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The Attempt on the Life of the Attorney General Fachot.

By J. Berlioz (Paris).

On December 21st, Fachot, Councillor of the French Court of Appeal and formerly Attorney General at Colmar, was seriously wounded by three revolver shots fired at him before the door of his Paris dwelling. The assailant a small Alsatian butcher named Georges Benoit, presented himself at the police-station the same evening.

He declared himself to be an "individual autonomist" and stated that by the deed, which he had committed intentionally after searching for his victim for a month, he had desired to appease his conscience as an Alsatian and to "save Alsace". The Colmar trial in May 1928, at which the attorney Fachot had appeared to him as a partial agent of the Government, had made a tremendous impression upon him and when on November 8th the election of the two autonomist deputies Rossé and Ricklin had been declared invalid by the Chamber, he had determined "to revenge the people of Alsace-Lorraine". He was obviously a petty-bourgeois individualist who failed to understand that the present situation of Alsace-Lorraine is

an outcome of the whole regime and not the result of the attitude of certain persons. This conception is very far distant from our idea of national liberation by the struggle of the oppressed masses in co-operation with the proletariat of the imperialist countries in general. It is a matter of course that the Communist Party of France cannot champion such acts of individual terror, which are wholly futile.

From two different points of view, however, this deed of the young Strassbourg butcher is of the greatest importance. In the first place it is a sign of despair caused by ten years of imperialist rule and especially by the latest measures of the Government, which represent an aggravation of oppression. Benoit's act shows that the spirit of rebellion is seizing on an ever larger majority of the population of Alsace-Lorraine.

In the second place, this act will afford an occasion for the party of "National Unity", which has in this regard the full support of the Socialists, to proceed yet more severely against the autonomist movement and in particular against the

Communist movement, which alone really defends the interests of those that are oppressed by French imperialism.

Let us call to mind the deep-rooted economic and psychological motives of the autonomist movement. 1. The language question. Since 75 per cent. of the population speak German, the obligatory use of the French language is the cause of great discontent and has led to a depreciation of the general cultural level. 2. Particularly cumbersome taxes. In addition to the general system of taxation, a number of very considerable local taxes, taken over from the German regime, have to be paid. 3. The influx of French officials. These are locally less capable than the native officials, but are given preference on all possible occasions. 4. The question of originally German property. This was sold to the French capitalists for a mere song. 5. The constant agricultural crisis. This is caused by the lack of a natural market, such as was formerly afforded by the rest of Germany. 6. Difficulties with the military and administrative authorities. Such are generally forthcoming in the case of workers who are not considered "sufficiently patriotic". 7. Discontent of the Catholic population with the brusque measures of the Left Bloc. The religious feelings and prejudices of these Catholics have been hurt by the attitude of the Government Party.

At the workers' and peasants' congress in 1925, the Communist Party was the only one to undertake the defence of the workers and to raise the question of autonomy. The pressure of the masses forced the clerical parties to assume an attitude of opposition to the French Government, but their leaders were always open to compromises which proved detrimental to the interests of their adherents, a fact they attempted to veil with consummate demagoguery. The movement spread so rapidly that the French imperialists saw themselves forced to make an attempt at stamping it out brutally by the organisation of a great conspiracy, which led to the well-known Colmar verdicts. The desparation of the population, however, only increased still more and became manifest in the extraordinary success of the Communist and autonomist candidates at the Parliamentary and cantonal elections in 1928, the outcome of which was quite alarming to the French bourgeoisie.

The exclusion from the Chamber of Deputies of their candidates Rossé and Ricklin, both of whom had been condemned at Colmar, was a direct provocation of the people of Alsace-Lorraine. The exclusion was effected on the strength of 220 votes to 39, with no fewer than 350 deputies withholding their votes, among these being the Social Democrats, who in Alsace-Lorraine constitute an altogether "official" party and enjoy the support of the imperialists and capitalists.

Within the parties which found themselves obliged to adopt an attitude of timid petty-bourgeois autonomism, the decided procedure of our party has entailed an ever-increasing class-differentiation. The Radical-Socialist Party has lost all importance thanks to its imperialist tendency. The Socialist Party is daily losing in influence; Peirotes, mayor of Strassbourg, a pronounced "social-imperialist", was beaten by the Communist candidate at the recent cantonal election. Last year the Left wing of the "Republican Party of Lorraine" seceded for the purpose of forming a Christian-Social Party. Two weeks ago the intrigues and machinations of Poincaré also brought about a split in the large clerical party, known as the "Union Populaire Alsacienne" and the creation of a new national-chauvinistic party called "Action Populaire National d'Alsace" and adhering to the French bourgeoisie.

This split is of great importance, since it favours our work of enlightenment in the religious circles and permits us the better to reveal the treachery of the "Left" clerical wing. All these symptoms give proof of the excitement of the masses in Alsace-Lorraine, which found utterance in the act of Benoit.

The attempt on Fachot represents the complete breakdown of the oppression-policy of the last ten years on the part of the French imperialists. Nevertheless, Poincaré has the intention of pursuing this policy yet further. The investigation initiated in connection with the attempt is intended in the first place to demonstrate the relations between the assailant and the

autonomists and Communists. Minister of Justice Barthou declared in the Senate that "the responsible parties must be sought in higher circles", but that "they must and will be found out and the full rigour of the law will be employed against them". The great bourgeois paper "Journal des Débats" designated the "Humanité", our Communist organ published at Strassbourg in the German language, as the chief instigator of the trouble in Alsace. The "Ere Nouvelle", the organ of the former Left Bloc, remarks that Benoit is backed by the "Muscovites". The Socialists take part in this new campaign.

We may still add that the attempt on Fachot is very opportune for the French imperialists in connection with the antagonism between them and the new German imperialists in the Reparations question. The press attacks the "allies of the autonomists beyond our frontiers", i. e. in Germany.

Our Party in Alsace-Lorraine has assumed a very clearly defined attitude. It started by unreservedly revealing the demagoguery of the clerical leaders and showing up the ambiguous attitude of these elements to the peasants and workers of Alsace-Lorraine. Our comrade Béron recently defined this attitude very drastically in the Chamber of Deputies in designating the clergy as one of the means of capitalist rule over the proletariat and in demanding the abolition of the concordat existing in Alsace-Lorraine. At the moment when the iron fist of imperialism was preparing to lay its full weight upon the Eastern provinces, he proclaimed that "only social revolution can solve the national question and put an end to oppression and exploitation."

POLITICS

Two Elections — two Victories.

Finland and Norway.

By L. H. Landén (Stockholm).

There have just been municipal elections in Norway and Finland, the two countries adjoining Sweden, the largest and industrially most developed Scandinavian State. Both in Norway and in Finland the class differences are far more pronounced than in Sweden and the workers of both these countries have learnt by experience to place no undue amount of confidence in democracy. In Finland police terror and the lasting prohibition of the Communist Party have shown them that democracy is only a mask for the most brutal dictatorship of the exploiters, while in Norway their spontaneous struggle last summer against the compulsory arbitration law demonstrated that they have abandoned all faith in a peaceful transition to the State of the future, far more so perhaps than in many other "democratic" countries.

There is thus a great similarity of objective conditions, so that the same result might well have been expected in both countries. Superficially regarded, however, there is a very material difference. In the case of Norway, the Social Democratic press in Sweden and Denmark is loud in its expressions of joy at the success of the Social Democrats and the discomfiture of the Communists. The same organs are silent in regard to Finland, where the Social Democrats suffered a defeat in the most important districts while the revolutionary workers were able to score considerable successes in spite of all persecution.

As a matter of fact, however, the issue was not so widely different as it appeared at first sight. The Communist Party of Norway is still quite young, not more than five years old, and has had to pass through a hard period of development before attaining to internal stability and clarity. It was at first guided by a number of opportunists including the chairman of the trade-union federation, of whom it was not so easy to get rid.

Until this process of purging was fully completed, the Party was unable to effect any particular progress, just as was the case in the Swedish brother-party, which could only attain to its present mass-character after the expulsion of Hoeglund from its ranks. Thus, after the elections of 1924 in Sweden, the Social Democrats also spoke of a catastrophic defeat of the Communists,

though four years later they had themselves to admit that the Communist Party had become a serious menace.

In spite of accentuated class differences, however, the Norwegian Communists had to work under very adverse circumstances. It must be borne in mind that the Norwegian Social Democrats incline very much to the Left, that they have not yet had the occasion to compromise themselves by a Government coalition, and that they can only keep their hold on the masses by means of revolutionary phrases. If we keep an eye on this fact, we must come to the conclusion that the "Social Democratic" victory is not worth very much as such, seeing that the great bulk of the Labour Party still regards itself as Communist — the Party belonged to the Comintern from 1919 to 1923 — and thousands of its members would be offended if they were designated as Social-Democrats.

We need only call to mind that in spite of the energetic efforts of their leaders the workers were not to be persuaded to join the Amsterdam International and that Martin Tranmael, the authoritative leader of the Party, is just now taking part as a representative of the Norwegian trade-union Federation in the Congress of Russian Trade Unions, at which he has expressed his satisfaction at the growing relations between the workers of Norway and the Soviet Union respectively.

We need but for a moment imagine MacDonald or Hermann Müller taking part in the Congress of Russian Trade Unions in representation of "their" workers, to recognise that the Norwegian reformists, who do not even designate themselves as Social Democrats, are in a far more favourable position in their fight against the Communists than the reformists of any other country and that a victory of the pseudo-radical Labour Party cannot be considered a victory of the Social Democrats.

The Norwegian workers have still some illusions to lose, and they will lose them. When it is then once more a question of deeds, they will see how meaningless the phrases of their leaders are and then the Communist Party, which is still small but is working remarkably well, will take the lead.

The Capitulatory Policy of the Austro-Marxists.

By Willi Schlämm (Vienna).

As a natural outcome of the development of Austria, the capitulations on the part of the Austrian Social Democrats are more and more frequent.

"Fissures in the bourgeois bloc!" Fascinatedly the Austrian Social Democratic Party stares at certain differences within the camp of the bourgeois parties, which seem to herald the possibility of taking part in a Coalition Government. For more than a year the Coalition Government has been the one and only thought of the Austrian Social Democrats. And as there are naturally certain differences among the bourgeois groups (as, e. g., in regard to the distribution of State revenue among the individual Federal provinces), the Social Democrats hasten to prove their capability to rule and attempt to curry favour with one or other of the said groups.

On December 5th there ensued the election of the Federal President of the Austrian Republic. It is a well-known fact that it was with the help of the Socialists that Herr Miklas, Seipel's most faithful servant who is keeping the seat warm for him was elected. This did not happen, however, without a previous attempt on the part of the Social Democrats to make common cause with the other section of the bourgeois bloc in the possible election of some other President. The S. P. of Austria was thus not altogether certain in advance as to which of the two bourgeois groups it should second, though there was no doubt at all in the S. P. that they would in any case make common cause with the reactionary bourgeoisie and on no account act independently.

A few days later a successor was to be elected in the place of Herr Miklas, formerly President of the National Assembly. Until then, the Christian-Socialist chairman had in each case been elected on the votes of his party, the Social Democrats abstaining from the vote. This time they took part in his election.

For the first time the Social Democrats formally voted for the candidate of Seipel, Dr. Alfred Gurtler, no longer withholding their votes as they had done a few days earlier at the election of the Federal President. Their advances were thus already more pronounced.

While in both these cases it was rather a question of political gestures, the Social Democrats did not hesitate to show their good intentions in a very material way as well. For about a twelvemonth there have been serious differences between the Social Democratic Vienna municipality and the Federal Government in regard to the employment of some 20 million Austrian shillings. This sum, which is no trifle according to Austrian conceptions, the Minister of Finance desired to withhold from the "province" of Vienna and dedicate to the other Austrian provinces, some of which were in great financial difficulties. This naturally caused a great outcry. Since December 5th, however, a conciliatory spirit prevailed and one fine morning the world was informed that an arrangement had been reached in this difficult question literally over night, by means of an augmentation of the tax on beer. And the S. P. A. has the face to excuse this renewed encumbrance of the working masses, at whose expense it has managed to make its peace, with the pious argument that alcohol is an enemy of the people and the taxation of beer therefore a social-political achievement.

In another material question of the very first order, which is of far greater importance for the proletariat than the financial matter just referred to, in regard to the retrenchment of tenants' protection, a decided change has come about during the last two weeks. The Social-Democratic fraction in Parliament has formally expressed its opinion on the Government draft and has accepted it in its fundamental points. The Social Democrats agree to a graded increase of rents, to a public subvention of the private construction of dwellings, and to the withdrawal of the tenants' protection stipulations in regard to newly-constructed dwellings. In short, they agree to Seipel's plan. Now there is a show of manoeuvres to cover their retreat, and possibly Seipel will be gracious enough to permit the S. P. A. to mask their complete capitulation by means of a "popular vote". The sham obstruction in the Parliamentary Committee on Dwellings has experienced an official "interruption".

Yet another capitulation: One of the chief cares of any Government is the punctual settlement of their budget. The S. P. A. is immediately at hand to relieve Seipel of this responsibility. With a view to showing the workers their "revolutionary spirit", the Social-Democratic fraction of Parliament obstructed the 1929 budget for some weeks with heroic speeches. But to show Seipel their servility, they have officiously acceded to a provisional budget and engaged to see to the final settlement of the budget in the course of January, so that Seipel may set his mind at rest and enjoy his Christmas.

A fortnight was sufficiently long to permit of some further capitulations. The Federal deputy Steidle, commandant of all the Austrian Fascist corps, ventured upon his first public assembly in the "Red" city of Vienna. The Communists summoned the Vienna workers to be ready on the day in question, December 17th. The situation looked critical enough for Steidle, for the hostility of the Vienna workers was a thing to be feared. But the Social Democrats rushed into the breach. Dr. Julius Deutsch speedily called a meeting of the "Republican Defence Corps", to whom he proved that in a democratic State the Fascists had the same right of assembly as all other citizens. The apparatus was put into operation and, under the protection of the S. P. A., Steidle was able to make his provocative entrance into the "Red" city. True, when the next day the Fascists attempted to hold yet another meeting in a workers' district of Vienna, the Communists were strong enough to disperse them with broken heads, an incident which will be reason enough for the Republican Defence Corps, whose help the Fascists could not possibly do without, to redouble its struggle against the Communists and against the anti-Fascist activity of the workers.

A survey of these last two weeks — so rich in incidents for the Austrian working class — affords ample insight into the counter-revolutionary nature of this model party of the 2nd International.

The United States and Great Britain in Latin America.

By Franklin & Harvey.

(Continued.)

'Colonies' of Yankee Imperialism.

