comprehensive trade-union workers' democracy and the widest extension of proletarian self-criticism in regard to all deficiencies that the trade unions can develop during the present period into an actual school of Communism and mobilise the activity and support of the proletarian million masses for the fight against the class enemy, for the eradication of capitalism, for successful socialist construction.

For the general line of the Communist Party!

For the industrialisation of the country!

For the security and accelerated execution of the five-year plan of socialist construction!

Trade unions, look after production!

Attract fresh million masses to socialistic construction!

Draw the whole of the working class into socialist competition!

For labour discipline!

For the promotion of the output of Labour!

For determined reorganisation of trade-union working forms and methods!

Forward to the victory of Communism!

The Presidium of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union.

The Struggle for the Uninterrupted Working Week.

By Sabsovitch.

The planned increase of industrial production by 31 or 32% in the coming economic year 1929/30 is accounted for by the introduction of the uninterrupted working week on an average by up to the present, only from 3 to 4%. The introduction of the uninterrupted working week in the coming year is contemplated either not at all or to an insignificant extent in those branches of industry which are rapidly on the upward line, for instance the production of agricultural machinery (an increase of 75%), in the electrical industry (70%), forestry (67%), ship building (66%), the chemical utilisation of timber (83%), the clothing industry (52%), the boot and shoe industry (55%), etc. The actual or presupposed difficulties which arose in the beginning in connection with any transformation by forced stages to the uninterrupted working week, moved the economic leaders of the Soviet Union to seek at first other methods for obtaining an increase of production in excess of that provided for in the plan. Such methods were found in most cases, because the unutilised reserves are actually very great and inconsiderable efforts are necessary in order to utilise them for industry.

In forestry, for instance, a very simple method has been discovered in order, according to the statement of competent authorities, to increase the capacity of, say, the saw mills, by 70%. Previously, the logs were cut first of all square by one machine and then sawn by a second machine into planks. In the coming year this first process will no longer be done in the saw mills, but prior to the delivery of the logs, with circular saws. Thus the saw mills will be able to increase their capacity to a very considerable extent. When the uninter-

rupted working week is introduced, it ought to be possible for such mills to increase their capacity by approximately 100% without any considerable new capital investments.

The great unutilised reserves have, however, if one can put it like that, their disadvantages in as far as they put the question of the introduction of the uninterrupted working week to a certain extent into the background. The introduction of the uninterrupted working week means a radical break with old customs. Many economists and experts are loath to break with these conservative customs. In the mining industry it is repeatedly pointed out that the condition of the stands in the way of the introduction of the uninterrupted working week. The insufficient capacity of the equipment, the necessity of closing down the pits at regular intervals for repairs, the maintenance of the labour protection regulations, the maintenance of the regulations for the prevention of accidents, the lack of housing facilities for the miners are all put forward as great and even insurmountable obstacles to the introduction of the uninterrupted working week. Such arguments were used to prove to us that by the end of the economic year 1929/30, not more than 30% of the mines (according to the amount of coal produced) could be reorganised on a new basis, and that in any case any increase of production was not to be reckoned with. The two months which have passed in the meantime, however, have given the following results which refute these arguments:

"Approximately 20 mines in the Donetz Basin have adopted the uninterrupted working week. A few dozen other pits will adopt the new system before the opening of the next economic year. It is to be assumed that in this connection the original increase of production of from 3 to 5% provided for in the programme will be exceeded. 'Donu-Gol' has set itself the task of introducing the new working principle into a number of pits representing together 50 per cent. of the total output." ("Pravda" No. 140)

Apparently all the difficulties, including the necessity of regular repairs and the lack of sufficient coal-cutters, have proved in practice to be considerably less than originally supposed. After such results (50% in four months instead of 30% in 14 months) it should be possible in the coming year to reorganise the mining industry, if not 100% then from 90 to 95%, upon the new working principle and to increase the production of coal considerably in excess of the control figures for the economic year 1929/30.

In the production of peat and wood for fuel purposes it is proposed to introduce the uninterrupted working week completely. In the production of petroleum and in the refineries, the uninterrupted working week is already in operation at the most important points. In the coming economic year the uninterrupted working week will be introduced in the boiler operations and in all subsidiary undertakings (working up by-products). In 1929/30 the whole fuel industry will be placed upon the basis of the new working principle.

In the metallurgical industry the uninterrupted working week is making better progress than was originally planned. The introduction of the uninterrupted working week is intended in particular in the production of tractors, automobiles and sowing machines, etc. With regard to the electrical industry the undertakings of the State Electro-Trust (G. E. T.) will be the first to adopt the uninterrupted working week. In the chemical industry, many undertakings are already working upon the new principle. In the rubber industry various departments of the great rubber factory "Treugolnik" are adopting the principles of the uninterrupted working week. In the production of building materials, all brick and cement works and fire-clay factories are to adopt the uninterrupted working week. With regard to forestry, the principle of uninterrupted production is gaining more and more ground.

With regard to the manufacturing industry, leather and boot and shoe factories, apart from those branches already mentioned, will be the first to adopt uninterrupted production. In the textile industry the adoption of the new principle is contemplated for the moment only to a limited extent. With regard to printing and publishing, the main argument against the uninterrupted working week has been the shortage of paper but this argument will soon be rendered invalid.

As pointed out by the decree of the Council of People's Commissars, the whole building industry will adopt the uninterrupted working week.

Therefore, in the coming year the uninterrupted working week will be introduced to a considerably greater extent than planned two months ago and taken into account by the real figures for 1929/30. In the tireless struggle for the introduction of the principle of uninterrupted production, a struggle in which greater and greater masses of workers are participating, it has been proved that all the "arguments" against the introduction of the new principle are invalid. It has been shown clearly that neither the question of fuel nor of labour power, neither of the deterioration of machinery nor, in many cases, the question of raw material, offers any serious hindrance to the adoption of uninterrupted production. Despite the short time we have had in which to collect our experiences, it has been proved that the attitude of the Party that we should not put ourselves to the "weak" parts of our economic front, that we should overcome these weaknesses and thus considerably increase the speed of our economic development, was correct.

Another important "trump card" of the right-wingers has been refuted, i. e. that our power stations would be unable to meet the tremendous demands caused by the reorganisation of industry upon the principle of uninterrupted production. A conference of the supreme body for the electrical industry for the Moscow district under the chairmanship of the trade Hevesi (Schauer) has proved that the necessary power will be guaranteed in 1929/30 even if the Moscow industrial district adopts the new working principle completely.

And finally, the last argument of the right-wingers has been destroyed, according to which our "backward masses" would be opposed to the abolition of Sundays as days of rest and to the abolition of Church holidays. The fact is that the working masses welcome the introduction of the uninterrupted working week and are taking an increasing part in the struggle for its introduction.

The working masses are marching at the head. Only the right-wingers and the conservative specialists have proved themselves "backward". It is impossible to quote one case in which workers have declared themselves opposed to the introduction of the uninterrupted working week. On the contrary, the enthusiasm with which the working masses welcome the introduction of the principle of uninterrupted production, has led to a considerable increase in the productivity of labour, as we may say so, a "by-product".

