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Open Letter of the E. C. C. I. to the Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

Comrades.

Your Congress meets at a decisive moment in the history of your Party and of the British working class movement. It is taking place at the commencement of a world economic crisis, in the period of a new rising revolutionary tide in the international labour movement, in the period of the victorious fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan of socialist construction in the U. S. S. R. which is the most powerful factor of destruction of capitalist stabilisation. In these circumstances, the ascension to power of the British "Labour" Government, which is the Government of capitalist rationalisation, of preparation for war against the Soviet Union and for the suppression of the Colonies, opens a new page in the history of the struggles of the British proletariat. The self-exposure of the "Labour" Government and the disillusionment of the broad masses of the working class in regard to the "Labour" Party creates favourable conditions for the development of a mass Communist Party in Great Britain. Your Congress must mark a turning point in the determined application of the new line and the radical transformation of the form of organisation and methods of work of the Party in order that it may play the leading role in the growing class struggles. Your Congress is called upon to make a final and

decisive break with the opportunist hesitations and vacillations of the past, to put an end to the present internal situation in the Party which is hampering its activities and to bring it out on to the broad road of becoming a mass organisation, the vanguard of the working class in the fight for the overthrow of capitalism. The E. C. C. I. is confident that the Congress will approach its task in the Leninist manner and enable the Party in the shortest possible time to become a decisive factor in the class struggle.

The view taken by the X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. in regard to the rise of a new revolutionary wave has been confirmed by the progress of events in Great Britain. British capitalism is experiencing with particular force the precariousness of capitalist stabilisation. Beginning late to rationalise its system, its basic industries subjected to the heavy blows of its foreign imperialist rivals, its position in the world market becoming worsened, powerless to liquidate or even to diminish the vast army of unemployed, the British bourgeoisie, together with the social-fascist "Labour" Party and trade union bureaucracy hurl repeated attacks against the working class and the colonial peoples.

Capitalist rationalisation in Great Britain, by sharply worsening the conditions of the workers, is giving rise to a

new wave of militancy in the ranks of the labour movement; the colonies are in a state of revolutionary ferment (India, Palestine, South Africa, China); the unparalleled intensification of international imperialist rivalry brings nearer the menace of world war. All these together are further factors in the undermining of the precarious capitalist stabilisation and the shattering of the world capitalist system.

British imperialism strives to overcome its difficulties by a policy of imperialist reaction at home and abroad. The bourgeoisie strives to crush the working class by means of rationalisation, organises the bloody suppression of the colonies, is making preparations for an imperialist war, is ceaselessly striving to undermine the work of socialist construction in the U. S. S. R. in spite of diplomatic recognition. It is the mission of the capitalist "Labour" Government to carry out this policy. Hence the fascisation of the Labour Party and its appendage, the sham Lefts, (Maxton, Cook, Kirkwood), who play the cowardly and treacherous role of deceiving the workers under cover of socialist phrases in a futile attempt to postpone their growing disillusionment; hence the fascisation of the trade unions, the creation of a triple alliance between the State, the employers and the trade unions against the workers, the direct intervention of the "Labour" Government in economic conflicts against the interests of the working class (Lancashire lockout, mining industry). Rationalisation will irrevocably destroy the privileged position formerly enjoyed by the aristocracy of labour. Neither British capitalism nor its agents, the Labour Government, the Labour Party and the reactionary trade union bureaucracy can succeed in converting the British proletariat into an appendage of British imperialism. The radicalisation of the masses of the workers and the revolutionisation of their methods of struggle (the spreading strike waves, committees of action, the growing hostility of the masses of the workers towards the trade union bureaucracy, the organisation of new unions) is proceeding at a rapid rate. In many cases the resistance of the working class is in the nature of a counter-offensive which, in present conditions, assumes the character of a political struggle, and which is the forerunner of gigantic class conflicts. Wherever Communists have been able to take the lead of the masses, they have met with undoubted support.

The opening of this new chapter in the history of the British working class calls for an immediate and determined effort to close the gap between the Communist vanguard and the masses and to bring it closer to the progress of the spontaneously growing class struggles. Without this the Communist Party will be unable to fulfil its revolutionary duty to the British and the international proletariat. It is imperatively necessary that the British Party from top to bottom shall thoroughly understand in the Bolshevik manner the implications of the new tactics of class against class. Any further delay in the application of the correct line, the pandering to Right opportunist vacillations, passivity, lack of resolution and initiative and following in the wake of events will be a serious menace to the very existence of the Party. The Party must understand that the very ascension to power of the Labour Government puts the Party in the vanguard of the class struggle and imperatively calls for its transformation into a mass Bolshevik Party within the shortest possible time.

The Communist Party of Great Britain must definitely understand that it is useless talking about a mass Bolshevik Party, about the leading role of the Party in the class struggle, unless it has close and constant contacts with the masses, unless it closely studies the mass economic and political struggles, unless it actually organises and leads these struggles and unless it systematically, day in and day out, exposes the treacherous social-fascist role of the "Labour" Government and its henchmen. The Communist Party must become the focus, the political expression and the organiser of the growing mass protest movement and struggle, against the "Labour" Government. The Communist Party must become transformed from a merely propagandist organisation into the independent leader of the economic and political struggles of the working class.

The Party has not as yet succeeded in doing this, although certain steps in this direction have been made. The fact, however, that the Party membership is beginning to recognise the necessity for this transformation and is seeking the means by which it can be achieved, marks important progress.

The Party will be able to bring about this transformation only if it fully appreciates the implications of the new line and

if on the basis of everyday experience, will seek for, adopt and develop new concrete forms of organisation and methods of working class struggles. Up to the IX. Plenum the line of the Party should have been to fight for the masses and to lead their struggles mainly by working in the Labour Party and in the trade unions. The IX. Plenum radically changed this line. The intensification of the class struggle, the radicalisation of the working class, the growing fascisation of Social Democracy and the reformist trade unions brought the Communist Parties face to face with the task of independently leading the class struggle of the proletariat. The new line demands that the Communist Parties, while not in the least diminishing their activity in the trade unions, initiate and develop independent organs of struggle embracing all the workers, — the organised and particularly the unorganised — for the fight against the employers as well as against the fascist Labour Party and trade union bureaucracy. To achieve this it is necessary to transfer the weight of the Party work among the masses to the factories. But the Party has not yet succeeded in establishing contacts with the masses in the new fields of struggle, and certain elements in it are still clinging to the old methods. New movements are rapidly developing outside the framework of the old trade unions: unofficial strikes, strikes of the unorganised, the unemployed, etc. It is necessary to build up a body of non-Party militants around the Party, a broad mass workers' organisation to serve as the channels of the Party's influence upon the masses in its leadership of their struggles, as a bridge between the Party and the masses and a training ground for class struggles. The Minority Movement should fulfil this purpose. But the weakness of the Minority Movement is that it has been an amorphous movement, having no definite footholds in the factories and has not organised the struggles of the masses. Consequently, the Party is still, to a large extent, dragging at the tail of the militant working class movement, instead of being at the head of it.

The failure of the Party to become the mass leader of the workers and the failure of the Minority Movement to become a mass independent workers' movement are due primarily to the **Right Wing mistakes** committed by the Party and its leadership. The opportunist elements in the Party leadership hindered the reorganisation of the Party on a factory basis. These elements clung to the old forms of contacts with the masses and to the old methods of work instead of utilising the existing and creating new approaches to the masses on the basis of the united front from below in the factories. These elements must be brought out into the open and ruthlessly exposed. Particularly must determined and ruthless efforts be made to eradicate the form of opportunism which finds expression in the mechanical acceptance of all resolutions and criticisms from the E. C. C. I. without a radical change in the practical everyday work and tactics of the Party.

In order to apply the line of the Comintern, not merely in words, but in deeds, in order that the Party may become the vanguard and revolutionary organiser in the everyday struggles of the working class, it must not only declare ruthless war against Right opportunism and conciliation, but actually conduct this war in all spheres of its practical work. Only in this way will the Party purge itself of Right opportunism and conciliation. The over-estimation of capitalist stabilisation by the Party leadership, the inability to see the development of the trade unions and the Labour Party towards social-fascism, the dragging at the tail of the sham Left representatives of social-fascism (Cook, Maxton), hindered the Party from realising the necessity for new and independent forms of struggle. The deviation of a number of leading members of the Party in this direction explains the resistance to the independent action of the Communist Party against the labourists during elections, the passive subordination to trade union legality and to the leadership of the reactionary trade union bureaucrats, the under-estimation of the need for the Party guidance of trade union work, etc., etc. These deviations fatally affected the Party's contacts with the masses and particularly affected the Minority Movement. The application of the tactics of the united front from above led in practice to passivity in the fight for the united front from below, played into the hands of the reformists, and hindered the development of the mass struggles under the leadership of the Party. The fundamental task of the Party is to establish the united front from below in the factories, to organise new forms of independent leadership of mass struggles, while systematically and unceasingly linking up the economic struggles

with the political struggle for the revolutionary Workers' Government.

The growth and intensification of the working class struggles against the triple alliance between the capitalist government, the employers and the social-fascist Labour Party and trade unions, bring the Party face to face with the problem of mass political strikes. By employing the weapon of mass political strikes, the Party will be enabled to bring greater unity in the scattered economic actions of the working class, to carry out a wide mobilisation of the proletarian masses, to greatly enlarge their political experience and lead them up to the direct struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In order to fulfil this task, the Party must be transformed into a mass organisation having deep roots in the factories through the systematic organisation of Party nuclei. The Party must work systematically and persistently to recruit new militant workers in order to widen its ranks and to strengthen its positions in the important factories. In the factories the Party must independently organise factory committees, stimulate the independent struggles of the workers and guide them through strike committees, etc. The Minority Movement is an instrument through which the Party can perform this task; through which the various struggles can be co-ordinated, the independent organs of struggle combined and the united front from below be achieved. But the Minority Movement must be transformed from a mere propagandist body leading the opposition in the trade unions into the leader of the economic struggles of the workers, mobilising the masses around a programme of immediate demands and linking up these demands with the struggle on the fundamental political problems of the British labour movement. The Minority Movement must not be a mere duplicate of the Party; it must be a broader organisation than the Party, embracing the opposition in the old trade unions, the struggles of the factory committees, the unorganised, the new unions, the unemployed, etc. The Party must be the driving force in and the inspirer of the Minority Movement; the latter must be the medium through which the Party maintains contact with and exercises leadership of the masses of the working class. The Party must lead the Minority Movement. The Communist fractions in the Minority Movement must unquestionably carry out the Party line and be directly subordinated to the Party. But the Party leadership of the Minority Movement will be achieved, not by the formal recognition of this leadership by the Minority Movement, but as a result of the active, day to day and persistent work the Communists and their fractions carry on among the masses generally and in the Minority Movement in particular; work that will prove that the Communists are capable of leading the workers' struggles.

But the Party will never succeed in becoming the mass leader of the workers, and the Minority Movement will never become a broad mass organisation unless the Party succeeds in establishing a daily paper. The problem of a daily paper is not only the problem of the Party, but of the whole of the British working class and of the mass revolutionary movement. The daily paper must become the medium for the most intimate and responsive contact of the Party with the masses in their struggle. Its creation, circulation and maintenance is the cause, not of the Communists alone, but of the whole working class. Wide agitation must be carried on for the establishment of a Daily Worker Fund and for the mobilisation of a wide circle of worker correspondents in the factories. Only if the Party will be able to interest scores of thousands of British workers, suppressed and gagged by the Labour Government, only if the workers become interested in the paper, will its success be guaranteed and the British working class movement as a whole elevated to a higher phase of development.

A systematic exposure of the Labour Government and of the trade union bureaucracy will be possible only through the medium of a Communist Daily. In fighting for a working class paper, the Party must follow the example of the Russian Bolsheviks, who even under Tsarism, were able to create and maintain their mass revolutionary proletarian press.

Your Congress will have to deliberate on these main problems confronting the Party. But the Congress will be able to solve these problems only by the means of wide and ruthless self-criticism of the activities and life of the Party, its achievements and fundamental weaknesses. The discussion in the Party and in the Party press prior to the Congress revived the political life of the Party membership and raised the Party to a

higher political level. Notwithstanding the defects of the discussion to which we have drawn attention, it marked the introduction of an important new feature of Party life — extensive mass self-criticism. Mass self-criticism based on the concrete experience of mass struggles and Party work must become the principal means for the reorganisation of the whole work of the Party and for adapting it to the new tasks; it must be continued in the process of carrying out these tasks with the active participation of every Communist and with the assistance of all militant workers.

