

- INTERNATIONAL -

PRESS

CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 9. No. 4

18th January 1929

Editorial Offices and Central Despatching Department: Berggasse 31, Vienna IX. — Postal Address, to which all remittances should be sent by registered mail: Postamt 66, Schliesstach 213, Vienna IX.
Telegraphic Address: Inprekorr, Vienna.

CONTENTS

Willi Münzenberg: The Growing Danger of War.
Politics.

V. Gaymann: The Scandal of the "Gazette du Franc".
The Labour Movement.

J. Berlioz: Thirty Thousand French Miners on Strike.
Henri: Letter from Belgium.

Ford: The "Vestris" Disaster and Coloured Seamen.
In the Colonies.

M. N. Roy: The Ways of the Indian Revolution.
Union of Soviet Republics.

The C. P. S. U. and the Soviet Elections.

Against Imperialist War.
Prevent the Threatening War against the Soviet Union!

The White Terror.

D. Ivanov: General Hunger Strike of the Political Prisoners in Bulgaria.

Fight against the Right Danger.

Resolution of the C. C. of the C. P. of Austria on the Situation in the C. P. G.

Resolution of the IV. Party Congress of the C. P. of Yugoslavia on the German Question.

In the R. I. L. U.

F. Apelt: The Forthcoming Organisation Conference of the Subordinate Trade Union Functionaries of the European Countries.

The Youth Movement.

Resolution of the Young Communist International on Japan.

Proletarian Women's Movement.

The Tasks of the Work among the Women Toilers of the Soviet Union.

The Growing Danger of War.

By Willi Münzenberg (Berlin).

The last few weeks have brought with them an extraordinary sharpening of the international situation and a considerable increase in the armaments against the Soviet Union. The leading British war group, having scored certain successes in their diplomatic intrigues against the Soviet Union, have now in the last few months commenced serious military actions against the Soviet Union.

The reports on the origin and the course of the rebellion in Afghanistan prove that Great Britain is endeavouring, by supporting the insurrectionary movement, to check the influence of the Soviet Union and make itself master of the situation. In connection with the military preparations on the Indian frontiers, which are already practically carried out, a victory of the British war-groupers in Afghanistan would have had a decisive influence upon the imperialist war front in the East against the Soviet Union. At the same time increasing attempts are being made by the British to equip and make ready serviceable Chinese auxiliary corps in the war being prepared by Great Britain against the Soviet Union.

British policy has succeeded in the last year in winning France for an aggressive action against the Soviet Union, a success on the part of Great Britain the effects of which are expressed most concretely in the Polish-Roumanian war alliance of last year and in the Ukrainian policy of Poland, Roumania and France.

Comrade Cachin recently submitted new and important evidence to the French Chamber. Already in the year 1920 France undertook and carried out the equipment of the Polish army of intervention against the Soviet Union. The Polish government of 1928-29 is continuing this policy. As in 1926,

the French government is today supplying Poland, Roumania and the countries of the Little Entente with large quantities of arms and munitions. The firm of Schneider in Le Havre is manufacturing artillery parts for Poland; Renault in Billancourt is supplying them with tanks, machine gun automobiles and aircraft motors. The artillery equipment of Poland is being supplied by works in Puteaux, Bourges, Toulouse etc. In France, Cherbourg is being used as naval basis for dispatching machine guns, warships etc., another such base has been secured in the Baltic and also in Saloniki.

In addition the armies of Poland, Roumania and the Little Entente are being trained by French officers and generals. One can gain an idea of the number of French officers and generals in the different states when one remembers that in the year 1920 the French military staff in Warsaw consisted of 1000 officers, including 40 Generals and Marshals.

These armaments and the support of the war preparations of Poland and Roumania by France are clearly revealed in the attitude of the French Cabinet to the Soviet Union's Peace proposal to Poland. Immediately after the publication of the Soviet Union's Note to Warsaw with the offer to sign the guarantee treaty of the Kellogg Pact, the Paris Cabinet did everything in order to bring about a sharp and brusque rejection by Poland of this proposal. The view of the French government was expressed in an official leading article of the government newspaper "Le Temps" of 4th of January 1927. This paper writes in a most provocative manner against the offer of the Soviet Union and urges with cynical confidence the necessity of rejecting the offer. It declares:

"The aim of the Soviet government in making this proposal contained in Litvinov's Note to Patek is to divide Poland and Roumania, who are allied by a Treaty, or to provoke a rejection of the Russian formula which is unacceptable to any Power, no matter which, having connections with other nations."

In other words, the war pact between Poland and Roumania must be maintained, the Polish Roumanian sector of the general war front against the Soviet Union must be secured.