The basis has been prepared for the introduction of the principle of uninterrupted production by forced stages. The opinion of "insurmountable obstacles" has been completely refuted. It may perhaps be regarded as a negative factor that we are not yet able to give exact figures concerning the extent of the adoption of the principle of uninterrupted production in the coming year, but a very positive factor is our firm conviction that in the economic year 1929/30 the majority of our industrial undertakings can and will adopt the new principle.

Constructive Work in the Polar District of the Soviet Union.

By Orlovsky (Moscow).

In the Polar districts of the Soviet Union the Soviet Government has set itself the tremendous historical task of so accelerating the tempo of development of the small peoples by means of economic and political influence, that they will skip the epoch of feudalism and the epoch of commercial and industrial capitalism and enter the epoch of socialism, and all this not in thousands of years, but in decades. This task, however, can only be carried out successfully upon condition that the plan of economic and technical assistance for the peoples of the North is drawn from a correct perspective. The Soviet idea in itself is not foreign to the Northern peoples. Their lives are regulated by the tribal council and the people's court. It is necessary, however, to give the existing tribal council a Soviet content. According to the customs of the tribes, the "elders" play the decisive role. The primary member of the tribe acts according to the principle that the majority decides. Many of the elders, i. e. rich reindeer breeders and buyers who have already learnt to exploit their poorer

tribesmen, have got into the Soviet and are hindering the work. In the first years this is an understandable and inevitable phenomenon, because the Soviet organisers often change and are not always acquainted with the language, the customs and the economic conditions under which the tribes entrusted to their care, live. Now, however, after long years of work and after a census of the population in the Polar district, which shows the division of the population according to property relations, a number of districts have already commenced to deal with the question of a more careful election of the Soviets upon a class basis.

The extension of the network of schools is very important. The progress of educational enlightenment is the necessary condition for the raising of economic life to a higher technical and cultural level. In this connection, great successes have already been achieved. There already exist 42 boarding schools and 80 day schools, 117 further boarding schools and 100 further day schools are about to be founded.

Very much has also been done with regard to the health service. There are 45 hospitals and travelling clinics, and the Five-Year Plan provides for their increase to 88. Already now it can be seen that the process of extermination which was gradually proceeding amongst the Northern peoples, about which liberal scientific explorers reported constantly before the revolution, has been brought to a halt by the measures of the Soviet Government to raise the economic level of the people and improve the organisation of the health service. The story of the syphilis pest which allegedly left none of the natives untouched, has been refuted.

Connections in the North are not in accordance with the speed of development in the Soviet Union. The North will never be covered with a network of telegraph wires. The great distances demand the building of wireless stations with short and long waves and for shorter distances a telephon service. According to the Five-Year Plan, the number of the wireless stations existing to-day is to be doubled.

The transport system which exists at present in the North is a hindrance in many respects to the cultural, commercial and in particular to the industrial plans of the Soviet authorities. The existing water transport connections (river and coastal traffic) are insufficient. The one air line (to Yakutsk) and the two railway lines (to Murmansk and Archangel) only serve an insignificant section of this Northern territory which represents about 50% of the whole of the R. S. F. S. R. The economic and scientific organisations therefore demand more and more frequently the utilisation of the air service for scientific exploration, for the transport of valuable goods, furs, skins, gold, for the post, etc. In connection with the speedy development which is taking place, it is already possible to set up permanent air lines upon a paying basis.

At the present stage, however, methods of transport in winter are limited chiefly to horses, dogs and reindeers. These methods of transport have existed for a very long time, but still leave much to be wished for with regard to regularity, cheapness and comfort.

Reindeer breeding, hunting, fishing, the gathering of berries and nuts already provide export commodities to a value of several millions, but if modern technical methods were put into operation, the value would be increased to hundreds of millions.

In order to increase the value of commodity production in the North, it is first of all necessary to organise those who are engaged in it (fishers, hunters, berry and nut pickers, etc.). The chief role as organising factors is played by the productive co-operatives, which have a very primitive form, and the collective undertakings. In the last few months a discussion was carried on as to whether it would be possible to organise collective undertakings in the Tundra districts. The natives, however, have already made a practical beginning. Up to the present, there are not many collective undertakings, but the idea of collectivisation is obviously not foreign to the natives. It will be necessary to find the most suitable organisational form and to send instructors and the necessary means in the form of credits. A section of the products of the North, for instance skins, is so profitable, that it can very well bear the extra costs involved by aeroplane transport.

With regard to the increase of reindeer breeding, fishing and hunting, for the purposes of the market, this is a question which is closely connected with industrialisation. The raw materials of the North, such as meat, fish, poultry, berries, nuts, hides, wood, etc. can be used to produce tinned goods, suède leather, extracts, fats, oils, etc. and thus be made into profitable export commodities. For the North, canning and preserving factories, leather and chemical works come chiefly into question. For the economic development of the Polar district of the Soviet Union, the building of land and waterways is of decisive importance. The potential productive possibilities of the Northern district of the Soviet Union are very great. It is only necessary to understand how to open them up. The beginning has already been made.

TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

The Convention of the Trade Union Unity League.

By Wm. Z. Foster (New York).

The Convention of the T. U. U. L. (the Fourth National Convention of the T. U. E. L.) was held in Cleveland, Ohio from August 31st to September 2nd inclusive. It was the most successful general Convention ever held by the left wing trade union movement in the United States, despite a number of weaknesses in its preparation and make up.

There were present at the Convention 690 delegates. These included 181 miners, 66 steel workers, 52 automobile workers, 54 needle workers, 41 building workers, 38 textile workers, and 28 railroad and marine transport workers. The bulk of the representation came from six principal industrial states: Ohio 127, Pennsylvania 121, New York 95, Illinois 66, Michigan 59, West Virginia 45. Somewhat less than half of the delegates came from the new industrial unions, the rest coming from Shop Committees in the organised industries, left wing groups in the old unions, etc. There were 159 youth delegates, 72 women, and 64 Negroes. The union delegates represented approximately 50,000 members. The delegates from the unorganised industries came from plants and factories employing approximately 600,000. These included many of the great basic trustified industries of the United States.

The figures of this Convention compare very favourably with those of the previous National Convention of the T. U. E. L., held December 3rd, 1927. At that Convention were 297 delegates, of which there were miners 28, metal 19, automobile none, needle workers 107, building workers 50, textile 9, railroad and marine transport 8. About two-thirds of the 1927 Convention (172 delegates) came from New York, where the Convention was held, and the bulk of these were needle trades workers; whereas in the 1929 Convention, which had more than twice the number of delegates, the delegation came from 19 states, and principally from the basic industries.

One of the most outstanding features of the Convention was the large delegation of Negro workers — 64. These delegates came chiefly from the basic industries. It was far and away the best Negro delegation ever developed at any left wing convention in the United States. This delegation was the very centre of interest and activity at the Convention. It indicates that the T. U. U. L. has a splendid field for work amongst the Negro workers.

The T. U. U. L. Convention was a striking example of the radicalisation of the American workers. The large size of the Convention, the militant spirit of the delegates, and the unusual intensity with which they carried through the work of the Convention, all were examples of this. The difficult situation inside the Communist Party, with the intense fight against the Lovestone attempt to split the Party, together with certain pessimistic moods, tended to prevent the necessary preparation work for the Convention, but nevertheless the workers responded splendidly. This is a concrete demonstration of the radicalisation process that is going on amongst them under the fierce pressure of capitalist rationalisation, and which is making them increasingly ready for struggle.