Your Congress must elect a new Central Committee composed of the best elements of the present leadership who are fighting for the correct revolutionary line of the Comintern and of new proletarian elements who have come to the front in the developing struggles and who correctly express the revolutionary determination of the Party. In the recent period of development of your Party a political differentiation has become revealed in the Party leadership, between those who fight energetically for the line of the Comintern, and those who still hamper the Party by their opposition to a clear independent revolutionary policy. From this your Congress must draw the logical conclusions and elect a leadership that will guarantee the carrying out of the Bolshevik line of the Comintern. The election of a new Central Committee at this Congress, however, can only be a first step in the renewal of the Party cadres. Self-criticism must serve as a means for educating and bringing forward new cadres. In developing self-criticism on the basis of the fulfilment of the concrete tasks confronting the Party, efforts must be made to stimulate every Communist to activity in the work of creating a mass Party and a mass Minority Movement. Only in this way will the Party be able to establish contact with the masses in the factories, find the new methods of work and be Bolshevistically prepared to meet the class battles ahead.

Expressing its complete agreement with the political tasks of the Party as outlined in the decisions of the last Plenum of its Central Committee, the E. C. C. I. greets your Congress, and through you, the working class of Great Britain, and expresses the conviction that the Congress will successfully grapple with the enormous tasks which confront it. The E. C. C. I. is confident that, equipped with the Leninist theory and practice, your Congress will find the ways and means of applying the revolutionary line of the Comintern in the work of your Party, and that the Congress will mark the first important step towards the development in Great Britain of a mass Communist Party, which will lead the workers to victory.

Long live the Communist Party of Great Britain!

For the Presidium E. C. C. I.:
Thälmann (Germany), Garlandi (Italy), Semard (France).

POLITICS

The Situation in the C. P. of Great Britain.

By R. Palme-Dutt.

The Eleventh Congress of the British Communist Party is due to meet at Leeds on November 30 — December 3rd.

The character of the situation in Britain, and the situation within the Party, gives to this Congress a critical character. The present stage of the British working class movement is essentially the stage of a tremendous turning-point. The bourgeoisie has temporarily strengthened its forces by the full incorporation of the Labour-trade union machine as an ever more openly social-fascist apparatus. The workers are having to advance to new forms and methods of struggle, and to a far wider and deeper revolutionary outlook. This transformation cannot take place overnight. The inner struggle within the Communist Party, and the temporary weakening of the Communist Party owing to its inability quickly enough to adapt itself to the changed situation, is only a reflection of this tremendous process of transformation in the British working class. The coming Congress will have to be a decisive point in this transformation, and in clearing the way forward for the new stage of class struggle in Britain.

What is the special character of the present situation in

Britain, and the consequent tasks confronting the Congress?

The Labour Government has now been in office some six months. The eight million voters who gave their support to the Labour promises in May are now experiencing the fruits. After having voted for the Labour Party essentially as an alternative to the hated Baldwin regime, and to turn out the Baldwin Government, they are now experiencing in the Labour Government a complete continuity with the Baldwin Government — not only a continuation, but even a sharpening of the essential features of the Baldwin Government's policy.

The main work of the Labour Government during the past six months has been as the instrument of imperialist policy in the world field, especially with reference to a) inter-imperialist rivalry (the Hague and the MacDonald-Hoover Conferences), b) relations with the Soviet Union, and c) colonial policy, and, in particular, India.

What is the perspective opened out in these issues?

The Five-Power Conference in January will mark an enormous increase of armaments by the two most powerful armed states in the world. Under cover of the talk of "parity" and "limitation of armaments", British and American Imperialism are seeking: first, to impose a statutory inferior position on all other Powers, while making their own level too high for competition by any others (Japan has already sent in officially a plea that parity may be fixed at a lower level, and that within that lower level she may receive a higher percentage, 70%; both requests have been refused); second, on this basis, to establish effective world domination or the "peace of the Anglo-Saxons", which means in particular to unite the world imperialist front against the Soviet Union; third, in this way to clear the field for their own ultimate conflict for world hegemony, for which conflict neither is yet ready without further preparation.

The significance of the Labour Government as a government of the drive to war is thus powerfully brought out by its acts.

With regard to relations with the Soviet Union, the offensive policy of the Labour Government is even more open. After all the election propaganda of the immediate establishment of full and friendly relations with the Soviet Union, the actual negotiations have shown a very different character. The character of the negotiations has shown throughout, under formal cover of a move for the resumption of relations, a continuous manoeuvring for position on the basis of hostility. The original pledges to Chamberlain and his associates in Parliament; the breaking off of the negotiations on the point that the full demands of the creditors and the counter-revolutionaries must first be satisfied; the reluctant resumption of negotiations and renewed pledges to Parliament that the activities of the Communist International will be regarded as activities of the Soviet Government; and, above all, the sending of a professional agent of the Foreign Office anti-Soviet policy, Drey, as Ambassador to Moscow, who until recently was acting as second under the notorious Gregory of the "Northern Department" of the Foreign Office — all these are signs clear to see for those who care to read them. The Labour Government is being used to prepare the ground for a renewed break with the Soviet Union — this time under Labour auspices, and therefore with a "united" country to enter on the campaign against the Workers' Republic.

Finally, with regard to India. Here already a gigantic conflict between the Labour Government and the rising mass movement has opened, which is likely to reach decisive stages in the near future. The manoeuvre of the Viceroy's Declaration and the proposed conference is the obvious building of a bridge for the bourgeois nationalists to enable them to throw over their previous pledges of launching a revolutionary struggle for independence by January 1st, and line up with the Government against the mass movement. The tactics of imperialism is to concentrate all forces against the first beginnings of an independent movement of the workers and peasants, as the real deadly enemy to its power. This is the significance of the Meerut trial. It has thus fallen to a Labour Government to seek to strangle the first beginnings of socialism among the three hundred millions of India. A campaign of intensified judicial terrorism is in full swing. The Labour Government is sentencing Indians to years of imprisonment, forced labour etc., for a speech, an article, or even for reprinting books and pamphlets which were freely permitted under the Baldwin Go-

vernment. Nothing could show more clearly the sharpening of the issues. **The bourgeoisie has set for the British Labour Government the role of hangman of the Indian Revolution.** This is an issue which confronts the British workers with ever growing urgency.

If we turn to the field of domestic policy, the continuity with the Baldwin Government stands out strongly. The economic situation shows no sign of improving, but rather of worsening. Exports for the first ten months of 1929 are at almost the same level as for 1928, and exports of manufactured goods have fallen. The adverse balance of trade has increased. Unemployment is rising. The relative position of Britain in the world market, and especially in relation to its leading industrial competitors, goes steadily backward. The financial crisis, reflected from America, is adversely affecting the situation. **The Labour Government is showing the same impotence as the Baldwin Government to stay the economic decline.** In no country are the signals pointing more strongly for the workers than in Britain to the socialist revolution as the only way out of their worsening plight.

The Labour Government came to power largely on the basis of its wholesale denunciation of the economic policy of the Baldwin Government, of its policy of "economic defeatism" as it was termed (actually of ruthless class struggle to re-establish British capitalist efficiency at the expense of the workers), and its failure to solve the unemployment crisis. The Labour Party and Liberal Party vied with one another in their promises of large-scale schemes of industrial reconstruction with state aid to overcome unemployment and bring back prosperity. The Labour and Liberal Parties have their majority; but the schemes have vanished into thin air. The critical financial situation makes any large-scale schemes impossible. The fiasco of Thomas is visible to all. **The failure of the Labour Government to undertake any large-scale industrial reconstruction is of decisive importance in the progress of the British capitalist decline.** The Labour Government is forced to tread the path of the Baldwin Government — the path of slow and painful rationalisation at the expense of the workers, of maintenance of the gold standard as its primary anxiety, of ever renewed attacks upon the workers.

The economic policy of the Labour Government thus turns essentially into attacks upon the workers. The Labour Government has the role of the spearhead of the capitalist offensive against the workers. The pledges of re-establishing the miners' seven hours "in the first session of parliament" have had to be thrown overboard. Instead, the Labour Government has to undertake the task of enforcing wage-cuts, as in the imposing of the 6 1/4% wage-cut on the half million cotton workers by the Labour Government's Court of Arbitration. In this task the trade union bureaucracy busily assists it. But in this way a wedge is driven between the workers on the one side and the Labour Government and trade union bureaucracy on the other.

The Labour Members of Parliament, growingly disturbed at the turn of events and the signs of alienation of the workers, are now raising a howl for increased social benefits, unemployment pay etc., to hide their failure. But even here the financial situation is against them; and Snowden presents a "strong" front to resist them on behalf of his City masters, no less than he did at the Hague. These loudly heralded "revolts" in the Parliamentary Labour Party should not be mistaken for the growth of a genuine "left opposition"; they are nothing but the largely stage clamour of opportunist Labour politicians, who fear to meet their constituents without something more tangible to show; but this very fear and anxiety betrays the movement of working class feeling towards disillusionment and distrust.

The real development of working class opposition is to be found, not in these manoeuvres of Labour politicians, but in the growing wave of independent strikes. The strike curve shows a steady upward tendency during the past year. These strikes are essentially of a new type. They are fought almost invariably against the intensest opposition of the trade union bureaucracy; they are spontaneous movements of the workers, at present largely local in character; they unite the unorganised with the organised workers, the former often showing the strongest fighting character. This gathering movement is still weak and in its early stages; it is still local and sporadic, limited in outlook and often uncertain in its aims. But the whole character of the situation makes certain its growth and deepening. **To reach its full strength, however, it requires**

leadership, a network of organisation, contact between the local centres and common expression, concerted action, a common fighting programme, and interweaving of the economic and political struggle. Here, in the development of this wider mass movement, is the tremendous field of the **Communist Party** in the present period, to realise its independent leadership, to build up the revolutionary working class opposition to the Labour Government and trade union bureaucracy, to build up the mass Communist Party.

The basic task of the Communist Party in the present period is to lead the new wave of struggle, the rising opposition to the Labour Government and its policy of rationalisation and war.

For the realisation of this task, the essential requirements are:

1. a correct political line of independent leadership in action, and final wiping out of the remains of the right, conciliatory or vacillating tendencies;
2. the establishment of the **Workers' Daily** as the agitator and organiser of the new revolutionary mass movement under Communist leadership;
3. the united front from below, especially through the forms of Committees of Action, Factory Committees, etc., and around programmes of fighting demands, both economic and political; leadership in mass economic struggles, and also in mass political agitations and actions (war issue, colonial issues, against the Labour Government, etc.);
4. the turning of the face of the Party to the factories as the basis of its strength against the Labour-trade union machine, the capitalist campaign of repression etc., and the sole possibility of its growth as a revolutionary workers' party leading the working class.

These are the biggest issues and tasks confronting the coming Congress of the Communist Party. The most hopeful sign that has shown itself in the pre-Congress discussions is the strong spirit of fight throughout the membership, the determination to end the old confusions and incorrect tendencies that have held back the Party during the past two years, and the enthusiasm to go forward and realise in action the international line, and to elect a leadership which will fight strongly on this basis. This spirit of fight is a reflection of the growing militant spirit in the working class. If this spirit succeeds in translating itself into positive results at the Congress, and marking out clearly the path forward, then this Congress will prove a decisive point in the new revolutionary wave in the British working class.

The Foreign Policy of the Tardieu-Briand Cabinet.

By P. Gabriel (Paris).

The ten day's ministerial crisis in France having been ended by the formation of the Tardieu cabinet, and the new government having now submitted its programme to the public, it may be of general interest to outline the main tendencies of French imperialism. Two problems stand in the foreground: The naval conference, and the second phase of the Hague conference, with all the questions connected with it (Rhineland, Saar district, International Bank, etc.).

French imperialism has a severe struggle to face in London within the next few weeks. It will have to defend itself in the submarine question, and to oppose the naval parity demanded by Italy. Tardieu declares in his programme that the French government "will defend without wavering the free communication between France and its colonies". The "Echo de Paris", spokesman for the most part of the French Admiralty, interprets this declaration as follows: "The French navy must be in a position, within the limits of the possible agreement made in London — should this come about — to hold the rank which it possessed in 1914. We are grateful to M. Tardieu that he has expressed himself so clearly, without delay, on the question of naval disarmament."