Brazil, larger than the United States in area and with a population of over thirty millions, has an enormous wealth of natural resources which have hardly been touched. It contains vast mineral wealth in gold and manganese. Coffee is its main export. Great Britain is still the chief power there, though in recent years the American invested capital has been greatly increased, reaching a total of \$358,000,000. The huge rubber concessions of Ford and Firestone in Brazil are in line with the effort of the United States to free itself from the British world rubber monopoly. The other chief American investors in Brazil are those of the United States Steel Corporation in mining. Over \$100,000,000 is invested in Brazilian Federal and district bonds.

Chile. Here the United States has more capital invested than in any other South American country. As a result of the rapid increase in U. S. investments they today nearly equal to those of Great Britain. Chile stand second only to the United States as a world producer of copper, and the biggest American holdings are in this industry. Of the 177,000 tons output of copper in Chile annually, 157,000 tons is controlled by Americans. The Guggenheimer interest own the copper mines as well as power plants, steamships, etc. In the nitrate industry the struggle with Britain is still a sharp one, with American interests gaining the upper hand. A Fascist dictator, put in by American interests, is now ruling the country.

This Anglo-American struggle in Chile has shown itself with special clarity in the fight for control of Tacna Arica. The present political influence of the United States in Chile and Peru makes possible a settlement of this question in favour of Bolivia, giving the port of Arica to the latter country. Such a settlement of this long-standing issue would be another triumph for Yankee imperialism, opening up the tremendously rich mineral resources of Bolivia which are now being first developed by U. S. interests.

Mexico, bordering the United States, is the most important country in Latin America, both from the point of view of investments and location as a barrier between the U. S. and the countries of Central and South America. Here the struggle between England and America started early and has continued unabated until the present day. Here again the centre of the struggle is oil, in which one out of every three American dollars is invested. 70% of the total oil output is controlled by the United States and 27% by the British.

Great Britain, which had five hundred million dollars invested in Mexico in 1913, has increased its holdings by 59%, now having a total of seven hundred and fifty million dollars. The investments of the United States have grown from eight hundred million to more than 1250 million dollars during the last sixteen years, an increase of 61%. The small percentage increase for the United States is due mainly to the successive revolutions during the past ten years. With the present tendency towards capitulation on the part of petty-bourgeois government there is renewed talk in Wall Street of the "safety" of investments in Mexico.

The chief investors in oil are Standard, Marlan (Morgan), Gulf Oil (Mellon), in mining and smelting, Guggenheimer and Green are the main investors. A number of the directors of the Mexican National Railway are New York bankers.

A classification of the world investments of the United States (of which Latin America makes up 46%) shows what U. S. ascendancy means for the "development" of these countries. In commenting on a report of the U. S. Department of Commerce of October 2, the New York Times in an editorial of the same date writes:

"Out of thirty-five types of industries which were represented by the \$3,713,307,000 company securities taken by American investors, a little more than one-half were issued by companies in the three groups of public utilities, railways and banking. This... answers measurably the familiar criticism that American capital is being sent to build up foreign competitors of American home industry. The home market will hardly be jeopardised by

the enlarged activities of foreign light, water and power enterprises or of foreign transportation lines, or of foreign banks."

Sugar, mining and oil, so heavily represented in the Latin American field, follow in importance in this new classification of U. S. investments. A few concrete examples will further bear out the general trend of Yankee imperialism in Latin America.

Out of the \$1,400,000,000 invested in Cuba by the United States, 750 million dollars is in sugar alone; railroads, 110 million; Cuban Government bonds, 100 million; public utilities, 100 million; hotels, 80 million; tobacco, 50 million; mining, 35 million. Recently there has been an additional \$150,000,000 invested in hotels.

In a highly developed country such as Chile we find the tendency of U. S. capital is to increase the colonisation of the country and prevent its independent development. Although Chile has a favourable trade balance, we find this entire sum used to pay interest on foreign borrowings and on foreign investments*).

Between 1913 and 1925 copper ingot shipments increased from 42 million to 380 million pounds and her iron ore production increased 800%. An examination of the chief items of Chilean export will show that little manufacture of the raw material into finished products has grown up in Chile itself alongside this tremendous increase in mining activity. The main exports for Chile still remain: nitrate of soda, copper, iodine, wheat, raw wool, borate of lime, skins and hides. Also Chile imports very little machinery such as would build up heavy or light manufacturing industry. What little machinery this country does import is for railways and mines**).

Conclusion.

We have already dealt with the growing activity of U. S. capital in Latin America and its conflict with British interests there. During recent months the United States has taken a number of significant steps towards the consolidation of its hold on Latin America:

1. The Havana Conference culminated years of sharpening struggle between the United States and Great Britain in Latin America. Yankee imperialism showed what importance it attached to this conference by sending a delegation as imposing as the one sent to Versailles. The presence of Coolidge, Kellogg, Hughes and Morgan (Morrow) was an open challenge to Great Britain and the League of Nations to keep "hands off" Latin America.

2. The further development of air lines eventually to connect all of Latin America with the United States, Cuba and Mexico have already been reached by these lines and the role of the planes in time of war is today being experienced by the Nicaraguan workers and peasants.

3. The projected Pan-American highway has now taken concrete form. A conference is being held in Mexico City at which 250 delegates are present, representing 11 Latin American countries and the United States. This highway, long a dream of Yankee imperialism, will connect all the countries of the two continents. Such a highway, aimed to facilitate trade in time of peace, will be an important military road for the transport of troops in time of war.

4. Practical steps for the construction of the Nicaraguan canal are now being taken, and are discussed openly today in the U. S. Senate. Among the measures taken is the purchase from Colombia of important islands guarding the approach to the canal.

The election of Herbert Hoover as President of the United States means an even more aggressive struggle against Great Britain in Latin America in the future. Hoover led the successful struggle to break down the British rubber monopoly. In a speech just prior to his election, discussing America's future foreign policy, he stated:

"... as the stability of foreign nations becomes greater and their methods improve, their competition for neutral markets will become sharper. To receive our due share of prosperity in these markets we must continue an even more vigorous cooperation from our government."

*) Alfred W. Bunn in "The Annalist".

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THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Struggle of the Hungarian Miners.

By V L

The Hungarian Chamber of Deputies has just adopted a Standing Order which puts an end to the last vestige of the liberty of Parliamentary speech. Even prior to this event, the Opposition was excluded from exercising the least influence on the legislative apparatus and the slightest possibility of obstruction could be suffocated by a simple majority resolution. The introduction of such a standing order, which is unparalleled even in the most reactionary of Parliaments, is now to be followed by the complete exclusion of an employment by the Opposition of the Parliamentary rostrum for propaganda purposes, the "speaker" being granted an unlimited right of censorship for the purpose of striking off the Parliamentary protocol all such speeches as are "seditious, destructive, and detrimental to the reputation of the august assembly." Thereby the publication of such speeches in the press is likewise prohibited. The public vote and the legalised terror at the elections, supplemented by this new standing order, complete the absolute Fascisation of the Chamber.

The gagging of the Opposition is officially explained as a means of precaution against possible future Communist members and this fully suffices for the Social Democratic fraction in the Chamber to pass over the "reform" with a mere demonstrative gesture. Upon the conclusion of the general debate, the Social Democrats retired from the further discussion with the declaration that they declined all responsibility for the consequences of the reactionary policy of the Government but would continue to exercise their functions of control. The purport of this mysterious declaration was elucidated by a simultaneous invitation to the deputies of the Government parties, who were asked to visit the Social-Democratic trade unions in coram so as to become acquainted with their social-political significance upon the spot. According to press reports, the Government deputies were accorded a very hearty welcome in the trade-union associations and listened to some instructive speeches on the national and economic mission of the trade unions, delivered by the leaders of the Social-Democratic Parliamentary fraction.

With a quite cynical frankness the reformists are thus trying to curry favour with the political and social Fascism of Bethlen. Just as plainly, however, the working masses have proved that they are ready to fight against the terror of the Government and against the opportunism of the reformists. While the leaders of the Social-Democratic Party and the trade-union bureaucrats are inclined to pursue the tactics of class-peace, the working masses organise turbulent wage struggles and mass-demonstrations.

Towards the end of November the miners, who are the most oppressed and most immediately exposed both to the terrorism of the gendarmes and to the blandishments of the Fascists, set loose a strike-wave on a national scale. This movement broke out contrary to the intentions of the reformist bureaucracy, who hastened to make their peace with the indignant capitalists through the mediation of the Government and, as the Social-Democratic "Népszava" triumphantly points out, "in the study of the Minister of Finance". The outcome was no more than a bare compromise, acceding to a fraction of the demands put forward; however, the trade-union bureaucracy left no stone unturned to attain the resumption of work in the various mines by means of persuasion and intimidation. In consequence of the policy of isolation, the coal-mines of Pilis-Vörösvár, belonging to Belgian capitalists, refused even the most insignificant of concessions. It was in vain, moreover, that the reformists attempted to force the isolated miners of Pilis-Vörösvár to resume work unconditionally prior to the continuation of negotiations; the workers continued their struggle undeterred.

On December 11th — so the "Népszava" itself relates — the Miners' Union learnt from a telephone conversation that 2000 strikers, accompanied by their wives and children, were about to march to Budapest. A similar demonstration was intended last year by the miners of Salgó-Tarján. Thereupon the Social-Democratic deputy Esztergályos and the Budapest President of Police Andreka simultaneously started out to meet the demonstrators.

Andreka, the notorious bloodhound of the Government police, forbade the masses to continue their march and "Comrade" Esztergályos persuaded them to elect a deputation of 15 of their number to transmit their complaints to the Minister of Public Welfare. The latter held a touching speech on the spirit of solidarity animating the Government and, as the reporter of the "Népszava" particularly points out, many deputies of the Government parties, who were standing behind him, burst into tears.

The consequences of this touching sympathy were such as caused even Esztergályos to make them the subject of an interpellation addressed to the Government. To frustrate a repetition of the demonstration, the mining villages of Pilis-Vörösvár have been surrounded by a regular blockade of gendarmes. No strangers, not even doctors or midwives, may enter the blockaded villages. Miners' wives, who had collected some scanty relief for their destitute children in the neighbouring villages, were forced to give up every bit of bread to the gendarmes on the grounds that they had not provided themselves with beggars' licences in advance.

Now that the movement appears to be locally restricted, the Government has regained the power of speech. Prime Minister Bethlen gave an unfavourable answer to the "material" complaints of Esztergályos, since it was "not for Parliament to interfere in the wage disputes between workers and employers"; the relative negotiations must be allowed to take their course.

The lesson which this case furnishes for the Hungarian Social Democrats is summed up as follows in the "Népszava":

"We lack the institutional possibility of exercising Government pressure on the employers, since we have no law enabling a Minister in cases of wage disputes to intervene with the full authority of the State." (Leading Article of December 12th).

In the case of the Hungarian reformists there can naturally be no question of an effective support and promotion of the fight against the mining capitalists. They would like to make the struggling workers docile by recommending them the arbitral apparatus of the State as infallible, and that at a time when the workers of the Ruhr district have just learnt a lesson as to the meaning of State arbitration.

The Background of the Struggle in Colombia.

By Martinez and Harvey.

The present struggle of the 30,000 banana workers of Colombia against the tyrannical rule and exploitation of the most hated trust in Latin America, the United Fruit Company, must be viewed in relation to the growing resistance to U. S. imperialism by the young proletariat of Latin America. This struggle has special significance because it represents an independent step by the workers who directly challenge a powerful American Company in a territory which it completely controls; capturing the Company towns and properties in alliance with the poor peasantry and under the leadership of the revolutionary workers and their revolutionary trade unions.

The United Fruit Company more than any other U. S. firm dominates the economic and political life of a whole series of Caribbean countries. In Guatemala, more than 1/15 of the total territory is the private property of this firm, 498 out of the 575 miles of railroad in this country are controlled by the International Railways of Central America, closely associated with the United Fruit Company which itself directly operates the remaining 69 miles. In Honduras the United owns 392 out of the 488 miles of railways as well as extensive banana, coconut and rubber lands. Here the investments of this company grew from \$45,000 in 1900 to \$24,000,000 in 1923. In Panama their investments had passed \$8,000,000 by 1923 and included the control of 270 miles of railway. The holdings of the United Fruit Company in Cuba are valued at more than \$50,000,000. In Costa Rica this company owns more than 322 of the 404 miles of railways and has invested some 8.5 million dollars.

The United Fruit Company in all of Central America operates 2,200 miles of railways; has the monopoly of the import and export of freight to and from a whole series of countries with its 80 steamers, including the largest passenger

and freight boats in the trade; controls all the telegraph, radio and other means of communication and in many of the towns near to their properties controls the entire retail trade. Also the United Fruit Company owns immense warehouses, piers, etc. In the whole of Central America where this Company occupies such key positions, governments are mere tools used by them to suppress the labour movement, enact anti-trade union laws and generally guarantee the continuation of their ruthless exploitation and rule.

The same conditions prevail in Colombia where the United Fruit Company has complete control of the region around the port of Santa Marta, which includes the cities of Riofrio, Sevilla, Aracataca and Fundacion. The United Fruit Company plantations are located along the line of the Santa Marta railway from Fundacion to Cienza which it owns. Over this whole domain thousands of Indians, Negroes and Mestizo workers live as the slaves of this trust, working from sunrise to sunset and receiving only from 20 to 50 a day. The day is made longer by the fact that they not only have to work the twelve hours or more but must in most cases start out at sunrise in order to walk the great distance between their home and the place where they must do their days cutting. The low wages are rendered even less by the fact that the workers are compelled to pay exorbitant prices at the company owned stores.

The workers live in barracks and straw huts and their main food is the second class bananas and black beans. They are clothed in burlap and their dress clothes are made from used flour bags. They receive no medical attention of any kind and whenever they are too insistent in their complaints the company doctors give them some very bitter or strong medicine to force them to stay away. These same conditions prevail on the United Fruit Company plantations throughout Central America, although in the other countries the workers are even more devoid of any sort of labour organisation to protect their interests. In Colombia we find in the Banana Zone one of the most militant sections of the labour movement. Here the workers have responded very readily to all the efforts at organisation by the Baranquilla section of the Sindicato Central Obrero De Colombia, affiliated to the Red International of Labour Unions. With the setting up in August of the reformist Confederacion Obrera Sindical del Atlantico, these militant banana workers resisted all their approaches and issued a manifesto exposing the betraying designs of these reformist misleaders. While the reformist leaders together with the government were preparing laws aimed at wiping out all the militant workers' organisations as a prelude to further attacks on the workers conditions, the militant workers of the Banana Zone were preparing to answer with the only weapon in their hands; that of militant class action.

Thirty thousand workers have entered into this open struggle against Yankee imperialism and against its Colombian allies: the landowners government and the reformist trade union agents. Information received up to the present is very meagre due to the rigid censorship maintained, but we know already of the heroism of the workers who have seized the main towns in the Banana Zone, and have been joined by the railroad workers who refused to transport troops and strike-breakers. The workers have disarmed the soldiers and jailed the strike-breakers and reformist trade union leaders.