The Convention was a striking demonstration of the correctness of the Comintern and Profintern line for trade work in the United States, namely the building of revolutionary industrial unions in those industries where the workers are unorganised or where the reformist unions have no real power. The Convention delegates enthusiastically accepted the programme based upon the Profintern Fourth Congress decisions, and the Profintern open letter to the Convention.

At the Convention there was established a new trade union centre which affiliated to the R. I. L. U. as its American section. The old Trade Union Educational League was principally a loose organisation of the left wing inside the reformist unions. The new Trade Union Unity League, however, will be a firmly knit dues-paying organisation, and will act as the coordinating centre not only for the new unions being established in the various industries, but also for the left wing groups in the old unions. It will actively lead the whole movement in the struggle against the employers and the social reformists. The very centre of its programme is the organisation of the unorganised into new revolutionary industrial unions. The T. U. U. L. is headed by a large National Committee which meets semi-annually, and a National Executive Board of 15 members monthly. The National Officers are: General Secretary, Wm. Z. Foster; Assistant Secretary and Treasurer, Jack Schmies; National Organiser, Jack Johnstone; National Vice Organiser, J. W. Ford; and Editor, Wm. F. Dunne.

All the new unions were represented at the Convention. These include the National Miners Union, Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, National Textile Workers Union, Independent Shoe Workers Union, and the Automobile and Aircraft Workers Union. There was also a strong representation from sections of the Amalgamated Food Workers Union. In addition there were also represented the Marine Workers League, which is now developing itself into a labour union.

The Convention adopted a general programme of action as well as a constitution to fit the new character of the League. This programme is based upon the struggle against capitalist rationalisation and imperialist war. It deals with the organisation of the unorganised, strike strategy, social insurance, the question of the Labour Party, work among the colonial peoples, the fight against imperialist war, the defence of the Soviet Union, protection of foreign-born workers, etc. The Convention placed great stress upon the fight against wage cuts, and for the 7-day and 5-day week, with the 6-hour day in mining and railroad industries, and against unemployment. The whole Convention was built around the question of the organisation of the unorganised. The Gastonia trials, in which sixteen militant leaders of the textile workers face the electric chair, occupied a very central role in the Convention. The Convention will send a workers' jury to participate in the Gastonia trials, to listen to the evidence and to render its verdict to the workers generally regarding this attempt to kill off revolutionary leadership of the textile workers.

The convention was animated by a revolutionary spirit, not only outlined a programme of everyday struggle, but also condemned the capitalist system as a whole, and declared for its overthrow and the setting up of a workers, and farmers government.

The whole Convention delegation blazed with resentment and condemnation of the A. F. of L. and S. P. social reform agents and strike breakers of American Imperialism. More and more the A. F. of L. — S. P. leaders are acting as the instruments of the capitalists to speed up the workers in the industry and to demoralise them in the face of American Imperialist programme. The so-called Muste-ite or "progressive" opposition to the A. F. of L. came in for special condemnation. This group, with its sub-groups of Cannonites and Lovestonites, only serves as a screen for the revolutionary bureaucracy. This is particularly dangerous now that the workers are in a mood to organise, its policy being to draw these masses into the control of the A. F. of L. leadership to betray them shamelessly.

In connection with the Convention, a whole series of special and industrial conferences were held. These were all highly successful. The special conferences dealt with Negro workers, women work, organisation of the South, work among Latin-American workers, and the building of the official Labour Unity. The industrial Conferences dealt with the

mus in the respective industries. They concentrated themselves principally upon the working out of economic programmes of all the industries and the development of the work of organising the unorganised. Among the more important campaigns outlined, and the Convention distinguished itself for the actual character of its work, were big movements to organise: coal and metal miners, the automobile workers, marine transport workers, shoe workers, needle workers, and especially textile workers in the South. Many of these projects are already well advanced. In various trustified industries active campaigns were laid out for the beginning of the formation of preliminary groups of workers in the plants and factories, as preparation for eventual union building.

The T. U. U. L. Convention delivered a decisive defeat to the Right tendencies in the movement. Prior to the holding of the Convention, both the Cannon-Trotskyites and the Lovestonites made open efforts to mobilise their forces for the Convention; but their work came to naught. The Cannonites were not in evidence at all at the Convention, and the Lovestonites not much more. The Lovestonites had a few delegates but they were completely drowned out by the militant spirit of the Convention. They did not venture to speak during the Convention. They contented themselves to introducing two resolutions, one an opportunistic conception of the Labour Party, and the other a proposal to adopt the line of the liberals regarding the Gastonia trials. Both of these were unanimously defeated by the Convention, no one voted for them. The climax of the defeat of the Right Lovestone tendency came when Gitlow, their leader in the Convention, was defeated for election to the National Committee of the T. U. U. L., receiving only two votes.

The prospective before the newly formed Trade Union Unity League is excellent. The workers in all the basic industries are showing signs of increasing discontent and willingness to struggle. The A. F. of L. gives no leadership to these disoriented workers except to shamefully betray them into the hands of the employers. The T. U. U. L. has a splendid opportunity to acquire leadership of large masses of them. The Convention just held gave it a good start in this direction. Without doubt, in the next months the new organisation will play a highly important role in the American labour movement. The Cleveland Convention is a milestone on the road of development of the American working class.

The Social Democrats are Splitting the Swedish Trade-Union Movement.

By A. I. Smolan.

The trade-union bureaucracy in Sweden has recently begun a sharp offensive against the steadily growing opposition.

Up to the present, the reformists in this country have been trying to keep up the pretence and stated that they were "combating the injurious effects of Communist activity by democratic means".

This "patience and democratic tolerance" came to a sorry end after the parliamentary elections in September 1928, when the Communists doubled the votes cast for them, while the social democrats experienced a decided reverse. This result led to further rapprochement between the parties of the Right and the social democrats, even though the latter had entered the election fight with the intention of defeating the latter and forming a fourth "Labour Government".

Immediately after the elections, the Government of the Right invited the employers' and workers' associations to a conference at Stockholm in order "to discuss common interests in economic matters". The conference took place and was attended by a large number of employers and trade-union leaders, whereby, on the occasion of a common caucus, the reactionary prime minister emphasised, with the joyful approval of the social-democratic press, that "we are all in the same boat, whether we are capitalists or workers, and we consequently have the same interests, namely, through common effort to get the boat into safe harbour".

After the conference a systematic agitation was begun against the Communists, who had carried on successful propaganda among the working masses against the idea of class

collaboration. The unity committee of the trade union, formed under their leadership in the year 1926 had, for instance, convoked a national conference, at which more than 100,000 trade-union workers were represented, and this conference, which decided sharply against co-operation with the employers, met with the approval of the workers throughout the country. But the bourgeoisie and the social democrats were in agreement that "the Swedish workers draw the line between themselves and the Moscow hirelings and that the trade unions must be cleared of Communistic pests". The executive of the trade-union federation issued a circular to all affiliated unions demanding that they should put before their local groups and members the choice of severing all connections with the unity committee or withdrawing from the union.