On the other hand, all diplomatic intrigues are being increased in order to align Yugoslavia in the war front, in connection with which the Belgrade paper "Politika" only a few days ago published sensational reports regarding the negotiations of the British Ambassador Kennal in Belgrade with the Croatian National Peasant Party as to the latter supporting the anti-Soviet bloc. In the night of 5th and 6th January King Alexander, under the influence of Great Britain, carried out a coup d'état, abolished Parliament and set up a fascist dictatorship. Great Britain has thereby firmly aligned this State in the anti-Soviet bloc.

At the same time pressure is being increased upon Czechoslovakia in order to force through a more rapid and stronger support of the bloc against the Soviet Union.

Acting on the orders of the imperialist war-mongers and military groups, white generals and military commissions, and particularly emigrants from the Ukraine, are already preparing practical military measures for the invasion of the Ukraine. A Congress of these Ukrainian emigrants is to take place in the middle of January in Warsaw.

Information has been received from Prague in the last few days that weapons and military transports from France to Poland have become more numerous in the last few weeks.

Up to the present the German government has not given any answer to the interpellation of the Communist deputies in the Reichstag regarding the increased production of munitions and armaments in German factories.

The rapidly increasing danger of war against the Soviet Union must be clearly recognised. This danger is today more immediate and more directly threatens many millions of human lives than the danger of gas war and military conflicts among the imperialist States themselves, a fact which the Conference of the International Women's League for Peace and Freedom, which took place a few days ago in Frankfurt, was bound to overlook, as the Conference consisted mainly of bourgeois women intellectuals the majority of whom belong to the social democratic party. This explains why Conference rejected the proposal of the Convener of the Conference (a pacifist who is sincerely striving for peace) to appeal to the governments to examine and to consider the peace proposals of the Soviet government. The social-democratic majority of the Conference deleted this proposal from the resolution.

The Frankfurt Conference of the Women's League for Peace and Freedom has again confirmed the fact that in spite of the good will of individual intellectuals and pacifists it is hopeless to expect a serious action against the danger of war, and in particular the war against the Soviet Union, from these circles.

It is characteristic that a speaker could declare, amidst applause of the Conference, that if there is to be war, then at least there should not be a gas-war. It was pointed out by Communist delegates at the Conference that to the worker it is of small importance whether he is to die by gas or whether he is to lose his life by a shell, and that, on the other hand, what is of importance is not to die in imperialist war at all. The course of the Frankfurt Conference has again proved that a serious action against the new criminal war which Great Britain and France are preparing against the Soviet Union can only ensue if the working classes in all countries found fresh Communist Party groups, form Committees of Friends of Soviet Russia, which are a hundred times more valuable as a means for preventing war than dozens of Conferences such as that held at Frankfurt.

The lesson to be drawn is: strengthening of the proletarian defensive front against the threatening war and for support of the Soviet Union.

POLITICS

The Scandal of the "Gazette du Franc".

By V. Gaymann (Paris).

The scandal of the "Gazette du Franc" arose in December.

Whereas the "Humanité" alone among French newspapers revealed the political and financial undercurrents from the very beginning, unmasking the rôle which parliamentarians, Ministers, State Secretaries, deputies, high officials, newspaper editors, etc., played in this connection, either collaborating with the "Gazette du Franc", profiting by its fraudulent manoeuvres, or defending defrauders up to the last, all other Paris publications attempted, obviously by order of the banks and of the Government, to squash the entire scandal.

From the Social Democratic "Populaire", in which Léon Blum declared that he regarded "the incident as closed" to the Clerical-Fascist "Echo de Paris", in which Kérillis moved heaven and earth for the defence of the "unparticipating" Poincaré, the concert of the press was disturbed by no dissentient voice.

But the campaign of the "Humanité" effectually frustrated this plan of immediately squashing the scandal of the "Gazette du Franc".

Now that a month has passed, it is impossible to deny the significance and the political character of this entire scandal. A number of facts have been undeniably established.

The "Quotidien", the organ of the Left Bloc of 1924, is convicted of having pocketed more than a million. Dumay, the founder and manager of this newspaper, was considered to have been too seriously compromised and was therefore dismissed by his chief, the Minister Hennessy, formerly French Ambassador at Berne. The "Réveil du Nord", the Socialist newspaper appearing in the northern departments, netted several hundred thousand francs; it was only thanks to the protection of Minister Loucheur that the editor of the said paper escaped public prosecution. "La Rumeur", the scandal-mongering and blackmailing organ of Anquetil, formerly occupying a leading position with the police and now acting as President of the General Council of Guayana, is so seriously compromised that Anquetil, well-known as a past master of blackmailing, has had to be arrested.

The "Journal", second among Paris papers in regard to the size of its edition, appears to be very greatly involved, although the investigating magistrate, fearing to invoke the wrath of so powerful a publication, refrained from making the rôle it had played too apparent. As a matter of fact, Madame Hanau the editress of the "Gazette du Franc" accuses the administration of the "Journal" of having accepted a million francs as the price of throttling the campaign it had started prior to the great crash. The "Journal", however, is financially controlled by the Havas Telegraphic Agency (the semi-official, if not the official, agency of the French Government) and is dependent on the Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas. The French judicial authorities are not making any efforts to raise an accusation against the all-powerful Moulton, Manager of the "Journal", and his political agent Caston Vidal, former deputy and Minister in Poincaré's Cabinet of 1924.