It need not be supposed that this is merely empty talk. The French government has at the same time placed the giant submarine "Surcouf" in service, and the naval minister Leygues declared, at the inauguration of the naval school at Brest, that: "To be a world power means above all to be a naval power."

Even the project of a "Locarno of the Mediterranean powers", of which there has been so much talk during the past week, has not induced France to alter its viewpoint. The project is received with much scepticism. "L'Echo de Paris", adhering to its principle, which is that of the French admiralty, writes: "Not even a Locarno sugar coating will persuade us to swallow the pill of naval parity."

With respect to the Rhineland and the Saar district, the tendency prevailing in these questions may be briefly outlined as follows: It is the policy of French imperialism to secure the support of the new German imperialism for the anti-Soviet front. This policy naturally presumes that an understanding will be arrived at. What are the objects being bargained over? The Rhineland and the Saar. In both cases due consideration must be accorded to the special interests of industry, represented in the Chamber by Marin and de Wendel.

Marin and de Wendel are no less anxious than Briand and Boncour for Germany's aid in the fight against the Soviet Union. They welcome as heartily as Briand and Boncour an alliance between the German and the French industrialists, but they have other cares as well. Hitherto the Rhineland has been in their hands of means enabling them to exert pressure on the German state in economic negotiations. They do not care to relinquish this means until the Young Plan has come into operation, and until the fortifications on the East frontier of France have been reorganised.

Only a few days ago a violent dispute arose in the Chamber, in the Commission for foreign affairs, between the advocates and the opponents of immediate negotiations. The antagonisms can be bridged only if the Marin and de Wendel group subordinate their special interests to the general interests of the policy of French imperialism. At bottom the aim of the negotiations carried on by every fraction of French imperialism, from Marin to Ziromsky, is the formation of a Franco-German war bloc against the Soviet Union.

In this connection it is worth noting that the programmatic declaration of the new government has been agreed to unanimously by the Marin group. What price has been paid for this? Tardieu, when forming his ministry, made great concessions to the "Republican Democratic Union", of which Marin is the leader. He accorded the ministry of war to Maginot, a member of a group connected with the Republican Union; Maginot was minister for war during the occupation of the Ruhr territory, and, a few days before the crisis broke out, criticised the inadequate fortifications on the East frontier, declaring at the same time that the evacuation of the third zone of the Rhine country should be made dependent on the carrying out of the Young Plan. Finally, Tardieu commissioned a member of the Union, N. Pernet (who voted at the time against the Locarno agreement) to undertake the position of chairman of the French delegation at the negotiations on the Saar district. This skilful distribution of functions and ministerial posts would not however have sufficed in itself to secure the support of the Marin group for the government. The means employed by Tardieu and Briand to achieve this end are worthy of special mention. Hitherto it has been declared that the evacuation of the Rhine country would be completed by 30th June 1930 — a statement enabling the social democrats of both Germany and France to stage a great advertisement campaign. But Briand passed this over in complete silence in his exposé of the results of the Hague conference. Tardieu, on the other hand, declared categorically: "This term is no longer fixed. Since Stresemann's death the 30th June has lost its validity as a date."

This interpretation has gained for the government the votes of the Marin group, and has led to a split in the latter. It is possible that this concession will have no practical effect on the date of evacuation. But under any circumstances one thing is certain: the formation of a German-Polish capitalist bloc against the Soviet Union exists as a danger against which the proletariat of France and Germany must fight.

The utter lack of embarrassment with which the promise of an immediate evacuation of the Rhineland is dropped serves to mark the political roguery of the socialists of both countries. The French social democrats welcome the speech of the foreign minister with unreserved applause. The German workers are yoked to the anti-Soviet bloc, and have not even a guarantee that the Rhineland will be completely evacuated on 30th June, 1930.

The Communist Party of France, which has unceasingly pointed out the danger of war, and whose members are being accused in hundreds of plotting against the external safety of

the state, and of espionage, will not fail to expose, in its agitation and in the anti-military campaigns among the masses in the factories, barracks, etc., the real intentions of French imperialism. Under the banner of the revolutionary competition with the C. P. G., it will fight against the military and political bloc of Franco-German imperialism and their active helpers the social Fascists, against the Young slavery plan, and for the defence of the Soviet Union and its five-years' plan.

The Municipal Elections in Germany.

Fritz Heckert (Berlin).

On Sunday, November 17th, the municipal elections took place in Prussia, Saxony and Hesse. The results have aroused great attention in the press both at home and abroad. It was expected that the municipal elections would represent a general judgment of the population on the whole national policy. The result of the elections shows, however, that a number of very different tendencies have exercised influence, so that people in the various political camps arrive at widely different opinions as to the significance of the elections.

As the last municipal elections in Prussia, with the exception of a few localities, took place in the year 1924, the elections to the provincial diet in the year 1925, the municipal elections in Saxony in November 1926, the municipal election in Berlin in October, 1925, and those of a number of larger towns, in which smaller places have been incorporated within the last few years, in autumn 1926 or in spring 1927, there are no reliable figures from which to judge reliably the growth or decline of the parties.

Even the general elections in December 1924 showed an entirely different result from the May elections of the same year and the situation was again different at the provincial diet elections in 1925. In the meanwhile there has taken place in May 1928 another general election, the figures of which might prove more suitable for comparison purposes. But even since these elections there have been a number of political and economic happenings to affect electorates in the various districts of the country. Moreover, the elections for the municipal councils and for the provincial diets cannot be compared off-hand with the parliamentary elections, because, in the first place, at the municipal elections local conditions play a part and, what is more important, the Communist Party in particular was able to run candidates in but a small number of municipal elections.

Taking all these circumstances into account, it may be stated that the Communist Party has made progress. For instance, it has increased its number of seats in the Prussian provincial diet from 95 to 100. In many municipalities, in which the Communist Party previously had no representatives, the Party will be represented in future and so extend its sphere of influence. But the election results are not alike for the Communist Party in all places; in some districts they are indeed very unsatisfactory. For instance, in industrial Saxony we have suffered considerable losses, while the Fascists have been able to make great progress and the Social-Democratic totals have not regressed in proportion to those of the Communists. The Communist losses are due to insufficiently concrete local policies adapted to the requirements of the workers, and more especially to the failure to carry out properly the general Party line. One of the objective factors militating against us is that in Saxony the Social-Democrats are not the government party but make a show of being an opposition party. The Fascist advance in this territory is due to the decline in industry and to the rapid collapse of the small business man and petty trader. That the Party in Saxony has failed to obtain more support is also attributable to a large extent to the renegades of the Right, who have calumniated the Party in the vilest manner and discredited it among the working masses.

The Fascists were able to record successes in many places, including labour strongholds. The disappointment of the broad working masses and of many independent workers over the depressing results of the Social-Democratic coalition policy enabled the Fascists to create confusion by means of impudent social demagoguery. For instance, the leading candidate of the National Socialists in Berlin, Dr. Goebbels declared: The National Socialists will show in the parliaments that they are a revolutionary and socialist Party."

In the Rhenish-Westfalian industrial district, too, the Party had considerable losses as compared with the general elections of 1928. However, the losses of the Social-democrats were in this case three times as heavy as those of our Party. Participation in the elections in the industrial districts was minimal, and in many important towns it amounted to less than 50 per cent. As the votes cast for the centre parties did not recede but even advanced in some places, it is evident that the losses of the Communists and the Social-Democrats were due to the fact that many working class voters refrained from going to the poll.

A very different result was shown by the elections in Berlin. In this case the Party was able to increase its number of seats from 43 to 56, while the Social-Democratic seats fell from 73 to 64. In Berlin, too, the participation in the elections was lower than at the general elections. The Communist Party netted 25 per cent. of all votes cast at the present municipal election.

In its rage and fury over the defeat the "Vorwärts" calls the Communist voters a pack of tramps and rascals. The election victory in Berlin also got on the nerves of the bourgeoisie. Every fourth voter in Berlin a Communist; that is a fact of startling significance! If an acute revolutionary situation comes about, the weight of these 565,595 Berlin Communist votes will fall like a heavy steam hammer upon the enemies of the working class. In a number of other towns similar and even better results have been achieved than in Berlin. In many smaller municipalities the Communists are in the majority. The extraordinarily favourable results of the elections in a number of municipalities clearly show what the Party can achieve by adopting concrete aggressive activity. Much more could have been achieved in Berlin, too, if the Communist municipal policy had been more concrete. We are not far wrong when we say that the case of corruption of the two former municipal councillors Degner and Gäbel cost us from 30,000 to 40,000 votes.

The Party will profit by the lesson learned in the municipal elections; to be able to execute purposefully and energetically the change in our policy, to overhaul the whole apparatus of the Party, to reorganise the work and to infuse young blood into the Party cadres — in short, to be able to observe a much more virile policy, closely related to the daily requirements of the masses in all spheres. In regard to the necessity of such a reorganisation of the whole of our work the bulk of our members have already a fairly comprehensive grasp. The Party was therefore able in immediate connection with the elections to develop intensive recruiting work, which led, especially in Berlin, to very substantial results, which find expression in the big influx of members to our Party and in the lively interest of the broad masses of workers in the political life of our Party.

The Schober Constitution and the Austrian Social Democracy.

By Oesterreicher (Vienna).

Under the title "Victory along the whole line" the fascist "Freiheit" writes as follows:

"The negotiations on the reform of the constitution are now so far advanced that one can survey the whole field and ascertain what is still to be done. The result is satisfactory.

The social-democratic leaders have already abandoned the principle of trial by jury which they always characterised as one of the main pillars of the people's rights... They further agree to the schools being placed immediately under the control of the federal government (i. e. clericalised. Ed.)... The social-democratic leaders have agreed that the army shall be completely depoliticised. The federal army is placed in a position which is reminiscent of pre-war times... Finally, they have agreed to the President's right to declare a state of emergency. It is true the deception of their electors would be too obvious were they to say yes and amen without any demur. Therefore they declare themselves prepared to agree if the procedure would be as follows: The President issues an emergency order and Parliament, or a Parliamentary committee, decides by a simple majority whether the order proclaiming a state of emergency is justified or not. As the Reds are in a minority, this means a recognition of the right to proclaim a state

of emergency. Everything apart from this is only so much 'eye-wash'."

We compare this statement of the fascists with a declaration of the social-democratic "Abend". A leading social democrat has enumerated to the editor of this paper the points on which his party will "not give way". They are as follows:

1. No raising of the voting age to 24.
2. No second chamber which deprives the National Council of its rights.
3. No martial law.
4. No right to proclaim a state of emergency against Parliament.
5. No worsening of the position of Vienna as a province.

Therefore we see that the "Freiheit" is right. It is a victory along the whole line. For Schober does not wish to raise the voting age to 24, but "only" to 21; the "States Chamber" can be set up provided it does not limit the rights of the fascist National Council; in fact martial law is superfluous, now that the social democrats have already voted in the sub-committee for the "independent military intervention" of any subordinate military officer against the working class without any instructions from the political authorities. The social democrats are for the right to proclaim a state of emergency if it is exercised not against Parliament but by Parliament against the masses of the working population. And, finally, we know already through the mouth of the christian-socialist Kunschak that the position of Vienna is to be decided at negotiations between the christian socialist minority of the Vienna town council and the social democrats. Why therefore should Vienna be placed in a worse position if the social-democratic small shopkeepers share in the rule of this city with the christian social industrialists and bankers? And if, in addition, the administration will be under the control of the federal government. And if the Schober police will not only prepare and revise the list of electors but also become the most important authority for the inhabitants of this city?

It is therefore clear that the agreement has been arrived at upon the basis of Schober's dictatorial constitution.

All bourgeois parties are speaking of Schober with the greatest enthusiasm. One after the other are expressing their confidence in him. Exceedingly characteristic is the vote of confidence of the Landbund (representing the agrarians) which was decided at a meeting of the extended Executive committee of this party:

"The Landbund can claim to have played a decisive part in this development. It was the Landbund which set up a programme in Deutsch Feistritz which will now be realised as far as its most important features are concerned. The completion of the great work of constitutional reform is to create the presumption for the realisation of the economic programme of the Landbund."

This economic programme includes, increase of the customs duties on all the important articles of food, cutting down of social legislation, in particular abolition of unemployment benefit for single persons, youths and so-called seasonal workers, introduction of "compulsory labour" etc.

