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## On the Threshold of the Fourteenth Year.

By D. Manuilsky.

The anniversary of the October Revolution is the day on which the proletariat and its Party look back over the road which has been travelled, draw the balance of the year that has passed and lay down the tasks for the coming year.

Our enormous country with its untapped and immeasurable riches had waited for decades for bold reformers. Before the war and before the revolution, foreigners came and toured the country, ascertained its possibilities, prospected, made mental calculations of the dividends which it would yield on the invested capital, returned home and gave wonderful accounts of the fabulous possibilities of this country, of the coal, ore and other deposits lying untouched beneath its surface. The parasitic, inactive Russian bourgeoisie lived and worked in the old primitive fashion and in face of the American machine boasted of the Russian gift of rapidly assimilating new things. And this vast land, which had been saturated with the blood shed in the imperialist war, thirteen years ago came under the proletarian dictatorship.

There is taking place before our very eyes a miracle of which neither the Russian bourgeoisie nor foreign capital were capable. New power-works are generating electricity; the huge chimneys of factories which have been built in the reconstruction period are pouring forth smoke; the scaffolding of gigantic undertakings in course of construction towers up into the sky; through the desert wastes there winds the Turkish-Siberian Railway; the foundation of a second smelting industry is being laid in the Urals; the Stalingrad tractor factory is completed. Magnitostroy, Saporosher, Kombinat, Kusnezkostrai are names with which the proletariat is thoroughly familiar. The tempo

which the working class has adopted in the building up of Socialism is beyond all comparison; it surpasses the most rapid tempo of American capitalism in its most flourishing period. A new generation of builders of Socialism, a new generation as if made of ferro-concrete and steel has arisen. The world has never seen such a creative energy of millions, such a fire of enthusiasm. Heroism, not of individuals, but of nameless untold masses—that is what characterises our epoch. How indescribably miserable against this tremendous background sounds the monotonous whining of the "hypocrites" and those who stand behind them, who are being swept away by the new, powerful wave of revolutionary upsurge in the Soviet Union. And these people want by fractional activity to undermine the iron cohort of the Bolsheviki who have been welded together with the working class by the revolutionary upsurge.

At the same time there is taking place a thorough transformation of the village on the basis of collectivisation. The bourgeois economists have continually proclaimed that the peasant will always cling to his plot of land. The bourgeois writers idealised the "idyllic" of village life. The politicians skillfully took advantage of the instinct of the peasant proprietors. In the history of the revolutions of the 19th century the peasant figured as the social support of Bonapartism, as bestial Versailles who drowned in blood the revolt of the Paris workers. In addition, the social democracy for decades frightened their working class followers with the bogey of the unavoidable peasant counter-revolution. And today the proletariat and its Party, by a living concrete example of

world historical importance, has upset the historical formula of the previous century and showed by deeds how the decisive masses of the small and middle peasants can, together with the proletariat, but under its leadership, become a factor of the socialist transformation of society.

All these successes have been achieved in the fiercest fight against the entire capitalist world, in a situation of uninterrupted intrigues, conspiracies, economic blockades and constant attempts of the world bourgeoisie to unite with the capitalist elements in town and country in the Soviet Union, to promote the fight of these elements against the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist construction by organising acts of sabotage. The whole capitalist world and its Kautskyist white-guardist sabotage agency realise that there is now developing a decisive battle between two world systems which in its importance for the fate of the peoples far exceeds all battles hitherto known in history. Waterloo, which determined the fate of European capitalism for a century, was child's play compared with this battle which will bring the downfall of the old capitalist world. This battle is deciding the question of the "relative balance" of two systems; it is already creating today the preconditions for the preponderance of the forces of revolution and of Socialism.

## II.

Whilst in the Soviet Union the thirteenth anniversary of the October Revolution synchronises with the highest point of socialist construction, in the capitalist world it occurs at a time of world economic crisis which has not yet reached its peak. This winter will be the worst the capitalist world has experienced since the end of the world war. Profound pessimism and general uncertainty prevail in the capitalist camp. In the policy of the bourgeoisie there is to be observed nervousness and contradiction. In a number of capitalist countries (Poland and Finland) a disintegration of the regime has already commenced. The zig-zag course of this policy stands in striking contrast to the calm, firm purposefulness of the Soviet Union and of the Party of the October Revolution, the C. P. S. U. The optimistic semi-official assurances of Hoover that the crisis in the United States was approaching its end, and that in the Spring of 1930 the former prosperity would be restored, have died away. Mussolini has been already forced to state that capitalism requires at least three years in order to emerge from the present crisis.

Who have proved right in their estimates of the crisis, the Communists or the bourgeois politicians and economists?

Against all the bourgeois economic institutions, against all the social fascist chameleons who grovel before Trust capital, the Communists declared at the XV. Party Congress of the C. P. S. U. in 1927 through the mouth of Comrade Stalin that "out of the stabilisation itself there is growing up the profoundest and severest crisis of world capitalism, a crisis which will completely upset the stabilisation". The inexorable facts of 1930 have confirmed the Bolshevik estimate of capitalist stabilisation.

In February last the Plenum of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. spoke of the inevitable development of the crisis which had begun in the United States, into a world economic crisis. In the eight months which have elapsed since then, it has become a general crisis. Today it has seized countries which in February were in a state which precedes a crisis, as for instance France, to whom the far-seeing Tardieu at the beginning of this year promised an economic boom.

In February the Communists spoke of the inevitability not only of the extension but also of the deepening of the crisis.

The facts have confirmed this prognosis. During the whole of the current year world production has sunk form month to month; prices are falling not only on the market for agricultural products and raw materials but also on the market for heavy industry. The stocks of goods are accumulating in spite of restricted production; in a number of countries shares of industrial undertakings are experiencing a fresh drop. At the same time, to the old symptoms of crisis there are added new ones: the State budgets of the capitalist countries are showing increasing deficits. Some of these countries such as Austria, have arrived at that point beyond which financial bankruptcy begins. The spectre of inflation is already haunting various capitalist countries.

The Communists spoke of the inevitable development of the economic crisis in a number of capitalist countries into a political crisis, of the accentuation of the antagonisms of the classes and that on the one side fascism would grow and on the other the revolutionary upsurge of the working masses.

Here also the Communists have proved right. Not only Poland but also Germany and Austria are in the grip of a political crisis which threatens to extend to the whole of Central Europe and the Balkans. In the other countries, in the colonial and semi colonial countries, in China, India and Latin America, the political crisis is developing into a general national-revolutionary situation. This means that in these countries there is not only a decay of the ruling classes, but also a broad and deep movement of the revolutionary masses. In the countries which are seized by the crisis we witness the collapse of the old bourgeois parties, out of which the fascist party emerges, which however is by no means a sign of increasing strength on the part of the bourgeoisie, as the Right renegades declare, but rather a sign of its weakening. The tension in the relations of the classes is reaching its highest point. The class fronts between the camp of revolution and of counter-revolution are being formed at a feverish rate. The ripening of the political crisis renders more acute and deepens the economic crisis, as is seen for instance in the flight of capital from Germany after the elections of 14th September, the refusal of credits to Poland in view of the situation in Western Ukraine characterised by the punitive expedition, the decline of English imports to India as a result of the boycott movement etc.

Finally the February resolution of the E. C. C. I. Plenum recorded that one result of the crisis would be the sharpening of all international relations, both of the capitalist world with the Soviet Union and of the capitalist Powers among themselves. And in fact new attempts at a blockade of the Soviet Union are being undertaken, organised by France under the pretext of fighting against so called Soviet "dumping". With this economic war against the Soviet Union the imperialists are pursuing three aims: 1. to thwart at all costs the Five-year Plan of socialist construction; 2. to incite the small peasantry, who are being ruined by the tremendous agrarian crisis, against the Soviet Union, with the full support of this campaign by the social fascists; 3. to galvanise the fight of the capitalist elements in town and country in the Soviet Union, in the first place the resistance of the kulaks who are being liquidated as a class.

In the capitalist camp itself the tariff war has broken out with new force in the past year. The United States, Australia, Canada, Germany, Spain, Italy, the South African Union etc. have introduced protective duties against the importation of foreign goods. The attempt of the League of Nations to bring about even a temporary tariff peace has proved a failure. At the same time the United States in the fight against Great Britain for world hegemony have achieved a number of fresh successes in the Latin American countries: By means of the revolts of Generals, organised from New York, Great Britain has been ousted from such firm positions as Argentina, not to mention Peru and Bolivia.

In the sphere of world foreign policy, however, the fight over the Young Plan has at present become most acute. The fight is being waged not only between the "vanquished" and "victor" States in the last imperialist war, but also between the victors themselves. The present movement against Versailles, which found its most palpable expression in the September elections in Germany, is deeper than the fight against Versailles in the year 1923. It is not only a crisis of the Young Plan, it is a crisis of the whole Versailles system, the end of that international "equilibrium" which was created as a result of the world war. The question of the revision not only of the reparations, but also of the frontiers of the States which arose after the world war on the ruins of the old Austrian-Hungarian empire and by the separation of territory from Germany, the question of the redistribution of the colonies, of the annulment of the European debts to the United States etc. are becoming acute. In the past year the world crisis has already created the foundation for such a fatal confusion of the world and of the European situation as is bound to lead to a new European chaos. This whole accentuation of the inner and outer contradictions in the past year is creating the pre-conditions for an accelerated tempo of the revolutionary upsurge. (To be continued.)

# The World Proletariat Celebrates the 7th November.

Moscow, 10th November 1930.

The "Pravda" writes:

The Thirteenth anniversary of the October Revolution was celebrated by demonstrations of the proletariat in all countries. For not only in the Soviet Union, but also in the centres and on the borders of the capitalist world the working class went on to the streets on 7th November. In Europe and America, in the colonial countries of the Orient, in China and India, in Africa and Australia, everywhere a powerful wave of support for the Soviet Union swept the countries, a wave of solidarity with the heroic struggle of the workers and peasants in the Soviet Union.

The October celebrations in the Soviet Union have revealed the incomparable development of the creative activity of the working class. More than a million toilers participated in the demonstration in Moscow alone. Also in Leningrad the figure reached almost a million. In places where last year there was a barren desert — in Magnitogorsk and Kusnetzstroi — powerful demonstrations have now been held.

On 7th of November the workers of dozens of new factories marched through the streets and demonstrated the enormous successes achieved in the industrialisation of the country and in regard to the increased importance of the working class in society. In many pits in the Don basin the workers toiled persistently in filling the breaches in the coal front. In a number of factories, on the insistence of the workers themselves work was not stopped. Here the victory of the proletariat was celebrated in working and by work. It was a further proof of the fact that work in the Soviet Union has become "a cause of honour and fame, of bravery and heroism" (Stalin).

Persistently overcoming the difficulties of growth the Soviet Union has already entered the period of socialism. This fundamental truth is a world-historical fact which was expressed not only by the demonstrations of the socialist town but also by the demonstrations of the socialist village. This year the socialist village has for the first time, under the hegemony of and shoulder to shoulder with the proletariat, participated in the demonstrations. In the Red Square in Moscow the peasants of the collective farms marched side by side with the workers. In dozens of towns huge red grain transports arrived on 7th of November from the collective farms. At thousands of grain stores grain is uninterruptedly being received from collective farm members and individual peasants. New forms of the alliance between socialist town and village illustrating the turn towards Socialism, were strikingly demonstrated on this day.

The enemies of the working class followed with strained attention the October demonstrations of the toilers. The agents of the world bourgeoisie, the saboteurs, the counter-revolutionary Trozkyists — the hypocrites and traitors — this whole reactionary mass eagerly sought for the least breach in the ranks of the working class. In vain! The working class has given its reply to the agents of world capital by the truly gigantic march of its battalions. The Right and "Left" opportunists are uninterruptedly calumniating the Party and repeating the slogans taken from the Mensheviks and their "new" comrades in arms, the counter-revolutionary Trozkyists. They circulate the shameful legend of the alleged bureaucratisation of the Party. They maintain that the Party is becoming more and more isolated from the masses, that its contact with the working class is weakening from day to day. The October demonstrations have given the complete lie to these calumnies. On the 7th November in Leningrad alone 8,168 workers joined the Party. The overwhelming majority of these new Party members are workers of the Red Putilov, of the factories "Bolshevik", Karl Marx, Red Treugolnik and other giant concerns of Leningrad industry.