Only one "fish" has got caught in the meshes, the arch-swindler Nimoun Amard, a doubtful individual who but yesterday was wholly unknown but who, if not rescued by his protectors of the "Journal", is fully capable of revenging himself upon them by turning "king's witness" to their detriment.

And now as regards the political world. In this connection we have in the first place the accusation, or at any rate the arrest, of a number of shareholders and members of the board of the concern founded by the "Gazette du Franc", the Comte de Courville, former Engineer-in-Chief of the French Navy, member of the Comité des Forges, former manager of Creuzots, an officer of the Legion of honour and a well-known Royalist; the Comte de Chevilly, an officer of the Legion of Honour and a committee member of the French League for the Support of Russian Emigrants; Robert Gilliot, former Deputy Chief of

Cabinet; the two ex-Ministers De Monzie and Laval; the Duc de Axen, a personal friend of the Police-Prefect Chippie and of the Minister Maginot; a journalist named M. H. Bourgeois, likewise a friend of the Prefect of Police; the former Fascist deputy Charles Bertrand, etc.

Added to this, there are the revelations of Audibert, former Manager of the "Gazette du Franc", against whom an accusation was raised and who replied with the allegation, hitherto not seriously denied, that prior to joining the "Gazette du Franc" he had solicited the advice of both Poincaré and the French Foreign Office, from both of which quarters he had received satisfactory information.

It is Dumay, Manager of the "Quotidien", who asserts and can allegedly prove that during the three months preceding the crash he had repeatedly asked the advice of "persons in high positions", such as Hennessy, Minister of Agriculture, Barthou, Minister of Justice, Prouharam, Chief Public Prosecutor, Mouton, Chief-of-Department in the Ministry of Justice, and the like, all of whom had given him the best possible information as regards the reliability of the firm of Hanau.

On the boards of the companies founded by the "Gazette du Franc" and in the administration of the "Financial Service" we encounter a Senator, the ex-Minister Rio, the former Chief-of-Cabinet of Loucheur, Jerome Levy, the protector of Jouhaux the head of the C. G. T., de Girard, secretary of the French delegation of the League of Nations, and de Prête, one of the editors of the trade-union newspaper "Le Peuple".

It is a proved fact that the League of Nations allowed the Gazette du Franc considerable subvention upon the intervention and recommendation of the Quai d'Orsay.

The books of the "Gazette du Franc" were found to contain "numbered accounts", the anonymous owners of which, politicians, high State officials, and the managers of newspapers, found their services or their silence richly rewarded by the Hanau-Bloch enterprise.

A constant danger hanging over the heads of these compromised personalities, however, lay in the presumed existence of a "note-book" kept by Madame Hanau and containing the names and amounts of these "anonymous accounts".

There were differences of opinion apparent in the Ministerial Council itself in connection with this scandal, which Briand, Barthou, and above all Hennessy desired to squash as soon as possible and by all available means, while Poincaré, who had nothing more to lose and was cleverer in his manoeuvres, would have preferred a discreet and delicately-managed "arrangement", which would not shock public opinion.

Poincaré has scored an easy victory. Briand has been compromised by his connection with Peycelon, who again was hand in glove with the "Gazette", and also by his relations with Lazare Bloch, who was his semi-official agent in his dealings with Mussolini. Barthou has been involved through his own subordinate Mouton and by the good information supplied by the latter to Dumay. Hennessy is compromised by Dumay, and Tardieu by the good character he gave the "Gazette du Franc" on the very eve of the crash.

Now the whole affair will have to be "settled". It is already rumoured that the assets of the "Gazette du Franc" balance the claims made upon it, besides which Madame Hanau is said to have offered to cover a possible deficit out of her private means. Finally, the Government with its secret funds, Hennessy with his millions, and the banks, which, after at first demanding the prosecution of the "Gazette" as a dangerous rival, now recognise the danger of allowing the scandal to spread too far, are all ready to do the needful to squash the matter at a financial sacrifice. Once the victims have been pacified, whether wholly or to a great part, there will be no further talk of fraud and a misuse of confidence. The accused parties will be set at liberty and in a year or two the matter will be definitely dropped.

All that will remain of this affair will be the dead bodies of five members of the petty-bourgeoisie who committed suicide upon the failure of the "Gazette du Franc", in which they had trustfully invested their small savings.

In their elucidation of this scandal, the "Humanité" and the Communist Party managed to show how greatly the big banks have the Government and the Parliament in their power and to what an extent the bourgeois press is subject to finance.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

Thirty Thousand French Miners on Strike.