Whilst, however, in the National Council preparations are being made for the unanimous acceptance of the new Constitution, whilst there the law for the gagging of the press is being rushed through and the anti-terror law, i. e., prison law against right of combination of the workers, is as good as passed, the police in Vienna have occupied the public buildings, and the street patrols have been reinforced.

Schober, apparently, wished thereby to show the strength of his police government. As a matter of fact this measure is today, just as in 1917, the most visible sign of the ever weakening position of the ruling class in face of the growing revolutionary militant spirit of the Austrian proletariat.

* * *

Vienna, 25th November, 1929.

At yesterday's national conference of the social-democratic party of Austria, Danneberg reported on his negotiations with Schober. He declared that the social-democratic party had negotiated and made concessions, in particular regarding the rights of the President and the right to proclaim a state of emergency, in order to prevent civil war. Reason demands that the antagonism between the Vienna working class and the police should be liquidated.

In the debate which followed some speakers pointed out how very difficult it would be for the working class to understand these concessions, particularly with regard to the extension of the powers of the Vienna police. Machold, a member of the Styrian diet, moved that definite limits should be established beyond which the concessions of the S. P. in the constitutional question should not go. This motion was rejected and another one by Danneberg adopted, instructing the social-democratic deputies to vote for the Constitution Bill if its contents remain within the limits drawn by his report. The adoption of this proposal is a *carte blanche* to the social-democratic deputies, and means that they will still go much farther in their concessions than they have announced at the national conference.

The Political Situation in Italy.

By A. Garlandi.

Mussolini, speaking on the occasion of the seventh anniversary of the "March on Rome", stated inter alia:

"Other revolutions show symptoms of uncertainty and senility after seven years. This, however, is not the case with the Fascist revolution, which has still the courage, after the lapse of seven years, to destroy the traitors to the fatherland... To-day, after seven years, we are still younger, more powerful, and more inexorable than ever! To-day you have not only the weapons of your earlier struggles, but rifles, cannon, and everything required for great battles."

Thus spake Mussolini, on 28th October, from the balcony of his palace in Rome. Against whom are his threats directed? why does he appeal to the veterans of Fascism? Well, Mussolini's "anti-Moscow regime" is in a state of decay. The loud phrases of the Fascist Duce cannot conceal the tremendous antagonisms in whose iron grasp Italian Fascism is writhing in its attempts to escape from the critical situation in which Italy was left by the imperialist war.

At first Fascism was a weapon used by the possessing classes to destroy the positions conquered by the organised workers and peasants of Italy. When Fascism seized power by a coup d'état, it had to break the resistance and the open opposition of various strata of the Italian bourgeoisie. Gradually, however, it became the organisational centre of the forces of Italian capitalism. This was a process accompanied by the seizure of every ruling political position in the bourgeois state service of Italy by the Fascists. The coalition government formed by Mussolini in October, 1922, was followed by a government of Fascists and their "sympathisers", then by a purely Fascist government, and finally by a government represented almost exclusively by Mussolini. Of a total of twelve ministerial portfolios, the Duce took over seven.

After a period of apparent industrial boom in connection with the inflation policy, Italian capitalism proceeded to the rationalisation and "Americanisation" of production. Approximately 10,000 million lire were invested for the reorganisation of the production apparatus. One part of this amount (6,000 to 7,000 millions) was raised by means of loans abroad, the remainder by the wages reductions introduced in 1927/28. The interference of the Fascist state extended to every sphere of economic life; to the financial procedure of the state, to the banks of issue. This interference was expressed in the control exercised over the granting of credits and over the fusion movements of the joint stock companies; in the control of export, wages, tariff agreements, etc.

How do matters stand to-day? The purchasing power of the home markets decreases steadily. The necessity of increasing production, as part of the technical improvement and reorganisation of the apparatus, collides more and more with the shrinkage of the markets. Industrial unemployment has increased to a point hitherto unknown. The number of unemployed in industry and agriculture may be estimated at 800,000. At the same time the conditions of living of even the workers still in employment are among the worst in all Europe. The data of the International Labour Office show that only in Poland are lower wages paid. Whilst in Italy wages have been reduced by 30 to 35 per cent., or rather by 50 to 75 per cent., if we take into account that a large number of workers are on short time, prices have fallen only by 14 per cent. since 1926.

In order to obtain a clear idea of the material position of the working masses of Italy, it must be remembered that

at the present time Italy is passing through a severe agrarian crisis. This is not merely a temporary sinking of the curve of prosperity, but the fact that the small and middle peasants can no longer lay by any reserves. The agrarian crisis of 1927, resultant on the currency stabilisation and the consequent fall in the prices of agricultural products, ruined thousands of small holders. The policy announced by Fascism, of transferring the excess city population to the rural districts, has been bound up with a simultaneous and extreme concentration of land ownership and of land speculation. The policy of ruining the peasants in favour of the large landowners and speculators forms the basis of every so-called "campaign" organised by Fascism (grain and rice campaigns, etc.).

The plan of forming a stratum of rich farmers, able to support the Fascist agrarian policy, is bound to fail in face of the resistance of the capitalist large landowners so closely allied to financial capital.

The advancing economic crisis is narrowing the social basis of Fascism, and causing the former Fascists and "sympathisers" to draw back, that is, to become neutral or even to evince hostility. On the other hand, the crisis has exposed at home and abroad the real nature of the policy of Fascism, disguised in demagogic phrases.

Hitherto, when Mussolini has found himself in a tight place, he has issued an appeal to the old Fascist guard, increased terrorism, and operated with declamations and threats. But a crisis cannot be exorcised by rhetorical phrases and theatrical gestures. Mussolini knows that the working masses are against him (he himself has declared this several times), that the agricultural labourers are against him, and that a class split exists in the "Fascist legions" in the rural districts. He hopes to divert attention from these facts by throwing on the screen the image of a threatening spectre of danger from outside. Mussolini, with his references to war against the "external enemy", is striving to quiet the "Black Shirts" disorganised by the crisis.

But with all his conjuring tricks he cannot conceal from anybody that the economic and political situation of the working masses in Italy is worse than ever. It is characteristic of the state of Fascism, for instance, that the Fascist gathering at Bologna was held in two groups: the large landowners, the capitalists, the "golden youth", met at one place — the workers at another. It is further worthy of note that Mussolini declined to recognise the shop stewards, although these had the recommendation of the Fascist organisers, and were to serve as "connecting link" between the Fascist trade unions and the works and factories. Fascism and Mussolini have frequently declared that the Communist Party has ceased to exist. It is true that many members of the Italian C. P. have been murdered. Thousands are suffering a living death in the prisons; hundreds have been deported to the Fascist concentration camps. Nevertheless, the communist movement lives in Italy, for it is the party of the revolutionary working class. The "dead" communists are fighting in the factories and in the fields, everywhere where there are workers and oppressed. The activity of the Communist Party of Italy is an extremely important element in the intensification of the crisis in Fascism, and in the revolutionising of the situation in Italy. The struggle between Bolshevism and Fascism, between proletariat and bourgeoisie, continues. The hour of revolutionary upsurge will strike.

THE BALKANS

The "Black-Yellow Hapsburg Conspiracy" in Croatia.

By Peter Muzevich (Zagreb).

Ever since the establishment of the "Yugoslavian" State in 1918/19, up to the present day, the national question in general, and the Croatian question in particular, represent a gaping and painful wound in the body of Yugoslavia.

After ten months of a regime of bloody suppression, this question remains unsolved like all the other questions.

The signs of the approaching storm are growing. They find expression not only in the enormous growth of discontent among the proletariat, the peasantry, and the petty bourgeoisie of all the nations of Yugoslavia — including the Serbian — caused by the extreme worsening of the material and social

situation of the working masses and their complete deprivation of rights, but in a number of workers' strikes, and in the welcome accorded by the masses to communist action, on the one hand, and on the other in the ever increasing resistance made by the oppressed nations, in the boycott of pro-governmental elements in town and country, in the physical settlement of accounts with these, in the increasingly frequent desertions of peasants from the army, in the attacks on the police and gendarmes in the rural districts, and in the terrorist actions undertaken by the illegal terrorist organisations in Croatia, Macedonia, etc. The tension in the country is so great that every economic strike, bound as it is to bear at the same time the political character of the struggle against the military Fascist dictatorship, and every revolt among the starving peasants, may strike the first note of an open revolutionary struggle, of a general strike, and of a general insurrection.

The ruling regime seeks to deceive both itself and other countries as to the true state of affairs. It has attempted to represent all these signs and symptoms of discontent as sporadic occurrences, provoked by a few "communist desperadoes" or "agents of Moscow". But after the murder of the editor of the "Novosti", the leading government newspaper in Croatia, after the attacks on the railway line and on the bridges in the vicinity of the castle of Brezovica, in which King Alexander intended to reside, after the attacks on the gendarmerie barracks in Zagreb, and after it had become altogether impossible to represent all this as the deeds of a "few communists" the military-fascist dictatorship and its press resorted to another catchword: all this signifies nothing but a black-yellow Hapsburg conspiracy, confined to a few persons paid or seduced by foreign countries. The fire of the press was now directed against the Austrian Heimwehr and Seipel, Horthy Hungary and Fascist Rome; these, it was alleged, were the instigators of these actions, and the motive concealed behind all these events was the desire for the restoration of Hapsburg rule in Croatia.

At bottom this interpretation is simply a manoeuvre of deception on the part of the Belgrade rulers, anxious to represent the struggle of the Croatian people for its national independence as a "black-yellow conspiracy". For though it is beyond doubt that certain petty bourgeois leaders of the Frank and Radic parties (Pavelich, Pertschez, Krnyevich) are yoking their teams to the waggon of Italian, Hungarian, and Home Defence Fascism, and that Fascist and reactionary circles abroad are endeavouring to divert the crisis in Yugoslavia and the struggle of the Croatian and other nations from the right path, still the latest insurgent acts in Croatia, and still less the struggle of the Croatian nation, are by no means to be regarded as a "black-yellow Hapsburg conspiracy"; for the masses of the Croatian workers and peasants fighting against the military Fascist dictatorship want an independent Croatia, and not renewed vassalage under the Hapsburgs. The formation of illegal terrorist organisations among the petty bourgeois and intellectual national youth of Croatia is due partly to the cowardly treachery and passivity of the leaders of the Radic party, and is a subconscious protest against the policy of these leaders, whilst on the other hand it is also partly due to the lack of belief among this petty bourgeois youth in the possibility of immediate action on the part of the masses. Besides this, the individual terrorist action of the Croatian nationalist youth is an instinctive reflection of the profound dissatisfaction of the peasant masses and the petty bourgeoisie in Croatia, felt not only against the hangman's regime of suppression, but against the national reformist policy of the leaders of the Radic, Federalist and Frank parties.

The standpoint of the Communist Party with regard to this individual terrorist action, and with regard to the attempts being made by reactionaries and Fascists abroad to exploit the struggle for national liberation with the aid of certain bourgeois politicians has been clear and unequivocal from the very beginning. As early as the first assassination in March of this year, the murder of the chief editor of the "Novosti", the illegal press of the Communist Party and of the Young Communist League protested against the cowardice of the Croatian bourgeois press, which designated such attempts as "abominable crimes"; the communist press showed clearly to the Croatian workers and peasants that acts of individual terror are not the way in which the working class, the peasantry, and the Croatian and other oppressed nationalities will attain their freedom, but that this

goal can be reached only by means of mass action, of organised struggle on the part of the workers and peasants, under the leadership of the Communist Party, and by means of armed insurrection. Precisely as the Party has unmasked the traitorous, cowardly, and opportunist leaders of the Radic and Federalist parties, and continues to unmask them today, it now tears the veil from the face of the "new" policy advanced by certain leaders of the Radic and Frank parties, who are anxious to exchange for the Fascist dictatorship of Belgrade the Fascist dictatorship of the Croatian bourgeoisie, on a broader social basis, under the guardianship of Rome and Budapest. This "solution" of the Croatian question by relying for support on the Fascist and reactionary circles of Rome, Budapest, and Vienna, is opposed by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia with the sole possible solution: **An independent Croatian workers' and peasants' republic as member of the Balkan federation of workers' and peasants' republics, and the alliance of this federation with the Soviet Union.**

Three Comrades in Immediate Danger of Death in Yugoslavia.

(Torture in the Glavnjatcha Prison in Belgrade.)

From the Provincial Committee of the C. P. and the Y. C. L. in Laibach.