This impudent ultimatum had a very different effect from that intended. In the saw-mill workers' union 37 of the big local groups decided in favour of remaining with the unity committee, while only 17 accepted the ultimatum of the trade-union bureaucrats; in the paper industry workers union the figures were 40 and 7, and the position was similar in other trade unions. In view of this feeling, several of the unions did not dare to send out the circular, and among these there was the big union of transport workers, also the two unions of the seamen.

The reformists were determined to cause a split, but there was nothing for it but to smash the movement, if they did not want to remain idle and look on while the Communists won over one local group after another, until they had carried the matter so far as to capture whole unions. As early as last year the Communists had almost half of the delegates at the annual conference of the paper workers. This summer matters were still more threatening at the trade union conference of the miners, where the Communists had 28 votes against 30 for the Social Democrats. On this occasion they were once more successful in keeping their power by democratic means, but in the heat of the fight the Reformists let it out that before the trade-union conference assembled they had decided to split the union in the event of the Communists being victorious.

The federation executive therefore insisted upon its demand, and numerous unions in which the Communists exercise great influence held their conferences in August, and the chief question was the destruction of the Communist influence. At the election of delegates the reformists succeeded by means of a furious agitation in the bourgeois and Social-Democratic press in intimidating the indifferent, passive member masses and in securing the majority once more by "democratic means".

This result did not, however, mean defeat for the Communists, who were able greatly to increase the number of votes cast for them in hundreds of the big local groups. For instance, among the metal workers in Göteborg, where at previous elections — when they had the leadership — they received only 700 to 1000 votes, they now netted 2400. The case was similar in other places, but as the simple majority decided the matter, the Social Democrats gained practically all the seats, so that the real influence of the Communists in this union was not expressed at all.

The Federation congress decided to expel every local group and every member who maintained relations with the unity committee or gave it financial support even to the extent of a few pence at a voluntary collection. Two Communist leaders were suspended immediately, "because they had offended the chairman of the federation". All members engaged over a year outside their particular trade or profession are also to be expelled. This resolution is directed chiefly against the numerous metal workers, who, as leaders of the Communist movement have brought down upon themselves the particular hatred of the Social Democrats. There are also many Social-Democratic leaders, civil servants among others, who belong to the union although for decades they have not been active in their profession, but they are enabled to evade expulsion by being nominated by their comrades in the union executive as "honorary members".

In the discussion the position of the Social-Democrats was very difficult, as they could not prove to what extent the unity committee, which had carried on propaganda for the uniting of all the trade unions of the country in a central organisation based upon the class struggle, had damaged the trade-union movement. When faced with the straight question, some of them admitted that "there could be no question of damage up to

the present", but they were of the opinion that the unity committee is working to gain the majority, and that would be injurious to the movement! The Communists pointed out that the union leaders act in co-operation with the employers, which is against the statutes, as these provide for the introduction of socialism by means of class struggle. They therefore moved that the leaders of the policy of co-operation between capital and labour and also the leaders of the unions be called to account for this violation of the statutes, but this was rejected by the Social-Democratic majority. The annual conference of the sawmill workers decided by 158 votes against 35 to throw out the opposition, while that of the foodstuff workers voted 124 for and 29 against, and among the latter there were 15 Social-Democrats and non-party delegates.

The reformists are now doing everything they can to carry out ruthlessly the offensive which has begun, and they are not even shrinking from a complete destruction of the whole trade-union movement. This was clear from the speech of the chairman of the metal-workers' union, in which he stated that "the fight against the opposition is to be carried on, even if we have to expel thousands of members!" The Social-Democratic press also announces the continuation of the "cleansing campaign" in all sub-organisations, and if the Communists are not successful in starting a comprehensive movement of protest and mobilising the masses for the defence of their membership rights, these recent resolutions will cause a complete destruction of the Swedish trade-union movement.

THE WHITE TERROR

The Yugoslavian Torture Chambers and the Social Fascists.

By P.

Day by day heartrending reports are received from Yugoslavia of fresh murders and of terrible instances of torture in the police goals, as also of the arrest of hundreds of workers and peasants accused of Communism.

The butchers have recourse to the most cruel means for the purpose of extorting confessions from the imprisoned workers. They desire to be informed as to conspiracies among the comrades, secret Party material, printing-presses, dwellings employed as places of assembly, and the like. The letters of our comrades contain details which make one's blood run cold. We may mention but a few names of comrades who have survived torture. Comrade M. Trifunovitch of Tuzla, former member of Parliament and now secretary of the Miners' Union of Bosnia, can no longer stand upright as a result of the injuries received. Comrade I. Krundel of Zagreb, a well-known union leader of Croatia and a man of exceptional strength and health, can no longer walk without a stick. Comrade Goyko Bukovitch of Mostar, former member of Parliament and a well-known Communist, it may just be possible to save, while it is not known whether Anna Buturatz from Zagreb, member of the C. C. of the Textile Workers' Union, whose hair was pulled out, is still alive. Others are V. Iskanovitch, a lawyer of Sarajevo, A. Bergmann, a clerk, Katya Govorushitch and her daughter Sora, Milorad Petrovitch, Blagoye Nikolitch, Sekegi, Gova Didner, Dushaya Dmitrievitch, Ganetz, and Shalomon.

The basest form of terrorism in Yugoslavia and its special characteristic, is the murder of revolutionary prisoners of the Fascist Government. During the last few days of August, three political prisoners were murdered in the Zagreb prison; their names could not yet be ascertained. Both before and after May 1st, certain comrades were arrested, who subsequently altogether disappeared. In the middle of May, postal parcels were discovered at the Belgrade post office and at the railway depôt at Nish, containing mutilated bodies, without heads or limbs.

In all these crimes of the Yugoslav Government and in all the persecutions to which the broad masses of workers and peasants are exposed by Zivkovitch's bloodthirsty sluths, the Yugoslav Social Fascists play a particularly despicable rôle. Their journal, which appears freely at Belgrade, carries on

virulent agitation against the Communists and condones all crimes of the Fascist butchers. The treacherous yellow unions conducted by them, which, deserted as they are by honest workers, have greatly shrunk, enjoy not only full liberty but also the virtual support of the Government, their representatives taking part, together with those of the employers, in Government commissions for the restriction of the workers' rights. They defend all Government measures undertaken against the workers, declaring to the latter that "it would be a mistake to request the Government to heap benefits on the workers." They are not ashamed of seeking to justify the base murders committed in the prisons.

One of the most shameless publications of Social-Fascism, not only in Yugoslavia but internationally, is the obituary announced by Iova Iakshевич, a Social-Democratic leader, appearing in the Social-Democratic paper "Voice of Liberty" on May 16th, just after the discovery of the body of our comrade murdered comrade, Diura Diakovitch. The article is headed "Symbolic End" and closes with the following words:

"The death of Diura Diakovitch occurs at a time when the heroic type of a romantic champion is rapidly disappearing from the labour movement, giving place to a man as work circumspectly and warily, at a time when men perish who cannot adapt themselves. Among these he occupies a prominent place. He did not direct his gaze at the people and circumstances around him, but on a single point in front of him."