Side by side with the workers in this struggle are fighting thousands of intensely exploited poor peasants, who are absolutely dependent upon the United Fruit Company for the irrigation of their land, the transportation of their products and the marketing of their bananas. They are compelled to sell to the United Fruit Company for from 30—60 bunches of bananas quoted in the New York market from \$1.35—\$4.20 wholesale.

No matter what the outcome of the present struggle in Colombia may be it is of greatest significance to the workers and peasants of Latin America from many points of view. Firstly, the resistance of the banana workers of the Santa Marta region will stimulate to struggle thousands of banana workers in other Latin American countries living in an almost feudal state as "serfs" of the United Fruit Company. Secondly, this fight will further arouse the workers throughout Latin America for struggle against Yankee imperialism which meets especially sharp resistance in Colombia and Venezuela at the present time

as it attempts to further colonise these countries in its rapid southward march from Central to South America. Thirdly, this new sign of resistance will bring forth drastic action on the part of the North American imperialists including the probable sending of marines, for which the United Fruit Company interests are already preparing the ground in the United States.

Besides the important investments of the United Fruit Company this territory is of greatest strategic importance for the U. S. imperialists. Bordering the Panama Canal they will apply ruthless measures against any resistance from this quarter. They will take energetic action in line with their policy towards Latin America generally which is such a vital point of contention in Anglo-American rivalry and in the imperialist war preparations. The United States has set itself to the task of nothing short of the complete conquest of this continent so essential as a nearby source of raw material for its industries and as a field with unlimited possibilities for imperialist exploitations.

The Latin American workers see the full significance and eventualities of this struggle in Colombia. Already campaigns of solidarity are being organised in many countries throughout Latin America. In New York the offices and piers of the United Fruit Company have been picketed by class conscious American workers under the leadership of the All-American-Anti-Imperialist League and the Workers (Communist) Party of America. Any attempt to crush this struggle of the Colombian proletariat must be met with the strongest resistance of the workers throughout North and South America and the whole world.

* * *

New York, 21st December, 1928.

It is reported from Bogoto (Colombia) that the strike of the banana workers has been throttled. Work is again proceeding on the plantations. The trains carrying the bananas are guarded by military.

On the 17th December the death occurred of the Communist Alberto Castrion, one of the leaders of the strike movement, as a result of the serious wounds sustained by him in a collision between the police and the strikers.

The Anti-Imperialist League has organised in the New York Docks of the "United Fruit Company" a protest demonstration against the persecution of the striking Colombian workers. 43 demonstrators were arrested at a protest demonstration in Philadelphia.

The Bauria Jute Mill Lockout in India.

By M. A. I.

During the month of June several strikes were going on in or about Calcutta. Jute mills also shared the general discontent, owing principally to the owners' attack on the wages and general conditions of the workers. There was a strike in Ludlow jute mills, and another at Chengail (jute mills), where a conflict between police and the strikers had taken place, the police having fired on the workers. The discontent at Bauria was not less if not even greater owing to the workers there receiving less wages than in most other mills (they receive Rupee 2—6 a week). Still the initiative to force a lockout rested with the owners, who first of all prohibited the workers from holding a meeting in an open place which was declared to be the private property of the landlords, who are the mill-owners themselves. Moreover, the workers were asked to work overtime in order to clean the machines, which they refused to do. Consequently, the mill was closed for a day on 26th of June. After this work was going on as usual, but the owners closed a mill (the Fort Gloster Company owns 3 jute mills besides Bauria mill which all together employ almost 20,000 workers). There was a movement among the workers of the mills to go on sympathetic strike. The reformist leaders M. K. Bose and Kishorilal Ghosh (Secretary of Bengal T. U. Federation and President Bauria Jute Workers' Union) addressed meetings of the workers asking them not to go on a sympathetic strike. But this preaching did not help as the further provocation of the owners proved too strong and made the strike inevitable.

On July 16th the owners of the mills dismissed 6 "coolie" leaders. This provocative act enraged the workers who demanded the surrender of the head clerk responsible for the dismissal. The workers "attempted to rush the doors under cover of a fusillade of stone and heavy pieces of metal." Thereupon the police came on the scene and fired 13 rounds as a result of which 46 persons were wounded.

Later 70 workers were arrested by the police, out of whom 48 are still undergoing trial before a special Bench on three different charges. Their houses were searched and broken into by searching parties.

On the following day the mill authorities closed the three mills (belonging to the Company) as also the Bauria Mill thus declared a lockout on about 20,000 workers. Strong police pickets were posted at the mills in order to prevent the workers from entering them.

On July 2nd Mr. Kishori Lal Ghosh visited the affected areas of Chengail and Bauria "to see how order and former peace could be re-established and whether a healthy atmosphere of confidence is possible between the employers and the workers". This and other facts stated in the article characterise the treacherous role played by reformist trade union leaders, which can be summed up as follows: to discourage and sabotage strikes in the beginning, in case workers refuse to listen to their advice and go on strike and show a fighting spirit to try to take the leadership in their hands in order finally to betray the strikers by making a 'honourable settlement'.

The Bauria Union which works under the instructions of the reactionary Federation led by Ghosh is playing the same role from the beginning. The Bengal Jute Workers Association, an old organisation now under the leadership of the W. P. P. (Workers-Peasants Party) is at war with the Federation and so far has not had the opportunity of coming openly out in the struggle at Bauria, beyond the fact that certain speakers from the W. P. P. and the Association have spoken at the meetings of the strikers.

The strike dragged on for 3½ months without any settlement. At the end of October the owners issued a notice asking workers to resume work unconditionally "promising consideration of their grievances if any, after full resumption."

The chief grievances of the workers are 1. the replacement of the double shift by the single shift system which the owners want to introduce and in regard to which a notice was put up on the day following the lockout. This change would at once throw some 4000 workers out of employment, 2. Maltreatment, beating, etc., 3. overtime work, 4. low wages, 5. arbitrary dismissals, 6. fines, etc.

In the course of the lockout the workers formulated the following demands:

- a) Two-shift system.
- b) No victimisation.
- c) Withdrawal of all cases.
- d) Wages for the whole period of the lockout.
- e) 25% increment of wages.
- f) Dismissal of a supervising officer.
- g) Mill jutes to be always kept open.
- h) No arbitrary dismissal.
- i) No exorbitant fines.
- j) Mills to be started punctually at 5.30 a. m. and not a minute before.

The owners began to seduce the starving strikers to rejoin work by sending an agent of theirs Mr. Cameron who spoke at a mass meeting of the workers at the beginning of November. He was introduced to the workers by Kishori Lal Ghosh, without which the workers would have refused to listen to this "European gentleman" whom some of them recognised as an ex-manager of a jute mill. The gentleman said "that he came to the workers on behalf of none, but that if the workers would agree to follow him to a man the next morning the mill he would guarantee them that the following terms would be conceded to by the mill authorities". The terms are:

1. The workers would get rates of wages as in some other mills (the Bauria workers get less than others in other mills).
2. No wages for lockout periods.
3. The mill authorities would ask for the withdrawal of the cases pending against 18 men.
4. Double-shift would be continued.
5. No dismissal for first offences.

After he had finished. Mr. Ghosh the President of the Union thanked him "for the trouble he took in coming all the way to Bauria to save the workers from miseries which industrial deadlocks bring in their train". The workers not showing willingness to follow him as he proposed, it was arranged that Cameron should take a deputation of the workers to discuss with the management the terms of settlements. On the following day when a deputation of 17 workers elected at the meeting was ready to go to the management, Mr. Cameron did not turn up, so that the deputation scheme fell through. The workers decided to picket the mills in order to prevent the blacklegs from entering them.

The Fort Gloster Company has also acquired rights over villages in the neighbourhood so that almost every mill-hand is also a tenant of the Company. The Company is taking all sorts of repressive measures to break the resistance of the workers. They have closed the road leading to the Ferryghat, have shut the market against the workers, have posted the police in almost all the streets and by-lanes causing all sorts of inconveniences. The strikers are systematically assaulted.

The workers are in a terrible condition. They are starving and in some cases living on green cocoanuts. Now cholera has appeared amongst them. Their meetings are addressed among others by Sprati, Kalidas Bhattacharj; and some other members of the W. P. P., as well as by reformist leaders.

The Workers Welfare League (London) has received appeals from the Bauria Union to help the strikers. The League is collecting funds for that purpose.

FOR THE UNITY OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

The Russo-Norwegian Trade Union Movement.

By M. P. Tomsky.

The following is the full text of that part of the speech of Comrade Tomsky on the report of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions at the Eighth Trade-Union Congress of the Soviet Union, in which he discusses the Russo-Norwegian trade union relations. Comrade Tomsky here replies to the welcoming address of Tranmael, the Norwegian trade union leader, who declared that the Norwegian trade union council would only conclude an alliance with the trade unions of the Soviet Union if such an alliance did not disturb the co-operation of the Norwegian trade unions with the trade unions of Sweden and Denmark, which are affiliated to the Amsterdam International. The Editor.

Permit me to say a few words on the address of Comrade Tranmael, who is dissatisfied with my report. Unfortunately that cannot be helped. Indeed, I fear I shall have to annoy Comrade Tranmael once more in my final words. If Comrade Tranmael was dissatisfied with my address, I find I am very far from being satisfied with his address. (Applause.) Even before he spoke I had my doubts of the Russo-Norwegian alliance; now I feel convinced that the prospects of such an alliance are very poor indeed. Comrade Tranmael tells us the Norwegians have been greatly interested in the international question ever since 1920; they attended the 2nd International Congress of the Comintern, the Norwegian trade unions took part in the foundation of the Red International of Labour Unions, they quitted the Amsterdam International, then they desired to enter the R. I. L. U. but this proved abortive, then they desired to rejoin Amsterdam but this also proved impossible. In listening to this account a man must feel inclined to say, "How inconstant you Norwegians seem to be. You were in the Comintern and helped to found the R. I. L. U.; you desired to join the R. I. L. U. and did not join it; you desired to re-enter the Amsterdam International and did not do so; now there was some idea of our forming an alliance, but I greatly fear that will not be possible either".

Comrade Tranmael went on to say that he and his friends are dissatisfied with the declaration read by the representatives of the Soviet trade unions at the Copenhagen Conference (of the trade unions of Finland, Norway, and the Soviet Union).

The said declaration embodied the opinion and attitude of the Soviet trade unions in regard to the Amsterdam International and to the Norwegian proposal for the convocation of a conference of representatives of the Amsterdam International and of the Red Trade International of Labour Unions for discussing the question of international trade-union unity. The first item of the said declaration was as follows:

"The entire history of the relations between the Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union and the International Federation of Trade Unions during the last few years has very clearly shown that the leaders of the I. F. T. U. in reality do not only desire no trade-union unity but are desirous of energetically opposing any sort of alliance with revolutionary class trade-unions."

Comrade Tranmael argues as follows: We were opposed to this declaration, since it did not make for the establishment of unity or the promotion of a friendly relationship. And then he goes on to say, verbatim, "We suggested to the R. I. L. U. and the I. F. T. U. that they should meet to discuss matters. The R. I. L. U. accepted our suggestion, the I. F. T. U. refused it."

Then why are you not satisfied with the declaration? That was just what the declaration purported. The declaration warned you that a suggestion of unity would meet with no response at Amsterdam. You advised us to apply to Amsterdam and we replied that there was no sense in doing so and that it was high time to cease all negotiations with those people. The tenor of our declaration was that the Amsterdam group were altogether hopeless, they were opposed to all unity, they were in favour of a split in the trade-union movement, but that if you so desired — inexperienced as you were — we should once more apply to them so as to help you to get the better of your Amsterdam illusions. It was a very good and proper declaration and has proved true word for word. Amsterdam refused, flatly refused, and the Prof-intern accepted the suggestion. These are facts from which you cannot escape.

I remarked that the question of a ratification of the Copenhagen resolutions was advancing far too slowly. That is surely the case, comrades. But how does Comrade Tranmael comfort us? He asserts that the question of the Copenhagen resolutions was submitted to the local groups for investigation, which has only just been terminated. When I heard this, I wanted to exclaim, "Well, thank Goodness, it has been terminated". But no, wait a bit. Now the question has still to be discussed at the plenary session of the Trade Union Federation on January 7th, 1929. "Ah", I say to myself, "that makes the matter a little less satisfactory, since it will not be settled until January 7th". Tranmael goes on to say that all the unions are agreeable "on condition..." Again a condition. What unfortunate people we are. Whenever we start negotiating with foreign trade unions, we are met with such an "on condition". Among themselves, the foreign trade unions manage to negotiate without any conditions. But as the trade unions of the Soviet Union are concerned, there are all sorts of conditions. Either certain parties are not to be offended or else certain ties are not to be broken. Well, there. For all I care, let it be "on condition". Let us assume that you are all in favour of the alliance, "on condition".

Furthermore he says that this plenum of 1929 is likely to defer the matter to another plenum. Thank you, Comrade Tranmael comforts us with the reflection that this is no refusal but only a postponement. In the meantime, he says, it will be necessary to acquire a better knowledge of the standpoint of the Danish and Swedish trade unions. All right. If the standpoint of the Danish and Swedish trade unions is unknown, the matter must be cleared up. Perhaps we might encounter some important arguments against the ratification of the Copenhagen resolutions. Comrade Tranmael goes on to say, however, that the Danish and Swedish trade-union federations have already declared that they are only willing to conclude an alliance with the Norwegian trade unions if the latter adhere to the Amsterdam International.

What is it then that the Norwegian comrades still desire to clear up? Now it is really a question of this or that. Either there will be an agreement or there will not. (Applause.) The practical gist of what Comrade Tranmael has said is, however, somewhat as follows. You are good fellows and we are in favour of an alliance with the revolutionary Russian unions. But you have a bad reputation and although you are revolutionary unions and comprise eleven million members, our alliance with you would spoil our relations with the Danish and Swedish unions. Therefore, fond as we are of you, we shall be obliged to forego a friendly connection with you if it involves a breach with the Danish and Swedish trade union leaders (with the leaders, mind you, for there can be no doubt but that the Danish and Swedish workers would welcome an alliance with the Russian trade unions). It is like a complicated story; there is no knowing where it begins and where it stops.

And how can such a problem be solved? Well, as far as we are concerned, every factory council in our country knows how it ought to be solved. It is a question of examining in which direction the right line of action lies and what will bring greater profit not only to the Norwegian but also to the international trade union movement. We suggest to you an alliance with the proletariat of the Soviet Union, the first in the world to win power and to prove to the world that there can be no compromise between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. (Applause.) Our bourgeoisie is dispersed all over the world; you may find them in Canada just the same as in Paris. But in this hall, where aristocrats were wont to dance, we are now holding our session.