The campaign of the bloody military-fascist dictatorship in Yugoslavia against the revolutionary workers' and peasants' movement continues without diminution. It appears that not yet enough victims have been done to death in the Glavnjatcha prison. Ever new proletarians are being tortured and executed.

Three comrades are being tortured to death. That is the latest news from the Glavnjatcha prison hell. The three victims are Comrades Dusan Kermauner, Dragutin Gustincic and Josip Plankar, all three come from Laibach, Slovenia. And even while we are writing these lines we do not know whether the three comrades are alive or not and whether their number has been added to.

On the 5th of October last, a few days after the renaming of the State and its division into banates, when a fresh wave of terror swept the North-Western national province of Slovenia, the following persons were arrested in Laibach: Dusan Kermauner, jurist; Ivan Makuc, retired railway worker; Josip Plankar, commercial traveller; Jamnik private employee; Korosec, brewery worker; Dragutin Gustincic, engineer; Marcel Zorga, machinist, and another three. All were immediately conveyed to Belgrade, to the notorious Glavnjatcha, where the fascist methods of examination were immediately employed against them. Thus, for instance, Comrade D. Kermauner had to be carried back into his cell from the examination as he was tortured until he became unconscious. And according to the latest news the three above-named comrades are in danger of death.

These tortures mark a turning point in the methods of suppression in Slovenia. It is true that hitherto wholesale persecutions and arrests have taken place. Nevertheless from the 6th of January up to the present the bloody regime in this province had not resorted to murder. But now it has also come to that; and now the whole of Yugoslavia, without exception, is exposed to the bloody hangmen's rule of the Glavnjatcha. All nations and all toilers are exposed to the terror which aims at the physical annihilation of the revolutionary movement.

We have already fresh news from the provinces. Further wholesale arrests have been carried out in Trovlje, in connection with the movement of the miners.

Comrades of all countries! Rescue our champions from the claws of the militarist-dictatorship! Take action against the Yugoslavian counter-revolution! The million masses of the international proletariat must come to know against what a bloody dictatorship the workers, peasants and the oppressed nations have to fight. Rendered immediate help. Down with the Yugoslavian Glavnjatcha prison hell!

SOCIAL FASCISM

Acute Situation in Poland.

The Working Masses of West Ukrainia Drive out the Social Fascists.

By J. Bratkovski (Lemberg).

The Western Ukraine has for the last few months been the scene of sharp strike fights in town and country.

In these circumstances the Fascist camp was faced with the problem of disorganising, destroying and breaking up the front of the fighting proletariat. In order to strengthen their influence on the working masses, the Polish, Ukrainian and Jewish Social-Fascists decided to convoke a trade-union congress at Lemberg, namely, a general conference of the unions in the Western Ukraine, as also a Ukrainian trade-union conference for the purpose of founding a Ukrainian trade-union federation. The general trade-union conference was convoked for September 30th. The plans of the Social-Fascists were, however, frustrated by the revolutionary trade-union opposition. Throughout the territory of the Western Ukraine a broad campaign under their leadership was carried on for the election of delegates to the trade-union congress. There therefore appeared on the opening day 103 opposition delegates, who were elected by trade-union and factory, estate and strike committees in Lemberg. The Social-Fascists had difficulty in mustering a few dozen "delegates".

When the leader of the P. P. S. trade-union executive, Deputy Zulavski, observed that the delegates of the Left had a majority in the hall, he turned to the police for help, who together with the P. P. S. rowdies drove the revolutionary delegates out of the hall. In front of the hall, into which the Fascist police dogs remained, a labour demonstration was held under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Western Ukraine. This demonstration was broken up by the police.

A similarly clear answer was given by the working masses of the Western Ukraine to the Social Fascists in connection with their attempt to split the trade-union movement on a national scale through the foundation of a Ukrainian trade-union federation. For November 1st the P. P. S., together with the U. S. D. P. (Ukrainian Social Democratic Party) convoked at Lemberg a "congress" of the Ukrainian trade unions. On this occasion, too, the Social-Fascist supporters of the Fascist dictatorship were out in their calculations. The election campaign of the trade-union opposition showed excellent results. On October 31st, the opening day, there appeared in Lemberg nearly 100 delegates of the trade-union opposition, who were also elected (without distinction of nationality) in the unions, in the factories and on the estates. The following day a further 100 delegates appeared. Among those present at the conference were representatives from West Galicia, Wolhynia and of the districts of Polesse and Chelm. The delegates of the agricultural labourers represented 35 districts.

At the appointed time all the opposition delegates gathered together and were over 200 strong. As soon as the Social Fascists saw this crowd their bigwigs promptly vanished, the Deputy Zulavski, who had appeared special for the congress, along with them. In addition to the opposition delegates there were only a few bureaucrats of the P. P. S. and U. S. D. P. in the hall.

In these circumstances, the Social Fascists postponed the opening of the congress. A delegate of the trade-union opposition mounted the platform and declared that the workers' and peasants' front would frustrate the attempt of the Social-Fascists to break up the trade-union movement in West Ukrainia through the erection of national barriers. Thereupon he proposed that the congress be dissolved and converted into an anti-Fascist trade-union conference. This proposal was adopted unanimously. After the speech of Deputy Walnycki of the Sel-Rob (revolutionary peasants' party) concerning the political situation in the country a resolution of the delegates expressing mistrust of the executive of the trade-union federation and in the Lemberg district committee was passed.

While Deputy Walnycki was still speaking, the Ukrainian Social Fascist Buniak called upon all delegates "with credentials" to leave the hall with him. **Not a single person responded.**

When the resolution had been passed, an organisation committee was elected to convoke a general trade-union congress

of the unions of West Ukraina. Thereupon a Lemberg worker got up to speak. He had participated in a delegation to the Soviet Union and had recently returned to Poland. His statements in regard to the achievements of socialist development in the Soviet Union were received with enthusiasm.

When the Communist Deputy Rosiak got up to speak in the name of the Communist parliamentary fraction there was loud and prolonged applause. At this moment the police entered the hall, attacked the gathering and tried to drive the delegates out. The police began to baton the defenceless workers, who were obliged to protect themselves with their fists, chairs and said that the U. S. D. P. and P. P. S. had that day shed ried to the assistance of the police and mishandled the delegates in the corridors and on the staircases. Twenty-five delegates were seriously wounded and the rest all got minor injuries.

In the late hours of the evening meetings of protest took place in Lemberg. The police attacked them brutally and made a large number of arrests. But that was not enough for the Social Fascists. They determined to hold their "congress" at any price and hired a third hall. The police were called upon to attend, but they could not prevent a further 30 revolutionary delegates from putting in an appearance. Moreover, the feeling even among the "Loyal" Social Fascists was very uncertain. The Social-Fascists therefore had the meeting dissolved by the police who "happened to be present". They looked out a fourth hall. At this meeting there were only 8 leaders of the P. P. S. and of the U. S. D. P., who admitted a further 12 "reliable" delegates. After the introductory speech by the Pettjura-chief Starosolski, a lawyer, one of the delegates got up and said that the U. S. D. P. and P. P. S. had that day shed workers blood and that the attempt of these parties to deceive the working class was vain. Every intelligent worker would regard it as a disgrace to sit at a common table with the worker murderers. After this declaration the 8 delegates left the Social-Fascist meeting.

It has seldom happened that the Polish and Ukrainian Social-Fascists have exposed themselves so thoroughly in the eyes of the masses. The working masses convinced themselves with their own eyes that the Social-Fascists, who are always shouting about their opposition to the Pilsudski Government, defend to the last ditch — together with the whole of the Fascist camp, together with the Polish soldateska, the police and gendarmerie, — the system of White Terror, the system of Fascist exploitation and suppression of the broad working masses of Poland and of the occupied territories.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Strike Wave in Czechoslovakia

By L. G. (Reichenberg).

The strikes which are now breaking out in all corners of Czechoslovakia represent a part of the new revolutionary wave which is expressed in the first place in these counter-attacks of the workers which are being conducted with ever increasing offensive power against the employers. These struggles reveal all the stages of development of the class struggle, from simple protest strikes against attacks on the part of the employers, as for instance in the Tautwald engineering works, up to the mass strike against capitalist rationalisation, war danger and fascism as in the strike of the miners in North-West Bohemia.

Following a whole series of protest strikes against capitalist rationalisation which just recently took place in the North and East Bohemian textile and glass industries, on the 16th of November the whole staff of the biggest artificial silk works of Czechoslovakia, the Theresienthal artificial silk factory in East Bohemia comprising, 1100 workers, unanimously went on strike. Of course, the social fascists have designated this justified fight of the workers against the newly introduced and particularly cunning principle of division of labour as a "breach of agreement" and described the strike as an "unofficial" strike. The workers began the fight with a mass demonstration in front of the factory, where gendarmes were concentrated. They elected from their own ranks a strike committee of 27, consisting of Communist, non-party and reformist, male and female and young workers.

The fight in Theresienthal is a signal for the whole of the chemical and textile workers to join and extend the strike movement. It also acquires special political importance; the artificial silk industry is that branch of the chemical industry which can go over most rapidly to war production. The economic struggles are assuming an ever clearer character as political fights against the imperialist threats against the Soviet Union.

The most characteristic feature of these fights in Czechoslovakia is that the workers, in spite of the active offensive of the "triple alliance" of the State, the employers and the social fascists, are repeatedly, even after initial failures, taking up the fight anew, as for instance was the case in the strike in the North-Bohemian mines. The social fascist miners' union has already been negotiating for some weeks with the mining barons on the basis of a 15 per cent. wage increase. The policy conducted by the social fascists of dragging the negotiations is causing great excitement in the ranks of the miners, and the desire to strike is increasing even in the ranks of the reformist workers, who recognise that this policy of their leaders means the organisation of strike breaking.

The Red industrial union of the metal workers has formulated its demands for the further struggle. The union stands on the basis of an all-round increase and levelling up of wages. In addition, it also demands 14 days' holiday with pay for adult workers and four weeks' holiday with pay for young workers.

In view of the frequent spontaneous strikes in the textile industry the social fascist unions were compelled to convene a conference of the textile workers. At this conference it was decided to conclude a collective agreement, which in fact would mean an organised form of blacklegging. The revolutionary union of textile workers also held a conference, at which it was decided to prepare for the fight of the textile workers.

In Czechoslovakia there is a radicalisation of the masses which shows us how shaky and rotten capitalist stabilisation is, a fact which is still considerably underestimated by the Party and its functionaries.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

After the Plenary Session of the C. C. of the C. P. S. U.

(Leading Article of the "Pravda" of 18th November, 1929.)

The recently held C. C. Plenum of the C. P. S. U., drew a number of important conclusions from the results of the past economic year and showed the broad perspectives of the new phase of socialist construction on which the Party is entering.

The Plenum approved the control figures for the current year. Especially worthy of note in these control figures is the enormous rate of development of socialist economy, which not only does not lag behind the provisions of the Five-Year plan, but considerably surpasses them. Lenin's slogan — that we must catch up with and get ahead of the capitalist countries is being practically realised by us. At the end of the present economic year the industrial output must have exceeded the pre-war output by 100 per cent. In the control figures the leading role of heavy industry is specially emphasised. In all the main branches (electro-economy, fuel industry, metal industry, machine construction etc.) the control figures considerably exceed the limits laid down for in the Five-Year Plan. The only exception is the chemical industry, in which we lag somewhat behind the realisation of the Five-Year plan. The enormous importance of this industry, especially for the socialist construction of agriculture, needs no special emphasis. The Party must devote special attention to all the questions connected with the development of the chemical industry and bring about a decisive change in the shortest possible time in this important section of socialist construction.

The great successes of the Party in the development of socialist industry can before all be explained by the powerful development of the activity of the working masses, which found particularly clear expression in the spread of socialist competition. The increasing activity, the fact that the working class and the broad masses of the middle peasantry are to a growing extent rallying more closely round the Party on the basis

of its general line, form the firm basis of the record rate of development prescribed in the control figures. The most urgent prerequisite for the realisation of this rate in the current year is the **lowering of prime costs** of industrial production by eleven per cent. It will not only enable the Party to realise the plan in the sphere of building construction, of the reconstruction of industry and the growth of its production, but also to **increase considerably the real wages of the workers** (on an average by twelve per cent.). Our Party organisations must, without losing a minute, set about with the greatest energy the work for lowering prime costs.