The Social-Fascists, who seem to have lost all sense of shame and the last spark of respect for the revolutionary struggle of the masses, evince their cynical joy at the fact that the police assassins are aiding in the "rapid disappearance" of the best revolutionaries, thus making way for the men of circumspection and adaptation.

The main press organs of the international Social-Fascism, led by the Berlin "Vorwärts", preserve silence in regard to the despicable attitude of their Yugoslav friends. From time to time they shed a few "crocodile's tears" for the victims of the Yugoslav police, but upon the whole they support the brigand rule of the Yugoslav Government. Hermann Wendel, an expert on Yugoslav affairs and a writer in the pay of whatever Yugoslav Government is in office, constantly defends the interests of the Fascist Government of Yugoslavia in the columns of the "Vorwärts", while Siegfried Jakobi (on the staff of the same paper), who likes to call himself a "Left" Social Democrat, visited Yugoslavia on behalf of the "Socialist" International and the German Social Democrats, and contributed a vehement defence of the Yugoslav Government to the Yugoslav chauvinistic Government publication "Vremya" (of August 22nd).

In spite of this treachery on the part of the Social-Fascist Communist Party of Yugoslavia, forced into the street by illegality and in many respects severely damaged but nevertheless determined to carry on a life-and-death struggle against the enemies who are out to annihilate its leading cadres, it yet succeeded in maintaining a connection with the broad masses of the proletariat, leading them to the fight, extending its influence to wide circles of the peasantry, and undoubtedly enjoying a hegemony in the national movement of emancipation from the hated Fascist military dictatorship. Of late, especially in connection with August 1st, the Party succeeded in introducing agitation into the ranks of the army and undermining even this last prop of tyranny.

At present, more than ever before, the chief task of the C. P. of Yugoslavia lies in maintaining the closest touch with the masses by its resistance to all attacks on its ranks and the organisation of self-defence for the masses against their persecutors, in organising them for the fight, and in so guiding them that, when the moment for action comes, they may deal a deathblow to the Fascist tyrants.

In this unparalleled fight, our Yugoslav Party and the entire Yugoslav proletariat may well look for the most active help of the whole Communist International with all its sections and of the proletariat of all the world.

New Political Monster Trials in Bulgaria.

By D. Ivanov (Sophia).

Fascist justice has been working at top speed during the few weeks upon orders from the government. In connection with the mass arrests during the general strike of the tobacco workers and with the still more numerous mass arrests connected with International Youth Day a number of monster trials have begun. The prelude to the new series of trials is the approaching proceedings against 52 comrades.

The trial is of the greatest political significance. The accused are the heroic leaders of the illegal Communist Party of Bulgaria, and particularly Comrades Mladen Stoyanov and Yonko Ivanov as also the other members of the illegal communist nuclei in Sophia and of the nuclei in the railway and tramway depots, in the general post office, etc. Among the accused are also the general secretary of the independent trade unions, Comrade Jordan Milev, the deputy and member of the Workers Party executive, Comrade A. Stoyanov, the editor and chief of the independent workers' daily "Novini", Comrade Pendsherkov, who are also accused "constantly to have acted everywhere in the name of the Communist Party of Bulgaria".

At the time of the mass arrest in September-October of last year and March of this year, the whole of the bourgeois-fascist press and the Bulgarian telegraph agency "reported" on the basis of official police communications such sensational charges as "important disclosures", "discovery of conspiracies" and "preparation for fresh terrorist acts" on the part of the C. P. of Bulgaria. As "documentary evidence" there figured correspondence between Bulgarian political prisoners and Red Aid organisations in the U. S. S. R. and Germany (Cologne), as published in parliament by Prime Minister Liapchev. They served as foundation for the framing up of a "conspiracy" between Bulgarian and foreign Communists.

And, as usual, the social-Fascist press organised a despicable agitation campaign. While the working class press published the protest of the relatives of the prisoners, in which the ghastly tortures were described, the chief journal of Bulgarian Social Democracy "Narod" stated that the functionaries and members of the C. P. of Bulgaria deserved their fate! The same paper even dared to publish the dirty libel that Mladen Stoyanov, who was tortured in bestial fashion at the headquarters of the police and had attempted suicide, was a spy in the pay of the police.

All the efforts of the police and of the officials conducting the preliminary examination during the course of 11 or 12 months to extract by means of cruel tortures "proofs" of a connection between the illegal C. P. of Bulgarian and the legal class organisations of the workers, and on the basis of the extorted "confessions" to procure a pretext for the suppression of these organisations and bring to light the whole illegal Communist organisation failed in view of the steadfastness and courage of the Communist workers under arrest. In the indictment the accused are charged with founding and being members or leaders of, the illegal C. P. of Bulgaria and in some cases with forging documents or handling forged documents. And merely on account of this organisational political activity the public prosecutor demands punishments under the law for the protection of the State amounting to 710 — seven hundred and ten! — years imprisonment in addition to fines aggregating several million levas!

The trial of the 52 comrades coincides with an extraordinary aggravation of the political crises in the country. In September of last year, when the first arrests were made, Bulgaria was characterised by the most critical phase of the Government crisis. In March of this year, when the second series of arrests took place, the fight within the Government terminated at the request of England and France with the resignation of the Minister of War, General Volkov. The Fascist Government of Liapchev regards the present moment of the wildest terror, of the new mass arrests and gagging of the working class Press as especially favourable for the carrying out of the trial. By this trial the Fascist Government desires to deliver a fresh blow to the C. P. of Bulgaria, the vanguard of the proletariat and to throttle the growing fight of the toiling masses against capitalist exploitation, against the Fascist dictatorship, against the danger of war and especially against the contemplated attack upon the Soviet Union.

The Government is pushing on with its measures for the dissolution of the legal class organisations. All the members of the central committee of the Workers Party, as also the leaders of the independent trade unions, of the tobacco workers' union and others are under arrest. In several new big political trials, such as that in Sophia against 30, in Plovdiv against 27 workers and in general in all the larger towns; functionaries and members of the legal class organisations are accused under the law for the protection of the State of participation in the international anti-war demonstration.

A clearer proof of the feverish war preparations than these fresh mass trials and the intensified fury of the White Terror is hardly thinkable. Every day more editors of the legal revolutionary working class press are being thrown into jail. The sharpest methods are also being employed against the youth. Thus, in connection with International Youth Day mass trials are being held in Sophia (against 38 youths) and in the whole of the provinces.

An international campaign of protest against the trial of the 52 comrades, against the new series of political trials must and can be carried on at the same time as the international campaign against the Terror justice in America, Yugoslavia and Rumania. The revolutionary united front of the international proletariat must be opposed to the counter-revolutionary campaign of the international bourgeoisie.

THE NEGRO MOVEMENT

Revolutionary Tasks in the West Indies.

By Georg Padmore (U. S. A.).

Since the Hoover-MacDonald gesture of Anglo-American relationship with respect to the reduction of armaments, the West Indies have come sharply to the front as one of the most vital problems in the present naval controversy.

The "New York Times", the official organ of American finance-capital, recently stated that if the British "Labour" Government is sincere in its professions for better relations between Great Britain and the United States, MacDonald's first act would be to demolish the British Naval Bases at Halifax, Bermuda, Jamaica, and Trinidad. For these bases represent a challenge to America's naval power in the Atlantic, and command the strategic approaches to the Panama Canal.