In their struggle against the socialist rate of industrialisation of the country and the liquidation of the kulak as a class, the Right opportunists as well as their "Left" comrades in arms are assuming the hypocritical garb of alleged sympathy for the working class. They speculate on the difficulties of our growth and in their endeavours to shatter the confidence of the workers in the Party, they pretend to be the real protectors of the working class. Millions of toilers on

the 7th of November exposed this trick of the Right and "Left" opportunists. Millions of workers and peasants stigmatised them as open agents of the kulaks, as objective henchmen of the saboteurs and of the whole world bourgeoisie. The millions of columns of the toilers of the Soviet Union have clearly expressed themselves in favour of the highest rate of industrialisation, for complete collectivisation, for the liquidation of the kulaks as a class on the basis of complete collectivisation.

The Right opportunists and their "Left" comrades in arms seek unscrupulously to mask their struggle against the general line of the Party by hypocritical recognition in words of the correctness of the general line of the Party. But just as the whole Party, so also the workers do not believe in these assurances. The workers, together with the Party, clearly recognise that these lip confessions are diametrically opposed to the opportunist practice of the Right and "Left" opportunists to their shameful secret fraction struggle against the Party and its C. C. Therefore, the millions of toilers stigmatised on 7th November the Right and "Left" opportunists as agents of the kulaks in the Party, as hypocrites and traitors and demanded of the C. C. the most determined and ruthless struggle against them.

The demonstration on 7th November revealed the tremendous welding together of the working class and its Party round the Leninist leadership of the Party. And while in the countries of capitalism it demonstrated with all emphasis, the crisis and rottenness of the capitalist world and was there a harbinger of the inevitable downfall of capitalism, it has here demonstrated the rapidly growing force of Socialism and its unvanquishable power.

The Soviet Union has entered the fourteenth year of its existence in disciplined columns of millions who are building up Socialism. The Red Army which for 13 years has defended the dictatorship of the proletariat with weapons in hand, demonstrated on the 7th November its readiness to repel every enemy. On this day millions of workers in town and country rallied round the flag of the Leninist Party. Under this flag we have entered with a firm step on the 14th year of socialist construction. Under this flag we shall complete the work of Lenin, and no force will be able to stop our progress on the path on which the working class entered in October 1917.

## POLITICS

### Class against Class in the Polish Election Campaign.

By J. Lenski (Warsaw).

The elections to the Polish Sejm are to be held on the 16th November next. The election campaign which commenced very feebly is now proceeding with an ever increasing swing. The nearer the polling day approaches the greater the activity displayed by the parties.

It is becoming more and more clear that the real fight is being waged between two camps: between the Workers and Peasants Bloc, with the Communist Party at the head, and the fascist camp, which is split into warring fractions and cliques.

Therefore, the whole weight of the fascist terror falls on the revolutionary bloc and its Communist advance-guard. This is proved by the raids on the Communists, the mass arrests of revolutionary workers and peasants, the dissolution of all meetings, and a monstrous attack on the election lists of the Anti-fascist Bloc. The temporary measures of repression which are employed against the oppositional rivals of the governing Pilsudski Party (the Sanacja) are only child's play compared with the wild orgy of terror which is constantly employed against the revolutionary camp by the fascist dictatorship.

In spite of the fierce repression the Anti-fascist Bloc has fulfilled all its tasks. More than a hundred election lists have

been set up in the various districts and thousands of signatures have been collected. The list of the Workers and Peasants Unity has been set up in 57 out of 64 districts. The P. P. S. Left have set up their list in 40 districts; the peasant "Samopomoc" in 20 districts. The Ukrainian "Selrob" has put up its list of candidates in nearly every district in the West Ukraine in spite of the fact that the country is occupied by punitive expeditions. 8,000 signatures have been collected in Warsaw alone. In a number of factories the lists have been signed by the whole of the workers. Hundreds of anti-fascist committees of three are developing energetic activity in town and country. The masses of the workers and also of the peasants are taking up the fight against fascism. The revolutionary tension within the working class is shown by a number of mass meetings as well as by political strikes and demonstrations in Warsaw, Lodz and Bialystok. The situation is the same among the exploited peasants in the whole of Poland. Thus in the village of Losina, in reply to the arrest of the Workers and Peasants Unity candidate, a thousands persons, among them women and children, marched to the police station in order to free the arrested candidate. The police barricaded the doors and posted themselves at the windows with carbines. The peasants only retreated after an attack by a detachment of mounted police which had been summoned from Szabovic. Some dozens were wounded. The peasants are beginning independently to take up the fight against the terror.

The work of the C.P. of Poland in the election is concentrated on consolidating the alliance between the workers and peasants and the oppressed nationalities, securing the hegemony of the proletariat, winning the masses for the fight against the fascist dictatorship, extending and strengthening organisational points of support in the factories, pits, and villages. These fundamental achievements of the Party cannot be destroyed by any falsification of the election results, which will in no way reflect the real grouping of forces in the country.

While the Anti-fascist Bloc are conducting their election campaign in a firm fighting front, the friction in the fascist camp is increasing from day to day, but does not go beyond the form of family squabbles.

The Government party, headed by Pilsudski, again raises the question of the revision of the Constitution for the purpose of bolstering up the present regime. It is significant that in his recent interviews Pilsudski in no way denies the necessity of the existence of the Sejm as a "democratic" cloak for the fascist dictatorship. But his "daily work" is to consist of "approving the budget and any powers given to the Government, especially when it is a question of agreements with foreign countries". There must be no talk of parliamentary control. The Sejm must have a secure Sanacja majority.

The Centre-Left (P. P. S., the National Labour Party, Peasant Party and Piast), led by the social fascists, has entered the election under the pompous name of "Union for the Defence of the Rights and Freedom of the People". The leaders of the Centre Left are continually emphasising that they also are for a revision of the Constitution for the purpose of strengthening the power of the authorities, i.e. of the fascist dictatorship. The process of unmasking social fascism and national fascism before the masses is making rapid progress. The masses who follow the Centre Left expected that the leaders would reply with deeds to the repressive measures of the government. But the charlatans of the P. P. S. are summoning the masses "to defend what is left of their rights and to confine themselves to the ballot box".

Meanwhile, the workers in the ranks of the P. P. S. are beginning to realise that ballot papers will not cause the government to retreat, with the result that the revolutionary mood and the demand for revenge is beginning more and more to break through the barriers of fascist legality. In any event social fascism is passing through a crisis, which is expressed in discontent among the rank and file and confusion among the leaders. Oppositional workers and peasants groups are springing up in the ranks of the Centre Left. The better elements are seeking their way to the Anti-fascist camp. The split in the German National Labour Party in Lodz, where the overwhelming majority have broken with the social fascist leadership and decided to act jointly with the P. P. S. Left in the election, marks the beginning of the breaking away of the

working masses from social fascism. On the other hand, leaders of the P. P. S., frightened by the repressive measures and eager to maintain their seats, are here and there going over to the government party.

A fairly strong fight is being put up by the National Democrats, whose supporters are mainly to be found among the masses of the middle class, who as result of the crisis and the economic policy of the government are in opposition to the government. The national democrats are also supported by those capitalist circles with whom the fight against Germany plays a big role. Together with the Centre Left they have entered the elections under the slogan of defence of the law, of the Constitution and the control of the budget.

To these most important rival groupings within the fascist camp there are to be added the national fascist party in the Ukraine and in White Russia (Undo), which represents the alliance of the Ukrainian and White Russian bourgeoisie with the Polish bourgeoisie, the Jewish and German bourgeois parties, as well as the social fascist Jewish and German party, all of whom are putting forward their own lists.

But all this division and friction in the capitalist camp does not have any effect on the united fight of all fractions of this camp against the revolutionary movement. In the central election commission all the representatives of these parties voted for the declaration rendering invalid the anti-fascist lists. The organ of the P. P. S., the "Naprzód", denounces the lists of the workers' and peasants' bloc as being put forward by the "Communist party or Communist groups".

None of the fights within the fascist camp can alter the fundamental fact that it is a question of the best way of carrying out the programme of the whole of the bourgeoisie, of crushing the revolutionary movement, transferring all burdens on to the shoulders of the workers and peasants, and preparing war against the Soviet Union. Class against class!

It is difficult to forecast the result of the elections. There is not the least doubt that the Pilsudski government will employ every means of violence and fraud in order to secure the government a safe majority in the Sejm. Pilsudski already declares that there can be no talk of a defeat.

One can imagine what will happen on the day of the poll. It is in vain that the social fascists summon the masses to remain calm. It is the task of the C.P. of Poland to guide the elementary protest of the masses into the channel of the organised fight against the whole fascist system, to mobilise thousands of votes for the lists of the anti-fascist bloc, to lead the masses into the streets under their own banner and to bring home to their mind the lessons provided by the fascist elections in Poland.

## The Result of the Elections in Austria.

By Oesterreicher (Vienna).

In the new Austrian Parliament the social democracy will be the strongest party for the first time since 1920. It has gained one seat, and therefore now has 72 seats. The christian socialists, on the other hand, have lost 7 seats out of 73. It would be a complete mistake however, to see in these two facts the outstanding political results of the Parliamentary elections. For the loss of the christian socialists is made up for by the 8 seats won by the Heimwehr people, who enter the Parliament as a new party. Whilst in the old National Council the Vaugoin-Starhemberg government could command only 73 votes out of 165, it now has 74 votes at its disposal, quite apart from the fact that the open or concealed alliance with the Schober bloc, which has 19 seats, is a likely possibility.

But even the one seat gained by the social democracy is not the result of a movement forward of this party. On the contrary, one of the most important facts in connection with this election is that the social democracy, which has hitherto made steady progress, has this time undoubtedly come to a standstill. The social democratic party, although it has gained one seat, has to record a loss of 22,000 votes as compared with the last election (1,517,603 as against 1,539,088 polled in 1927). To this there should be added that in Vienna the social democracy increased its vote by 13.0%, so that the loss in the provinces amounts to 35,000 votes or about 4.5 per cent. It is also a fact that the social democrats

have suffered a considerable decline of votes in the most important industrial districts, as in **Wiener Neustadt** and in **Upper Styria** (Leoben), where it lost 8,000 votes. In fact in **Wiener Neustadt** itself, hitherto regarded as a stronghold of social democracy, their vote declined from 13,790 to 12,467. In Vienna the gains of the social democracy were achieved in the bourgeois districts, whilst in the proletarian constituency of West-Vienna the social democratic vote receded from 138,134 to 136,131. These losses of votes do not alter the fact that the social democratic party still enjoys the support of the great mass of the workers.

The election result unfortunately shows that the CP. of Austria has only succeeded to a very small extent (in the constituency of Vienna-West), in winning over the workers who are turning away from the social democratic party. In the whole of Austria the Communist Party polled 20,879 votes as compared with 16,119 in 1927.

With the exception of three constituencies (**Steyr, Upper Styria and Carinthia**) where the Communist vote declined, a noticeable progress is everywhere to be recorded. In Vienna we received 10,591 votes as against 7,521 in 1927. In many constituencies we succeeded for the first time in winning votes. In many purely peasant districts the Party succeeded in obtaining support. As all the elections hitherto have shown a steady decline in the influence of the CP., the present election of 1930 marks a complete change in the development.

Without doubt we have achieved a certain even if not satisfactory success. Even the social democratic "**Abend**" has to admit this and points to the rise in the Communist vote as a factor which should give rise to concern, and should serve as a warning to the bourgeoisie not to revolutionise the unemployed still further by depriving them of benefit, as is intended.

On the other hand we see a considerable growth of the **National Socialist** votes. It is true, owing to the Austrian election law the Nazis have not succeeded in obtaining any seats. Nevertheless they polled 108,000 votes as compared with 27,000 at the last election. This is a very dangerous sign, especially when it is remembered that this progress is achieved precisely in those industrial districts in which the social democrats sustained losses.

To the open fascist votes there is to be added the 200,000 votes of the **Heimat bloc** as well as the **Heimwehr** votes which the Christian Socialists received in those districts in which they included **Heimwehr** leaders on their lists and also entered the election under the name of "**Christian Socialist Party and Heimwehr**".