The decisive results which the Party achieved in the development of heavy industry, and which increased the leading role of industry in the improvement and the socialist reconstruction of agriculture along with a correct general policy of the Party in the village, created the preconditions for the **solution of the grain problem**, which has caused us great difficulties in the last two years. The grain provisioning, which in very important districts has been carried out before the fixed term, the collection of numerous grain reserves by means of the ever extending process of raising the level of and reconstructing agriculture on a socialist basis, incontestably prove, in spite of the pessimistic prophecies of the Rights, that we have **emerged from the grain crisis**. The Party is now confronted by the problem of cattle-breeding. A successful solution of this question not only means a radical solution of all the questions connected with the food supply of the masses, but also the creation of a firm raw material basis for numerous industries.

The Plenum discussed with particular care and attention the questions of **collectivisation** of peasant economy. The magnificent results achieved in this sphere by the Party and which even surpass the most optimistic calculations and estimates, already now render possible the **complete collectivisation of enormous districts of the Soviet Union** with a population of several dozens of millions (Northern Caucasus, steppe district of the Ukraine, etc.) as a real task for the next eighteen months or two years. The follow-in-the-rear and panic-spreading policy of the Rights, who recently maintained that the peasants would not join the collective undertakings, has suffered an annihilating defeat. The accelerated rate of the collectivisation of peasant undertakings renders the **leadership** of this movement by the Party a very complicated and difficult task. Precisely now there arises in its whole acuteness the question of **socialist transformation** of the millions of peasant undertakings which are linked up in the collective undertakings, with which question there is bound up the **thorough overcoming of the mentality of the peasant as a petty proprietor**, a mentality which he brings with him when joining the collective undertaking. The **supplying of machines**, especially tractors, and the **organisation of labour** are becoming the decisive questions of collective construction. The Party must also clearly realise that the kulak who failed in his attempt to keep back the small and middle peasants from mass affiliation to the collective undertakings, is now striving, and will continue to strive to exert his anti-Soviet disintegrating activity **inside the collective undertakings** in order to create for himself points of support for his struggle against the Party. To accept the kulak into the collective undertaking is quite out of the question. The local Party organisations must make it their immediate and urgent task to purge the collective undertakings of the kulak elements. The Party must make use of the mass process of collectivisation which has seized the village in order finally and completely to isolate the kulak politically.

In connection with the general tasks of the socialist transformation of agriculture the Plenum dealt with the work of the **Ukrainian Party organisation** as a special item of the agenda. The Ukrainian steppe land forms a powerful basis for the development of agricultural export which will be able already in the next few years to glut the world market with hundreds of millions of poods of wheat. Those portions of the Ukraine situated on the right bank of the Dniepr with their reserves of labour power, form the basis for an intensive agriculture. In the socialist transformation of agriculture the Party in the Ukraine is encountering the specially bitter resistance of the kulak who possesses a considerable economic power and political experience. The difficulties of the struggle against the kulak are being complicated by the national question. The Plenum approved the work of the Ukrainian Party organisation

in the village, which is characterised by the successful conclusion of the grain provision campaign before the fixed time.

The decision of the Plenum regarding the establishment of a People's Commissary for Agriculture for the whole Union is of very great importance for the further activity of the Party in the sphere of agriculture. The main task of this Commissary is to accelerate the socialist reconstruction of agriculture in the backward Republics with the assistance of the advanced proletarian districts of the Soviet Union.

The Plenum then dealt with the question of the economic cadres which is specially acute today. The pace of socialist construction makes great claims upon the experts, whereby it must be taken into account that a certain portion of the old specialists have gone over into the camp of the active enemies of socialist construction and must be replaced by new forces. Up to now we have not made much progress towards the solution of the question of cadres. The practical realisation of the measures indicated by the Plenum for the preparation of the necessary cadres, is at present one of the most urgent tasks of the Party. Special importance attaches to the training of engineers for the smelting and chemical industry, of agronomists for the socialised portion of agriculture and of medium technical forces.

The period between the 16th Party Conference and the November Plenum has clearly confirmed the correctness of the general line of the Party. It is therefore no mere chance that in this period there took place the disintegration of Trotzkyism, which for many years has been conducting an unrelenting fight against the policy of our Party. In this same period there was exposed before the Party the anti-Leninist, anti-Bolshevik and bourgeois-liberal nature of the Right deviation led by Comrade Bukharin, a deviation which since the April Plenum of the Party has crystallised into a definite system of conceptions fundamentally differing from the general line of the Party. Therefore, the last Plenum declared propaganda for the conceptions of Right opportunism and conciliatory tendencies to be incompatible with membership of the Party.

The best elements of the Bukharin group have realised the anti-Bolshevik and anti-Leninist character of Bukharin's opposition and the complete bankruptcy of their policy in face of the strict test of facts. Already during the discussion on the first item of the agenda Comrade Kotov, the former second secretary of the Moscow district committee declared his renouncement of the opposition. At the same time Comrade Michailov submitted a declaration in which he unconditionally recognised the general line of the Party. Immediately before the conclusion of the Plenum Comrades Uglanov and Kulikov decisively dissociated themselves from the Bukharin opposition. Thus the nucleus of the old Moscow leadership has separated from the Opposition.

The leaders of the Right are still clinging to their conceptions which have been rejected by the Party. The right leaders, headed by Comrade Bukharin, who hypocritically declare their agreement with the general line of the Party and who grudgingly admit, along with the bourgeois correspondents and the bourgeois national economists, the successes of the Party, at the same time dare to reproach the Party with the fact that the plans for the extension of the area under seed have not been fulfilled etc.; they defend the "recipe" which they proposed in the spring of this year (importation of grain, increase of prices for agricultural products) and demand the abandonment of extraordinary measures and of the offensive against the kulak. The leaders of the Rights not only do not withdraw their former accusations against the Party (militarist-feudal exploitation, degeneration to Trotzkyism, growth of bureaucratism), but they also add to them new accusations which in their mendacity place everything hitherto in the shade. They declare, for instance, that the Party and the Comintern had advocated the theory of the growing of the kulak into socialism.

The two-faced tactic of the Right leaders cannot be estimated otherwise than the Trotzkyist manoeuvres: as a temporary retreat in order to renew the attacks upon the Party as soon as fresh difficulties arise. The Plenum of the C. C. which declared propaganda of Right opportunism and conciliatory tendencies to be incompatible with membership of the C. P. S. U., decided to recall from the Polit bureau the chief leader and spiritual father of the Rights, Comrade Bukharin. The least attempt of the Rights to continue the fight against the Party line, will immediately be answered by organisational measures.

The Plenum, which recognised the continuation of the most ruthless struggle against the Right opposition to be necessary, at the same time advocated a determined overcoming of Left tendencies which are becoming noticeable in various strata of the Party as well as of the conciliatory attitude towards them.

The decisions of the November Plenum, which give a clear answer to the most important questions of present politics, will play a great role in the further closer rallying together of the Party on the basis of its Leninist general line and in the solution of the tremendous tasks by which the Party is confronted in the present stage of the socialist offensive.

The Situation in the British Party.

By R. W. Robson (London).

The coming Congress of the C. P. G. B. at Leeds will be the most important in the Party's history. Since the last Congress, in January, the whole membership had been aroused to intensive discussion on the political line of the Party. This discussion had been marked by a certain lack of maturity in its political approach, but this is to be expected in view of the fact that it is the first such discussion the Party has had.

Already in Juli there were demands for a special Congress to be held in order to reach definite clarity on the political line, and to elect a different Central Committee. There is no doubt whatever that the intervention of the E. C. C. I. (Closed letter of February), and the energetically critical political attitude of the Y. C. L. has done much to stimulate the Party into discussion, and following the Tenth Plenum a certain degree of clarity is already evidencing itself; for the first time since the Ninth Plenum early in 1928.

The Party faces a situation in which the class basis of every issue is laid bare immediately. The Labour Party openly forsook any further pretence of standing against capitalism on even the most trivial questions, after the General Strike of 1926. The Labour Government has engaged itself in directing the operation of rationalisation from the first day it took office. It has secured a wage cut of 6¼% (six and a quarter per cent.) for the cotton capitalists, refuses to "honour" its "pledges" to the miners to reduce hours to 7 per day, and maintains the Anti-Trade Union legislation of Baldwin on the statute book.

The Trade Union leaders openly use every means to stop strikes in resistance to wage-cuts, speeding-up of labour and general attacks on conditions. Failing to prevent strikes the whole Trade Union apparatus is used to sabotage and smash strikes.

The militant spirit of the workers has manifested its strength in a whole number of unofficial and spontaneous strikes covering several industries. Strikes of miners (Dawdon, Bingley, Fife and elsewhere); brief and successful strikes of rail-workers (Stratford Depot, London); strikes of unorganised (Austin Motor Works, Leatherhead etc.); strikes of London Busworkers. The list is a formidable and significant one, and can be extended. Recently there have been cotton operatives on strike, and woollen textile workers in Yorkshire. These strikes are undoubtedly a sign of the effectiveness of the agitation and propaganda work of the Party, and in some cases have directly resulted from Communist activity and have been under Party leadership.

But these evidences of favourable ground for Party development are in forcible contrast to the actual lack of growth numerically and in general influence of the Party itself. Our Party has not grown larger, but has lost members. The circulation of its press has steadily declined.

The political reason for this state of affairs is to be traced to the confusion and hesitant attitude of the Party in the application of the changed line, first laid down at the Ninth Plenum, and later confirmed and extended by the Sixth World Congress.

Undoubtedly this hesitancy and confusion was an indication of right tendencies firmly rooted within the Party and extending from top to bottom. But the central leadership has hitherto evidenced these tendencies in no small measure, and by reason of its own right leanings, has been unable to correct the wrong political line of the Party as a whole, or even to apply correctly the C. I. line after it had been laid down and agreed to. Hence, the membership is very critical of the leadership, and while welcoming certain changes in the composition in the Political Bureau, is still dissatisfied.

The coming Congress will do much to secure greater cla-

rity on the main issues before the Party than has existed for a long period. It will assemble on the eve of the launching of the Daily paper of the Party. An event of the highest importance for the Party and the whole working-class.

It must select a leadership for the first time in its history along political lines and not along the line of mere "personal" attributes as in the past. At least 50% of the new C. C. will be entirely new to the leadership; drawn from the ranks of comrades carrying on the Party fight in the pits and workshops.

Without doubt this Congress marks a decisive turning point for the C. P. G. B. It will be the beginning of a new stage in the Party's history. A stage during which big successes will be possible, and will undoubtedly be achieved.

Conference of the London District of the C. P. G. B.

By Olive Budden.

The conference of the London District of the C. P. of Great Britain was held on Saturday and Sunday November 10th and 17th, 136 delegates were present, with 9 representatives from the Y. C. L. and 18 members of the District Party Committee.

There were three questions before the Conference, the resolution of the Central Committee for the Party Congress, the Daily Worker, and the situation on the railways. The main discussion took place on the Central Committee's resolution, on which a statement had been prepared by the District Committee.

Comrade Gallacher, as representing the C. C., opened the discussion on this question. A very long discussion followed from the delegates. It was pointed out that the economic analysis was incorrect, the right mistake made by Comrade Campbell before the 10th Plenum was still continued in the resolution. The references to the "arrest in the productive decline" in certain basic industries, and the emphasis on the "reserves of strength" of the British Empire, showed that the overestimation of the stabilisation of British capitalism still persisted in.

The work of the Party in Trade Unions and on the industrial field was also criticised, particularly with regard to our attitude to new trade unions, and the lack of support which has been given to the unions which have been formed, the United Mineworkers of Scotland, and the United Clothing Workers' Union.

The bulk of the discussion, however, was devoted to the question of leadership, as the most important task before the Party Congress.

Many delegates expressed the opinion that one of the reasons for the right mistakes of the leadership was its lack of faith in the Party and in the militancy of the workers. It was pointed out that the members had much difficulty in choosing the best elements of the old committee, owing to the lack of information on the line different members had taken up in discussion at E. C. meetings.

The colonial work of the Party was also criticised, particularly with regard to Palestine, for the Party had taken no notice of the developments among the workers, the strikes and arrests which had taken place before the actual rising in Palestine.

A resolution, proposed by Comrade C. P. Dutt, and in which the above mentioned criticism finds expression, was passed with one vote against this resolution.

The Conference then proceeded to discuss the plans for the campaign for the "Daily Worker" and emphasised the necessity for the collection of funds, and carrying through a political campaign on this question. The Conference agreed to raise from the members one day's pay as a levy for the Daily. The resolution points out the necessity for raising all the funds for the paper among the workers in this country. The campaign had been started very late, in view of the decision to bring out the paper on Jan. 1st and had been inadequate. A great intensification of the campaign was necessary if the paper was to get the support from the workers. The resolution was carried unanimously.