Our Norwegian comrades must make up their minds as to whom they would prefer to be allied with, with the Soviet trade unions or with those of Denmark and Sweden, which do not desire the Norwegians to be allied with the Red Unions of the Soviet Union. And why do these Danes and Swedes not desire such an alliance? Because they stand on the basis of the Amsterdam International. And what is the Amsterdam International? Is that not well known? We must put the question quite openly. No need to blush and cast down our eyes. Will you be united with Amsterdam or will you not? Why all these subterfuges? The question must be put in a frank way, as is the nature of Bolshevism. Perhaps it is impolite of me to put the question so baldly, especially to guests. I beg pardon. (Laughter.) For us it is no secret that Comrade Tranmael is one of those leaders who possess great influence on the Norwegian labour movement. And for that very reason I feel justified in asking him how and whither he intends to lead the Norwegian trade unions. To Amsterdam or towards an alliance with the trade unions of the Soviet Union? That is the only way the question can be asked.

It is curious to hear Comrade Tranmael speak of the Norwegian Communists who venture to criticise the leaders of the Norwegian trade unions. To-day we received a letter from the Norwegian federation of trade unions also complaining that the Norwegian Communists criticise the federation and that we are more or less to blame. In the Soviet Union we are wholly in favour of self-criticism. Have you observed how we are criticised here by the members of the youth League? Tell me, please, should I seem to be in my right mind if I were to inform the Norwegian or any other trade union federation that the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions cannot enter into an alliance because I am criticised by the members of the Youth League? The Norwegian Communists are in no way subordinate to the C. C. S. T. U. Any one who believes that we can gag the Communists in another country is very much mistaken. If the Copenhagen agreement, which has not yet been definitely declined and is still wandering from pillar to post, but which will presumably still be declined, were to be accepted on condition not only that we no longer criticise the Norwegian trade unions but that the Norwegian or other Communists on no account criticise the Norwegian trade-union movement, I must say the condition is too hard to fulfil. Such a condition is worse than the Versailles peace treaty.

Comrade Tranmael has attempted to prove that the confirmation of the Copenhagen agreement is in just the same position in Finland as it is in Norway. That is not entirely the case. Indeed, the position in Finland is altogether different. Our Finnish comrades are in prison, the Finnish trade unions will find it hard to ratify the agreement so long as it has n

yet been ratified in Norway. We are in favour of a brotherly alliance with the workers of all countries, an alliance which will provide for mutual moral and material help. We are always ready for such an alliance.

A brotherly alliance presumes assistance in times of labour struggles. We are in favour of that. A brotherly alliance also presumes a comrade-like self-criticism and mutual criticism. Or does a brotherly alliance between the workers of two countries oblige them to pay each other compliments all the while? Such an alliance, I say, presumes self-criticism. Criticise us, we are not afraid of that. Are we, perhaps, never criticised? All the world criticises us. Are we afraid of it? If at any time or in any place we say to the workers of any country, We are in favour of an alliance with you, but on the condition that there must be no mutual criticism, then what sort of an alliance do you think that would be? That would be an alliance characterised by the mutual hypocrisy of the leaders and nothing else.

An alliance between workers' organisations is an alliance with the right of a friendly, comradelike criticism; and if you make a mistake you must allow us to criticise you as you will criticise us for our mistakes. How did we criticise the English? We said to them, we shall support you materially, but you must support the workers and fight. They replied that for that purpose it would be necessary to put the power-works out of operation and therefore they caused the general strike to be terminated, for which we did not hesitate to call them traitors. (Applause.)

Self-criticism presumes mutual brotherly aid. If you criticise without helping, that is a bad sort of criticism, but if you help then you also have the sacred right to criticise. But if you want to fight the employers in a way which will not hurt them very much, it is no use fighting them at all.

I am very much worried about the fate of the Copenhagen resolutions. I fear that if what Comrade Tranmael says is the opinion of the upper section of the Norwegian movement, as is probably the case, there is not much prospect of a happy result, since the rate at which the Norwegian trade-union movement develops the idea of brotherly unity is a very slow rate indeed. It is slower even than the rate of development which characterises the class struggle in the capitalist countries. In the meanwhile we ought several times to have met to discuss means of aiding the French textile workers, the Lodz weavers, etc., instead of which we have not got beyond a repetition of commonplaces. When will the matter ripen into deeds?

We know and see something of the European workers, we speak with them when they come to visit us, and we are convinced that they desire an alliance with the Russian workers. (Applause.) That we can safely say. And I cannot help thinking the Norwegian workers will put the question rather differently from the way in which it has been put by Comrade Tranmael.

FIGHT AGAINST THE RIGHT DANGER

Decision of the Polbureau of the C. P. of Germany on the Open Letter of the E. C. C. I.

The Polbureau of the C. C. of the C. P. G. in its session of December 21st adopted the following decision on the Open Letter of the E. C. C. I. regarding the Right danger in the C. P. G.:

1. The Polbureau unreservedly welcomes the clear and decisive attitude of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. to the Right liquidatory group in the C. P. G. The Polbureau regards the Open Letter of the Presidium as the strongest support of the struggle of the C. P. G. against the enemies of Communism within its own ranks. The international significance of the Presidium decision is undeniable. The Open Letter to the members of the C. P. G. will constitute one of the most important measures in the Comintern in order to combat ruthlessly and to liquidate the Right dangers, the Right tendencies and the Right fractions also in the other brother Parties.

The decision of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. is of great importance for the struggle of the C. P. G. against the Right liquidatory group precisely because it reveals on a large scale the necessity of the permanent and uninterrupted struggle against opportunism within the ranks of the Communist Party. The Open Letter at the same time shows to the C. P. G. the way to the complete liquidation of the Right liquidatory group, which must consist in the most decisive ideological struggle against the liquidators; the Open Letter at the same time shows how and when in the course of this ideological struggle the organisational consequences must be drawn. The Polbureau welcomes the fact that the Presidium of the E. C. C. I., after the abortive negotiations with the ex-candidates of the Central Committee, Hausen and Galm, excluded both of them from the Communist Party of Germany and from the Communist International. At the same time the Polbureau expresses its satisfaction that the decision of the E. C. C. I. Presidium openly and straightly declares that the members of the C. P. S. U., Brandler and Thalheimer, are to be immediately excluded from the C. P. S. U. and from the Communist International should they not follow the instruction to appear before the Central Control Commission of the C. P. S. U. The Polbureau of the C. C. of the C. P. G. likewise welcomes the statement of the Open Letter that the Right leaders Walcher, Frölich and others are to be excluded from the C. P. G. and from the Communist International in the event of their rejecting the conditions of the Central Committee of the C. P. G.

The Polbureau of the Central Committee of the C. P. G. quite agrees with the E. C. C. I. Presidium that the ideological struggle against opportunism and the liquidation of the Right liquidatory group must be made use of before all for rousing the Party masses, for improving the Party cadres and strengthening the Party leadership. The Leadership of the C. P. G. will, in common with the membership, exert all its forces in order to make use of the strong effect of the Open Letter upon all Communists and the revolutionary working class in the interest of enhanced revolutionary work.

It is now necessary, upon the line of the political platform drawn up by the Open Letter, to close the ranks more firmly and to weld the Party together to a firm united whole, in order that it can successfully accomplish the great tasks with which it is confronted in the present period of increased class struggle and the growing imperialist war danger.

2. The Polbureau likewise unreservedly welcomes the clear and open tone of the Open Letter towards the conciliatory tendencies and the conciliatory group within the C. P. G. which likewise shows the first symptoms of fraction formation. The Polbureau specially welcomes the statement of the Open Letter: "For the conciliatory tendencies there is at present no more room within the C. P. G.". The Party has the task to carry out the complete ideological liquidation of the conciliatory tendencies. The group of the conciliators must now definitely decide whether it will further stay the arm of the Party in its struggle against the Right liquidators or whether it is prepared to join the united front of the whole Party against all enemies of Communism.

Comrades Ewert and Meyer have still in the last moment attempted to frustrate the decisions of the C. C. session of December 14th and thereby render assistance to the Right liquidators (telegram to the E. C. C. I.). Now that the Comintern has finally and decisively spoken and pronounced judgment, the Polbureau expects of the conciliatory group (Ewert, Meyer, Eberlein, Dietrich, Becker, Schröter, Schumann, Kurt) and especially of their representatives in the Polbureau, Comrades Meyer and Ewert, that they recognise their mistakes, which are harmful to the Party, and take their place in the common work of the Party in a disciplined manner.

Just as the Polbureau of the German Delegation to the VI. World Congress proclaimed in a special decision its readiness to collaborate with these comrades, it repeats this offer today. At the same time the Polbureau reminds the conciliators of the fact that their insistence upon the attitude they have hitherto adopted will be bound to lead to a sharpening of the inner-Party situation and to the application of decisive measures in order to secure the Party line.

3. The Polbureau calls upon the Party membership throughout the whole country to discuss the Open Letter of the E. C. C. I. at once in all Party bodies, district committees

local branches and Party nuclei and to report on the adopted decision to the leading Party organs.

The district committees have the duty to organise in all districts the report on and the discussion of the Open Letter of the E. C. C. I. of December 19th and to report on the result to the C. C.

The attitude of the Party bodies, district committees, local branches and Party nuclei to the Open Letter of the E. C. C. I. must be carried through on the following basis:

a) On the basis of a broad-scaled, systematic ideological campaign for the overcoming of the opportunist danger in the C. P. G., for the unconditional security of Bolshevik Party unity and for the winning of those workers who are still under the influence of the Right fraction.

b) To carry out a systematic campaign for the overcoming of the conciliatory tendencies towards the Right, which hinder the struggle against the Right and render more difficult the liquidation of the Right group and the Right conceptions.

c) To carry out inner Party democracy and strengthen self-criticism in order to assist the Party in overcoming its difficulties, a pre-condition for which is the greatest consolidation of iron inner-Party discipline (see political theses of the VI. World Congress of the Comintern).

d) To draw in and to mobilise all Party forces on the basis of the decisions of the VI. World Congress and the Open Letter of the E. C. C. I. Presidium in order to make the Party riper and more efficient to solve the great tasks confronting the Party in the interests of the German proletariat.

Berlin, 21st December 1928.

The Polbureau of the C. C. of the C. P. G.

Decision of the Polbureau of the C. P. G. in the Matter of Walcher, Paul Frölich, August Enderle, Max Köhler, A. Schreiner, H. Tittel, Alfred Schmidt and Rehbein.

1. The Plenary session of the C. C. of the C. P. of Germany of December 14th, by a resolution instructed the Polbureau to take action against the above named comrades and to make their further membership of the Party dependent upon the acceptance of six conditions submitted to them by the C. C. In accordance with this decision the Polbureau invited the comrades in question to attend a meeting to be held on December 19th in order to ascertain, by means of a personal talk, their attitude to the six conditions of the C. C. The eight comrades refused to negotiate with the Polbureau and declared that they are only ready to negotiate as a whole group. The Polbureau could not recognise this group of comrades as a fraction and therefore had to reject the proposal of these comrades.

In connection therewith the above mentioned comrades submitted a detailed written "reply" to the conditions of the Plenary Session of December 14th. In this "reply" there are again repeated all the untrue, calumnious social-democratic assertions which the liquidatory group has been making for weeks past against the Comintern and the C. P. of Germany. The C. C. as well as the Comintern have already in a number of documents, and especially in the Open Letter of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I., duly repudiated these social democratic opinions and assertions of the liquidatory group which are also contained in their latest letter.

2. Walcher and consorts brusquely rejected all the six conditions submitted by the C. C. to the members of the liquidatory group in order to enable them to remain within the C. P. of Germany, thereby again attempting, in continuation of their previous methods, to scorn and discredit the Party.

3. The Polbureau records the rejection by Walcher and consorts of the conditions submitted by the C. C. The Open Letter of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. of December 19th

"The rejection of these conditions must inevitably entail the immediate expulsion of all the leading members of the Right wing from the Communist ranks.

The Presidium of the E. C. C. I. entrusts the C. C. of the C. P. G. with the practical execution of all measures essential in the interest of a speedy carrying out of the above resolution".

In accordance with the decision of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. of December 19th and the decision of the C. C. of December 14th, the Polbureau decides to expel Jacob Walcher, Paul Frölich, August Enderle, Max Köhler, A. Schreiner, H. Tittel, Alfred Schmidt and Rehbein from the Communist Party of Germany.

4. Paul Frölich, H. Tittel and Rehbein are called upon to resign immediately their Parliamentary seats conferred upon them by the Party.

5. Any collaboration by members with the expelled enemies of the Party, any participation in meetings, conferences with the excluded, any distribution of their leaflets, newspapers etc. is incompatible with the statutes and the discipline of the Party. In accordance with the decision of the National Conference in the case of Brandler-Thalheimer, this applies also to fractional collaboration with the above named.

6. The Polbureau instructs all the leading Party organs to adopt all measures in order, by ideological enlightenment, to get away from the Right Party enemies all the workers still adhering to the Right fraction, and to win them back by comradely and convincing persuasion for the line of the Party and the Comintern.

7. The Polbureau appeals to all Party leaders and Party organisations, to all Party members and to the whole revolutionary working class to take up the struggle against all enemies of Communism in the spirit of the decisions of the VI. World Congress and the Open Letter of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. of December 19th in order to create thereby one of the preconditions for the victory of the revolutionary class struggle.

Berlin, December 21st 1928.

Statement of the Polbureau of the C. P. G. Regarding the Decision in the Matter of Walcher, Frölich, Enderle etc.

Berlin, 27th December 1928.

In connection with the decision of the Political Bureau of the German Communist Party, with reference to Comrades Walcher, Frölich, Enderle and others, the Political Bureau makes the following statement:

The above named comrades demanded to be recognised as a special fraction and to be permitted to negotiate as such. The Political Bureau could of course not grant this request and insisted upon conducting the negotiations individually.

The questions put by the Central Committee were answered in a joint letter of Jakob Walcher, Paul Frölich, August Enderle, A. Schreiner, Hans Tittel, Alfred Schmidt and Rehbein as follows:

1. How can the Central Committee make the recognition of the decisions of the sixth World Congress a condition when the decisions are at present under discussion?

2. The programme of the Comintern allegedly demands the abandonment of transitional slogans, such as the control of production, etc. How can the Central Committee demand the abandonment of such slogans in face of the fact that there is no authentic text of the programme as yet current?

3. The Central Committee demands that the fractional struggle be abandoned and party discipline maintained. This Central Committee has lost the right to demand subordination and discipline from the party members. Such right could only be recognised after a complete reorganisation of the party.

The answer shows that the above-named comrades have completely broken with the Communist Party of Germany and with the Communist International.

Decision of the C. C. of the C. P. G. in the Matter of Brandler and Thalheimer.

(Adopted on 14th December, 1928.)