Now a few words on the **Schober Bloc** (national economic bloc and Land Union). The fact that it has done fairly well in the election and received 423,425 votes is before all due to its hostility to the Christian Socialist Party.

The same must also of course be said regarding certain successes of the S.P. and the successes of the Nazis and the **Heimat bloc**. All these parties sharply dissociated themselves from the Christian Socialist Party and attempted to appeal to those electors who were repelled from it by the brutal rule of the Christian Socialists, their corruption and scandals.

What is the outlook? The social democrats are raising the question of the resignation of the government. But the government does not think of such a thing. In fact the Christian Socialist "**Reichspost**" regards the result of the elections as a "victory for the government". **Starhemberg** repeatedly declared before the election that he did not think of releasing his hands from the rudder, no matter what the results of the elections might be.

The openly fascist policy will therefore be continued. In fact, supported by the 8 **Heimwehr** deputies and the 300,000 votes polled by the National Socialists and the **Heimat bloc**, it will even be sharpened. This will be the first disappointment for the social democratic electors who, steeped in Parliamentary illusions, thought they could vanquish fascism by means of the ballot paper.

This disappointment will however be followed by a fearful series of further disappointments when the government, with the open or concealed co-operation of the social democracy, puts through its economic programme, the chief item of which is the abolition of unemployment insurance and other branches of social insurance. Then the masses will see that while the social democratic party increases its seats at each election, their position becomes continually more wretched.

## The Strassburg Conference and the Revolutionary Emancipation Struggle of the People of Alsace-Lorraine.

By J. Lenz.

The Strassburg Conference of the Alsace-Lorraine district of the Communist Party, which was arranged on the initiative of the C. C. of the Communist Party of France together with the West European Bureau of the Comintern and the C. C. of the Communist Party of Germany, is of historical importance for the development of the revolutionary movement in this district which, as one of the most important industrial districts of France and a province subjected to national oppression, at a time of economic crisis and international revolutionary upsurge, is called upon to play a great role.

It is already to be seen that the **world economic crisis**, which is gradually developing in France, is growing and spreading more rapidly in Alsace-Lorraine. Thus, for example, while the output of iron in France declined by 4.6 per cent in the period from August 1929 to August 1930, in Lorraine the decline amounted to 14.5 per cent. The decline in the output of steel in France in the same period was 6.6 per cent, in Alsace-Lorraine 12.5 per cent. The same thing is to be seen in regard to railway transport: in France an average decline of 0.52 per cent, in Alsace-Lorraine of 3.35 per cent. The crisis in Alsace-Lorraine has assumed particularly large proportions also in agriculture. In the past year about 71,000 poor peasants, vine-growers etc. have been pushed into the ranks of the proletariat.

We must also reckon with the prospect that the crisis in Alsace-Lorraine will also in the future develop more rapidly and become more acute than in the interior of France, and that the practice of shifting the burden of the crisis on to the working masses will here assume even more brutal forms than in the other French provinces.

As is known, in Alsace-Lorraine the German language, which is spoken by the majority of the population, is banished from the schools, public offices and law courts. The native officials are being more and more ousted from the public offices and replaced by reliable supporters of French imperialism from the interior of the country. A big belt of fortresses is being erected on the Eastern frontier.

The resentment of the masses at the national oppression led in the last few years to a great upsurge of the **autonomist movement**, which was headed by **bourgeois, petty-bourgeois** and mainly **clerical** elements. The Alsace-Lorraine big bourgeoisie is politically connected with French finance capital. The bourgeois leaders of the autonomist movement have capitulated to French imperialism.

The petty bourgeois masses can conduct a serious fight against French imperialism only if the **proletariat acquires the leading role** in this movement.

This has not been the case in the last few years or so, partly owing to opportunist and Left-sectarian mistakes of the Communist Party and partly owing to the treachery of the renegades following Huber. There is no doubt that the objective conditions for a broad revolutionary anti-imperialist mass movement under proletarian leadership exist. The radicalisation of the working class, which is taking place in all capitalist countries, is also expressed in Alsace-Lorraine in an increased strike movement. Thus, for instance, a strike of 10,000 workers took place in the potash mines, in which the foreign workers displayed a great revolutionary initiative. Also the political mass strikes on 6th March, 1st May and 6th October were carried out with great force and determination in some areas.

The recent elections in **Strassburg** and **Colmar** yielded gains for the parties which stand openly on the side of French imperialism, and showed a certain weakening of the autonomist parties, who are conducting a sham fight against national oppression, and a relatively poor poll for the C.P., which is not due wholly to the temporary weakening of the Party as a result of the expulsion of the renegades. It would be a great political mistake to infer from these facts that the masses of the population of Alsace-Lorraine are becoming reconciled to French imperialism and that the national question will not play any great role in the future. As the autonomist

movement which was under bourgeois leadership did not conduct any serious fight against national oppression, it is quite understandable that the movement is gradually losing its mass following. On the other hand, the Communist Party, the only consistent anti-imperialist Party, has not yet been able to win these masses owing to the big mistakes and serious weaknesses of the Party organisation, especially in the national question.

Our Party organisation, after having first ignored the national question, at the first upsurge of the autonomist movement threw itself into this movement without, however, sufficiently dissociating itself from the bourgeois elements and their policy. This circumstance enabled Huber and his followers to take with them a large portion of the working class when they went over into the clerical-autonomist camp. In the fight against the renegades there again developed a strong sectarian tendency, which disputes the importance of the national question and wishes to restrict the fight of the proletariat to the "pure class struggle".

In the face of such views the Conference at Schiltigheim, which took place a year ago, laid down a clear and correct line with regard to the national question. It emphasised once again the necessity for the fight for the right to self-determination including separation from France. But the political line laid down by this conference was not sufficiently carried out in practice: sectarian and opportunist tendencies continued to exist; in a number of economic fights the Party failed to take the lead and lagged behind the masses, as did also the Unitary trade unions.

The Strassburg Conference therefore called the special attention of the Party organisations to the existing great weaknesses and shortcomings, and demanded a decisive turn towards Bolshevik mass policy, both in the national question and in the organisation of economic struggles. The resolution of the Strassburg Conference emphasises that the population of Alsace-Lorraine is not merely a national minority, such as the Polish and Italian workers employed in France who have to demand equal rights, but that it represents an oppressed people which has the right to complete independence, to set up its own State, an independent Alsace-Lorraine workers' and peasants' Republic. The manifesto declares that the national and social emancipation of Alsace-Lorraine can only be achieved by the revolutionary overthrow of the rule of French imperialism and of the native bourgeoisie, by the setting up of a free Soviet Alsace-Lorraine, which can unite with a Soviet Germany or a Soviet France, according to the conditions obtaining. The conference characterised more sharply than in the past the slogan of autonomy as a means of the bourgeoisie to hold back the masses from the revolutionary fight and to come to terms with French imperialism at the cost of the mass movement. The parties united together in the so-called people's front under the slogan of economy even show clear tendencies to a national-fascist development.

The Conference decided to launch an inner Party campaign for the purpose of making clear to the whole Party membership the importance of the decisions adopted and to mobilise the broad masses for the slogans of the Manifesto, which link up the social and national daily demands of all toilers with the aim of shattering the imperialist yoke. In the course of this campaign anti-imperialist united front organs are to be created. The whole campaign is to reach its highest point in a workers' and peasants conference for the whole of Alsace-Lorraine.

The Conference is of great international importance. Whilst the nationalists on each side of the Rhine are commencing a fresh bargaining over the division of the oppressed, whilst Hitler and Hervé are exchanging telegrams on this question, whilst world imperialism in all countries is mobilising its fascist bands in order to render the working masses docile for the coming international robber campaign against the Soviet Union, the representatives of the French and the German Communist Parties, under the leadership of the Communist International, have conferred with the Alsace-Lorraine comrades on the question of strengthening the common fight against French and German imperialism and to hasten the day, when Alsace-Lorraine shall be converted from a bone of contention of the imperialist robbers into a bridge in the brotherly alliance between Soviet Germany and Soviet France.

## CHINA

### Manifesto of the First All-China Soviet Congress.

Workers, Peasants and All Oppressed and Exploited Masses of China!

The great time of the revolution has come! To the fight for the Soviet Power!

The bloody rule of the Kuomintang has existed for three years. It has done its lackey-work for imperialism. It is its confederate in exploiting and squeezing the workers and peasants. The position of power of the imperialists in China has become stronger and the country is becoming more and more a colony. The most bestial methods of oppression are employed against the resistance of the working and peasant masses. During these three years' bloody rule of the Kuomintang the revolutionary masses have been slaughtered in hundreds and thousands by being shot, beheaded etc. The unbounded greed of the robber imperialists and of the Kuomintang generals to increase their political power and to extend their sphere of exploitation leads to uninterrupted wars of the generals. There is hardly a district of China which lies outside the field of battle. The tremendous economic crisis, the rising prices, the complete ruin of the peasant farms and the fact that large areas of land lie fallow are the results of this unending wars of the generals. Broad masses of the workers are being daily thrown onto the streets. Millions of peasants are delivered over to starvation. Innumerable soldiers are slaughtered amidst the thunder of the guns. Mountains of corpses are being piled up. The earth is drenched with blood. Apart from the tiny handful of military rulers, big landowners and capitalists who live lives of luxury from the sweat of the working masses, there is not a single person in China who is not most seriously affected by this scourge of war. Fellow workers and peasants! Can we suffer this any longer? Awake and recognise that only by annihilating this bloody rule, the rule of the imperialists and Kuomintang reaction, only by setting up your own power, the power of the Soviets, can we free ourselves from misery, poverty and starvation!

See, the time of the upheaval is approaching! The rule of Nanking is shaky. The camp of the Northern Government is disintegrating. The whole of the ruling class is approaching its end. It no longer finds any way to maintain its power. In Shanghai, Wuhan, in Tientsin, in Honkong, in all the important industrial districts of China, workers fights are flaring up. Everywhere political demonstrations, political strikes and armed collisions reveal the fighting determination of the working masses. The flames of the agrarian revolution are spreading over the whole country. In the most important parts of the provinces of Hupeh, Hunan, Kiangsi and Fukien the flag of the Soviet Power is waving. The Soviet districts in the provinces of Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Anhwei, Honan and even Chekiang are steadily growing. The revolutionary red workers and peasants' army is taking up the fight against the military rulers. Everywhere victories are being achieved. In all localities the mutinying soldiers of the generals are joining the Soviet Revolution. The fight of the city poor against military service is increasing. The stormy wave of revolution is advancing! The hour of our emancipation has come! We cannot and will not remain still any longer under the whips of the Kuomintang generals, the landowners, capitalists and imperialists. Courageously and determinedly take your places in the fight for the Soviet Power!

Only the setting up of the Soviet Power can abolish the terrorist rule of the possessing classes! Only the victory of the Soviet Revolution can finally drive out the imperialists and destroy the regime of the militarists. Only the Soviet Power can free all the oppressed and exploited sections of the population and lead them along the path of socialism to the emancipation of the whole of humanity!

In spite of the campaign of suppression carried on by the imperialists and the Kuomintang and in spite of their blockade, in the Soviet districts the Soviet governments have thoroughly carried out the agrarian revolution and abolished the exploit-

ing class. The poor peasants received land and the workers the eight-hour day. Wages have been increased. Woman has been freed from the age-long customs and barriers, and has obtained full social and economic equality. The newly set up peasants' banks provide the peasants with capital, so that the former usurious loans have been done away with. Thousands of Lenin schools have been set up. Every child has the right and the opportunity to learn. In the Soviet districts the price of rice has been reduced to six dollars a "Dan", as against 20 dollars a "Dan" in the districts where the Kuomintang rules. This shows the striking difference between the well-being of the population under the Soviet Power and their misery under the Kuomintang regime.

The first Soviet Congress of the whole of the Soviet districts was already held in May this year under the leadership of the CP. of China and of the All-China Trade Union Federation. At this Congress the policy and the fighting tactics of the Soviet districts were decided on. Laws regarding land and labour were issued and the Programme of the Soviet government laid down. It was further decided to mobilise the whole of the workers and peasants and to fight against the wars of the generals by a revolutionary revolt. The capture of power in one or a number of provinces will hasten the victory of the Soviet Power in the whole of China.