By J. Berlioz (Paris).

Twenty-thousand miners of the Loire valley have been on strike since December 26 for a wage increase of five francs a day. On the January 2, they were joined by nearly all the workers, numbering about 15,000, in the Gard coal area, who have put forward the same demand.

The movement is being led by the Unitary (revolutionary) Miners' Union. Both the national and district leaders of the Reformist Miners' Union are doing everything in order to sabotage the movement, but they have been left in the lurch by some of their own followers. It is probable that the movement will extend to some other smaller mining areas, as for example, that of Aveyron, while it is hardly likely to embrace the big mining area in the north, where social-democratic influence is still very strong.

The wages of the miners in the various coal areas are not the same. These differences in wages according to district enable the mining magnates, who are centrally organised, to create division between the miners in the northern district and those in the other areas. On the other hand, the relative strength of the two rival trade unions varies greatly according to district. In all thirty per cent. of the miners are organised in trade unions, of whom 30,000 in the Pas de Calais district alone and 35,000 in the other areas are in the reformist C. G. T.; the revolutionary C. G. T. U. is weak in the north, having its main influence in nearly all the small colliery districts, before all, however, in Gard.

During the last eight years the real wages of the miners have been constantly below the wage-level of 1913. Wage-cuts in the mining industry were often the signal for an offensive of the employers in all the other industries. The powerful colliery companies refer to the great competition of coal coming from abroad in order to justify their reducing prices at the cost of the miners.

The reformist leaders put forward the demands of the workers, whom they are always calling upon to make sacrifices in the "interest of the Country", only in secret negotiations, either directly or through the mediation of ministers. They have been declaring for years that, in view of the international coal crisis, a strike is impossible.

When, in April, 1927, a wage-slashing campaign was commenced against the already exceedingly depressed wages of the miners, the proposal made by the C. G. T. U. to the reformist organisations that a united front be set up for carrying out a campaign was not answered. The Reformists on this occasion requested the Minister for Public Works, M. Tardieu, who had just reduced the wages of 75,000 miners in the state mines in the Saar district, to act as arbitrator. In this way the Reformists prevented a strike, so that the whole situation was rendered still worse and more complicated by the six per cent. wage-cut which followed, along with a differentiation of wages according to category and district.

Thanks to the extremely drastically carried out rationalisation the number of miners employed sank from 316,130 in January 1928 to 295,316 in October 1928, while the daily output increased in the same period from 170,000 to 174,000 tons. This rationalisation was accompanied by a considerable increase in the number of accidents. The percentage of fatal accidents was never so high as it has been during the last six months.

The reformist leaders look calmly on at all these happenings, whilst the persecution for the functionaries of the unitary trade union became ever more severe. But the revolutionising of the French workers is now spreading to the miners, who had for so long stood aside. A number of partially spontaneous movements of resistance broke out, as for instance in the Moselle Valley, in the coal area of Creuse and even in various places in the north.

At the last congress of the unitary Miners Union, which took place in September last at St. Etienne, it was decided to fight with redoubled energy for the following demands: a wage-increase of five francs per day; uniform rate of wages for the whole of France, with only three grades; extension of the

powers of "the safety delegates"; thorough reform of Pension and Accident legislation etc. In particular measures were decided on for increasing united front work among the broad masses of the working class itself by the creation of pit-councils.

The Congress aroused a great response. In view of the daily increasing cost of living and the growing resistance of the working class the coal barons decided to enter into negotiations with the reformist leaders, according to proved methods, i. e. in order to grant a paltry increase and thereby weaken the force of the unitary agitation. The conferences, from which the workers were completely excluded, led to the Douai agreement of November 17, which made good only a fraction of the wage reductions carried out in November 1927 (increases ranging from 10 centimes to 1.59 francs a day).

Disappointment among the miners was general; and this time the employers did not succeed in palming off the workers with a few crumbs. The unitary miners' union continued its united front work with all energy and prepared its district conferences on the basis of delegations according to pits. In the Loire basin, after a number of splendidly attended meetings, a strike ultimatum was delivered on December 18 in the name of the unitary miners' union to the employers federation, with the demand of a wage increase of five francs a day, the ultimatum to expire on December 26. At the district conference of the Gard coal area, which took place on December 23 and which was attended by 250 delegates representing all the pits without exception, it was decided to submit the same ultimatum for January 2. As no reply was received before the expiry of the ultimatum the fight was taken up. There is only one weak spot in the Loire Valley: the district of Firminy, where the socialists are fairly strong; in the Gard district the workers are fighting in a firm and unbroken front.

The strike is characterised by the following features:

1. The unusually strong fighting spirit of the workers (keen work on the part of the pickets, who are not to be intimidated, withdrawal of the safety-men).

2. An interesting realisation of the united front in face of the blacklegging on the part of the reformist leaders, who, as usual, declared "the moment to be unsuitable for a strike" and called upon their followers "to preserve discipline", i. e. not to go on strike.