The Central Committee calls the attention of the Party and of the E. C. C. I. to the anti-Party activity of the former members of the C. P. G. and present members of the C. P. S. U. **Heinrich Brandler** and **August Thalheimer**. Under the leadership of the above-named the Right liquidatory group have in the last few weeks proceeded to the most serious acts of provocation, in which they openly proclaim that they regard it as the aim and purpose of their activity to cause the greatest injury to the Communist movement. With this they are resorting to calumny and vilification of the Communist International and of the C. P. G., conducting a propaganda, contrary to discipline, against the decisions of the VI. World Congress and the IV. Congress of the R. I. L. U., and attempting, by fractional gatherings and by holding their own meetings and conferences, by issuing their own newspapers, information sheets, leaflets and libellous documents against the Party, by supplying the social-democratic and bourgeois press with material against the C. P. G., and by a complete break with the most elementary principles of Party discipline to create confusion and disintegration in the Party.

The facts show the absolutely unendurable situation which would be created for a number of important organisations should the Right group continue to remain in the Party. For these reasons the C. C. has decided finally to put an end to the practices of the leading Right liquidators and to demand of them that they immediately cease their activity and submit unconditionally to Party discipline, failing which they will be immediately expelled from the Party.

The C. C. is also convinced that the expulsion of a number of leading Right liquidators from the Party can be of complete effect only if at the same time the two chief leaders of the Right group, **Brandler** and **Thalheimer** are likewise immediately driven out of the Communist movement. The enemies of the Party, **Brandler** and **Thalheimer**, have nothing to do with the C. P. G.

The C. C. therefore reminds the members of the decision of the National Conference of November 4th and 5th in the matter of **Brandler**, in which it is expressly declared:

"It is a matter of course that **Brandler**, as well as **Thalheimer**, are outside of the Party and may not attend any meetings of the Party. Comrades who have any connection with them thereby openly proclaim that they support the liquidatory policy of **Brandler**, and the attention of such comrades is called to the consequences of such conduct."

The C. C. instructs the Party organisations and the Party functionaries immediately to take measures against the activity, injurious to the Party, of the Right liquidators in their districts and localities, as they have to be carried out on the basis of the statutes and in the sense of the decisions of the National Conference, in order to render ineffective the further activity of these anti-Party elements and to purge the Party of all its enemies.

The C. C. of the C. P. G. is of the opinion that the activity which **Brandler** and **Thalheimer** are now conducting in Germany is incompatible with membership of a section of the Communist International. The C. C. of the C. P. G. therefore requests the C. C. of the C. P. S. U. immediately to take steps in order to put an end to this intolerable state of affairs.

Berlin, 14th December, 1928.

Central Committee of the C. P. of Germany.

Resolution of the C. C. of the C. P. of Italy on the Happenings in the C. P. of Germany.

The C. C. of the C. P. I. has occupied itself with the happenings in the Communist Party of Germany and records its attitude towards them as follows:

1. In judging the recent inner happenings in the C. P. G. regard must be had to the political situation and the tasks confronting the working class and the Communist Party in this situation, as well as to the political line to which the Party must keep. This line was laid down in an unambiguous manner by the VI. World Congress. The VI. World Congress decided that the C. P. G. must conduct a political action in the working class which will place it at the head of the new revolutionary mass wave of which the first signs are now to be seen. For this purpose it must keep to a political line the main features of which are:

a) More energetic, fiercer and intensified fight against the social democracy in order to exterminate the roots which it still has in the country, in order completely to expose it as a party of the bourgeoisie which, supported by the apparatus of the bourgeois state, with which it is merging, is endeavouring to prevent the realisation of the unity of the working class on the basis of the revolutionary class struggle;

b) more vehement and consistent fight against the Right deviation and against opportunism, which are the remnants of social-democratic ideology and social-democratic influence in the ranks of the advance-guard of the proletariat;

c) overcoming of every tendency to wish not to see the danger of opportunism and not to fight it with the necessary determination.

The leading organs of the International and all Communist Parties must afford the C. P. G. every support which is necessary in order to enable it to fulfil these tasks as the situation demands.

2. The Right elements of the C. P. G. immediately after the VI. World Congress, commenced a big, open fractional activity within the Party. This fact cannot be regarded as due to chance, nor can it be explained as being induced by the inner regime of the Party, by the manner in which certain prominent representatives of the Right have been treated etc. This fact can only be explained by the intention of the Right to set up within the Party and the working class, openly and on a broad scale, their own programme and their own political line — which the VI. Congress condemned and rejected — against the programme and the political line of the Party and the International, and for this purpose to make use of the difficulties of the situation.

The setting up of the programme of the Right against the programme of the Party and of the International has taken place in the form of an attack on the Party, and the Right elements have gone so far as to formulate the proposal of a separation of their group, or a portion of this group, from the Party and the formation of an intermediate group between the Communist Party and the social democracy. The fractional activity which they have developed is, moreover, incompatible with the discipline of a revolutionary organisation.

The C. P. G. must repel the attack of the Right with the greatest energy, overcome every hesitation in this direction, place in the foreground the necessity of a wide-scale ideological, political campaign against the Right deviation and against opportunism, weld together the forces of the Party on the basis of the revolutionary line which has been laid down for it by the International, and adopt all those measures which are necessary in order to guarantee that this line be carried out unconditionally and without hesitation.

3. The Right elements, although they openly say that they are against the decisions of the VI. World Congress, are attempting to cover their political attack by a campaign of criticism of the inner regime of the Party and of the International. They seek to act as if they had forgotten that the necessity to rectify and to overcome the shortcomings which still exist in our movement and to improve the inner regime of the Party and of the Communist International was pointed out by the VI. Congress, which exercised a severe self-criticism in this connection. But the questions of the inner regime could not be regarded by the VI. World Congress and cannot be regarded by us separately from the questions of the political

line. Revolutionary political line, fight without vacillation against opportunism and the regime of a sound inner-Party democracy are things which cannot be separated from one another.

4. The so-called "Hamburg incident" has acquired a great importance in the recent events in the C. P. G. These incidents have, according to their nature, revealed two things: a) a case of corruption in the apparatus of the Party; b) a mistake on the part of Comrade Thälmann in his relations to the leading group of the C. C. Both things are quite distinct from one another. To mix one with the other, and to use the Hamburg incidents as a justification for a political fight against Comrade Thälmann, against the leading group of the C. C. and against the line of the Party could only have been done for purposes of political speculation.

This, however, is what the Right has tried to do. This fact compelled the Presidium of the International to intervene with its resolution of October 6th in order to alter the decisions adopted by the C. C. on September 26th. With this decision there was not only an error committed in the manner of judging the Hamburg incidents, but a heavy blow was given to the Party in that it was decided to publish a measure which, in an unjustified and thoughtless manner, compromised the authority of Comrade Thälmann in face of the masses.

The manner in which the C. C. of the C. P. G. had estimated and settled the so-called "Thälmann case" before the intervention of the International, leads to the following considerations:

a) The C. C. of the C. P. G. had not noticed that, after the VI. World Congress the fact which should have dominated the inner life of the Party was the fight for the decisions of the World Congress, and did not offer any resistance to the attempts which the Right undertook in order to prevent this fight, whereby they speculated on the Hamburg incident.

b) The "conciliators", (Ewert and others), who during the VI. World Congress had accused the majority of the C. C. and of the Polit-Bureau of conducting a group policy, allowed themselves to be guided, in dealing with the Hamburg incident and the Thälmann case, obviously not by the interest of the Party, but by a group interest. In this manner, instead of mobilising all forces against the attacks of the Right, they covered this attack and favoured it. This fact proves that the attitude of the "conciliators" is dangerous and injurious and must be overcome.

c) The leading group of the Party, the Pol-bureau and the C. C. have proved that they did not possess the political consolidation and inner unity which they ought to have possessed. The fact that the resolution of September 26th — which, objectively and not on account of the moment at which it was adopted, must be designated as a crime against the Party — was adopted unanimously and without opposition, is a proof of this. This weakness, which to a great extent is to be attributed to the place occupied by the "group struggle" within the leadership itself, must be overcome. It will only be overcome under the following conditions:

a) The political questions, and especially the necessity to develop the attack against the social democracy effectively among the masses, must be pushed to the forefront in the whole inner life of the Party.

b) All forces of the Party must be mobilised on the ideological and political field in order to repel the attack of the Right and to overcome every tendency to become reconciled with the Right.

c) Every endeavour must be made in order to do away with any form of group policy and to rally together the sound forces of the Party on the basis of a regime of inner democracy and according to the directives which have been given by the VI. World Congress to the C. P. G.

5. The happenings in the C. P. G. have proved that there exist groups in the Communist International which not only do not recognise the correctness of the decisions of the VI. World Congress, but also harbour the intention to fight against these decisions and for this purpose to employ every means, not excluding the means of open fractional struggle. This fact proves the necessity of conducting in all Parties of the International the fight for the decisions of the VI. World Congress, for their exact carrying out and against any attempt to revise them.

The Liquidatory Tendencies in Japan.

By Sen Katayama.

Yamakawa, the leader of the Liquidators in Japan, had already revealed his liquidatory tendency after the series of reprisals against Communists in 1923, particularly during the big earthquake of September in the same year. There were riots throughout the country, caused by the earthquake and the conflagrations which had devastated Tokyo and Yokohama. In order to divert the anger of the population, driven to blank despair, government agents got to work to incite the unenlightened masses against the helpless and poverty-stricken Korean workers, organising pogroms in all the districts smitten by the earthquake, whilst police and soldiers went about killing Communists (thus, for instance, at Kameido 9 of our best comrades were murdered). It was precisely at that critical moment, which called for determined action, that Yamakawa declared himself suddenly for "national unity". Furthermore, when the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union had sent the steamship "Lenin" with foodstuffs and other necessities to relieve the distressed workers of Tokyo and Yokohama and the government had sent back the steamer, Yamakawa, instead of denouncing before the masses the wanton brutality of the government, went out of his way to declare: "We should not like to see the steamship 'Lenin' sent again to Japan!" Is it any wonder that under Yamakawa's leadership the Japanese Communists lost their organisation in April 1924?

The publication of the "Rono" monthly review was started for the purpose of combating the revolutionary Left Wing organisations. At first, however, the "Rono" pretended, and very skilfully, to combat only the ultra-Leftism of Kuroki, pointing out the Left wing deviations which were carried out at one time by the Left wing organisations. Yet even after the mistakes of Kuroki had long since been disposed of with the aid of the Comintern, the "Rono" review began to attack with increased bitterness the revolutionary Left wing organisations, denouncing the latter as "ultra-Left dissidents". All these attacks levelled by Yamakawa and his "Rono" monthly review against the revolutionary organisations are strengthening the offensive, the oppression and persecution of the Tanaka Government. Thus, the "Rono" group with Yamakawa at the head have really given their aid, not to the proletarian movement, but to the reactionary Tanaka Government.

The "Rono" monthly review makes a shameful use of Marxian terminology and describes itself as the "theoretical organ of militant Marxists", whilst at the same time it conducts a furious campaign against the Communist Party and the revolutionary Left Wing organisations.

Taking advantage of the situation brought about by the governmental terror, and particularly taking advantage of the hard position of the Communists harassed by the brutal law under which active Communists are condemned to death, — the "Rono" group leaders have decided to organise their own Proletarian Mass party, the Mussan Taishuto.

The "Mussan Taishuto" is the child of Japanese social-reformism. Yet it is even more dangerous to the cause of the workers and peasants by reason of the fact that it professes to be "Marxist-Leninist". It thereby wishes to attract the masses of the workers into their liquidatory camp in order to wreck the Communist movement and Communist organisations.

The liquidators are boasting of the growth of the membership of the "Mussan Taishuto". Yet the Mussann Taishuto grows for the simple reason that the "Shakai Minishuto" (Social-Democratic Party) enjoys the aid of the government and the assistance of the International Labour Office of Geneva. Neither the "Rono" nor the "Mussan Taishuto" are persecuted or repressed by the authorities; in fact they are helping the reactionary government in suppressing of the revolutionary organisations. Under such 'favourable' conditions it is not to be wondered that the renegade Suzuki, general secretary of "Mussan Taishuto", talks of its success.

The Japanese workers and peasants, in spite of the barbarous persecution and the reprisals of the reactionary Tanaka

Government, are turning more and more towards the Left. They are staunchly supporting the Communist Party, the revolutionary organisations and the Left wing press, making contributions from their meagre wages. Newspaper editors are arrested and newspapers are confiscated; the best active lighters -- over 500 comrades -- are imprisoned pending the so-called "Communist trial". In spite of all the persecutions and oppression, the Communist Party continues to grow both in strength and influence. The Left wing organisations, having improved their fighting methods, are continuing to wage the struggle with the growing support of the masses. The liquidators will not be able to go on very long with their deception of the masses by means of Left wing slogans and phrases; they will disappear as soon as the rise of the revolutionary tide sweeps reactionary Japan and arouses the awakening masses of workers and peasants.

Being a liquidator, Yamakawa attacks not only the Communist Party of Japan, but he also dares to attack the Communist International.

Yamakawa and his "Rono" group are acting just the same as did the Mensheviks in Russia after the revolution of 1905, not only as regards their political platform but also by their actual attacks upon the Communist Party and the Communist mass organisations, denouncing the Left wing leaders as "ultra-Left splitters" and "sectarians". The Russian Mensheviks, although they were liquidators who urged the dissolution of the underground Bolshevik Party and advocated exclusively legal activity, were nevertheless unable to stay in Tsarist Russia. They had to preach their liquidatory principles in exile abroad. It is a different case with the Yamakawa group, who are allowed full freedom to advocate their liquidatory theory under the regime of the reactionary Tanaka Government. This shows that they stand quite close to the ruling class and that they are not harmful to the Tanaka Government but rather useful in the suppression of the Communist movement. The Menshevik theory and the liquidatory tendencies of Yamakawa should be thoroughly exposed before the Japanese proletariat and peasantry, and discredited forever.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Activity of the Political Secretariat of the E. C. C. I.

I.

The Lessons of the Lodz Strike.

The Political Secretariat, as well as the secretariat of the Baltic countries of the E. C. C. I. dealt in a number of meetings with the lessons of the Lodz strike. After exhaustive discussions by both bodies a resolution on the lessons of the Lodz strike was adopted at the meeting of the Political Secretariat of 10th December, 1928. The resolution declares in the first place that the Lodz strike constitutes a highly important stage in the fight of the Polish working class against the P. P. S. and against the fascist dictatorship. It shows, on the other hand, that the C. P. of Poland has succeeded in gaining considerable influence over the textile workers of Poland. The Lodz strike without doubt signalises a sharp accentuation of class antagonisms in Poland, which unmistakably characterises the beginning of an upsurge of the political labour movement and already demonstrates the leading role of the Communist Party in the approaching social struggles.

The resolution then proceeds to record the international importance of the Lodz strike which, in view of the strike movement in all capitalist countries, represents a decided counter-offensive of the proletariat against the employers and the fascist regime. On the other hand the strike also confirms the correctness of the decisions of the IV. Congress of the R. I. L. U. as well as the decisions of the VI. Congress of the Comintern.