The Presidium of the Soviet Congress of all Chinese Soviet districts, on the basis of the decisions of the Congress, has convened the first All-China Soviet Congress for 11th December, the anniversary of the Canton uprising, and appeals to the workers, peasants, soldiers and town poor to accelerate the preparations for this Congress by determined revolutionary fights. It was decided to form a "Central Preparatory Committee" consisting of representatives of the Communist Party, the All-China Trade Union Federation and delegates from the Soviet districts, the Red Army and other revolutionary organisations, in order to conduct the preparatory work on a national scale and to ensure the success of the All-China Soviet Congress. It is necessary to mobilise the broad masses of workers and peasants and, under the leadership of this Preparatory Committee, to exert all forces for this Soviet Congress. Organise mass meetings and demonstrations in every factory, in every workshop, in every residential district, in every village and every school. Everywhere elect delegates for the First All-China Soviet Congress!

Workers and Peasants! The success of the coming All-China Soviet Congress will undoubtedly open a new epoch in the Chinese Revolution. This Congress will pronounce the death sentence on the rule of the Kuomintang and the imperialists. The Chinese workers and peasants' Soviet Republic will be born and will give a fresh impetus to the world revolution.

The advance-guard of the Chinese proletariat, the Communist Party of China, is the only leader of the Chinese revolution. It is necessary under its leadership to carry out the political strike up to the armed revolt, to surge forward to the fight against the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang, for the realisation of the Soviet Congress up to the victory of Soviet China!

The whole of the counter-revolutionary front, the imperialists, the Kuomintang, the militarist rulers, the bourgeoisie and big landowners will of course seek with all means to prevent the success of the Soviet Congress. But we shall vanquish these criminals if our masses, numbering thousands and millions, now determine to take up the decisive fight.

We see the whole movement of the world revolution marching irresistibly forwards. The victorious advance of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, the intensified class struggles in the capitalist countries, the flaming revolts in the colonies, the determined fights of the Indian workers and peasants against the English imperialists and against their own bourgeoisie, the armed insurrection of the revolutionary masses in Indo-China against the yoke of French imperialism — all these are our best allies. The firm alliance of the Chinese revolution with the world revolutionary movement will mean the doom of the rule of world imperialism.

The Reorganisationists, such as Wang Chin Wei, the Northern militarists, Yen Shi Sen, the liquidators, Chen Du-

Hsu, who have realised the danger of the downfall of the ruling class and are aware of the impossibility of maintaining their power, have recently issued the slogan of the so-called "people's meetings" in order to divert the broad masses of the workers from the revolutionary fight. Workers, peasants and all toiling sections of the population! So long as the ruling regime of the Kuomintang and of the imperialists is not overthrown, we shall remain exploited and oppressed in spite of any changes in the political form of this rule. Our position will become still worse. The "people's meeting" is obviously only a new ruse of the ruling class. Only by the establishment of our own power, the power of the Soviets, can we achieve our real emancipation. Defeat the deceivers! Drive away the traitors! Up with the flag of the Soviets! Forward to the attack!

Workers! Only the setting up of the Soviet Power can bring the eight-hour day and abolish the inhuman exploitation by the capitalists! Prepare for the armed revolt, for the realisation of the Soviet Power!

Peasants! Only the establishment of the Soviet Power can give you land and bring about a final annihilation of the rule of the big landlords. Unite with the workers for the fight against imperialism and the Kuomintang and for the Soviet Power!

Soldiers! The militarist rulers are driving you to mutual slaughter in order to increase their power. Only by the setting up of the Soviet Power can you free yourselves from the wholesale slaughter and obtain land and work. Rise up! Turn your rifles against your officers and generals! Join the workers and peasants' front for the fight for the Soviet Power!

All exploited and oppressed sections of the population and revolutionary students! Only the Soviet Power can abolish all the cruel oppression and exploitation and create real freedom! It is up to you also to join the revolutionary front for the victory of the Soviet Power!

The great revolution stands before us! The final victory is ours! Only by heroic, determined fight can we shake off the thousand-year-old slavery, and then this world will be ours!

Long live the All-China Soviet Congress of workers, peasants, soldiers and all the poor!

Long live the Chinese Soviet Republic of workers and peasants!

Long live the world revolution!

Presidium of the Soviet Congress  
of the Whole of the Soviet Districts of China.

## LEAGUE OF NATIONS

### The Soviet Union and Disarmament.

(A summary of comrade Litvinov's Speech in Geneva.)

The Preparatory Commission has seen fit to decide that the present session shall be considered not as the beginning of a new session, but as a continuation of the 6th meeting which was held 18 months ago and broken off. The majority of the delegates are of the optimistic opinion that a short break in the sessions of the 6th meeting will be sufficient to overcome the difficulties which have accumulated with regard to naval disarmament. Once again this optimism has proved itself to be misplaced. The delegation of the Soviet Union never admitted that the method upon which the majority of the Preparatory Commission placed their hopes could solve in any way the question of naval disarmament, quite independent of the fact that the naval understanding was limited to three naval Powers. I will not deal with this question now, but when it arises in the commission. However, I cannot admit that the optimists in the commission have

any reason to feel satisfied with the results so far achieved in this question. In this situation nothing more remains but to register the unprecedented fact that between two sessions of the same meeting of an international commission 18 months have been allowed to pass.

Is it possible to ignore the fact that 18 months have passed between the 21st and 22nd session of the sixth meeting of the commission? Can we take up our work where we put it down? Can we ignore everything that has happened in the meantime? Even in a normal period 18 months represent a considerable time in the history of international relations, but the period in which we are now living is abnormal. Each time I spoke in the sessions of the Preparatory Commission in the years 1927 to 1929 I pointed out the increasing danger of a new war. At that time, however, the majority of the members of the commission were of the opinion that my attitude was unduly pessimistic and not supported by the facts. Should they still maintain this opinion, then they will place themselves in opposition to the recent utterances of a number of prominent Statesmen and the recent attitude of the greater part of the press even in the capitalist countries. The present period has even been compared with the period which immediately preceded the world war. Denmark's Foreign Minister Munch made this comparison at the eleventh session of the League of Nations.

At the same session Belgium's Minister Hymans made the same comparison and declared that war rumours were spreading like a cloud of gas, and that the fact that people were talking of war was in itself a danger.

An article published by a Washington correspondent in the "Berliner Tageblatt" on the 4th of this month shows us what the man in the street thinks of the situation. This correspondent writes that almost all Americans who visited Europe during the last few months received the impression that Europa was drifting to new wars. And in fact, the great intensification of political and economic differences as a result of the economic crisis through which we are passing and which cannot be dispelled by any amount of anti-Soviet incantations, must make a deep impression upon us.

In Europe alone there are from 40 to 50 million people of the national minorities. In some countries they represent from one-third to one half and even more of the population, and they are demanding their rights more and more loudly. Their fate weighs heavily on the international situation. And further, can we ignore the fact that the war-mongering irresponsible parties and groups have succeeded in increasing their influence on the government of a number of countries? Is not this a result of the increasing international and social contradictions within capitalist society? Does not this strengthening of their influence threaten the maintenance of peace? Can we learn nothing from the obstinacy with which certain countries oppose even the slightest attempt at disarmament, and from the persistence with which they are increasing their armaments? Since 1926, or in other words, since the beginning of the work of the Preparatory Commission, the war expenditure of five of the big Powers has increased by 1,500 million Dollars, or 27 per cent.

It is useless to point out that this or that country has undertaken a limited reduction of its armed forces; it is possible to reduce the effectiveness of a regular army, and to shorten the length of service whilst at the same time increasing the number of military planes and increasing the munition resources. The result is an increase of the destructive potentiality of that army, and not disarmament. If we want to achieve a reduction of armaments, then we must reduce the destructive potentiality of an army and not alter the relations of various items within the general war budget of the army in question.

The opponents of disarmament have repeated their old "security" argument for years. They have even succeeded in creating a special commission for "arbitration and security", and this commission has produced exemplary security treaties which have been signed by many countries. Arbitration agreements have also been signed. Still further, there is the Agreement of Paris which outlaws war and which has been signed by almost all countries in Europa and the rest of the world. Has the danger of war diminished as a result? Has the resistance to disarmament grown weaker?

The answer is in the negative. I can vouch for the fact that the pact did not save my country from being invaded a little more than a year ago by armed detachments of a neighbouring country which was also a signatory to the pact. It is clear that such agreements are not sufficient to produce that confidence among the peoples which would make them settle down peacefully and forget war. It is hardly necessary to add that this "security" means a partial security for one group of countries at the expense of the security of other groups, and as a result reduces the possibilities of general peace. For this reason the thesis "First security and then Disarmament" must be rejected. We must recognise that this thesis is diametrically opposed to the interests of disarmament. We need not be surprised at the fact that amongst those countries which demand "security" and even raise the question of financial support from the League of Nations for them in case of an attack, are countries whose General Staffs are planning armed attacks on their neighbours.

What follows from my remarks? For us, the representatives of the Soviet Union, economic and political differences and therefore war, are indissolubly connected with the capitalist system. However, we are of the opinion that the danger of war can be reduced or even abolished by real measures of disarmament. The greater the degree of disarmament, the less likelihood there is that existing differences will be settled with armed force. For this reason the Soviet delegation proposed general and complete disarmament. Having met with the decided resistance of the majority of the Preparatory Commission, it then proposed partial disarmament to the extent of 50 per cent to embrace all arms on land, on and under the sea and in the air. Unfortunately, however, this proposal was also rejected. At the second reading of the convention worked out by the commission, the Soviet delegation proposed that at least a numerical co-efficient for the reduction of armaments should be inserted into the draft, but even this the commission rejected. I would like to raise all these questions again in the light of the events since the last session, but I have no hope that the majority of the commission would agree to this. I therefore reserve the right to raise these questions again at the disarmament conference.

Within the boundaries of the work of this commission, however, I shall permit myself to propose a re-examination of certain questions. The sixth meeting of this commission rejected one after the other all the amendments proposed by the Soviet delegation to the draft convention, for instance, the Soviet proposals that air bombardments and chemical warfare should be prohibited.

The Soviet delegation does not want to lengthen this session by useless discussion. It proposes that the expression "limitation of armament" in the commission draft should be replaced by the expression "reduction and limitation of armaments". The Soviet delegation also proposes that the question of trained reserves, which has already been decided upon negatively, should again be considered. And finally, the Soviet delegation insists that the commission should give its attention to the question of war material resources which would permit the arming and equipment of huge masses of soldiers in case of war.

With these proposals the Soviet delegation has another factor in mind and that is that since the last session there have been certain changes in the composition of the Preparatory Commission, changes which are partly explained by the fact that in the meantime new governments have taken office in certain countries and that these governments have sent new representatives to the commission and altered their opinions in certain questions. Recently speeches have been made by the representatives of certain great Powers which are very far removed from the standpoint put forward by the representatives of those same powers in this commission. It is our duty to give these governments the possibility of bringing the speeches and actions of their representatives in this commission into agreement with their own public declarations.

The Soviet delegation limits its proposals to the re-examination of a few questions, but a second negative decision with regard to these questions will cause it to lose interest in the majority of the other questions on the agenda of this commission, as these latter questions stand in no relation to the limitation and reduction of armaments.



## **Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union**

# What the October Revolution has Brought the Russian Workers.

By Karl Radek.

How lying all the outcry over Soviet "dumping" is shown by the fact that the capitalist papers recognise the enormous industrial growth of the Soviet Union. Kautsky, in his absolutely idiotic book, "Bolshevism in a Blind Alley", can quote the figures from the year 1920, when the economy of Soviet Russia, following the imperialist war and the civil war, was completely crippled and the output of Soviet industry amounted to only 17 per cent of the pre-war production; in order to characterise the economic condition of Russia. The iron and steel kings, while they lie to the broad masses; themselves want to know the facts. Therefore even the League of Nations, in its memorandum on the development of production and of commerce in the period from 1923 to 1929, admits that whilst in the capitalist countries the greatest growth of industrial production for the last five years amounts to 54 per cent (in Canada), the growth of industrial production in the Soviet Union in the period from 1925 to 1929 amounts to no less than 240 per cent. Whilst the production of iron and steel in this period showed an average increase of 30 per cent, the output of iron in the Soviet Union increased by 370 per cent; that of steel by 270 per cent. The consumption of wool in the whole world increased by 12 per cent; in the Soviet Union by 197 per cent. In none of the capitalist countries has the consumption of electricity increased by more than 80 per cent; in Soviet Russia it has increased by 125 per cent. Last year, the year of the world crisis, in which the production of Germany declined by 25 per cent that of the United States by 23 per cent, Soviet industry showed an increase of 25 per cent. If we take the year 1925 as the point of departure for our comparisons, the result on the basis of the figures of the memorandum of the League of Nations is as follows: in 1930 the capitalist world has retrogressed to the position of 1925, whilst in the Soviet Union industrial production in the year 1930 is three times what it was in 1925.