3. In both districts there are many foreign workers employed, for instance, in the Loire Valley alone, where there are 11,000 (4,000 from the colonies, 4,000 Poles, 1,500 Italians, etc.) out a total of 26,000 workers. The enormous majority of the workers have followed the call of the revolutionary unitary union with great enthusiasm, in spite of all the threats of the authorities. It is only among the French reformists that blacklegs are to be found.

Letter from Belgium.

Partial Strike of the Dock-Labourers of Antwerp against the "Industrial Peace".

By Henri.

In June last 10,000 dock-labourers suddenly went on strike at Antwerp. In spite of all the attempts of the reformists to hinder this tremendous movement, the dock-labourers waged their fight for three weeks for the demands put forward by the C. P., viz., 60 Belgian francs daily (one Belgian franc equalling about 1½ d.). In view of the dimensions of the movement and of the determination of the masses, the leaders could not openly sabotage the strike, but they managed by means of all sorts of tricks and by demagogic oratory to usurp the leadership of the movement and then to call off the strike after three weeks' duration.

A commission was thereupon formed for the "reorganisation of work", consisting of the representatives of the employers and the reformist leaders. In this commission the leaders promised in advance to deposit a certain sum from the trade-union treasury as a guarantee for the maintenance of the agreements to be concluded.

Behind the scenes, this commission worked out an agreement, which was signed by the reformist leaders without the rank and file of the dock-workers trade union having been consulted at all. The said agreement is altogether in favour of

the dock barons and is a classic example of bourgeois and Social-Democratic co-operation in the interest of "economic peace".

The agreement in question aims at driving a wedge between the "real" dock-workers (permanently and definitely employed workers) and the casual labourers. The agreement guarantees for the former category a minimum weekly wage, i. e. **sure and constant employment**. Hitherto it was a usage among the dock-workers for all work between 5 p. m. and 8 a. m. to be considered as night-work and remunerated with a premium of 75 per cent. In the new agreement, which was presented to the workers as a New Year's gift (though they are not yet really acquainted with its full contents), this tradition was abandoned. Three shifts were introduced, viz. a morning shift from 6 a. m. to 2 p. m., an afternoon shift from 2 p. m. to 10 p. m., and a night shift from 10 p. m. to 6 a. m.

The first shift was accorded an **apparent increase in wages**, the rate of payment being raised from 60 to 65 francs. In reality, however, this is no real rise, for in the first place the price index has risen by several points, so that the wages can hardly be deemed to have been levelled up and by no means to have been increased, while secondly this shift is now obliged to do two hours of "night work" (i. e. from 6 to 8 a. m.) without the customary premium of 75 per cent.

The wage for the afternoon shift was fixed at 70 francs, so that this shift is obliged to do 5 hours of "night work" without the customary 75 per cent. premium formerly due as from 5 p. m. Relatively the worst conditions are those of the night shift. These workers, who formerly attained to a wage of 105 francs a night, receive no more than 90 francs under the new contract. The night shifts, which thus felt the change most severely, unhesitatingly commenced the strike, while many workers of the other shifts, who have apparently been satisfied, have not yet come to see through the fraudulent nature of this manoeuvre.

This sly manoeuvre of the reformists aimed at giving a certain satisfaction (in the shape of an **apparent small wage increase**) to part of the ("regular") dock-workers, while sacrificing the others (the masses of casual workers), who have been victimised by the new arrangement, while the only party to profit is that of the employers, who under the new system save nine francs a day per head of their workers.

The ink, however, with which the reformists signed this agreement, had hardly dried, when part of the dock-workers (i. e. the night workers) tore up and trampled on the "scrap of paper", which the gentlemen of the trade unions had signed "in the name of the dock-workers".

It is therefore no wonder that the Social Democratic press observe silence on the subject of the dock strike or at most makes mention, somewhere in the interior of its publications, of a small strike which certain Communist elements have caused.

This strike (partial though it be) has occasioned much consternation among the wharfingers, as the bourgeois press admits. "Great hopes had been attached to the work of the Commission for the Reorganisation of Labour and it had been hoped that the new agreement would introduce an era of satisfaction." So says the Antwerp "Matin".

The reformist leaders have distributed a number of appeals among the dock-workers, which, as a bourgeois paper confirms, are all inspired by the idea of a working-community between employers and workers.

As a matter of fact, these leaflets speak quite openly of the necessity of well-regulated circumstances in the docks. The agitators and the disturbers of the peace must be eliminated. There must be a nucleus of reliable workers.

It is characteristic of the situation that the bourgeois papers should make so much of the fact that there is no longer any "trade-union discipline" in the trade unions which are conducted by the reformists, meaning that the members of these trade unions do not care a hang about the resolutions and arrangements of their "leaders" if these arrangements and resolutions have been made without their collaboration and therefore do not correspond to their demands.