The Conference showed that the membership in London is politically active and conscious of the great opportunities before the Party, of the Party with a new leadership which fights to carry out the line of the Communist International.

The Party Conference of the C. P. of Holland.

A. de Vries (Amsterdam).

The Communist Party of Holland held its Party Conference on 9th and 10th November, in preparation of the Congress which will probably take place in December this year.

The task of the Conference was the concrete application of the decisions of the X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. to Dutch conditions. The decisions of the VI. World Congress of the C. I. and of the X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. have been approved in resolutions; the corresponding decisions have been arrived at, and even plans of work have been drawn up, but much, if not everything, has been lacking with respect to the practical execution of these decisions.

As early as the Party Conference held in March 1929, the correctness of the international policy was recognised with regard to economic conflicts and to the independent preparation and carrying out of these struggles by the revolutionary workers, and since then attempts have been made to apply these tactics in the repeated and extensive strikes which have taken place. These attempts have, however, shown at the same time how little the C. P. of Holland and its leaders have been prepared for this work.

There have been several considerable conflicts; for instance the dock-workers' strike at **Zaandam**, the agricultural labourers' strike at **Groningen**. Both conflicts were protracted; in Groningen nearly 5000 agricultural workers held out for six months. These strikes broke out, however, without the influence of the C. P. H., and their leadership was in the hands of the reformist bureaucrats from the beginning; these sharply opposed any extension of the fighting area. The strikes then assumed a political character. In Zaandam, for instance, the social-democratic mayor, **Laan**, employed the sharpest weapons of police Terror against the pickets. In Groningen, where the rich farmers imported more than 2000 strike breakers from other provinces and from the German frontier districts, the police frequently prohibited more than three persons to gather together.

The Party attempted to take part in these conflicts in accordance with the revolutionary line. The right slogans were issued, but the power to organise was lacking.

Thus it came that both strikes ended with a worthless compromise, greatly to the dissatisfaction of the workers. In Groningen the reformists failed twice in succession to obtain a majority for their tactics of defeat. They then simply broke off the strike by a decision of their committee, against the will of the workers, and refused to pay any further strike benefit.

The indignation of the workers was very great. At the last moment the Communist Party tried to put into practice the slogan of independent leadership. This attempt failed, however, partly on account of the hostile resistance of the reformists and the **Wijkoop** influence, but at the same time partly on account of insufficiently serious preparatory organisational work.

Under these circumstances real self-criticism has developed, actually for the first time both in the Party and among the leaders. In the Dutch Communist Party the Right danger does not take the form of a fraction. Here there is no firmly established opportunist trend. Nevertheless a threatening Right danger exists in the form of passivity, in the tendency to pass resolutions but to fail to execute them. This has occurred frequently with respect to work in the factories and workshops, and to action in the economic struggles. In this situation the improvement and activating of the Party leadership has become a question of not only organisational importance, but of extreme political moment.

The self-criticism exercised at the Party Conference, especially from below, is a satisfactory sign. Organisational negligence was criticised, as also the scepticism shown by many leading comrades with regard to the economic policy of the Party, especially in the trade union commission etc. Various errors of an opportunist nature, into which our member of Parliament, Comrade de Visser, has fallen, also came in for their share of criticism.

After two days of extremely animated discussion, the Conference resolved upon a working plan for the Party, directed chiefly to the awakening and concentration of an oppositional trend in the most important industrial undertakings. The Party leaders were instructed to work out and complement this wor-

king plan, and to reorganise the Party apparatus, especially the secretariat and the trade union commission. The editorial department of the daily paper of the Party is to add some workers to its staff. Preparation is to be made for the Party Congress by discussion dealing with the fundamentals of the Party.

The Party Committee is therewith set a task the fulfilment of which will render it possible to undertake the absolutely necessary reinforcement of the Central.

Although this Conference marks on advance, subjecting as it does the lack of activity and the opportunist errors of the Party to self-criticism, still it is only a first step.

The prospects of the Party action are undoubtedly favourable. The impeding economic crisis will certainly lead to much acuter class struggles. Unemployment is already growing, and will doubtlessly grow even more. The crisis is being felt with special severity in Indonesia, as in all colonial countries, and this endangers the super-profits of the Dutch bourgeoisie.

The imperialist Dutch-Belgian conflict in the canal question is becoming acute. The Congress must and can take the needful measures in order to prepare the Party for the struggle.

Revolutionary Competition Holland-Belgium-Switzerland.

The Conference of the C. P. of Holland held on 9th and 10th November commissioned the C. C. of the Party to approach the Communist Parties of Belgium and Switzerland with a proposal for a revolutionary competition, with the object of strengthening the Communist Parties of Holland, Belgium and Switzerland.

The C. P. of Holland therefore approaches the brother parties in Belgium and Switzerland, and submits to them the aims which it itself hopes to achieve. These aims, which are to be attained by 1st May 1930, are the following:

1. The creation of 5 new local groups.
2. The creation of 15 new factory nuclei.
3. The winning of 500 new members, these to include 100 women factory workers.
4. The winning of 500 new subscribers to the "Tribune".
5. The collection of 2500 florins for the "Tribune" funds.
6. The C. P. of Holland takes part in the collection for the purchase of a tractor as a present for the Russian workers; the C. P. of Holland undertakes to raise one-third of the required sum, the other two thirds are to be raised by the Communist Parties of Belgium and Switzerland.
7. The organisation of conferences of the opposition for the following groups: a) agricultural labourers, b) metal workers, c) textile workers, d) railwaymen. The C. P. of Holland undertakes to hold these conferences on certain fixed dates, these to be not later than in December 1929 or January 1930.
8. The organisation of a National Conference of the opposition of all other groups (not later than February or March 1930).
9. The number of delegates is to be as follows: a) for the agricultural labourers' conference 50 delegates, b) for the conference of the metal workers at least 75 delegates; at least 15 metal workers are to be sent as delegates to the National Conference, c) for the textile workers' conference at least 50 delegates, and at least 10 textile workers' delegates are to be sent to the National Conference, d) at least 20 delegates are to be chosen for the railwaymen's conference, and at least 3 railway workers' delegates sent to the National Conference, e) of the delegates sent to the textile workers' conference, at least 30 per cent must be women workers, of the metal workers' delegates 2 per cent., f) 10 per cent. of the delegates must be young workers.
10. A sum of at least 3000 florins is to be collected in the works and factories, by means of collecting lists, to defray the expenses of the conference.
11. The organisation of bodies of revolutionary functionaries in at least 10 large works or factories.
12. The winning of 500 new members for the Red Aid.
13. The organisation of 10 groups of the workers' defence corps (or anti-Fascist guards) and the winning of 250 members for these organisations.
14. The organisation of 5 new groups of the Friends of Soviet Russia (Society for People's Culture) and the winning of 300 new members.

15. The organisation of Org., Agitprop., and trade union departments in the following 3 districts: South Holland, Groningen, and Overijssel.

16. The organisation of women's divisions in the districts of Southern Holland and Overijssel, the reorganisation of the women's divisions in North Holland.

17. The winning of 200 new members for the YCL.

Conditions of the Competition.

1. The competition is to begin at once, and to be concluded by 1st May, that is, it is actually to be concluded by 15th April, in order that delegates may be sent reciprocally enabling a public account to be given on 1st May of the work accomplished and results achieved.

2. Each national Party organises in its own country a competition between the separate districts and local groups.

3. Each of the competing Parties shall organise in its own country a competition between the various regions, districts and local groups.

4. Current reports are to be published in the press on the progress of the competition, the results achieved by the various districts being reported weekly, those of the international competition monthly.

5. (A diagram for the mutual calculation of results is appended).

6. The Parties entering into competition with one another undertake reciprocally: a) to keep one another systematically informed (exact statements on newly formed local groups, nuclei, etc., number of members, reports on the manner in which local groups, nuclei, etc., have been formed), b) to exchange the experience gained (material, protocols, etc., issued by the newly created organisations or organs), c) to describe the methods employed for winning new members, collecting funds, winning subscribers, organising conferences, etc.

FIGHT AGAINST THE RIGHT DANGER

The Reorganisation of the C. P. of France.

By J. Berlioz (Paris).

The whole bourgeois press has been rejoicing for some days because six communist city councillors in Paris have left the Party, in order to place themselves entirely at the service of French capitalism. The social-fascist newspaper, the "Populaire", makes this theft of municipal council seats and the expulsion of various deputies a reason for grinding out, in every fresh issue, the old song of the "disintegration" of communism. Here the wish is father to the thought, for the action taken is one which we have recognised to be necessary in the interests of the ruthless purging of the Party, and serving to strengthen it.

The chief endeavour of the Communist Party during the last few years has been to anchor itself firmly in the large industrial undertakings, and therefore it has not been able to devote sufficient care to the choice of candidates for the various elective bodies. We have not always put forward as candidates the best elements of the working class, those most closely bound up with their own class. We have often attached too little importance to the services which our deputies could have rendered us. Our organisations have almost invariably exercised inadequate control over the fractions in the city councils, the general (provincial) councils, and the Chamber. It is therefore not to be wondered at that we encounter many breaches of faith at the moment when the struggle is increasing in difficulty.

In October acute disagreements arose with three members of the provincial council of the Seine Department, and with the municipal administration of Clichy (a workers' suburb of Paris). The three members of the provincial council Lauze, Laporte, and Deteuil, had committed the unpardonable error of taking part in a so-called technical study commission travelling to Hungary at the expense of the government, and entering during its sojourn there into close relations with Horthy, the executioner of Hungarian workers. The Party was not informed of this. After their return, the councillors were called upon to admit their error, and to place their seats at the disposal of the Party. They refused, however, to submit to discipline, and were expelled.

The majority of the Clichy municipal administration also broke with the Party on a miserable pretext. They refused to

grant permission to the Communist Party to hold agitation meetings in the town hall, and applied to the police to protect them against the workers of Clichy, who had assembled to demonstrate their contempt.

Similar treachery on the part of other "comrades" possessing the confidence of the Party followed. The mayor of St. Denis, Villaume, declared himself in full agreement with his friend Laporte, obviously in the hope of averting the sentence of several months imprisonment with which he was threatened. In order to prove his "loyalty" towards the authorities, he had the tricolour hoisted on the municipal buildings, a thing which has never been done before. The mayor of Chambon-Feugerolles (Loire Department) has also been expelled from the Party, for refusing, in agreement with the prefect of police, to allow a workers' congress in preparation of 1st August to be held in the town hall. Finally, a member of the provincial council of the North Department crowned all this by paying homage to Briand and Locarno at a meeting on the occasion of the death of "the great pacifist Stresemann".

These cases of degeneration have, however, aroused less feeling than the conduct of the six city councillors in Paris, some of whom have played a considerable rôle in the history of the communist movement in France; Louis Sellier, for instance, Frossard's successor as national secretary of the C. P. of France, and Garchery, an old deputy, in whom the Party showed its special confidence only two months ago by placing him at the head of the workers' and peasants' bank.

On 10th November a conference was to be held of the communist members of public bodies in the Paris districts, in order to decide upon the line to be adopted with regard to the expulsions which had taken place, and in the questions of revolutionary action on the part of the municipal administrations in our hands, and of the control to be exercised over these last by the Party. Six city councillors preferred to send a calumnious letter to the meeting, in which they "intended teaching a lesson to the bureaucrats among the Party leaders". In reply to a final appeal to admit their errors and to submit to discipline, they replied with a lengthy memorandum recapitulating every Fascist and social-democratic calumny, and completely rejecting the policy of the Party.

The pretext adopted by the six deserters was the declaration of the Polit-Bureau published in the "Humanité". In this declaration, which lays down the ways and means to be employed in the relentless struggle in our own ranks against opportunism, the passage occurs:

"There are too many holders of seats on public bodies who still imagine that these seats are their personal property, whilst in reality they represent an office entrusted to them by the Party. Too many of them believe that the position of a public deputy ensures them privileges, and releases them from the observance of elementary discipline."

These deputies have long since lost contact with the working class. They ceased to take part in the meetings held by their nucleus or district, thus evading control. Many of them refused to organise works meetings on 1st August, not wanting to be arrested on account of such "an unimportant matter". On the other hand, they maintained the most friendly relations with their social-democratic colleagues on the town councils and wards.