The resolution then declares that the Party organisation has succeeded in skilfully linking up the campaign against the penal provisions with the political fight against the fascist regime. The resolution further states:

"The Political line of the Lodz Party organisation was correct, and thereby the influence of the Party as well as its leading role during the Lodz strike were guaranteed. The Lodz Party organisation has accomplished an enormous

task, has revealed very high qualities in this strike and succeeded in bringing the broad masses of the proletariat under its leadership."

The resolution then deals with the details of the preparation for the Lodz struggle. The Lodz Party organisation has in general acted correctly. Nevertheless the resolution further declares that a number of weaknesses and faults, which must not be repeated, were revealed in the practical leadership of the fight. The most important of these faults are: the legalist attitude of the Red fraction of the strike leadership towards the P. P. S. trade unions as well as an incorrect conception of the united front tactics. These legalist tendencies mean in practice, "that the Lodz organisation of the C. P. has not sufficiently appropriated the role of the independent leadership of the strike struggles of the proletariat".

As a result of these faults, the resolution further states, the treacherous trade union leaders were able to win a greater influence over the leadership of the strike than was warranted by the revolutionary mood of the masses. At the same time the resolution emphasises that the accusation, which has been raised from other quarters against the Lodz organisation, of an alleged underestimation of the revolutionary mood of the Lodz workers is not justified.

It was owing to this legalist attitude that representatives of the P. P. S. unions were admitted into the strike leadership of the textile workers without being elected by delegate meetings, and in such a number as gave them the possibility to sabotage the strike. A further error was the failure to make full use of the possibility, given by the situation, to seize the initiative for the formation of a united textile trade union base on the class struggle as against the compromising and yellow U. P. R., P. P. S. and other trade unions. At the same time it was a mistake on the part of the Lodz organisation not to attach any importance to sending delegations of the striking workers to all parts of Poland and abroad.

The next part of the resolution deals with the shortcomings of the organisational work of the C. P. of Poland which were revealed by the Lodz strike. Of these the most important are: weaknesses of the factory nuclei, which work feebly and do not sufficiently embrace the big factories, incorrect formation of factory nuclei, inadequate work among the working women and amongst sympathisers. But the weakest point in the whole strike is the fact that the Lodz struggle was not supported by other working class centres, especially by Warsaw, that in particular the Party organisation of Warsaw did not succeed in organising a solidarity strike in support of the Lodz struggle.

The resolution then emphasises that the directives which the secretariat of the C. C. of the C. P. of Poland issued in connection with the Lodz strike were correct. At the same time it is said, however, that the fact that no solidarity movements arose in other working class centres rendered it easier for the fascist government to throttle the strike with the help of the P. P. S. leaders.

At the same time the resolution declares that the E. C. C. I. considers the resolution of the Polbureau of the C. C. of the C. P. P. on the question of the Lodz strike to be correct on the whole. At the same time, however, attention is called to the fact that the resolution of the Polbureau does not to a sufficient extent analyse and criticise the errors committed by the Lodz organisation, "which bear witness to the existence of Right legalist trade union tendencies in the C. P. of Poland against which a determined struggle must be waged".

The resolution further points out that a fight must be waged against those tendencies which were revealed in Warsaw in connection with the building workers strike and the movement of the metal workers which failed to come to a strike. In the first case sufficient regard was not paid to the concrete situation, and in the second case the necessary timely preparation was lacking.

The resolution declares in conclusion that an all-round study of the experiences of the Lodz strike and its mistakes, as well as the mistakes committed in Warsaw, are of the greatest importance for the C. P. of Poland in order that they may be avoided in the future. The resolution ends by laying stress on the great work achieved by the Young Communist League in Lodz during the Lodz strike, but declares that its campaign was not sufficiently closely linked up with the campaign of the Party, "whereas this connection is particularly necessary in times of a sharpening of the class struggle".

(To be continued.)

The Comintern Exhibition.

The whole Press of the Communist Parties, as well as the Press sympathising with the revolutionary labour movement, are requested to reprint the following in a prominent position. Ed.

In connection with the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Communist International there is being organised in February, 1929, in Moscow an exhibition consisting of the following two main features:

1. Historical museum, which will be incorporated as a permanent part of the Revolutionary Museum in Moscow.
2. Press exhibition.

The Comintern exhibition is to be neither a display of "curiosities" nor a collection of "antiquities". The exhibition is to be a lively display of the living revolutionary labour movement, the graphic representation of the revolutionary class struggles extending into the present time and growing in force and energy. It sets itself the task of giving a permanent record of the most important events in the struggle of the working and peasant masses of the world and of its revolutionary general staff, of the Communist Parties and of the Communist International in the past decade, to present them before the eyes of the struggling and learning workers and peasants in order that they may acquire from them the courage and experience necessary for the fresh tasks confronting them.

The Historical Museum will be subdivided into three periods according to the division laid down by the VI. World Congress for the development of the last decade:

1. The period of the intense crisis of capitalism, of the revolutionary offensive of the proletariat, of the victorious liquidation of the imperialist intervention in Russia, and of the victorious maintenance of the Soviet Union. (Highest point in general, 1921.)
2. Period of the gradual stabilisation and of the offensive of capitalism against the proletariat driven to the defensive; more rapid reconstruction of the Soviet Union.
3. Period of surpassing of pre-war production in the capitalist countries, connected with intensification of the class antagonisms in the interior of the capitalist countries, as well as of imperialist and colonial antagonisms and of danger of war; surpassing of pre-war production and more rapid progress of socialist reconstruction in the Soviet Union.

This division into three sections, which of course is conceived only as a general characterisation of the principles of development, is to be the basis for the collecting and grouping of the objects destined for the Historical Museum in the sense that in the first place such objects are to be included as relate to the social-economic facts and historical events which are specially characteristic of one or the other of the above named periods, or have acquired special importance in the history of the Labour movement of the country in question. (General world-political situation, economic-political situation of the various countries, strike movement, great national or international campaigns, demonstrations, revolts etc.). For the Historical Museum, therefore, the following come in question:

Photographs, drawings, caricatures and other objects of art, membership books, contribution stamps, badges, admission tickets, placards, legal and illegal handbills and leaflets, all sorts of documents, (e. g. such as relate to police prohibitions, provocations etc.) reports and all other objects connected with:

The soviet movement, shop stewards, March struggle in 1921 in Central Germany, occupation of factories in Italy etc. (first period), with the struggles of 1923 in Germany, with the fascist seizure of power in Italy, with the great defeat in Bulgaria etc. (second period), with the numerous strike and protest movements of the workers in all countries, with demonstrations and collisions in the streets and elsewhere, with the fights of the workers against oppression and exploitation in the factories and workshops, against blacklegging, against factory police and factory spying, against food and house profiteers, against the police, class justice, militarism (recruits' movement, fraternisation with the "enemy") against democratic Parliament (revolutionary Parliamentarism), against the reformist leaders in the trade unions and in the social democracy, against fascism, with the movement of sympathy with the Soviet Union, with the fight against imperialist war in general and war against the Soviet Union in particular, with

the united front efforts of the workers among themselves and with the peasantry, with the unemployed and with the colonial peoples, with the expressions of international proletarian solidarity and rendering of aid (solidarity strikes, demonstrations, collecting of money etc.).

Further, the exhibits are also to include all kinds of reports, statistics, charts and diagrams concerning the economic development, strikes, wages and price movements, unemployed movements etc. special numbers of newspapers, articles, monographs, pamphlets, books etc. possessing any historical value or illustrating an important stage of development or event.

The Press Exhibition will include periodicals, factory papers, workers' correspondence, bills and leaflets, placards, drawings, illustrations, caricatures, postcards, books and pamphlets etc. The collection and grouping of these exhibits are to be carried out in such a way that, as far as possible, the ten years' development in these fields of activity will be shown. This applies above all to periodical papers, factory newspapers and workers' correspondence, which as far as possible are to be so selected that they reflect the separate most important phases of development.

A further and very important point of view for collecting all exhibits intended for the Press exhibition is the consideration to be given to Party campaigns, i. e., both national and international campaigns (campaign against the compensation of the princes in Germany, general strike in Great Britain, Sacco and Vanzetti Campaign etc.). Single copies are to be sent of particularly successful numbers of newspapers and factory newspapers, also workers' correspondence, leaflets, brochures relating to such campaigns. Of course statistics and other data on the development of newspapers, factory newspapers and correspondence, as well as photographs, drawings, reports, documents etc. relating to the militant life of the newspapers and factory newspapers (destruction by fascists, recruiting work for new readers etc.) are to be sent in.

The exhibition, which is to be opened on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Comintern, is not to be a casual thing for the moment of the jubilee, but the basis for a permanent, continuing and further developing work. The historical parts of the exhibition will not only remain, they will be continually extended and perfected by the objects coming in in the course of the further development of the revolutionary movement. They will, by their existence and by their further development, as well as by the continual employment of different parts for the purpose of travelling exhibitions, be a lively text book from which the workers and peasants, in the first place of the Soviet Union but also of the rest of the world, can become acquainted with the position, with the life and the conditions of struggle and with the possibilities of development of the workers and peasants of all countries of the world.

It follows from this that this exhibition can fulfil its purpose only if it is actively supported by all workers and by all workers' organisations. We therefore call upon all workers and peasants, all workers' and peasants' organisations, to place at the disposal of the exhibition all objects which could be of value in the sense above-mentioned, either by sending them through the Communist Party of their country or despatching them direct to the address:

Publishing Department of the Comintern, Moscow, Mochovaya 16 (For the Exhibition).

The Communist Parties are requested immediately to adopt all measures necessary in order that the collection of objects for exhibition shall proceed with the best success and the greatest expedition. They are further requested, by placing at the disposal of the exhibition suitable material from the Party archives, especially such material as relates to the pre-history (history of the inception) of the Comintern and its sections, to render possible a complete as possible representation of their development.

Finally, we call upon all artists of the world who sympathise with the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, to contribute to the success of the Comintern Exhibition as far as they are able by placing at our disposal any objects of art in their possession relating to the life and struggle of the proletariat and of the revolutionary peasantry (drawings, reproductions, engravings, mimographic and other works of revolutionary art etc.).

The Third Conference of the C. P. of Palestine.

By N. M.

On the 1st and 2nd of December there took place, under illegal conditions, the Third Conference of the C. P. of Palestine; 24 delegates from different parts of the country participated in it.

The Conference was able to record that the increased persecutions of the imperialist police, the wholesale arrests, the brutal sentences and deportations had been unable to achieve their object, the annihilation of the Communist movement in Palestine. As a result of the systematic terror, which is not only applied to organised Communists but also to members of the trade union organisation "Workers Fraction", of the Red Aid, and even to the "unity movement", the Party has to record a certain impeding of its activity and of its influence; but it defies reaction by means of a closer welding of its cadres and by systematic propaganda among the workers.

The question of the formation of a firm revolutionary cadre of Jewish and Arab workers and the organisational measures for the consolidation of the Party in the approaching struggles were the centre-point of attention at the Conference. The Conference severely condemned the defeatist moods penetrating the Party, obviously under the influence of the petty-bourgeois surroundings, and unanimously expressed full confidence in the Central Committee.

In the political resolution the Conference states that the most important political forecasts of the Party have been fully confirmed: growing impoverishment of the working class and of the peasantry, aggressive attitude of the Zionist bourgeoisie, accentuation of reaction in the country, growth of fascism, all this confronts the working class with serious tasks. The utopian and treacherous policy of the labour leaders resulted in the fact that the working class is facing the reactionary wave practically unarmed. They do not possess the international class organisations which could effectively offer resistance to the imperialist government and the bourgeoisie.

The Zionist trade union organisation "Histadruth", whose leaders are still striving for class peace and are sacrificing the workers' interests upon the Zionist altar, is losing a portion of its followers, but the workers who leave them are for the greater part passive and not inclined to join new organisations. The Arabian workers' organisations are developing very slowly, although precisely among the Arab workers there is to be noticed a striving for organisation.

The organising of Arab workers is of special importance owing to the fact that the leaders of the Arabian national movement are getting more and more pro-imperialist since the Seventh Arabian Congress. The Arabian bourgeoisie and the "Notables" would like to conclude a compromise with the British government at the expense of the workers and peasants, in return for which they are even ready to recognise the mandatory rule and actively to collaborate in it.

The political resolution further mentions the war preparations of British imperialism, which find special expression in the construction of the Haifa harbour. The ideological war preparations against the Soviet Union in Palestine are made by the Zionists and especially by the extreme-Left Zionist wing "Paole Zion" who are conducting an unscrupulous campaign against the proletarian government.

The Conference accepted a report on the VI. World Congress of the Communist International. It expressed its solidarity with the Congress decisions and especially welcomed the adoption of the Comintern Programme, which is to be the object of thorough study in all the Party nuclei. With regard to the colonial question a through discussion is to be commenced in the Party literature.

Finally, the Party Council, which is to assist the Central Committee, was elected and it was resolved to issue a Manifesto to the workers calling upon them to enter the Communist Party.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

The Mexican Trade Union Federation and the Giles Government.

The Congress of the Mexican Trade Union Federation has decided to break completely with the government and to combat the president of the Republic, Portes Giles. The Congress further decided to recall all members of the Trade Union Federation from the Federal Government and from the provincial governments, and also to withdraw all delegations from the parity Commissions, consisting of representatives of the workers and employers, which were set up to deal with the new Labour Law.

The trade unionists who spoke at the Congress accused Giles of harbouring the intention of destroying the Trade Union Federation, and maintained that "he is subsidising the Communists in order to upset the unity of the Labour movement in Mexico". Eulalio Martines, who was a member of the delegation of the Labour Party to the Soviet Union, declared that Portes Giles had paid the expenses of the delegation of the Independent Labour Party for the journey to Soviet Russia, in order to discredit the Trade Union Federation. Martines, who formerly attacked the Soviet Union, is to-day attacking Portes Giles because the latter appointed the well-known revolutionary artist Diego Rivera head of the Arts Department.

The congress of bureaucrats of the Mexican Trade Union Federation reveals the impotent fury of Morones and his friends who, as a result of the recent events in Mexico, have lost their lucrative posts in the State apparatus.

In the government of president Calles, Morones had the post of Minister for Labour and Trade. His activity was confined to cramping and limiting the labour movement, especially in the factories and undertakings belonging to capitalists from the United States. When the legislative period of Calles' presidency expired and Obregon came forward as a candidate, a sharp conflict arose between the latter and Morones, although this struggle did not possess any serious social importance. Of the petty bourgeois politician Obregon it can hardly be said that he stood more to the Right than the corrupt "Labour leader" who wished himself to become president.

After Obregon had been "elected" he resorted to a number of measures aiming at limiting the influence of the trade union bureaucrats over the government and the town councils. Morones had already found it necessary to resign; a number of his friends were removed from the government posts which they had filled. The funds of the "Gruppo del Accion", which the leaders of the Trade Union Federation had joined, became exhausted, whereupon squabbles commenced between the various trade union officials. The campaign against Morones, who was accused of having participated in the murder of Obregon, further accentuated the crisis in the ranks of the Trade Union Federation, from which some trade unions severed.