It is no wonder, therefore, that such "leaders" no longer enjoy the confidence of the working masses, which turn away from them in the direction of the **Communist Party**.

It is significant that on the occasion of the meetings of dock-workers **Piet Somers**, the reformist leader of the Trans-

port Workers Union, could not get a hearing, while Comrade Jef van Extergem, the spokesman of the Communist Party, who was the candidate of that Party at the last elections, was received with great applause.

The influence of the C. P. is increasing, since the C. P. is the only party to champion the interest and demands of the struggling workers.

The slogans of the Communist Party are directed against "industrial peace" and against the reformist leaders who have signed this ignominious agreement. The C. P. stands for the fight of the masses, that is to say for a continuation of the struggle of the night workers and for the extension of this struggle all along the line and against the entire agreement; it stands for a real wage increase on the basis of the increased costs of living, for 70 francs for the morning shift, 85 francs for the afternoon shift, and 105 francs for the night shift, with a 75 per cent. premium for all night work.

While the C. P. denounces the agreement, mobilises the masses, and organises the formation of strike-committees, the "leaders" negotiate with the employers as to how the strike may be most effectively throttled. The employers have already declared that they will not depart by one jot from the agreement which the reformist leaders have signed. There is some talk of simply eliminating the night shift altogether.

This fight is not merely a fight of the dock-workers against their employers, but above all a fight of the revolutionary workers against their reformist leaders, who have declared themselves fully concurrent with the attitude of the employers. These reformist leaders must be removed. A considerable proportion of the dock-workers have already rallied round the Opposition. It is for the C. P. to gain the broad masses of workers for their demands, to organise the Opposition and to strengthen it, to liquidate the reformist leadership and to create a revolutionary one in its stead, thus developing the dock-workers' trade union into a true fighting organisation.

The "Vestris" Disaster and Coloured Seamen.

By Ford (International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers of the R. I. L. U.)

The class struggle increases in intensity under capitalism, even on the high seas. Much has been written about the British steamship "Vestris" of "Lampton and Holt", which sank in the Atlantic Ocean on November 12, 1928, with the loss of one hundred and eleven lives. The sinking of this old, rotten hulk has brought once again vividly to light the rotten conditions of a seaman's life under capitalist rule; more particularly did it bring to light the unbearable conditions of Negro seamen who are lashed down under a system of racial oppression, slander and lies, which is already well known. The question of "coloured" seamen in general (Chinese, "orientals", Indians, etc.) has also been raised in all its international implications.

On the occasion of this tragedy there were marshalled against the sea workers: the shipowners, governmental officials and agents, capitalistically controlled bourgeois and reformist newspapers and reporters, trade union bureaucrats and finally the greatest weapon with which the capitalists divide and rule — intense racial antagonisms, browbeating, etc., etc.

In connection with the sinking of the vessel numerous charges have been made, amongst others also against the crew and in particular against the Negro seamen, which accusations could only be refuted much later; in particular the calumnies against the Negroes were proved to be baseless, and, on the contrary, it was established that they had behaved heroically.

The most sulking, deceitful and despicable agents of the capitalist system in the fight against the "coloured" seamen are the bureaucratic officials of the reactionary trade unions. A resolution was introduced into the Central Trades and Labour Council of New York by P. J. Walters of the Postal Employees' Union proposing to have as its object to find out

whether the crew was "non-union, undisciplined and underpaid". The resolution however contained a significant clause "asking investigation into the alleged employment of Orientals who cannot understand English, in violation of the American Seamen's Law by American vessels, especially in the Pacific trade". This clause is the essence of the resolution and is significant because there were no oriental seamen on the "Vestris" and the fact that Chinese and oriental seamen are employed by American vessels in the Pacific and are unorganised. Instead of setting as their task the organisation of all seamen, the bureaucrats take this opportunity to attack so-called "coloured", coolie labour which the capitalist class does not intend to do without.

In regard to the conditions of the seamen of the Vestris it was established that black and white were unorganised and that seamen on Lamport and Holt ships are not allowed to organise. White seamen receive \$ 45.00 per month (10 dollars below a decent living standard). Negro seamen receive \$ 30.00 per month. The food was rotten. Negro seamen were segregated in mess halls and sleeping quarters (their food was much worse).

Racial issues and antagonisms not only prevent the unity of the workers but obscure the class interests involved and also shift and place responsibility and blame for disasters on the workers themselves. The only means to overcome this is through international unity and solidarity. White seamen cannot free themselves by demanding the expulsion of "coloured" seamen from ships. The capitalist class does not intend to lose its profits; it means to keep up the competition between low-paid coloured workers and the white workers. Coloured workers cannot free themselves from racial abuses at the hands of capitalists and from capitalist exploitation without organisation. Only through the international solidarity of seamen of all races can the abuses of the capitalists be abolished.