In face of these figures, which cannot be denied, the enemies of the proletarian revolution have to replace their old tale of the decay of the productive forces under the rule of the working class by a new yarn. As they are no longer able to proclaim that capitalism means development of the productive forces while socialism means their decay, as the actual situation proves the exact contrary to be true, they come forward as defenders of the working class and complain that the development of production in Russia is taking place over the corpses of the working class. The capitalist and social democratic press eagerly seize upon any news of the difficulties against which the Soviet Union is fighting in order to persuade the West European proletariat that it is not worth while fighting to build up socialism. The henchmen of the world bourgeoisie and their social fascist confederates weep on account of the shortage of food from which the Russian proletariat is suffering; they bewail the fate of the Russian unemployed; Herr Kautsky pities the position of the Russian worker in State and society; and a certain Friedrich Wendel sheds his tears in the "Vorwärts" — 20 pfennigs per line — over the spiritual desolation in which the Russian worker lives, without the possibility of reading Plato, Descartes, Kant, Friedrich Albert Lange, Schopenhauer and Nietzsche.

We will begin our answer by dealing with the material situation of the Russian proletariat, for we believe — we openly admit it — that the German proletariat would complain much more of the lack of pork than of the lack of Kant's works. The material situation of the Russian worker has greatly improved in the last few years. The Soviet Union is the only country in which the number of industrial workers has not diminished in the last few years, but on the contrary has increased. Whilst in Germany, according to the calculations of the "Leipziger Volkszeitung" of 19th July 1930, the number of workers employed declined by 1,250,000 in comparison with

the year 1925, the number of workers employed in the Soviet Union has constantly increased in the last few years. In the first two years of the Five-Year Plan the number of wage earners has increased by 1,673,000. Whilst a year or two ago there was still a fairly large number of unemployed in the Soviet Union, as a result of the rural exodus, now not only the workers who were formerly engaged in industry are completely absorbed in the process of production, but there prevails a great scarcity of skilled and unskilled workers. In the third year of the Five-Year Plan industry will require **1,300,000 fresh workers** and the Party as well as the trade unions are exerting all their forces in order to recruit the necessary new forces for the factories from the ranks of the former artisans, from the ranks of the proletarian women, from the ranks of the poor peasants; to distribute them among the various branches of industry and to supply them with skilled workers as instructors. Kautsky may paint an ever so gloomy picture of the terrible lot of the Russian unemployed, the "Vorwärts" may vie with Hitler in trying to prove that in Soviet Russia unemployment has not been done away with but unemployment benefit. Facts remain facts. The carrying out of the programme of industrialisation has done away with this terrible scourge of the working class — unemployment. The disappearance of unemployment and the great numerical increase of the working class mean the increase of the material and also the political power of the proletariat. Materially — this is perfectly obvious — the disappearance of unemployment means that several members of the family are working, so that even with the food difficulty the family as a whole is much better off. Politically, the disappearance of unemployment, the numerical increase of the occupied workers mean that they are **increasing in importance**, becoming much more self-confident; that they have the feeling that they are accomplishing great things for the country, that the destiny of the country is in their hands. As a result of the rapid growth of the entire economy and the energetic measures of the government, the real wages of the workers are steadily increasing. In the first part of the economic year which has just passed, the real wages of the Russian workers amounted to **135 per cent of the pre-war wages**, without reckoning the social services which they enjoy gratis and which exist on a scale unknown in the capitalist countries.

It is not to be denied that in spite of this fact the Soviet Union in the last two years had to encounter great **food difficulties**, which also unfavourably affected the situation of the working class. The difficulties in regard to the food supply are to be attributed, on the one hand, to the fact that after the disappearance of the big landowners, who along with the kulaks placed the greatest quantity of food stuffs on the market, the small peasant was not in a position adequately to supply the growing towns, the more so as after the revolution he himself began for the first time to consume meat, eggs, milk etc. which he formerly sold in order to pay the taxes and the usurious interest to the village money lender. Precisely because the backward economy of the small peasants was not capable of keeping pace with the growing requirements of the towns, with the growing requirements of the working class, the Soviet government decided to promote with all energy the establishment of State and Soviet big farms and proceed to the organisation of collective farms which, equipped by the workers' State with modern machines, will be in a better position to supply the working class with agricultural produce than private economy could in any circumstances. The shortage of food, which was bound to arise in this transition period, was further aggravated by two circumstances: In order to deliver the agricultural machinery the coal and iron output had to be increased and industrialisation had to be forced. If, however, increasing quantities of capital are invested in developing heavy industry, which can only place its products on the markets in two or three

years time, there results a shortage of means for light industry, which supplies commodities for general consumption. Industrialisation and collectivisation are not accomplished in a vacuum, but they were and are being carried out in the midst of severe class struggles. The last remnants of the Russian bourgeoisie, represented by the upper stratum of the specialists, the engineers, use every means in order to frustrate the Five-Year Plan. From sabotage of work up to direct high treason, no means remain unused by these people whom the "Vorwarts" takes under its protection, and of whose deeds the world will hear a good deal in the public trial which is to take place shortly. At the same time the comparatively broad strata of the big peasants, the kulaks, fought with every means in order to escape the sentence pronounced upon them by the working class. They resorted not only to murder and manslaughter, to setting fire to the collective farms, but above all to slaughtering cattle wholesale; they drew along with them a part of the middle peasants whom they persuaded that the Soviet government would confiscate their cattle. This slaughtering of cattle was of course bound to have a very serious effect on the supply of meat and fat to the towns.

In order to defend the interests of the working class the Soviet government immediately introduced food cards, which in the first place secured the industrial workers food at low prices. When a shortage prevails in the country, the masses performing heavy work must receive first consideration. When this class card-system proved inadequate, as some of the employees of the co-operatives allowed themselves to be bribed and corrupted by private capitalists and profiteers and delivered goods over to them which were then sold illicitly at high prices, the Soviet government went a step further. It set up closed co-operative stores which only supply definite factories and which are under the direct management and control of the workers in these definite factories. The government did not allow itself to be diverted by temporary difficulties from the path along which alone the solution of the food shortage is to be found. It has supported with all its powers the development of the Soviet and collective farms, with the result that by this means it has solved the bread question. Half of the corn needed by the State and the army is already this year being supplied by these farms. As at the same time this year's harvest was very good, the supply of bread and sugar is completely assured. This year the workers will be much better supplied in this respect than they were last year. Of course the meat problem could not be solved in a few months. The big Soviet farms will first be able to supply the towns with meat in a few years time. In the meantime there exists a shortage of meat and fat which can be alleviated only by the ruthless application of the class principle in distributing the existing supplies.

Only a servant of the bourgeoisie can bring forward as an argument against the building up of socialism that things don't just fall into the lap of the workers; that at every step forward they have to break the resistance of the bourgeois elements, and that in this fight the new ruling class, the proletariat, sustains wounds and has to suffer. But whilst the proletariat fights its way forward, it sinks ever deeper if it capitulates to the bourgeoisie, as the German workers have learnt to their cost.

But what is the position of the Russian workers in industry? Kautsky tells the old Menshevik tale about the enslavement of the Soviet workers, who have nothing to say in the factory, who are completely subjected to the arbitrary rule of the factory management, whose trade unions and factory committees do not trouble about their situation. In short, Kautsky and the social democratic press, in describing the Soviet hells, give an exact picture of the state of affairs in the capitalist paradise which they themselves have saved from the attack of the proletarian revolution and to defend which they consider the highest duty of the German working class. We will only ask them one or two questions: If it is so easy to compel workers, by ruthless speeding up, to build up big industry, and while starving to increase production threefold in a few years, wherein lie the difficulties of the German bourgeoisie, whom the social democrats serve with the sweat of their brow? How is the Soviet government

able to carry out towards the working class of Soviet Russia a policy which the German bourgeoisie is completely unable to carry out? The Russian workers are armed. They occupy all the most important positions in the army. The whole power lies in the hands of the working class. We see how the Russian proletarians have increased production threefold in five years; how they are supplying hundreds and thousands of organisers for the work of socialist construction in the village. How is this miracle to be explained? How can such results be achieved by force? The social fascist theoreticians can obtain the answer from a direct representative of capitalism, who was commissioned by his paymasters to obtain information as to the actual situation in Soviet Russia, whilst the social democrats are paid by the bourgeoisie to deceive the masses. We are referring to the speech made by the representative of the American Oil Trust, Ivy Lee, at the conference of the Institute of Politics in Williamstown, U. S. A. on 1st August last. In this speech he asked the question why the Soviet government is so stable. He declared, where are the reasons for the peace which prevails in Soviet Russia to be found if not in the fact that the Soviet government is really satisfying the requirements of the people of that country. Soldiers and police could not achieve that. The millions of soldiers whom the Tsar had at his disposal could not secure the peace of the country against the insurgent masses.

Those who have observed what has been taking place among the working masses of Russia in the last two years have to speak of a wave of enthusiasm with which a large and ever growing part of the working class is participating in the building up of socialism. 1,200,000 workers are taking part in the socialist competition, without which the successes of the industrial plan would have been quite impossible. In every factory the best proletarian cadres are organising themselves, are studying the labour process in special workshops, and are doing everything in order to economise with raw materials and to make the best use of the workers' tools and instruments. Round these cadres the whole energy of the working class is gathered. The workers are not confining themselves to the struggle for improving production in their own workshops. Brigades are arising which are endeavouring to improve the division of labour in the whole factory; brigades are springing up which along with the management go through the general economic plan of the factory; advanced factories are organising aid for the more backward factories in which the proletarian cadres are too weak. We can imagine how heartily Kautsky will laugh when we tell him that already thousands of proletarian children in the pioneer detachments are co-operating with the shock brigades: that they are conducting a fight at home against the alcoholism of their parents, against their absence from work without cause. Although Kautsky always was a philistine, in his better days he wrote a pamphlet on the social revolution, in which he told of the enormous spiritual forces the revolution will develop in the proletariat; how these forces will help it to master the great difficulties of building up socialism on the ruins of capitalism. The actual revolution has converted the philistine into a counter-revolutionary, and he displays less understanding for the great victory of the proletarian revolution than does the ordinary agent of the American Oil Trust.

We now come to the great intellectual uplift which is so palpably evident in the Russian working class especially in the last few years. There are factories in which 30 to 50 per cent of the workers are attending technical courses after a hard day's work in order the better to master the difficulties in the factories. The universities and technical high schools are overfilled, not only with the revolutionary youth but also with adult workers. We do not speak of the millions who are receiving political instruction, of the great work of liquidating illiteracy which Tsarism has left behind it. There is no other country in which the number of editions of the writings of Marx and Engels can in any way be compared with the editions appearing in Soviet Russia. The German social democracy in the whole time since the repeal of the anti-socialist laws, has not issued a tenth part of what Soviet Russia has published of the writings of the old masters. Kautsky will say that this has been done by State means. But that would be no argument, for the question would then arise, why does the State publish vast quantities of books if they are not read by

the masses. But the story about the State subsidies for the issue of Marxist literature is only a tale for the marines. The State publishing house derives millions from the publication of this literature. The new edition of "Capital" running into a 100,000 copies and sold at the price of 3 roubles, is already sold out before it appeared. The writings of Descartes, Spinoza, not to speak of the French materialists, are widely read. The young proletarian generation in the socialist Republic is not satisfied with accomplished results, but it wishes independently to trace the path along which humanity has travelled. That it sometimes goes to extremes in this respect is hardly to be avoided in view of the tremendous intellectual movement.