The election of Portes Giles as president, who continued the policy of Obregon, worsened still further the position of Morones and his group. This of course was not owing to the "radicalism" of Giles, whom Morones represents as being almost a communist. Judging from the reports of the American press, he will continue the policy of Obregon, that is, the policy of establishing bourgeois "order" and arriving at a compromise with the catholic church and with the American capitalists. If Portes Giles, when he was governor of the State of Tamaulipa, fell out with the Left elements of the trade union movement, this is only to be attributed to his desire to injure Morones.

Portes Giles, who embodies the policy of bourgeois "normalisation", carried off the victory. The Mexican bourgeoisie which is beginning to arise, finds itself no longer compelled to share power with the clique of "labour" leaders. The latter, who have lost contact with the masses, feel that they have no ground under their feet. This new situation opens up a

great perspective for the Communist Party of Mexico. At the beginning of November the organ of the Communist Party, "Machete", whose circulation has increased from a few hundred at its foundation to 12,000, published an appeal of the United Committee for the Convocation of a Workers' and Peasants' Congress (which is under the influence of the Communists) for the mobilisation of the forces of the workers of Mexico and above all for the restoration to a sound condition of the trade union movement. As the Committee already embraces about 200,000 workers, there is good reason to hope that it will carry on successful work. This appeal has been signed, among other organisations, by the "National Peasants' League", which is under the influence of the Communist Party, as well as by the Trade Union Federations of individual states.

Also deserving of special notice is the action of the Communist deputy Labord, who exposed the anti-proletarian policy of the petty bourgeoisie who are in power and their cowardly attitude towards the capitalists of the United States.

All this bears witness to the energetic revolutionary activity of the young Communist Party of this country, in which there exist not only domestic but also important foreign political, imperialist antagonisms.

TEN YEARS AGO

The Founding of the Communist Party of Germany.

By Wilhelm Pieck (Berlin).

In the course of December, 1918, the antagonism between the Spartacus League and the Independent Socialist Party of Germany became more and more acute. Both at the first Soviet Congress and especially in the Government the leaders of the Independent Socialist Party shielded Ebert, Scheidemann and Co., whose counter-revolutionary policy became ever more pronounced. This activity reached its highest point in the bloody attacks on the sailors on Christmas Eve, which attacks were carried out on the orders of the government and called forth tremendous indignation among the workers.

As the Independent Socialist Party leaders remained quite passive in face of the attack on the sailors undertaken by the government, and showed no intention of withdrawing from the government as a protest against this attack, the Spartacus League was compelled to break completely with the leaders of the Independent Socialist Party. Nevertheless, a letter was addressed to the Central Committee of the Independent Socialist Party criticising the party policy and demanding the convocation of a party congress. An answer was demanded by the 25th December.

Comrade Jogiches succeeded during these weeks in getting into contact with all the districts throughout the country, thus creating the prerequisites for converting the Spartacus League into a nation-wide organisation. He continually held conferences and discussions with representatives from the districts in order to create a strong organisational backing for the Spartacus League. Among the strongest districts were, in addition to Berlin, the Ruhr area, Chemnitz, the lower Rhine, the waterside district (Hamburg, Bremen, Kiel, etc.) the North West, Hessen-Frankfurt, Stuttgart, Braunschweig, Upper Silesia, Leipzig, Dresden, Thuringia, East Prussia, Magdeburg and Bavaria.

It became ever more clear that it was necessary to found a separate party in order to give the movement a greater organisational consolidation. But Jogiches and also Rosa Luxemburg were not much taken with this idea. They endeavoured rather to achieve their old aim: to exert such a strong influence on the workers within the Independent Socialist Party that the policy of the Spartacus League would be put through in the party and the leadership of the party fall into hands of the Spartacus Leaguers. The prerequisite for this was again the convocation of a national party congress of the Independent Socialist Party in order that the party should have an opportunity of expressing its opinion regarding the policy of the

leaders. The Spartacus group had repeatedly raised this demand. As the leaders of the Independent Socialist Party had not sent any reply to this demand by the 25th December, but on the other hand had declared, on 24th December in the "Freiheit", that, owing to difficulties of travel and communication and the election campaign, they could not hold the Party Congress, it was decided to convene a national conference of the Spartacus League for the 29th December, at which the League should decide its attitude to the crisis in the Independent Socialist Party, to the programme, to the National Assembly and to the international conference at Berne.

The National Conference was held on the 29th and 30th December in the Festsaal of the Prussian Diet. There were present 83 representatives from 46 localities, three representatives of the Red Soldiers' League, one representative of the Youth and sixteen foreign guests. The proceedings on the 29th December were held in private in order to discuss the question of forming a separate party. After a short debate it was decided, against three votes, to form a party.

There were differences of opinion regarding the name of the party, Rosa Luxemburg and Jogiches being in favour of the name "Socialist Labour Party", while a number of other delegates were for calling the Party the "Communist Party of Germany". A committee was therefore set up which, after long discussion, decided on the name "Communist Party of Germany" with the addition (Spartacus League). The private session was interrupted in order that the delegates could attend the funeral of the sailors who had been shot on the 24th and 25th December.

On Monday 30th December there commenced the open proceedings of the National Conference, at which Karl Liebknecht delivered the report on the crisis in the Independent Socialist Party of Germany. Radek, in a long speech, greeted the conference in the name of the Russian Party. The founding of the Party was then decided on without debate in the open session. Comrade Eberlein delivered the report on the form of organisation, pointing out that the Party organisation, in contradistinction to the social democratic organisation, which existed only for election purposes, must be based on the factories and workshops, and "communist units" must be created in the factories.

There were very lively discussions at the National Conference on the question of participation in the elections to the National Assembly. The Central Committee of the Spartacus League were in favour of participation, in order thereby to have the possibility of mobilising the masses against the Government and against the National Assembly. But the reasons and arguments advanced for participation did not carry weight with the majority of the delegates to the conference, most of whom brought forward the argument that the present was not the time for elections, but that the fight against the National Assembly must be conducted by means of mass strikes and machine guns. Participation in the election, it was argued, would only confuse the workers and divert them from the fight.

When the question was put to the vote only 15 were in favour of participation while 62 were against. Comrade Luxemburg and Comrade Jogiches were exceedingly disappointed at this result; they saw in this attitude a lack of understanding for the tasks of the Party and feared that the prevalence of such sentiments would lead to a dangerous development of the Party. But they did not let it come to a split of the participants at the conference, as they were convinced that the Party members would very soon come to see the incorrectness of this decision.

The conference then proceeded to deal with the question of the programme and the political situation, on which Rosa Luxemburg delivered the report. Already on December 14th there had appeared in the "Rote Fahne" a programme the main contents of which had been drawn up by Rosa Luxemburg. The Programme was adopted unanimously. The conference also dealt with the question of the economic struggles and the International Conference at Berne.

At the conclusion of the conference experienced some delay in finishing off its agenda when it was informed that the revolutionary trade union functionaries, under the leadership of

Ledebour, Däumig, Müller and some others, were trying to create feeling in favour of founding their own party in order thereby to prevent the functionaries from joining the Communist Party. It was objected by these elements that the refusal to take part in the election and the alleged putschist tactics, as well as the name which had been decided on for the Party, rendered it impossible for the functionaries to join the Party. When it became apparent that it would be quite futile to negotiate further with these elements, the national conference decided to make a sharp protest against the politically crooked dealings of these sham radical elements at the head of the functionaries and called upon the functionaries to join the Party.

Therewith the work of the national conference was ended, the **Communist Party of Germany** was founded, and now the work of mobilising the working masses for the organisation of the revolution, the building up of a mass Party was to begin. The Spartacus movement had now yet another open enemy, the Independent Socialist Party of Germany, which eagerly joined in the incitement against it. The founding of the Communist Party signalised to the bourgeoisie and the government socialists an intensified fight on the part of the working masses. For this reason their whole efforts were directed towards annihilating the Spartacus movement and its leaders.

The incitement to murder Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht was carried on quite openly. Placards openly calling for their murder were posted up in the streets. Among the soldiers a price was put on the heads of the two leaders of the Spartacus movement. They were characterised as the originators of every ill, while it was claimed that with their removal would disappear all the misery the country was suffering. Thus a whole crowd of spics and vile assassins dogged the steps of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, and it required the greatest vigilance in order to protect the two comrades from them. But they both rejected all proposals to escape somewhat from this persecution. They wished to remain in close contact with the masses in order not only to assist them in their fight against the counter-revolution, but to lead this fight themselves with all their energy.

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

The Conference of the International Co-Operative Alliance in Geneva.

By E. Varjas (Moscow).

The Conference of the International Co-operative Alliance in Geneva is over.

When the capitalist economy of Europe was partially stabilised, the co-operative societies got a chance of recovering from the losses sustained through the post-war crisis and were able to extend their activity. The years 1924 and 1925 were especially favourable for the West-European Co-operative societies. The growth in the turnover of co-operative business still continues in the majority of countries, although only in modest measure. The pressure of the trusts upon the co-operative societies has, however, increased, particularly within the last two or three years. A special danger to the co-operative societies is constituted by the formation of rings and the co-ordination in a trust of the foodstuffs industry, which not only dictates its terms to the co-operative societies, but also often declines to deliver goods to them.

The business boom in past years has convinced the managers of the co-operative societies that the development of the co-operative societies in Europe is possible within the pale of capitalist economy. Proceeding from this assumption, the leaders of the movement deny the necessity of the co-operative societies' working in conjunction with Labour. They expect fruitful results from the collaboration of the International Co-operative Alliance with the economic departments of the League of Nations, to which they look for help in their fight against trusts and rings.

It is, therefore, comprehensible that at the conference of the Alliance the proposition of the delegation of the co-operative

societies of the Soviet Union, that collaboration with the economic departments of the League of Nations should be suspended and collaboration of the Alliance with the Trade-Union Internationals be commenced, was rejected.

The question of working out the programme of the Alliance was discussed afresh at the conference. The delegation of the Soviet Union proposed that this programme should aim at realising the objects of proletarian interests and pursue a distinctly proletarian policy. It should also stress the necessity of a systematic fight against increase of prices and against the duties and taxes which depress the standard of living of the working masses; it should emphasise the necessity of fighting against the danger of imperialist war and against Fascism; it should point out the community of interests of the International co-operative movement and of the whole Labour movement and insist upon collaboration of all political, trade-union and economic organisations of the working class, as also upon the promoting of their capacity to fight against the forces of capitalism.

In conjunction with this question, that of the danger of war was also brought up.

The resolution proposed by Servy (Belgium) stated that international peace is a necessary preliminary for the realisation of co-operative ideals and pointed out that the Alliance must exert influence through the League of Nations upon the Governments, in order that international questions may be settled by arbitration and measures of restraint introduced. For their part, the co-operative societies of all countries should urge their Governments on towards disarmament.

Thereupon Comrade Ljubimow (Soviet Union) stated that the most important preliminary conditions for the possibility of resistance against imperialist preparations for war are the unity of the Labour movement and the common fight of all Labour organisations against the danger of war. The delegation of the Soviet Union brought forward a proposal in connection with the question of the danger of war, wherein the inactivity of the League of Nations was pointed out and the demand made that the Alliance should call upon the masses to protest against it. The resolution called upon the executive to subscribe to the decision of the International Co-operative Women's Guild concerning support of the proposal of the delegation of the Soviet Union for a disarmament conference to deal with complete general disarmament.

The debates brought no result. The executive of the Alliance drafted no resolutions dealing with the question of the danger of war.

In the question of the programme of the future activity of the Alliance, it was resolved to instruct the plenary committee to draw up a draft of a programme and submit it to the next session of the executive.

A special item of the agenda was the report of Albin Johanson (Sweden) concerning the forms of the fight waged by the co-operative societies against trusts and rings. Johanson proposed two important measures for the emancipation of the co-operative societies from the power of the national and international cartels and trusts: the organising of an international Co-operative Wholesale Society and the creation of international co-operative industrial enterprises.

In the debate on Johanson's report, Comrade Kissin declared in the name of the co-operative societies of the Soviet Union that the fight against the trusts and cartels would have to be carried on not only with economic but also political measures. So that this fight might be waged seriously, all the forces of the proletariat would have to be mobilised. Comrade Kissin further pointed out that as a means in the fight against the monopoly of the trusts and cartels the organised purchase in the Soviet Union of several important articles of mass consumption through the Co-operative Wholesale Societies of Western Europe could be resorted to. In relation to the creation of international co-operative industrial enterprises, the Soviet Union could also be of assistance to the international co-operative societies both by delivering various raw materials to the international and national co-operative industries, as also by the according of concessions for the setting up of factories in the Soviet Union.

The proposition of the delegation of the Soviet Union that the broad masses should be mobilised in the fight against the attack of the cartels and trusts was rejected. The conference confined itself to accepting one of the minor propositions made by Johanson concerning the organisation of an intelligence office to collect data relating to the question of the cartels and trusts and to work out measures necessary for the fight.

WORKERS SPORT MOVEMENT

For the Unity of the Workers Sport Movement in Germany.

By Fritz Kaufmann (Berlin).

After the congress of the Worker Gymnastic and Athletic Federation in Leipzig had given the signal for the gagging of the opposition in Worker sports, not only the leading speakers of the opposition of this organisation and later many oppositional clubs, but also in other central organisations of worker sports all the important oppositional clubs were expelled. Moreover, there was no hesitation even in splitting up whole provincial organisations in the attempt to undermine revolutionary influence. The worker sports associations of Berlin and Halle in particular were affected by these deliberate splitting activities. In these places new sports cartels were created by the reformist sports bureaucrats, who are now trying by every means to convert worker sport into a domain of Social-Democratic coalition policy.

After this criminal splitting activity, as the result of which some of the best athletes were expelled, the whole of the Social-Democratic party machinery was set in motion in order to animate the newly founded Social-Democratic sports cartels. The effort was, however, a failure. This was quite clear, because only very slight minorities of Social-Democratic Party fanatics could be got into the new cartels.

A gymnastic display was recently held in Berlin. It was the intention of the reformists to make this an occasion for a hefty thrust at the opposition. It was designed to sever the numerous personal and sporting relations, which the Berlin clubs maintain with the provincial clubs. In this attempt no means appears to have been too low for the reformists. Calumniation of Berlin worker athletes, etc. were resorted to in order to combat the opposition. But it was all to no purpose! 75 worker athletes from the provinces took part in the display, which finally became an imposing demonstration for the unity of worker sports.