The Progressive Seamen's Union and the American Negro Labour Congress of New York rallied to the defence of the seamen of the Vestris. The International Trade Union Committee of Negro workers of the R. I. L. U. issued a world protest against capitalist abuses and proffered assistance to seamen towards organising seamen's unions. The International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers of the R. I. L. U. proposes further the following organisational programme and programme of action:

1. The organisation of International Relief for relatives of the victims of the crew and the surviving members of the crew through the Negro Workers' Relief Committee of New York.
2. The organisation of an international seamen's Conference particularly with a view to the organisation of "coloured" seamen.
 - a) We suggest that seamen in every port set up local committees and communicate immediately with us.
 - b) We urge all organisations and individuals who are interested in such proposals also to get in touch with us and send proposals.
 - c) We urge all international seamen's clubs and port bureaux to assist by passing this information along to all ports.
 - d) organise ship committees, line committees, port committees, etc. etc.

The following slogans and demands should form the basis of action of these committees:

1. Abolition of laws and repressive legislation against seamen; against the slandering of coloured seamen by capitalist and reformist newspapers.
2. A radical change in the organisation of the existing unions, especially as to the unorganised and lowly paid seamen; the admittance of Negro seamen.
3. For international unity of all seamen's organisations, regardless of race.
4. Against war preparation and danger.
5. For a 7-hour and 6-hour day.
6. Against segregation of coloured seamen in men's halls and sleeping quarters.

7. For annual leave with pay.
8. For better cultural conditions, reading rooms, recreation rooms, etc. on ship as well as at ports.
9. Medical attention, sick protection.
10. Equal opportunity for promotion of coloured seamen; against allotting special kinds of work for coloured seamen.
11. For a minimum staff or ship crew which will not place too great strain on crews in case of emergency.
12. Definite age limit for seagoing ships.
13. Maximum limit of ship cargo.
14. Against colour bars, etc.
15. Minimum wage: equal wages for coloured seamen.
16. Against money lenders on ships who rob the seamen.
17. Shore leave and freedom when ships put in at ports; especially for coloured seamen who are not allowed shore leave in certain ports — (Australia).
18. A 6-hour day for all young seamen (18 years).
19. Special courses and training for young seamen.
20. Protection of young seamen.

IN THE COLONIES

The Ways of the Indian Revolution.

By N. Roy.

The process of class differentiation inside the nationalist ranks, which is a condition for the overthrow of imperialist domination by a revolutionary struggle, is slow, devious and painful. The proceedings and the results of the annual meeting of the National Congress, in the closing days of the last year, have once again proved this. The struggle for the capture of the leadership of the anti-imperialist movement by the petty bourgeois radical nationalists from the reformist big bourgeoisie broke out last year when the National Congress, for the first time in its history of forty two years, declared **Complete Independence** (separation from the British Empire) as its goal. On the eve of this year's meeting of the Congress the struggle became so acute that a split appeared to be imminent. The petty bourgeois left-wing was in open revolt against the plan of the right-wing leaders to have the Congress endorse the desire of the big bourgeoisie to come to an agreement with imperialism.

The situation was so acute that the right-wing leaders would have been completely defeated, had they insisted upon carrying through their plan fully and without disguise. For example, on the eve of the meeting of the Congress, the right wing had the majority of only one vote in the Working Committee (governing body) of the Executive. The balance of forces in the full Executive was still more unfavourable; while the rank and file were overwhelmingly hostile to any compromise with imperialism. Offensive tactics, in such a situation, would be disastrous. The petty bourgeois nationalist masses would break away from the anti-revolutionary leadership of the reformist big bourgeoisie, and, by the pressure of circumstances would be driven closer to the working class.

The result of the meeting of the National Congress is that the right wing leaders working in collaboration with the big bourgeoisie standing outside the Congress, have prevented such a clear revolutionary development of the situation. In the critical moment, they called upon the hero of the petty bourgeoisie, Gandhi, to save the situation. It was Gandhi who provided the formula of compromise between the two warring factions. According to the resolution proposed by him, and finally passed after two days of stormy debate, the National Congress agrees to accept **Dominion Status inside the British Empire**, if it will be granted within one year. Petty bourgeois illusion is incorrigible. Seven years ago Gandhi led a mighty revolutionary movement in a blind-alley with the cry "Swaraj (self-government) within one year". He reappears on the poli-

tical arena with his antic and exploded programme, and the petty bourgeoisie again falls for it. In moving his resolution he said:

"If you will follow me and follow the programme I have suggested honestly and intelligently, I promise that Swaraj will come within one year."