The Soviet proletariat has made a grandiose advance in the thirteen years since the October Revolution. The battles which it has fought with the enemy are innumerable. Its body is covered with innumerable scars. This fight, which has already lasted thirteen years, has changed the countenance of a sixth part of the globe. The first workers' government in the world has arisen. For three long years the proletariat had to fight for its existence with weapons in hand against the whole capitalist world; and it stood there as victor, bleeding, starving, barefooted. It was six years after the end of the civil war before it had restored the old shattered industry and agriculture. And then it was a question of either forward or backward. And again the masses got into movement. With hard toil, again suffering privations, going without the most necessary things in order to buy machines and raw material from abroad, and dripping with sweat in order to build up industry which will enable it to bring about a socialist transformation of agriculture. The bourgeoisie in the big towns is annihilated, deprived of the means of production; now the fight is proceeding to annihilate the last big bourgeois stratum in Russia, the kulaks. Once that has been achieved and the collective farms have fought their way through the difficult commencing stages, then the peasant will begin to disappear as a special class with all its stratifications between poor and rich, and the foundations of Socialism will be firmly laid. It is this work which is now engaging the energies of the young giant. He knows that the old world will still attempt to destroy his work: he hears the howls of his class enemies and the trumpets calling for a new intervention. He is standing ready to repel all attacks.

## THE BALKANS

### The King's Marriage and Increase of Fascism in Bulgaria.

Letter from Sofia.

The marriage of King Boris of Bulgaria to Giovanni, daughter of the king of Italy, constitutes an event of great political importance not only to the Balkans.

The inner-political conditions are characterised by an extraordinary aggravation of class antagonisms and of class struggles. The attempt to mislead the masses of the people by a new and "improved" edition of the old bourgeois parties has proved a complete failure. And if now the bourgeois press both at home and abroad are using the occasion of the marriage of Boris III. in order to hail him as the saviour of the country, it is only because he has satisfactorily played his part as chief hangman of the Bulgarian people. But precisely for this reason he is hated by the workers of Bulgaria and designated by them as "Boris the Last".

But the terror alone is not capable of exterminating a movement which is deeply rooted in the masses. The post-war crisis of capitalism, rendered more acute by reason of the economic backwardness of the country and the squeezing out of enormous sums for reparations payments and super-profits of every kind, is leading to an ever increasing aggravation of class antagonisms. Out of a total of 400,000 workers the number of unemployed amounts to 150,000. Wages are falling to an unprecedentedly low level. According to official statistics the wages of three quarters of all workers are

less than two shillings a day. According to bourgeois observers the working conditions are such that they ruin the health of the workers in a few years. The whole State apparatus has but one task: to suppress and throttle all strikes and struggles of the workers.

Since 1927, however, the workers have replied with numerous strikes and struggles to the attack of the bourgeoisie. Capitalist rationalisation is encountering increased resistance. More and more frequently the workers have carried out the actions of the CP. of Bulgaria with increasing energy and activity and in open fight against the fascist State power.

In hundreds of villages the peasants have offered resistance to the State power. In many villages the tax collectors, the creditors and bailiffs have been warned that the peasants will not hold themselves responsible for their lives and safety. At the last municipal elections in the villages, the peasants replied with active resistance to the governmental terror.

Faced with the danger of a new revolutionary upsurge of the labour movement and the rapid revolutionisation of the peasant masses, the fractions of the government parties, headed by Liaptcheff, Buroff and Zankoff, are attempting to unite their forces in the government, although they are still fiercely fighting among themselves. But a few months after the reformation of the Cabinet, whereby three Ministerial posts were given to the Zankoff fraction, the flames of the fraction struggle flared up again. The approaching Parliamentary elections, the struggle for Ministerial posts and seats in Parliament and for the most important jobs in the administration, have again given rise to fraction struggles.

No less indicative of the political crisis of the fascist regime is the situation and the attitude of the opposition parties. The attempt of the leaders of the peasant League to strengthen their organisation, to extend its influence, to check the revolutionisation of the peasant masses and to render the League more fit to participate in the government by a comedy uniting the so-called Right and Left wing, has proved a complete failure. The group in the league which demands rejection of any coalition with the bourgeois parties and is in favour of a common fight with the working class is growing daily in importance. As a result the leaders of the so-called "Left" wing are again beginning to adopt a revolutionary pose.

The Left social democrats are playing the same role, only with more skill. At the recently held Congress of the social fascists the "Left" declared themselves decidedly against any coalition with the bourgeois parties. Nay more, they wanted the principle of the class struggle to be expressed in the resolution on the present situation. They maintained their position right up to the last session of the party congress, and some of them declined to sit on the central committee. They are for a coalition, but only after social fascism has obtained a firm foothold among the masses.

The rest of the bourgeois parties are carrying on a "determined" opposition to the government, but at the same time are solid with it in the fight against the Bolshevik danger and are prepared at any time to share power with the government party.

The tension prevailing in the country is shown by the fact that in the days of preparation for the reception of the newly wedded royal pair Sofia and the whole country was placed under martial law. Wholesale arrests, domiciliary searches, etc. constituted the chief part of these preparations. The whole garrison of Sofia was mobilised on the day of the wedding. The streets were lined three deep with soldiers in order to protect the royal couple from the "love of the people", whilst the police occupied the workers' quarters in order to suppress any workers' demonstration.

The marriage of Boris the Last has concluded the turn of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie to an open Italian orientation in foreign politics. It is true, for several years Bulgaria has been a war basis against the U. S. S. R. under the protection and under the leadership of all the imperialist powers. War-preparations have been carried on openly for several years. "Secret" military academies are increasing the number of officers every year. Every year the cadres of the reserve officers are mobilised for manoeuvres lasting six weeks. The youth in the schools are given military training against the "enemy at home and abroad". Munitions are "smuggled" in from abroad. The "volunteer" army is given the most com-

licated technical war training. One can no longer speak of a volunteer army, as only the sons of the big bourgeoisie are not obliged to enter the army, but are permitted, by payment of the so-called war tax, to escape military service.

But the war preparations have another aspect. As a result of the marriage of the Bulgarian fascist King to an Italian princess, Bulgaria's dependence upon Italian fascism is rendered complete and the Bulgarian people is delivered over as cannon fodder for the purposes of Italian imperialism in the Balkans.

The Bulgarian proletariat and the working peasants, under the leadership of the CP., are realising the dangers which these recent events represent to the toiling population of Bulgaria and the other Balkan peoples. They are conducting daily fights against the offensive of capital and the fascist dictatorship and are preparing for decisive fights under the slogans: against imperialist war-preparations, for the defence of the Soviet Union, for a workers' and peasants government in Bulgaria, for the Balkan Federation of workers' and peasants' republics, for a Soviet Bulgaria and for a Soviet Balkans.

## AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

### Revolutionary Ferment in Egypt.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

Egypt is again at a serious turning point. For the third time in the course of the last six weeks the bloc consisting of British imperialism, King Fuad and the European bank and big bourgeoisie, along with the big feudal landowners and capitalists of Egypt, is endeavouring to stabilise its unrestrained dictatorship for the exploitation and suppression of the Egyptian masses. The setting up of such a dictatorship is not difficult under the conditions obtaining in Egypt. As the whole of the armed power is in the hands of the imperialists, it is only a question of finding a plausible excuse and a marionette to put forward as dictator and the "dictatorship" is accomplished.

On the other hand, it is difficult to stabilise such a dictatorship against the will of the masses of the Egyptian people. This was the reason why the first two dictatorships failed. In order to avoid this Sidky Pasha is bringing out his new "constitution", which is far more reactionary than the previous one. The chief aim of this Constitution is to consolidate the power of the king and the parasitic "European" bourgeoisie against the native bourgeoisie, which hitherto, through the Wafd Party, had behind it the broad masses of peasants. Up to now the Wafd has continually succeeded in settling the various phases of the struggle for power between the bourgeoisie and the reactionary rivals by bargainings behind the scene. It was by such a compromise that the so-called coalition government of the Egyptian bourgeois parties (government of Adly and Sarvay Pasha) came to power in 1926; and in the same way Nahas Pasha, in 1929, succeeded in pushing Mohammed Mahmoud on one side.

This time it will not be so easy to force Sidky Pasha to resign. The king, who feels himself threatened by the aspirations of the Egyptian bourgeoisie, which has even won over to its side several princes of the Court who lay claim to the throne of King Fuad, is backing Sidky Pasha in his obstinate attitude, as are also the European big bankers and the British Conservative and Liberal politicians and of late also the Labour Government, even if it maintains the outward mask of "neutrality". Nahas Pasha, the leader of the Wafd, has exposed the nature of this "neutrality" by pointing out that the British troops are not only held in readiness, but also are supplying the Egyptian army and police, the instruments of Sidky's dictatorship, with arms.

On the other hand, the ferment among the masses, in particular among the workers and artisans of the towns and the fellahin in the rural districts, is so great that the Wafd foresees a repetition of the spontaneous popular risings which took place in July last, and therefore wishes to place itself at the head of the movement in order to make use of it for its own purposes. The mood of the masses is also revealed by the fact that the petty bourgeois "Watani" Party, which at first

supported Sidky, is now opposing his new constitution. In addition, the former "dictator" Mohammed Mahmud (an unprincipled and ambitious man who would undoubtedly side with Sidky if he thought the latter had good prospects), in view of the threatening mood of the mass of the people, has refused to support the Sidky government.

The imperialists, and Fuad and Sidky want this time to let it come to a military decision. They hope that by employing all the military and police forces at their disposal they will be able to meet the revolutionary wave and in this way to set up a regime of unbridled terror against the broad masses and also to get the better of the Wafdist bourgeoisie. In spite of loud-sounding revolutionary phrases, the Wafdist themselves are doing everything to stifle the mass action and to bring about a compromise. It is doubtful, however, whether they will succeed in doing this. The revolutionary ferment of the Egyptian masses is so profound, the political atmosphere so tense, that one must reckon with the possibility of insurrectionary outbreaks.

### MacDonald's Hypocritical Palestine Declaration.

Appeal of the League Against Imperialism to the Oppressed Masses of the Arab People and to All Fighters for the National Independence of the Arabian Countries.

Berlin, 1st November 1930.

The imperialist Powers who have bent you under their yoke feel that their position as rulers is more and more threatened. The present economic crisis is shaking the foundation of their power in their own countries and with it their rule in the colonies. In order to dam the revolutionary advance of the masses of their own working population, who are being driven to resentment by the extreme misery, by the daily growing unemployment, by the increasing poverty in the villages, they find themselves compelled to adopt measures calculated to damp down the revolutionary excitement of the oppressed masses.

In this sense British imperialism is displaying great activity. The MacDonald Government, as one of its most zealous agents, has in the course of the past twelve months undertaken a number of steps in order to delude the Arab population. The Treaty with Iraq, the agreement with Ibn Saud, the publication of the White Paper on Palestine, the declaration, in which among other things the founding of the so-called "Legislative Council" is announced, and the double game with the Egyptian Constitution constitute the most important acts in this respect.

In order, however, to grasp the true meaning of these political acts you must view them as part of the total picture of the world situation and examine them in their connection. Only thus will you be able to recognise the aim which the "Labour" Cabinet is pursuing; only thus will you realise that above all it is a question of consolidating the rule of British imperialism in your country; it is only for this purpose that they are arousing the illusion of a possibility of peaceful emancipation on the basis of an agreement with the oppressors themselves. In the proclamation which we addressed to you last year after the anti-imperialist revolt of the Arab peasants of Palestine, we called attention to the role of the present government of Great Britain and warned you against those native elements who serve as an instrument of imperialist manoeuvres.

You have already had the possibility of acquiring great practical experience as to the cynicism and perfidy with which British imperialism deceives you. In 1916 you were promised an independent Arab Federation. A year later there appeared the Balfour Declaration which promised the Jews the founding of a national home in Palestine. The MacDonald government is also following this time-honoured tradition when it offers you the prospect of a legislative assembly and appears to discard the idea of a Jewish national home. You must not doubt for a single moment that English imperialism, no matter what party may be in power, whenever its rule is endangered, will never hesitate to make use of new, hypocritical formulas in order to practice fresh deceit.

The motive which compelled the MacDonald government as representative of British imperialism to issue its last procla-

mation has nothing whatever to do with your ideal of freedom. Hitherto British imperialism had made use of the Zionist organisation and the lie about the "national home of the Jews" as the convenient instrument in order to get a firm footing in Palestine. In the course of the last year, however, and especially since the revolt of the peasants in Palestine, it has become apparent that this ramshackle organisation has already given what it had to give. For the new stage of British policy it is only regarded as an incumbrance.