Despite the proposal of the American naval strategists, the Hoover-Wall Street Government continues to strengthen its grip upon the Latin American Republics on the one hand, and the Caribbean islands (Cuba, Haiti, Porto Rico and the Virgin Islands) on the other, so as to prepare for the inevitable clash between these two imperialist giants.

The situation has become more intensified since the Young Reparations Plan and the new tariff bill which has already provoked general protest, especially amongst the European Powers with Great Britain and France in the lead.

The accelerated internal and external contradictions between these and other imperialist nations are making for new realignments and together with this, we see the feverish preparations which are being made among the capitalist states. In view of this, it is no accident that the question of abolishing the British West Indian Naval Bases should be raised at this time during the manoeuvres between these two antagonistic capitalist imperialist powers — Great Britain and the U. S. A.

The present economic, social, and political conditions of the toiling masses in the West Indies makes the situation favourable for revolutionary propaganda and mass work along trade union lines. In the largest of the British colonies, Jamaica and Trinidad, as well as British Guiana, on the mainland of South America, the post-war industrialisation is producing a well crystallised proletariat and semi-proletariat.

Within recent years, the natural resources of these colonies have undergone tremendous developments. This is especially so in Trinidad where there are extensive deposits of asphalt (pitch), and oil. The exclusive right of digging for asphalt has been granted to the New Trinidad Lake Asphalt Co. Ltd. of London, and the lake which covers an area of 114 acres, with an unfathomable depth is a source of great revenue to the Colonial Government and profits for the company. The export of asphalt in 1926

was 180,950 metric tons valued at £451,967, from which the Government derived a revenue of £88,303. The bulk of the asphalt is exported to the United States, where it is chiefly employed in construction work and paving streets. Thousands of Negroes are employed to dig the pitch and to load the ships at La Brea, the principal shipping port for this industry. These men get an average of thirty cents per day, and live under horrible conditions. There is little or no labour legislation for their protection. Most of them are still unorganised and therefore helpless to resist the companies' repressive measures and the terrorism of the government. Spontaneous strikes frequently occur, but the lack of militant leadership and organisational methods of the class struggle are the present problems confronting these colonial slaves. The same situation exists in all the other industries.

Trinidad is one of the chief British controlled oil producing centres in the New World; and is the principal naval base off the South American coast for the North Atlantic and Caribbean fleet of the British Navy.

The southern section of the island is described as a lake of oil. The output of petroleum in 1927 was 5,380,464 barrels; 4,971,000 in 1926 and 4,387,000 in 1925, from about 1,000 wells. These figures indicate the upward trend of production. All the companies are under British financial control, but large numbers of American and native drillers are employed. The Pearson and Royal Dutch Shell Companies hold the biggest interests in oil industry.

The vast majority of the workers employed on the various oil fields are Negroes. Within recent years Hindus have been attracted to the industry. The wages are shockingly low and the standard of living primitive. As a result of the predominant interest concentrated in the oil industry, the extensive beds of coal of considerable thickness which cross the island from coast to coast have not been touched.

Exclusive of mining, Trinidad, like most of the West Indies, is largely agricultural. The principal products are: cocoa, sugar, copra, coconuts, rum, molasses and fruit. Millions of dollars worth of these products are exported to the United States and Europe annually. Despite the intensive campaign being carried on by the British Empire Chamber of Commerce, the Colonial Institute of London and local British imperial organisations, American business is giving British competitors the battle of their lives. The following table shows the increased volume of trade between Trinidad and the United States. This again indicates that Britain is not only losing out in Latin America, Canada, and in Asia, but also in her Caribbean possessions.

Year	Imports	Exports
1922	\$4,872,198	\$4,519,754
1923	\$4,394,054	\$5,161,979
1924	\$3,822,403	\$4,862,208
1925	\$4,028,891	\$5,969,984
1926	\$4,905,135	\$8,234,031
1927	\$5,929,560	\$7,642,936

Because of the agricultural importance of Trinidad, the agrarian problem is one of great importance. The manufacturing of sugar with its by-products, rum and molasses, represent the second industry of importance, and is chiefly carried on in large factories called "usines", the largest being St. Madeline, situated in the southern part of the island. San Fernando, the second port of the colony, is the chief shipping centre for the sugar industry. Hundreds of ships call there yearly and thousands of longshoremen and porters are employed on the docks. There are over seventy large sugar plantations yielding more than 100,000 tons of sugar annually. Before the war, a large percentage of the sugar cane used to be cultivated by peasant-farmers who sold their crops to the factories. These farmers owned the land, but the present trend is to abolish small holdings and to concentrate the lands of the farmers into big plantations controlled by British corporations and absentee landlords. In this way the peasants are fast becoming a landless semi-proletariat, working part of the time on the land and another part in industry and the oil fields. The land problem is the biggest issue in the country today. The farmers are in revolt against the big landlords and the government, for they realise that their condition is getting daily worse.

In discussing the West Indian problem we have to take into consideration the geographical factor. Trinidad is only sixteen miles off the coast of Venezuela which is today one of America's greatest oil producing centres. The proximity makes the island

one of tremendous importance to Britain as a naval base. In the event of war, Port-of-Spain could be used as a submarine base as was done during the last war to menace the enemy's shipping along the South American route. This view point is supported by the public statement of a British militarist.

Jamaica is the largest and most valuable of the British possessions in the Caribbean Sea. It covers an area of about 4,674 square miles including the out-lying islands, and has a population of 936,927. Jamaica occupies a rather strategic position, guarding the Windward Passage, a narrow strait between the islands of Cuba and Haiti, which are controlled by the United States.

Unlike Trinidad there is little or no mining carried on in Jamaica. The industries are entirely agricultural. Her chief products are: sugar, rum, coconuts, molasses, copra, bananas, oranges, and other tropical fruit. The sugar production in 1924/25 was about 50,000 tons and rum 1,250,000 gallons. In the large towns there are tanneries, iron foundries, electric light plants, gas and water works, which employ thousands of Negro workers. The manufacture of cigars (considered among the best in the world), cigarettes, matches, dyes, lime juice, soap, coconut oil, ice, malt, meal and starch also yield considerable profits.

In the rural district much attention is paid to the breeding of live stock, including horses, cattle and mules. The United States of America enjoys the greatest portion of the foreign trade with the island, the United Kingdom comes next with Canada third. The banana and orange trade is chiefly carried on with the United States, but rum and sugar are exported in large quantities to England and other parts of the British Empire. The United Fruit Company of New York has a monopoly of the banana industry.