The Polit-Bureau replied to the vile attacks of the six deputies with the declaration that the latter would be expelled from the Party unless they submitted at once to the following conditions: unconditional recognition of discipline and of the regular Party control, immediate cessation of all fractional work, public disavowal of the opportunists and the expelled renegades, undertaking to combat the opportunists and renegades, withdrawal of the fraction document, and placing of their seats at the disposal of the Party.

Not only have the six not fulfilled the conditions set them, but it is reported that they are contemplating founding an "independent workers' party", which is to gather into one fold not only all the old and new renegades, but some members of the "Left" wing of social democracy. Under present conditions it is, however, more probable that they will join the social fascist party.

They will not, however, succeed in drawing any great number of misled workers with them. Their conduct was unanimously stigmatised at a second conference of the holders of public mandates in the Paris district. Great workers' meetings were held in Sellier's residential ward, and energetic protests

FIVE-YEAR PLAN

The Development of Wages in the Soviet Union.

	Average Nominal Wage in Roubles monthly			Real Wage in per cents. to 1913		
	1913 ¹⁾	1927/28	1932/33	1913	1927/28	1932/33
1. Metal Workers	35	80.56	123.94	100	104.3	186.5
2. Miners	33	61.60	98.50	100	91.1	169.4
3. Wood workers	22	62.89	86.16	100	126.4	201.4
4. Paper workers	18	61.83	86.13	100	157.5	255.2
5. Printers	32	90.34	116.99	100	123.0	185.2
6. Textile Workers	17	55.82	80.03	100	146.3	243.9
7. Leather Workers	25	86.50	108.38	100	153.5	223.6
8. Food Workers	20	79.29	101.02	100	190.3	280.4
9. Chemical Workers	20	67.36	90.94	100	151.6	238.0
10. Total Average	25	66.90	98.28	100	122.5	209.2

¹⁾ Before the war a rouble had about twice the purchasing power it has to-day.

Expenditure on Labour Protection (in million roubles)

	1928/29	1929/30	1930/31	1931/32	1932/33	In all five years
1. Fuel Industry	8.2	8.5	8.7	9.0	9.0	43.4
2. Mining	1.0	0.8	0.8	0.6	0.2	3.4
3. Electro-Technical Industry	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.8	0.9	4.7
4. Metal industry	13.7	15.8	16.5	19.9	14.5	80.4
5. Building material industry	2.0	2.6	3.1	3.3	3.8	14.8
6. Timber industry	1.3	1.7	2.5	2.7	2.7	10.9
7. Chemical industry (group A)	3.3	3.7	4.7	5.2	5.7	22.6
8. Undertakings working up fibrous material	1.0	1.0	1.5	1.5	1.5	6.5
9. Textile industry	11.9	13.0	12.6	13.7	16.4	67.6
10. Clothing Industry	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	1.0
11. Leather and shoe industry	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.5	1.5	6.0
12. Typographic industry	—	—	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.7
13. Paper industry	1.3	1.2	0.9	0.6	0.5	4.5
14. Porcelain and earthenware industry	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	1.0
15. Chemical industry, group B	1.6	1.8	1.5	1.1	1.1	7.1
16. Food industry	3.0	6.0	8.0	12.0	14.0	43.0
17. Industry producing means of production (No. 1—8)	31.5	35.1	38.8	43.0	38.3	186.7
18. Industry producing means of consumption (No. 9—16)	19.2	23.4	24.6	29.5	34.2	130.9
19. Total of industry	50.7	58.5	63.4	72.5	72.5	317.6

Increase of real wages to more than double, greater advance of the categories which were worst paid before the war — that is the result of the wage policy of the five-year plan. Such a wage policy is possible only under the dictatorship of the proletariat and with the great production programme of the five-year plan. No less characteristic is the second table, from which can be seen that for the prevention of accidents and for the establishment of healthy working conditions in the factories the enormous sum of 317.6 million roubles has been allotted.

raised against this traitorous "representative". We must, however, admit that the vacillations among the proletariat would have been even less, had we known better how to maintain a closer contact between the deputies and the organisations on which they depend.

The latest declaration of the Polit-Bureau signifies above all a more determined struggle against the six traitors. It shows that what we have to face is an anti-communist fractional organisation within our own ranks, in which the recently expelled members and the opportunists, who have been actually serving as direct agents of the bourgeoisie in the "Humanité" and in the workers' and peasants' bank, are serving the ends of the policy of Tardieu and the socialists.

The Party is the object of a fresh and concentrated advance of an offensive from outside, expressed in the attacks on the "Humanité", and in the conspiracy indictments raised against some comrades; and at the same time of an offensive from inside, aiming at the disruption of our organisation.

The Party, backed by the great majority of the working class, will gather together all its forces in self-defence, and, in determined fight against all varieties of opportunism, is preparing a national conference of Bolshevik consolidation for the beginning of 1930.

TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

The Pan-American Federation of Labour Goes Bankrupt.

By Alex G. RICHMAN (New York).

The Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labour (P.-A. F. of L.), which was to have been held at bloody Moncado's capital, has been indefinitely "postponed" by the American Federation of Labour. The excuse given is that the A. F. of L. will be too busy "organising" the textile and other workers in the Southern part of the United States. The real reason is that too few replies have been received from Latin American labour organisations to make it possible to hold the Congress. The "fat boys" of the executive council of the A. F. of L. are always ready for a jaunt to such a liquor centre as Havana, and since they never occupy themselves even with the pretence of organising, their excuse is patently ridiculous. It is an admission of bankruptcy — and of defeat at the hands of the revolutionary trade unions of Latin America, led and inspired by the Communists.

The fact that the labour bureaucrats of the Latin American trade unions are no longer able to delude their membership into supporting the P.-A. F. of L. testifies to the growing militancy of

the masses. This is the result of the activity of the Left wing unions, organised in the Latin American Trade Union Confederation, established on May First of this year.

The finish of the P.—A. F. of L. is evidence of a double victory: besides its bankruptcy in Latin America, it is an attempt to cover up the failure to achieve any organisation in the South of the U. S., being in the nature of a robber shouting "Stop, thief!"

If followed up with energy by the revolutionary unions, it may be the beginning of the end of the Monroe Doctrine of Labour. The A. F. of L., dominated by the U. S. State Department (which in President Wilson's administration furnished the money for the organisation of the P.—A. F. of L.), has used the P.—A. F. of L. to cripple ideologically and organisationally the resistance of the Latin American masses to the encroachment and the open invasion of U. S. imperialism.

The strikes led by the revolutionary unions in Mexico against the Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana (C. R. O. M.), the organisation of the national Left wing centre in Brazil and the campaign against Ford's slavery there, the strikes in Colombia, Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, etc. bear witness to the increasing swing to the left of the workers south of the Rio Grande.

As the governments of the various Latin American republics undergo fascization, under the domination of U. S. and British imperialisms, the workers and peasants tend to come more and more under the hegemony of the Communist Parties and of their leadership in the trade unions and peasants' organisations. Under these conditions the debacle of the P.—A. F. of L. assumes great significance, and the Comparties of the U. S. and of the Latin American countries must take full advantage of it, to prevent its reorganisation and to win masses of the workers under its influence.

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

The Crisis in the Co-operative Alliance.

By Vladimir I. I. I.

The International Co-operative Alliance recently held session in London. This session confirmed fully and completely the assertions of the VI. Congress of the C. I. and of the X. Plenary Session of the E. C. C. I. concerning the role of the reformists.

The congress of the Alliance furnished proof that the co-operative system of the West is not in a position to overcome the great difficulties confronting it during the present period. It can be said that the co-operative movement is heading for a crisis.

The steadily worsening position of the proletariat is curtailing their purchasing power, and this curtailment is, in turn, reducing the turnover of the co-operative societies. In this third period of the development of post-war capitalism the co-operative societies have no longer to fight against unorganised private enterprise in business but against big trading concerns, which represent an important part of monopolistic capital.

The trusts and cartels dictate their terms to the co-operative societies, while the bourgeois governments do their best to worsen the legal position of the co-operative societies and exercise upon them economic pressure through taxation.

The significance of the commercial concerns is best seen from a comparison of the turnover of the co-operative societies with that of the concerns. In Germany, for instance, the turnover of the co-operative societies amounted in the year 1914 to 492 million marks, in the year 1927 to 881 million marks, 1928 to 1124 millions (a growth of 109 per cent). The turnovers of the big capitalist stores rose during the same period from 600 millions in the year 1914 to 1600 millions in the year 1927 and to 2000 millions in the year 1928 (a growth of 233 per cent).

The co-operative bureaucracy calls for the fusion of the co-operative societies with the capitalist enterprises. The co-operative societies have interests in various enterprises belonging to finance capital. The leaders of the co-operative societies are trying to secure the co-operation of the cartels and the trusts. In their official journals they state that the formation of cartels and trusts benefits the consumers, etc. They go so far in their opportunism that they acknowledge the utility of private business as against that for which Social Democracy fought for years. The co-operative societies are adapting their

policy to that of the openly anti-proletarian policy of the bourgeoisie and the "Labour" governments by opposing the revolutionary movement. In doing so, the heads of the co-operative movement are making use of the experience of the Social Democrats. They exclude revolutionary members, they curtail credits and deliveries of goods to co-operative societies run by Communists, and so forth. In some countries the leaders of the co-operative movements have gone over quite openly to Social-Fascism (Germany, Czechoslovakia). The leaders of the co-operative societies carry on a systematic campaign of calumny and agitation against the Soviet Union, in order to turn the proletariat against it.

This disgraceful policy of the co-operative leaders is facilitated by the fact that the Communist Parties of the West devote far too little attention to the co-operative movement, so that the right-wingers and the conciliators, under the pressure of the difficult economic situation of the co-operative societies and under the influence of the reformists, pursue a definitely Social-Democratic policy. The policy of the Trotzkyist co-operative leaders tallies completely with the policy of our Trotzkyists: it is a counter-revolutionary policy.

It is while the position of the co-operative movement of the West is as described above that the Alliance has held its session in London. The discussion centred round the questions of working out the economic programme of the Alliance, the questions of co-operation with the League of Nations and the preparations for the International Co-operative Congress, which is to take place in the year 1930.

On the question of the economic programme the delegation of the co-operative societies of the Soviet Union delivered at the session of the Programme Commission (Prague, February 1929) a declaration setting forth the class standpoint. The Soviet delegation was listened to, but the resolution was not passed. The whole question of the programme was regarded by the executive of the Alliance from the standpoint of the organisational forms of the future activity of the Alliance. Behind these formalities and organisational forms are hidden the facts of the fusion of the co-operative societies with the capitalist concerns, the participation of the co-operative leaders in organs of the League of Nations and in institutions belonging to the bourgeois governments. In London, however, the programme was not accepted, and it was decided to instruct the secretary of the Alliance to work out a programme on the basis of the proposals of the English Co-operative Union, which are limited to the treatment of several problems (free trade, tariff policy, tariff relations, etc.) according to the programme of British imperialism.

In conjunction with the report of the representatives of the Alliance concerning their work on the sections of the League of Nations, the Soviet delegation repeated its demand for the recall of the representatives of the Alliance from these sections and for a dissolution of any connection the Alliance may have with the League of Nations.

In addition, the Soviet co-operative societies raised objection to the proposal that the statistics of the Alliance be passed to the co-operative society section of the International Labour Office. Both proposals were rejected.

The Soviet delegation demanded that the congress of the Alliance, which will be held in Vienna in August, should deal with the question of the danger of war and the question of the co-operative society's participation in the class fight of the proletariat. These two demands were also rejected.

Such are the results of the London session of the Alliance.

In spite of the systematic campaign for their expulsion from the Alliance, the Soviet co-operative societies will continue to observe a policy that will avoid any split. The Soviet co-operative societies must try to continue their work in the Alliance, but not at any cost. They must expose treachery and defend the interests of the working class. They must combat the anti-Labour resolutions of the Alliance, the pacifism of the co-operative leaders, behind which screen they participate in the preparations for war. They must fight against any fusion of the co-operative societies with the capitalist concerns, against co-operation with the bourgeois governments and the League of Nations.

In the relations of the Communist Parties to the co-operative societies a great change must be made. The parties must regard the work in the co-operative societies as an essential part of their total activity. In the first place, however, the revolutionary co-operative societies must put their own house in order, keep the movement from any deviation and direct the whole of their fire against reformist bureaucracy.