The large number of Leipzig worker athletes who participated was particularly significant, because the headquarters of the Federation of the Worker Gymnastics and Sports are in Leipzig and the executive committee has for years been playing a leading role in the agitation against the opposition. The fact that even in the immediate neighbourhood of the executive committee the athletes are revolting shows clearly that even in the Social-Democratic stronghold the broad masses of the members are not in agreement with the dictatorial measures of the reformist sport leaders.

The impressive demonstration for unity is significant not only on account of the unsuccessful agitation against Berlin worker sports but chiefly because the Social-Democratic separatists in Berlin tried by means of a large-scale counter demonstration — an international football match, Germany versus Austria, together with a demonstration in favour of Austria's becoming part of the German Republic — in order to overshadow the immense success anticipated for the gymnastic display. In spite of the fact that the S. P. of Germany supported the event in every possible way, and in spite of the fact that big advertising was carried on in the bourgeois athletic journals, the result was absolutely catastrophic. The small number of spectators were lost in the big stadium and the "union speech" of the President of the Berlin S. P., Franz Künstler, fell very flat.

The reformists are already announcing fresh expulsions from the ranks of outside athletes. There is no doubt that it will not stop at announcements. Suspensions will follow, but the inevitable result will be a daily increase in the sympathy felt for the expelled Berlin worker athletes.

PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

Wage Conditions of Women Workers in the Czechoslovakian Textile Industry.

By Josefa Kraus (Prague).

The tremendous rise of prices and the absolutely disproportionate wages of the textile workers in this country could but lead to a cancellation of wage-contracts by the workers and a demand for an increase of wages.

To understand the dire need of these poor workers, we must give a glance at certain figures which will convince us that the demands of the Czechoslovakian textile workers, both male and female, are more than justified.

The retail index for foodstuff prices recently averaged 950 (on the basis of 100 to represent the level of 1914). But the retail prices of industrial goods are still essentially higher and we may therefore reckon with the customary coefficient known to every worker in Czechoslovakia and say that 10 Czech crowns will now buy as much as one crown did before the war.

According to the calculations of the Statistical Bureau, the sum required weekly to cover the expenses of a worker's family figured in 1926 at 307.87 crowns.

By July 1928 the expenses of a working household on this basis had risen to 319.88 crowns weekly. The skilled workers earn less than 200 crowns a week, so that they cannot even pay for the barest necessities for themselves and their families. On the strength of national insurance statistics and of workers' correspondence it may be proved that daily wages of 10, 8, and even 6 crowns are no rarity among the textile workers of Czechoslovakia; that is to say, there are working men and women in the Czechoslovakian textile industry who, in spite of hard and incessant work, receive such starvation wages that they cannot lead humanly bearable lives.

Quite particularly shocking wage conditions obtain in regard to the textile working women, who are used by the employers for the purpose of depressing the wage and working conditions of the workers in general.

Between 50 and 57 per cent. of the total number of textile workers in Czechoslovakia are girls and women. There are no official statistics in this regard, the relative figures being culled from workers' accident-insurance statistics regarding the number of male and female workers occupied in the textile industry.

Female labour is mainly employed in the preparatory stages of the industry and in the various categories of refining industries. In general, female labour is restricted to the manufacture of lighter goods.

The extent of the women-workers' earnings in the weaving-mills is demonstrated by the wage-bill of a woman worker in the Friedeck industrial area of Moravia.

Piece-Work Wages for 90 Hours' Work 124.85 Cz. cr.

Deductions:

Health Insurance	4.80	"	"
Invalidity Insurance	5.70	"	"
Deductions for Spoiled Material	29.—	"	"

Actually Recd. 85.35 Cz. cr.

85.35 crowns (about 10 English shillings) for 90 hours' work, or less than one crown (i. e., less than 1½ d) per hour — really starvation wages.

Winders and other accessory workers get 60, 50, or 40 crowns a week, and from this pittance deductions are made for health insurance, invalidity insurance, and spoiled material. These workers, most of them young girls, frequently go home at the end of a week with no more than 30 crowns. It is easy to recognise that this sum cannot suffice either for sustenance or for apparel.

While on the one side the need and exploitation of the textile workers are constantly on the increase, the profits of the textile manufacturers likewise augment, as we may see by the balance-sheets of the relative enterprises.

In the year 1926, the so-called "crisis-year", the net-profits were considerable; in the ensuing years of good business they increased still more. Meanwhile, the wages have not increased, though the working output of the workers, both male and female, especially in the textile works, has advanced considerably.

"Machines formerly worked by five workers now require only four", so female workers of a spinning-mill report.

The piece rate system, that murderous and health-undermining method of work, is employed in all the mills. By relatively high initial rates the beginners are induced to believe that their earnings will augment when they have acquired speed and practice, but as soon as the working output has increased the wage agreement is revised, so that wages do not change particularly, though the output generally rises by about 100 per cent.

Simultaneously with the introduction of the piece rate system, over-time work was introduced. According to indications of the Statistical Bureau, 5098 permits were issued in the course of 1927 by the trade inspectorates and political authorities for the introduction of over-time in industrial concerns. The women made a more extensive use of the over-time system than the men did, a fact which may be put down to the great use of women in the textile industry. The number of women doing over-time work in this branch of industry is 36 per cent. of the total of all overtime workers. (These statistics, however, take no account of the many unpaid hours of over-time, which occur in the textile industry in particular.)

Without much ado, the employers attempted in connection with the introduction of shift-work to deprive the women workers of their free Saturday afternoons. In many cases the workers were simply informed, either by their factory committees or else by means of a public announcement, that as from a certain date work would last from 6 a. m. to 6 p. m. beginning with Tuesday morning and ending with Saturday evening. In places where there were revolutionary trade-unions, it was not so easy for the employers to make this change, for in many cases the women workers fought energetically for their free Saturday afternoons.

Further drastic examples of the infamous methods in use are to be found in the system of premiums and in the introduction of penalties. The great intensification of work is detrimental to the health of the female workers in particular. Any passenger travelling in one of the trains used by such workers on their way to or from their place of employment will be struck by the obvious misery and suffering of the female workers. Without exception, they complain of the way in which the speeding up system is employed at a rate which hardly permits them to remember that they are human beings. Nervous breakdowns are the order of the day among these workers, who often faint at their machines from sheer exhaustion. This is a result of an enhancement of the working output by the increase in the number of gyrations, or of simultaneous attendance on more than one machine. The exaggerated physical and mental exertion cannot but impair the nerves.

Hand in hand with the weakening of the mental and physical powers of the workers, i. e. with the deterioration of their health, there is an increase in the frequency of accidents.

That in view of this passion for rationalisation on the part of the Czechoslovakian industrialists all protection of the workers must needs be illusory, need hardly be pointed out. In Czechoslovakia the women workers have the right to claim 'six weeks' leave before and after childbirth. As a matter of fact, however, there is not a women worker who really makes use of this privilege, seeing that there is a parallel law in force which authorises an employer to give notice to any worker who is absent by reason of sickness for more than four weeks. The employers contend that pregnancy is a form of sickness, and the trade unions have as yet done nothing in the matter, so that the Czechoslovakian capitalists have been enabled to go to ever greater lengths in their callous disregard of the

protection of working women. The pregnant worker works as long as ever she can for fear of losing her job.

In Czechoslovakia the number of abortions is 16 times as great in the case of women working in the spinning mills and 6 times as great in regard to female workers in the weaving mills than it is in connection with women not employed in factories. (According to an inquiry effected by the Czechoslovakian trade unions.)

Both the reformist trade-union press and the political daily press publish articles which discuss the violation of the legally ensured free Saturday afternoon and count up the number of working-hours effected by the female workers, but none of the respective publications assumes a decided attitude or calls upon the workers to fight against the preposterous methods of exploitation on the part of the textile magnates.

It is up to the Red textile trade unions to wage a decisive fight against rationalisation at the expense of the workers in general and the female workers in particular. They must energetically support the following demands of the female textile workers,

1. for equal pay for equal work,
2. for the maintenance of the free Saturday afternoon,
3. for the immediate cessation of night-work for women and girls,
4. energetic fight against Par. 82 of the Czechoslovakian trade regulations, which robs the working women of the small right they still legally possess to pregnancy and childbed protection.

Only if the Red textile trade unions champion these claims which are the outcome of the sufferings of the women textile workers and are so closely connected with their lives, can they expect to have the support of these women workers, which would greatly contribute to their prospect of victory.

Women's Work and Outwork in Austria.

By Isa Strasser (Vienna).

When as a consequence of the bank collapses in Austria in the second half of the year 1924 the number of unemployed suddenly increased, it was chiefly the women who were the victims. The number of women employed declined not only absolutely but also relatively.

In the year 1924 the women constituted 33.72% of the membership of the national health insurance organisations, in 1925 only 32.71%. The percentage of women among the unemployed, however, rose from 31.20% in the year 1924 to 36.53% in the year 1925.

As the crisis waned the relations again changed. The women were the first to be discharged from the factories, but they were also the first to be taken on again. In the year 1926 the percentage of the female members of the health insurance societies amounted to 33.52 and rose in 1927 to 34.26. The more modest and cheaper women had better prospects on the labour market as the crisis waned than had the men. Rationalisation, moreover, led to the partial substitution of female labour for male labour.

How miopic the view of those who believed that the discharge of the women in the first big wave of unemployment would relieve the crisis for Labour in general was shown not only by the ominously keener competition from the women upon the first improvement in the industrial situation but also by another fact: the increase in outwork.

Investigation carried on by the Vienna Labour Chamber the results of which were compiled in brochure form by Käthe Leichter*), shows that in no other year was the afflux of women

*) How do the Vienna home working women live? Publishers: Arbeit and Wirtschaft, Vienna 1928.

to outwork so great as in the year of crisis 1925-26. The efforts of the employers at that time of increased competition from abroad to thrust the burden of overhead costs on to weaker shoulders and to escape the liability for social imposts by passing the work on to "independent" sub-contractors, were readily supported by the army of discharged women workers prepared to undertake any work at a starvation wage. The accretion of outworkers during the years of crisis was greatest in dress-making, the chemical industry, the paper industry and in shoe-making.

In dress-making, that old-established branch of outwork in Vienna, there still prevails a large element of small masters. The persistence, in fact, even the development, of outwork in this branch of production is, therefore, nothing astonishing. But the shoe and paper industries, as also the chemical industry, belong to those industries in which rationalisation has been carried on at top speed during the past few years by substituting machine work for handwork. The apparent contradiction which lies in the circumstance that hand work nevertheless increased is explained by the fact that through rationalisation in certain branches of the industries in question surplus Labour was available at low prices, so that it was possible in other sections of the same industries to use hand work instead of machine work.

For example, the mechanisation of the leather industry led to an increase of outwork in the manufacture of felt shoes.

"In the satchel and fancy-goods industry", so reports Käthe Leichter, "the keen competition between factory work and work done in the homes is often decided in favour of the latter on account of the large number of trained and skilled workers, who have been discharged from the factories and are now competing with one another for outwork at any price. Naturally, the keen competition of these home workers is the result of starvation rates."

"Extremely low wages" is also the reason why the manufacturer in the paper-bag industry finds it profitable to resort to outwork, although a paper-bag machine can to-day turn out in one hour as much as a handworker can do in ten hours!

Starvation wages, in the proper sense of the words, are the source and result of the persistence and development of outwork, no matter which branch of industry we take under review. Nearly 60 per cent. of the outworkers visited by the investigators get less than 20 Austrian schillings per week (1 Austrian Schilling equals 7½d). More than one-third of the women working at home for the paper industry earn less than 10 Austrian schillings per week. The average unemployment benefit is 14 schillings per week. It must also be taken into consideration that in many cases certain materials have also to be bought out of these payments.

The investigation also showed that as a rule outwork is not a spare-time occupation but a regular occupation. Nearly two-thirds of the outworkers are the only breadwinners in their families; one-third of them have to provide for whole families of four persons.

If the miserable pay were only steady! But there are scarcely any outworkers who are not idle for a number of weeks in the year. More than 10 per cent. of the outworkers who reported to the Labour Chamber on the conditions of their work are idle more than twelve weeks in the year.

An eight-hour day is the exception in outwork; 49.63 per cent. of the outworkers in the underlinen industry and 86.96 per cent. of those in the chemical industry work more than eleven hours a day!

In dress-making and the chemical industry (waterproof-coat making) 15 to 16 hours a day is nothing unusual during the season.

12 to 16 working hours per day, in many cases with the help of the children, and at the highest tension! For to the outworker the fear of failing to comply with the agreed date of delivery is as effectual in driving her to exhaustion as is the conveyor band or the stop watch to the factory worker. In order to exist against the "rationalised" work in the factories, some of the distributors of outwork are augmenting this self-inflicted whip by premiums for "urgent work" and fines for demurrage.

12 to 13 working hours per day in overcrowded, airless rooms. For the "usual" outwork dwelling consists of only a room and kitchen, and, as the compiler strangely remarks, a comparison with the investigation of the Labour Statistical Office of the year 1901 shows that the dwelling conditions of the outworker were more "favourable" at that time than they are to-day.

Protection of out-workers? It is not necessary to prove that 82 per cent. of the distributors of outwork do not comply with the public regulations covering working conditions; it is not necessary to show that between the wage per hour as fixed by the central outwork commission for the underwear industry and the wages actually paid there is a difference of 147 to 214 per cent; the whole result of the investigation is a confirmation of the fact that the much-lauded Laws for the Protection of Out-workers of the social-political era were ineffectual in checking the catastrophic lowering of the standard of living of the outworkers.

While endeavouring to describe the crass fiasco of the outworker laws in a manner calculated to cause as little offence as possible, the social democrat, Käthe Leichter asseverates that

"the two protective regulations of the outworker law, which are the primary condition for the fulfilment of all the others, have, in the eight year of their existence, by no means the necessary efficacy".

How little hope there is that if the present circumstances continue to obtain there will be any more respect shown for the protection of outworkers laws during the year 1929 is shown vividly by the compiler in the typical case of a woman outworker, with children to keep out of her starvation wages, who

"begged the industrial inspector not to do anything for her protection, as there were so many other people eager to take over her work".

Crass and striking as is the inefficiency of the social-political protective laws in the matter of outwork, it is by no means an isolated phenomenon; "voluntary" departure from the eight-hour day, in consequence of the impossibility of making ends meet on the money earned, "voluntary" renunciation of the claim to a holiday during pregnancy — such "abuses" discovered by the industrial inspectors and other officials are now the rule and not the exception.

Important as it, therefore, is to advocate an extension of the social-political protection of the women outworkers, for example, to fight for the effectual control of outwork and for the extension of the protection of mothers to outworkers, little can thereby be achieved, if at the same time we do not fight for the conditions which render possible the fulfilment of these laws. But fighting for these conditions amounts to fighting against capitalist rationalisation.

But, according to Karl Renner, rationalisation is a "problem", which cannot be "solved" by class struggle but only through class collaboration. The practice of the Austrian trade-union leaders corresponds to this counter-revolutionary theory of this leader of Austrian Social-Democracy.