The following table shows the trade relationship with the United States:

Year	Imports	Exports
1922	\$8,196,249	\$7,261,979
1923	\$8,837,000	\$6,626,261
1924	\$7,291,083	\$6,174,493
1925	\$8,944,853	\$8,237,611
1926	\$8,585,633	\$9,110,754
1927	\$8,640,627	\$9,722,893

Apart from the industries described, the marine workers are an important section of the working class. The bulk of the workers employed as sailors, longshoremen, boatmen, etc. in the West Indian ports are Negroes. The big ocean liners are unable to dock along the piers in West Indian ports, and are therefore compelled to load and unload cargo in barges, and the only available labour for this kind of seaport-work is Negro labour. Nearly all the big steamship companies employ black seamen and stevedores to handle cargo throughout the West Indies. Therefore, the organisation of these workers will be a tremendous weapon for the revolutionary movement and should not be neglected. The organisation of a West Indian Marine Federation would represent the key to the entire industrial situation, for in insular countries such as the West Indies everything depends upon marine transportation. The internal transportation systems such as railroads, street-car, bus and taxicab companies are all operated by native workers. The same applies to electric lighting, gas and other public utilities. Here again organisational steps should be taken to bring these workers together under the banner of industrial unionism.

In racial composition the population of Jamaica, Trinidad and British Guiana resemble each other. The majority of the population are Negroes, referred to as blacks and mulattoes. In Jamaica there are 645,000 blacks, 163,000 mulattoes, 18,000 East Indians, indentured "coolie" labourers brought from India to work on the sugar cane plantations; 15,600 European and American whites, 2,100 Chinese and 3,520 other Asiatics. On an average there are about 190 inhabitants to every square mile, and in proportion to its size, Jamaica is more thickly populated than any European country. This, together with the horrible economic condition of the natives, accounts for the large numbers of Negroes who leave Jamaica annually to work on the Cuban sugar cane plantations and recently in the Colombian banana district where they have been used to break the strike of the Spanish workers. Besides these two large colonies described, there are a number of smaller but equally important islands from a naval and economic point of view, under British control. They are scattered from the coast of Florida to the mouth of the Orinoco River.

These include the Bahamas, with a population of about 200,000. This group of islands form a semi-circle from the south of Florida to the north coast of Cuba, and serve as an important naval base in the Atlantic. South of the Bahamas are the **Windward Islands** which extend as far as Trinidad, the most easterly of the group.

A glance at any map of the Caribbean area will confirm the importance of every one of these islands from a naval aspect. It is therefore no surprise to hear of the demands of the American imperialists to their British rivals about demolishing these naval holds as a guarantee of "good faith", at this time when the hypocritical pacifist parley between **Ambassador Dawes**, the representative of American capitalism, and **MacDonald**, the notable lackey of British Imperialism, are taking place in order to lead the working class with their empty gestures of peace.

The conferences in London are part of the smoke screen of imperialism behind which the capitalist class is preparing to plunge the workers of Europe and America, as well as the colonial masses, into another international slaughter. We must answer the intrigues by arousing the broadest mass of colonials and colonial workers against their imperialist oppressors, and in that way link up their fight for freedom with the struggles of the masses of the home countries for the final overthrow of the system of exploitation.

In Trinidad the trade union movement, with 70,000 members, is controlled by the **Workingmen's Association**, which is its sister organisation in British Guiana, is affiliated with the British "Labour" Party. Despite the unfortunate relationship, the colonial trade union organisations wield a tremendous influence in local politics and already have the biggest mass basis of any of the various political groupings. In the colonial legislatures, the majority of the elected representatives are labour leaders. However, the majority of these so-called leaders of the masses are not workers, but petty-bourgeois intellectuals who exploit the mass following behind the labour parties for their own ends. Nevertheless, the social composition of the West Indian labour organisations is really proletarian, but the workers have not yet produced their own cadres, but let the shrewd intellectuals (lawyers, journalists, teachers, doctors, etc.) assume leadership. These cunning politicians maintain themselves in popular favour by playing with revolutionary phrases while at the same time betraying every struggle of the workers.

As a result of this opportunist leadership, all the parties suffer from ideological weakness. The masses are a hundred per cent. behind the leaders. This stage of political backwardness is reflected in the confused editorial columns of the **our Leader**, the official organ of the Trinidad Labour Party. Exclusive of the corrupt petty bourgeois leadership two main causes for the present ideological weakness can be attributed: 1. the corrupting influence of the British "Labour" Party, 2. the isolation of these young colonial movements from the influence of genuine revolutionary struggles.

An indication of the fighting qualities of the West Indian workers was the longshoremen's strike in Port-of-Spain in 1924. Not only a series of militant strikes have occurred in Jamaica, but the Jamaican Negroes have that most revolutionary tradition of the Caribbean blacks. From the days of the Maroon rebellions to this, they have been considered the most bellicose and most aggressive. They are easily won over to revolutionary propaganda as they are very sensitive to oppression, in consequence of which the British government has always ruled Jamaica at the point of the bayonet.

The greatest need among the West Indian workers is leadership — ideological and organisational. There is a strong link between racial solidarity between the blacks and the East Indians who have lived side by side for years without a single instance of race conflict. This is very much unlike the situation between the black and white workers in the United States and in Africa. This solidarity between the West Indian blacks and East Indians can be explained by the fact that both groups make up the bulk of the working class, and are subjected to the same system of ruthless exploitation by the mulattoes and whites, who form the privileged classes in West Indian society. Steps must be taken to overcome the isolation of the European and American labour movement from the Caribbean colonies and to assist the labour movements in strengthening their political ideology and trade union organisations. In the field of trade union activities, the co-operation of the T. U. E. L. and

the A. N. L. C. in America, and the Minority Movement in England would be very effective. The All America Anti-Imperialist League and the European Leagues Against Imperialism should also pay more attention to this section of the colonial world. Apart from the labour groups there are large and influential youth organisations and clubs in all of the colonies. Although chiefly cultural, they nevertheless show much interest in the political affairs of the countries. This is especially so among the East Indians. In Trinidad there is an **East Indian National Congress** and a **National Association**, representing the Hindu and Mohammedan wings of the national revolutionary movement of India. These organisations, like the West India Federation Movement, should be brought closer to the League Against Imperialism. Like the Negro intellectuals in these colonies, the young East Indian students intellectuals are ardent nationalists, and as such, are opposed to British domination. But these anti-imperialist elements are confused, and chiefly manifest their dissatisfaction in useless and ineffective squabbles among themselves. What they need is proper leadership and a proper understanding of their problems.

A revolutionary cadre is the most urgent need today in order to take the lead and direct the working class into independent mass action so as to break with the petty bourgeois leadership. Efforts should also be made to unite the various labour movements of the different islands into a **West Indian Labour Federation or Congress**, in order to overcome the present insularity which exists among them. Labour organisations should be won over to the R. I. L. U. The coming international trade union conference of Negro workers and other labour groups set for July 1930 should be the unifying force in the West Indies as well as linking up the struggles of the Negro workers throughout the United States, the African colonies, and South America.

The Negro workers and farmers are still to a very large extent under the illusion that the intellectuals of their race are their best leaders. This is especially so in the colonies, where these treacherous leaders fake an aggressive attitude towards the imperialists while at the same time betraying the workers. This false ideology has to be ruthlessly combated in order to expose the counter-revolutionary role of this middle-class leadership and fight for the hegemony of the workers in alliance with the peasantry, for this is the only way in which the emancipation and victory of the oppressed colonial masses can be assured.

PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

The White Terror Employed against the Women Workers of Yugoslavia.

By Vera (Zagreb).