Thus for the MacDonlad government the most favourable moment had come in order by a symbolic gesture to break the promises made to the Jews and to attempt to win back your friendship. Hence British imperialism pretended to be greatly concerned over the tragic lot of the Arab population. Even if the Zionists, Weizmann and others are raising a great outcry and demonstratively turn to the United States of America and talk of transferring the "Jewish Agency" to New-York, this is only to be regarded as an unessential episode in the history of the Anglo-American imperialist rivalry. The leaders of Jewish chauvinism, no matter whether they belong to the moderate Weizmann group or to the fascist Jabotinski, are making use of this political turn in order to derive advantages for themselves.

Neither the Arab nor the Jewish proletarians, who have to suffer under the same suppression, must believe for a single moment in the sincerity of the Zionist or of the Arab leaders, who are now polemising against the new British policy. All of you who are striving for the complete emancipation of your country from the foreign yoke, you are all aware that in the hour of the last decisive fight the Zionists as well as the Arab big landowners will fight side by side with the armed forces of England in order to repel your bold attack and to break your revolutionary élan. At the very moment when they are flinging abuse at each other, there exists between them a tacit agreement, and even the Labour Party is conscientiously taking care not to infringe the sacred policy of the II. International which supports the Zionist movement (Vandervelde Committee) both politically and organisationally.

At bottom therefore, the tactics of pacifying the Arab countries are in all points in accordance with the interests of Jewish capital. Anglo-Jewish capital contemplates investing huge sums in building railway lines (Port Fuad-Haifa-Baghdad), a port in Haifa and a pipe line for the Mosul oil. These large-scale undertakings require the political security of the territory in which they are situated and a great number of Arab workers. Hence the "Labour" government must do everything in order to pacify the Arab peasantry by promising them the distribution of the land, and to buy at least a part of your bourgeoisie by purely formal political concessions, because they need them in order to deceive the broad masses of the workers and to keep them under their influence. You can take it as an undeniable fact that a large group of your bourgeoisie will — within that caricature of a Parliament — co-operate with the well paid servants of imperialism and with the Jewish capitalists.

Oppressed and exploited masses of the Arab people! These facts must serve to open your eyes and to destroy your illusions! You must no longer expect the emancipation of your country and the improvement of your miserable lot from the initiative and activity of your national reformist leaders, who know how to harmonise their class interests with the enslavement of your country by imperialism. Their chief concern is to take advantage of the antagonisms between the imperialist Powers in order to get the greatest possible profit for their work. The promises of land with which you are lured have no other aim but to benefit the small possessing minority and to give finance capital the possibility of profitable transactions, to the great damage of the working masses who form the overwhelming majority of the nation. The best pieces of land have been grabbed by the native and Jewish agents of the foreign imperialists. If you do not finally drive the imperialist exploiters out of your country you will never be able to enjoy your due share of the wealth of the country and of the products of your labour. In your fight for the complete State independence of your country you must set up concrete and immediate aims: to drive out all the armed forces of imperialism; all the lands which have been appropriated by the imperialists and their native agents to be confiscated for the benefit of the poor and middle peasants; the railways, the ports and all the big industrial undertakings — the product

of long years of arduous toil, of exhaustive work — to be handed back to the Arab nation. Only when you unite in workers' and artisans unions, in peasants' leagues, in unions of students and intellectuals for the purpose of the anti-imperialist fight and form committees of action for independence, only when you unite all these separate movements in a common action, will you have the prospect of winning a free existence and the complete and final independence of your country.

But the emancipation of the Arab people cannot be achieved by one-sided and isolated actions on the part of the different Arab countries. For the imperialist Powers — no matter whether England or France — will be easily able to deal with the unconnected actions following one another by defeating one and purchasing the support of others. Only by a united determined attack by all the Arab countries, supported by the solidarity of the other oppressed peoples and by the international proletariat (the most unrelenting enemy of all oppression and exploitation by imperialism) can you achieve a rapid and certain victory.

The only international organisation which establishes connection between all movements for national emancipation and State independence, the only organisation which firmly links the bonds of solidarity between these and the revolutionary movements of the international proletariat is the "League Against Imperialism"! All Arab organisations which are sincerely devoted to the idea of independence, all persons who are striving honestly for the emancipation of the Arab peoples from imperialist rule in all lands inhabited by Arabs, must therefore work hand in hand and actively co-operate in the founding of Sections of the "League Against Imperialism." For the League has the task of uniting all scattered and isolated movements and systematically guiding them on to a common path. Only when you are welded together in the iron will to shake off the foreign yoke will it be an easy matter for you, in close connection with the movements for freedom of the innumerable millions of oppressed peoples in the whole world, to frustrate all tricks and manoeuvres which are aimed at lulling your watchfulness and undermining your fighting will.

Down with the sham "Parliament" of the agents of imperialism! Down with the treaties of concealed oppression! Down with Jewish and Arab chauvinism which sow discord between the peoples of different nationalities! Long live the solidarity of all oppressed Arab countries without distinction of religion or race! Long live complete State independence! Long live the federal Union of the Arab countries! Long live the international fight against imperialism!

The League Against Imperialism.

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

### The New Arbitration Award in the Berlin Metal Industry.

By Paul Peschke.

The Trade Union bureaucracy have succeeded in throttling the strike of 140,000 Berlin metall workers which was conducted with magnificent élan in spite of the economic crisis and the existence of mass unemployment. The apparatus of the Red Trade Union Opposition, which has won enormous influence, was not yet strong enough to prevent the demoralisation of the strike-front by the social fascists. A part of the workers believed them when they stated that the arbitration award imposing a wage cut of 8 and 6 per cent would be set aside by their "agreement". The majority of the workers returned to the factories with the greatest reluctance and with the firm determination to gather together new forces and, after removing the faults and weaknesses, to take up the fight again.

Immediately after the resumption of work it became apparent that the agreement concluded by the bureaucracy with the employers was nothing but a piece of fraud and deceit. Although it was expressly stated in the agreement that there should be no victimisation, over 400 workers have

been victimised. Of course, the bureaucracy of the reformist metal workers union are not undertaking anything against this; in fact they hoped thereby to clear the strike leaders of the Red Trade Union out of the factories. In this, however, they have been greatly mistaken, for in many works and factories the communist nuclei have a great increase of membership (in some cases a tenfold increase) to record, and new functionaries are taking the place of those who have been victimised.

The new Award which was announced on Saturday November 8, has served to open the eyes of those credulous workers who believed the statements and promises of the bureaucracy. The old Award, which was supposed to have been set aside, has again been brought into force by Herr Brauns with the approval of the social democrat Sinzheimer, with the only difference that the wage-cut is to be introduced by instalments: 3 per cent for all workers on 17th November and 5 per cent for all adult workers and 3 per cent for all young workers on the 19th of January. The fact that the representatives of the social democracy, of the German Federation of Trade Unions and of the German Metal Workers' Union approved this award reveals the actual situation to every worker. The betrayal of the metal workers and the open approval of the 8 per cent wage cut by the representatives of the trade unions is the price which the social democracy pays for being allowed to retain Ministerial seats in the Prussian government and thousands of other jobs in the States and municipalities. The social democratic leaders of the Brüning government quite openly demonstrate that they are ready, as a sleeping coalition partner, to carry out every shameful act against the working class.

The effect of the award will not be confined to Berlin. It is expressly stated in the Award that.

"The Arbitrators are aware that their decision has fundamental importance far beyond the settlement of the dispute in question."

This means that throughout the Reich wages will be reduced according to the Berlin award. The Red Trade Union Opposition has therefore adopted measures, especially in the metal industry, in order to prepare the workers for strikes. The example of the Berlin metal workers has had such an encouraging and inspiring effect that a whole number of fights against wage-cuts are developing in the country. In Bielefeld 2,000 metal workers have already gone on strike against a wage-cut.

A tremendous wave of indignation is sweeping the Berlin metal works. The workers see quite clearly that their strike-front has been broken by means of deceit and trickery. They are unanimously declaring for the Red Unitary Union of the Metal Workers. Thousands are applying for membership and thereby creating the Red trade union organisation which shall unite their forces in order, under revolutionary leadership, to lead them to new fights against the wage cutters and their confederates.

In view of these prospects the situation is regarded by the whole of the bourgeois press as exceedingly serious. Therefore, the bourgeoisie is again availing itself of the services of the social democrats Severing and Grzesinski. On the same day as the award was pronounced the "Rote Fahne" was suppressed for a week. The reason given was because the "Rote Fahne", in the name of the working class, expressed solidarity with the worker Heidrich, who on Friday 7th November at the court proceedings in connection with the May Day events of 1929, hit the former Police President Zörgiebel in the face. The real reason for the suppression of the "Rote Fahne" was to prevent it from informing the workers of the meaning of the award and rousing their fighting will. A tremendous police terror has now set in against the revolutionary workers. On the 7th of November the revolutionary demonstrations in celebration of the 13th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution were broken up by the police. The police even entered meeting halls and broke up the meetings. Workers who distributed leaflets, dealing with the suppression of the "Rote Fahne" and the arbitration award were arrested. House searches were carried out. Demonstrations of the unemployed and against the suppression of the "Rote Fahne" were broken up by the police, who charged the workers with batons and even made use of their fire-arms. The workers

are already beginning to defend themselves. They no longer run away but form firm phalanxes and protect their functionaries and flag bearers from police attacks at demonstrations.

The social democratic press is making a great set out over alleged price reductions. There is now a lot of talk about price reductions with the object of pacifying the working class. The prices of bread, milk, meat are, it is said, to be reduced. The workers adopt a very sceptical attitude towards the announced price reductions. They have had experience in this respect. Under the leadership of the Red Trade Union Opposition they are making preparations in the factories for a fresh strike, because they know that only by means of their own forces will they be able to improve their wages and working conditions. They are not defeated; they will take up the fight again more energetically. The Unitary Union of the Metal Workers of Berlin will become the leading organisation.

## The Founding of the Unitary Union of the Berlin Metal Workers.

By F. Emrich (Berlin).

In red Wedding, in the Pharos Halls, there was founded last week amidst the tremendous enthusiasm of 1600 delegates from the metal works and factories of Berlin, the Red Unitary Union of the metal workers.

The founding of the red metal workers' union was the first reply after the V. World Congress of the R.I.L.U. to the shameful betrayal of the interests of the metal workers, the organised strike-breaking action of Urich and consorts in the strike of 130,000 metal workers. The red metal workers' union was founded because tens of thousands of metal workers have realised in this powerful strike that the reformist trade union apparatus is a blacklegging organisation.

The decisions of the V. Congress of the R.I.L.U. served as the guiding line of the revolutionary metal workers in their actions.

The 4th of November, the day of the founding of the Unitary Union of the Berlin Metal Workers, opens a new stage in the struggle against the Amsterdam strike-breaking strategy. A struggle which will doubtlessly be conducted with great fierceness on both sides. Basing itself upon the decisions of the V. Congress of the R.I.L.U., the Red Trade Union Opposition will organise the struggles of the workers in spite of the social fascist treachery, and in these struggles there will arise a real revolutionary, independent trade union mass organisation.

In Germany the time is past when the revolutionary trade union members contented themselves with replying to the shameful treachery of the Amsterdammers with empty protests. The founding of the Unitary Union of the metal workers is of tremendous importance to the further development of the independent revolutionary trade union movement. The red trade unions of Germany are arising in the fire of the struggle, in fierce wrestling with the class enemy and the social fascist trade union bureaucrats.

The red Metal Workers' Union of Berlin is a fighting organisation, built upon the principle: one industry—one factory—one union! It will use towards the employers and the reformist trade union bureaucrats the language of irreconcilable class struggle.