While the pompous phrases of the International Women's Section of the "Fidac" (International Federation of Ex-Servicemen of the Entente countries and America) resound in Belgrade in praise of the work done by the Yugoslav section in the interest of a maintenance of peace, the first reliable reports issue from the police gaol of that city in regard to the sufferings and torments of those women that have been imprisoned by the ruling Government in its desire to stamp out the revolutionary movement of the working masses, so as to have absolute freedom to carry on war preparations. While preparations are being made for the "pacifist" congress resolved by the Berlin International Congress of Feminists, an event to be held at Belgrade "in honour of Yugoslavia's pacifist policy" ("Vreme" of June 26th, 1929), the monarchist military dictatorship wages constant war on workers of both sexes, on the working men and women of Yugoslavia.

Among the many prisoners and victims there are numerous women, whose names are gradually becoming known in spite of the police practice of false lists.

Besides the garment worker **Anka Buturatz**, who was arrested and most cruelly tortured five months ago, the prisoners in the police gaol of Zagreb comprise the textile-worker **Anka Grzetitch** and her sister **Rosa**, both of whom have been most brutally beaten, (Anka in particular). It is thought that the woman who is said to have "jumped" out of the window of the gaol, thereby incurring considerable injuries, must have been either **Anka Grzetitch** or else **Yagica Oreshki**, the widow of

Miyo Oreshki, who was murdered by the police at Samobor near Zagreb (Croatia).

In the same prison, moreover, there is the home-worker Yankes, the foodstuff-worker Yulka Russek, the student Alma Sonnenschein, and the housewives Hermine Galogaza, Blau, and Wirth. All these have been pining for months in the police gaol, without proceedings having as yet been instituted against them. Only Katica, a printer, arrested last February, was handed over to the court after having been subjected to a long cross-examination and dragged about by the hair; she is still awaiting trial.

On the occasion of the last great arrests at Sarajevo (Bosnia) prior to August 1st, the female workers Kata Govorushitch and her daughter Zora, a student, were arrested and cruelly beaten. Kata's mother, a woman of 70, came to the goal to inquire after her daughter and granddaughter, but was thrown out by the chief-of-police with the words: "Get out, old witch. You're the mother of a pack of whores". This was meant to refer to the fact that others of the old woman's daughters are also known to be class-conscious workers.

Already more than three months ago, the workers Rosi Keri, Fuchs, Germann, and Marton were arrested at Velcki Békerek on the charge of carrying on Communist propaganda; they are still under police arrest, as are also Anka Pecarski, a tobacco-worker of Nish, aged 55, and Savka Tassitch, a clerk.

At Ljubljana, Paula Kastrin, manageress of the workers' and peasants' journal "Enotnost", and Mitzi Drachsler were arrested in April, while in August there followed the arrest of Francika Klintz. All three of them have been handed over to the courts and await the class-verdicts of the agents of dictatorship who recently went to the length of condemning to nine months' hard labour the housewife Maria Breznik of Maribor, suffering from a serious nervous malady, merely on the strength of the police accusation of having conducted Communist propaganda.

But the women workers of Yugoslavia will not cease to fight against the military-Fascist regime of tyranny and for their emancipation in the ranks of the revolutionary proletariat.

Women Jute Workers in Dundee.

By Mary Brooksbank.

Here in Dundee the thin edge of the wedge of rationalisation is being applied in the jute industry.

In one mill the workers have been put back on the 10-hours day, with one spinner actually tending 4 frames. The pretext for this being a hurried Government (Labour) order. The effect of this imposition upon the physique of the women employees can be readily imagined, when it is explained that prior to and during the war the usual practice was 1 spinner 1 frame, but since then a few of the mills have instituted double spinning, until it has become the general rule, despite the fact that there are from 12,000 to 14,000 unemployed in the city, the majority of whom are jute workers.

Here it must be explained that a spinner tending 2 frames does not receive double wages, nor anything like it, the average wage for a single frame being 30s. but for tending two frames 36s. is the usual, which means a saving of £1.4.0 for the employer and more acute unemployment amongst the workers.

Here in Dundee we have the tragic position of young men being thrown on to the scrap heap under a minimum wage agreement which places the employers under an obligation to pay a higher rate to these young workers when they reach 18, but instead of paying the higher scale, they are paid off and younger workers taken on.

Dundee is a classic example of capitalist exploitation of women. Here the women are very often the principal breadwinners, and work under the most harassing and heartbreaking conditions, their abject poverty compelling many of them to work up until within a few hours of confinement. Infants of a few weeks are carried out in the early hours to be looked after, either in

nurseries, which are hopelessly inadequate to meet the needs of such a big industrial city where female labour predominates or as is more often the case, taken to some neighbours, where the sole interest in them is the few shillings they receive for their keep.

The life of the working women of Dundee is one of absolute drudgery. 8³/₄ hours in the mill and when she gets home she has to do the cooking for the next day, her washing and the manifold tasks that are a feature of the daily routine of the working class wife and mother.

Can we wonder that the infantile mortality so far as this city is concerned is the highest in the country. But there are signs that militancy is asserting itself amongst our working women here, for we find them listening eagerly and with the utmost sympathy to the Communist Party message. Tired wives and mothers after a day's toil in mill or factory will often spend hours listening to our speakers, and our workgate meetings raising the keenest discussion.

The heroism of these women is a constant inspiration to those of us who are carrying on the fight against rationalisation and war preparations.

In a London Clothing Factory.

By a London Clothing Worker.

I have been working for the past week at Simpsons' London Clothing factory, and I want to open the eyes of the workers to the truth about this so-called "model factory".

The building has been built on the most modern lines. There is one very long and wide room with about eight windows at each end, and in this room some three to four hundred people work. The roof is of glass so as to let the daylight in. It is certainly no thought has been given to the workers who have to work with the broiling sun beating down upon them.

The "model" factory also has model hours. Workers start at ten past eight and work without a stop till ten to one, and from two till six or seven without a stop. No tea is made in the firm, but it is brought in at lunch time and tea time is from work till seven. It is an understood thing that if you stop merely to swallow a cup of tea you must work till seven. I have seen girls go into the lavatory to eat their lunch and have to stop for a few minutes because they are not allowed to stop and eat.

Overtime is supposed to be until seven but as no one goes it is much nearer eight before the workers leave off. For overtime we get paid one penny extra for half an hour and two pence for the hour, though the Board of Trade demands time and quarter.

Three-quarters of the workers are women and girls. Most of the women are married and only too glad to work even at the miserable rate paid at Simpsons'. Young girls of about sixteen to eighteen are sweating their young lives away at piece work and helping to swell the bankbook of the big watchdog Simpsons'.

On the heavy Hoffman machines young girls and boys work at a much cheaper rate than a man, though it is a miserable work. A number of deaf and dumb young men work these machines for about 35/- a week and are supposed to be on strike.

If you sing you are told it is not an Opera House. There is no trained medical attendance in the factory. All they have is a Red Cross box and that is in the office.

In the afternoon the place gets like Bedlam. The sun beating down on you makes you irritable, and the heat of the pipes all around you and the steam of the steam-pressers, together with the jarring voice of the foreman telling you to hurry up and do everything is "special", and the manager in turn worrying you with other specials, makes life there anything but pleasant.

There is general discontent everywhere and the girls are beginning to need organising to get things moving.