The Unitary union of the metal workers, in which proletarian democracy, the opinion of the rank and file of the members and the interests of the whole working class are the guiding principles, is aiming, according to the fighting programme of the R.I.L.U. to which it is affiliated, at organising and conducting the struggles of the workers for higher wages and bread, for the defence of Labour, for the extension of the social-political rights. But not content with this, it will also, jointly with the revolutionary Party of the German proletariat and in accordance with the principles of a Marx-st-Leninist trade union policy, organise and conduct an irreconcilable class struggle against capitalist wage slavery and the political rule of the bourgeoisie with all the means at its disposal up to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The fighting programme of the red metal workers' union which was enthusiastically approved by the foundation meeting, is as follows:

1. For the seven-hour day; 40-hour week with full pay.
2. Fight against piece-work; until its removal payment of a guaranteed wage.
3. Fight against capitalist rationalisation; granting of ten minutes pause of the conveyor every working hour; abolition of all over time work.
4. Equal pay for equal work for working women and young workers.
5. Extension of social legislation for working women; eight weeks leave with pay before and after confinement.
6. Inclusion of the apprentices in the collective agreements; abolition of separate agreements for apprentices; right of apprentices to strike; four weeks holiday; six-hour day for young workers; the apprentices to attend training schools during work time and at the same time to be paid by the employers at T. U. rates.
7. General obligatory unemployment benefit for all unemployed, to be borne by the employers, the owners of the means of production; the Labour Exchanges to be placed under the control of the unemployed committees.
8. Uniform, gratuitous sick insurance; setting up of a national health insurance institution, with subordinate district insurance institutions; full self-administration of the insured persons; the costs to be borne by the employers.
9. Removal of the danger of accidents by means of elected functionaries, controllers and labour protection commissions.
10. Extension of the rights of the factory councils; the latter to be protected from dismissals.
11. Supply of protective clothing and milk for workers engaged on particularly hard and injurious work.

The Unitary Union of the Metal Workers will become a strong source of power for the whole German proletariat. A few days before the 13th anniversary of the great Russian Revolution the Berlin metal workers forged a new weapon in the fight against the bourgeoisie and Amsterdam; an organisation which inscribed on its banner the defence of the first Workers' and Peasants' State. The red metal workers of Berlin have shown to the revolutionary proletarians the way in which in Germany, in the fire of struggle, an independent revolutionary trade union organisation is being built up.

## HANDS OFF THE SOVIET-UNION

### The Campaign against "Soviet Dumping" in Belgium.

By W. Maesschalck (Brussels).

Following the Papal campaign against the alleged religious persecutions in the Soviet Union the reformist press in Belgium has now commenced a new incitement against the Soviet Union. On the pretext of defending the Belgian match industry, and by this means to provide work for the Belgian workers who, it is alleged, are threatened with unemployment as a result of Soviet imports of matches, the social democratic "People" demanded that the import duty on foreign matches should be increased.

A reformist deputy made an interpellation in the Chamber to this effect and soon afterwards the wishes of the Swedish match trust were fulfilled. The import duty on matches has been trebled.

Whilst the social fascists in the Belgian Labour Party continued their attacks on the Soviet Union, the bourgeois press launched another campaign against the alleged Soviet dumping. This campaign increased in strength and was chiefly directed against the grain from the Soviet Union.

Belgian agriculture is languishing and ought at the present moment to fight against the real dumping of French grain. But the offensive against the Soviet Union was extended to

all sorts of "dumping": to timber, flax, furs, oil, foodstuffs etc. Our bourgeoisie conducted their campaign against Soviet imports in a hypocritical manner by fighting against "compulsory labour", against the "starvation of the masses", against the "low wages" and all sorts of "crimes" on the part of the Bolshevik leaders.

It soon became apparent that this campaign smelt of oil, and that behind it was French imperialism, of which present-day Belgium is only a vassal. In fact soon after M. Flandin, the French Minister for Trade, had adopted his measures, the Belgian Jaspas Government published a decree which from 27th October prohibited the import and transit of a number of articles from the Soviet Union, such as oats, wheat, rye, barley etc.

There was great excitement on the Antwerp Exchange when these measures were announced, for the bourgeoisie soon realised the effect they must have on Belgian trade. Some shipping and mercantile circles made violent protests to the government, in which they pointed out that these measures would lead to a decline in shipping and in the transit trade, to an increase of unemployment in the port etc. In addition, they exploded the legend of Soviet dumping by quoting comparative figures as regards prices of grain.

On the other hand, other circles of capitalists feared that numerous orders which the Soviet Union usually places with the Belgian textile, chemical and other industries would be withdrawn. The spectre of unemployment loomed up on the horizon.

The first result of the government measures was an increase of the grain prices. In view of the protests the government was forced to make a retreat and permit the transit of goods from the Soviet Union.

The social fascist leaders and their press, who are always at the head of any anti-Soviet campaign, at first criticised the "hasty" measures of the government, not in order to defend trade with the Soviet Union, but because they realise the growing sympathy of the masses for the Soviet Union and are now endeavouring in this period of great economic crisis to regain lost ground.

The "People", which initiated the campaign against the "dumping" of matches and timber, will easily obtain pardon for its harmless attack on the government by strengthening its fight against the Communists and eagerly defending the wage cuts on the part of the employers.

As a result of the government measures the price of bread will immediately rise and unemployment will grow at a time when the employers are making an all round attack on the wages of the workers.

In view of this situation the Communist Party has launched a vigorous political campaign against the high prices resulting from the government measures, thereby exposing the position of Belgium as a vassal of French imperialism and the demagogic attitude of social democracy.

The dock workers of Antwerp, under the influence of Communist agitation have already, taken up the counter-offensive. The toilers of the other districts and in other industries are being roused and mobilised by the C. P. of Belgium and the Red Trade Union Opposition to take up the fight for wage increase and for the demands of the unemployed.

## PROLETARIAN CULTURE

### The Plenary Meeting of the International Bureau for Revolutionary Literature.

By Bruno Yassienky (Kharkov).

The international bourgeoisie is mobilising all its forces on the ideological front. Its aim is to create an ideological atmosphere favourable for the intensive preparations for armed intervention. There is no need to point out the importance of these ideological preparations.

The question of war is more serious to day than at any time. It stands like a rock in the path of the international petty bourgeoisie. It cannot be evaded. This is strikingly shown by the example of two eminent bourgeois writers, authors of books on war which have created a great sensa-

tion; Ludwig Renn and Ernst Gläser. Both of them in their books seriously approached the question of war along the path of bourgeois ideology; and when they solved the problem on their part by the fight against war, they went over to the path of proletarian ideology.

The International Bureau for Revolutionary Literature has therefore decided, before undertaking a general survey of the revolutionary forces of the international proletariat on the literary front at the approaching Enlarged Kharkov Plenum, to organise a preliminary review on the basis of a questionnaire to be sent to well known writers as to what their attitude would be in the event of war, and what position they would adopt if the imperialists attacked the Soviet Union.

The replies to the questionnaire of the International Bureau for Revolutionary Literature furnished an exact picture of the relation of forces on the front of international literature. The Plenum of the International Bureau for Revolutionary Literature, which was opened in Kharkov on 6th November, has to sum up the results of this preliminary review and to lend a firm organisational foundation to the Revolutionary International of the writers of all countries. Over eighty delegates representing twenty-three countries have come to the Soviet Union and in the name of the writers whom they represent declared themselves to be mobilised for the defence of the gigantic achievements of the greatest revolution, for the defence of socialist construction in the first country in the world that is carrying out the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Three years ago, for the first time in history, there already took place in Moscow such a meeting of the revolutionary writers of the world, who were united on the platform of fight against fascism, against white terror and the danger of war. This meeting was the commencement of the organisation on an international scale of revolutionary and proletarian authors. Many writers who took part in this meeting three years ago and declared themselves to be enthusiastic friends of the Soviet Union, we shall now seek in vain among the delegates at the present Plenum. Many of them, as the renegade Panait Istrati of shameful memory, Bartel and others, have already landed in the camp of fascism, which appears to them as a safe and comfortable faith.

The decisive regrouping which is now going on within the international petty bourgeoisie and which is leading a considerable part of them into the arms of fascism, is by no means a one-sided process. Parallel with the process of fascistisation there is taking place another process: the pauperisation and radicalisation of certain sections of the petty bourgeoisie. Their best representatives are coming over to the side of the proletariat. In the place of Panait Istrati and Bartel, more steadfast and trustworthy elements are rallying to the proletarian flag, among them being Ernst Gläser, Oskar Maria Graf, John dos Passos.

But for the first time new writers from the pits and the factories are taking their place on the international front of revolutionary literature. They are pushing aside the untalented bourgeois writers who seek to portray the life of the proletariat, and are beginning to write for themselves and of themselves. They express the spirit of the masses. They have arrived at the literary front through the workers' correspondent movement, and their voices have suddenly begun to dominate revolutionary world literature. There are among them already illustrious names such as Hidas, Ginkel, Grünberg, Kläber, Marchwitza, Tureck, Scharrer, to mention only a few. They now form the firm worker cadres of proletarian world literature.

Side by side with them there march the proletarian writers who have come from the bourgeoisie, who have shown by deeds that in the active fights in the ranks of our brother parties they are serving the great cause of the working class. Many of them have already acquired a world reputation; their revolutionary books are read by the proletarians of all countries: Becher, Renn, Weisskopf (Germany), Hles (Hungary), M. Gold (America), Kahana (Rumania).

The Plenum of the International Bureau for Revolutionary Literature, which is being held under the slogan of mobilising

all revolutionary and proletarian writers of the world for the fight against the ideological and material preparations for the new war, for the defence of the Soviet Union and Socialist Construction, will lay the foundation of a new proletarian authors' organisation in a number of countries. In addition to the sections which already exist in Austria, America, Hungary, Germany, Poland and Czechoslovakia, new sections will be founded at the Plenum, i. e., the Bulgarian, Swiss, South American and Japanese.

The old platform of fight against the danger of war, against fascism and white terror which hitherto united the revolutionary writers of Europe and America, is too general and under the conditions of intensified class struggle in the third period must be extended by the Plenum. A new and more exactly formulated platform must be set up advocating the struggle against social fascism and the social democratic illusions with which the international bourgeoisie befores the working class.

The International Bureau for Revolutionary Literature must at its Plenum, by means of the fight on two fronts for a general line, solve a number of conflicts which have arisen in the different countries. The Right and Left deviations have revealed themselves in one of the strongest and soundest sections, i. e. in the German League of Proletarian Writers, which possesses a firm cadre of working class authors from the factories. The representatives of the ultra-Left deviation in the German Section are opposed to any form of co-operation with petty-bourgeois writers. The majority of the members of the German section energetically resisted this fundamentally false ultra-Left tendency. Thanks to the correct policy of the leaders of the German Section the proletariat has drawn such writers into its ranks as E. Gläser and O. M. Graf, who have recently taken an active part in the campaigns of the German Communist Party. The Right deviation in the German League put forward the theory that there does not exist a proletarian literature (Comrade Weisskopf).

In France, the International Bureau for Revolutionary Literature exists only on paper. The worker correspondents' movement, which arose very late in France, has not yet produced new cadres of working class writers from the factories. Without a workers' core the literary organisation of the proletarian writers cannot normally develop and is doomed to degeneration. This is shown very clearly in the case of the French review "Monde", whose editor, Comrade Henri Barbusse, is a member of the Secretariat of the International Bureau. As a result of his wrong attitude on principle, his orientation towards "all workers' parties", "Monde" sank to the level of a representative of petty-bourgeois, social democratic and pacifist ideologies of all shades. The enemies of the working class and of the Soviet Union, such as Vanderfelde, De Man, Renner and others were able to express their views in its columns. The International Bureau for Revolutionary Literature, in its organ "Westnik Inostranij Literaturi", has repeatedly sharply criticised the harmful activity of the "Monde" and attempted to bring influence to bear upon Comrade Barbusse in order to get him to correct the line of the paper of which he is the editor. Comrade Barbusse expressed the desire to find a common platform with the International Bureau. For this purpose he delegated to the Plenum a representative of "Monde". There is therefore reason to hope that the conflict will be settled and a common platform worked out.

In view of the approaching war, in the period of the most strenuous socialist construction in the Soviet Union and the growing aggravation of the class struggle in the capitalist countries, the revolutionary writers in all countries who have dedicated their pens to the service of the cause of the victory of the working class must return from Kharkov more staunch and disciplined than ever before, as soldiers of the world revolution.

"The revolutionary literature for the defence of the Soviet Union" — that is the slogan with which the workers of the Soviet Union welcome the representatives of 22 countries.