The programme he suggested as alternative to the programme of a revolutionary mass movement, which the National Congress must adopt should it insist upon the attainment of complete independence, is removal of untouchability, abandonment of alcohol drinking and popularisation of the spinning wheel. It should be remembered that his notorious **Bardoli Resolution**, which liquidated the revolutionary mass movement of 1920—21, also recommended this programme to the nationalist movement. Gandhi has not learnt anything or forgotten anything since then. But the situation has changed. This was indicated by an unprecedented phenomena in the Congress meeting. While the left wing resolution reaffirming that complete independence is the goal of the Congress, moved in opposition to Gandhi's resolution, was defeated by 1350 votes against 973, epithets of "traitors" were hurled at the right wing leaders including the Mahatma. Such a scene could not be dreamt even a year ago.

With the help of their hero the right wing leaders outmanoeuvred the petty bourgeois rank and file; but the revolutionary tide that sweeps these forward cannot be stemmed. The rank and file of the Congress are bound to move still further to the left — towards the formation of a revolutionary democratic anti-imperialist united front of all those sections of the population whose condition will not be improved, indeed made worse, by a compromise with imperialism sought by the big bourgeoisie and their agents at the head of the National Congress.

The National Congress (that is, the main organ of anti-imperialist struggle) still remains formally tied to the interests and convenience of the big bourgeoisie. As far as resolutions go, it has been forced to repudiate its last year's resolution about the object of the movement, and to declare its readiness to waive its demand for complete independence in favour of self-government within the British Empire. Supposing the British Parliament will grant India the status of a self-governing dominion within a year, acting on the resolution of the National Congress, the Indian people will agree to remain inside the British empire. Owing to political immaturity and the weakness of their social basis, the left radical leaders have been outmanoeuvred in this impossible position where they cannot remain for any length of time without admitting a complete defeat. Jawaharlal Nehru and Suvash Bose, who until now were outstanding leaders of the left opposition, abstained from voting of the Gandhi resolution. In contrast to these, there is Srinivash Iyenger, a former president of the Congress and the principal leader of the radical wing. He kept up the resistance to the end, and characterised the Gandhi Resolution as "ambiguous and unworkable which simply postpones the formal rejection of the Dominion status for a year". And this, after all, is the correct reading of the situation. Obviously as a tactical move, Iyenger, after a prolonged fight inside the governing body of the Executive, agreed to accept Gandhi's compromise formula on condition that the time limit was reduced to one year. This was generally recognised a victory of the left wing. The resolution, as finally agreed upon, has the character of ultimatum to imperialism; but it requires unusual amount of political naïveté to believe that imperialism will take the resolution as an ultimatum. Indeed, it has already answered through its authoritative organ, the London "Times", which commenting upon the resolution observed: "The British Parliament will not be unduly disturbed" by this dramatic gesture. But the resolution can be a potential weapon in the hand of the radical wing of the Congress. As there is no hope of British imperialism granting India full Dominion Status within the time limit set in the resolution of the Congress, the issue avoided today will reappear as the crux of the situation next year. And the final victory will belong to that faction which will have gained ground in the intervening time.

The plan of the right wing leaders seems to be to divert the attention of their rebellious followers from the burning political question to side issues of social reform. Previously, political radicalism of the petty bourgeoisie was allied with

religious and social conservatism. The growing change in the economic situation — development of the modern means of production — is having its reflex upon the ideology of the nationalist movement. Today, critical attitude towards religion and hostility to pre-capitalist social customs and institutions are in fashion among the intelligentsia. They go hand in hand with political radicalism. Therefore the attempt to distract the radical petty bourgeois nationalists with antic cult of Gandhism will no longer be successful.

Nevertheless, the right wing leaders are going to encourage the new zeal for social and religious reform in order to divert the attention of the petty bourgeoisie from the burning political questions. Motilal Nehru devoted a considerable portion of his presidential address to the Congress in denouncing the disabilities placed upon the women and demanding the divorce of politics from religion. The Chairman of the Reception Committee, Sen Gupta, who is an agent of the right among the left, was much more vehement in dealing with the same problems. The logical conclusion of these speeches can coincide with imperialist objection to the freedom of India. The imperialists and their apologists point out the backward religion and social conditions of the Indian people to prove their unfitness for self-government. The big bourgeoisie desire to focus the revolutionary zeal of the petty bourgeoisie upon the fight for the removal of these obstacles. But this fight, of historical importance as it is, cannot be isolated from the political struggle. The two should develop as complimentary to each other — making the national democratic revolution. So, the plan of the right wing leaders to head off the petty bourgeois revolt in the direction of non-political religious and social reform is bound to miscarry.

Consequently, the resolution of the National Congress does not essentially change the situation. It represents an attempt to check the revolutionisation of the anti-imperialist struggle, which, however, is bound to be of no avail, thanks to the operation of forces beyond the control of the right wing leaders. The situation created by the result of the Congress is correctly depicted by a sensible imperialist organ in India:

"We anticipate that the effect of the speech (of M. Nehru at the Congress) will be to bring not peace, but a sword among the parties he has sought to unite, and that he will fail to convince the Extremists who are pushing out any moderate element out of the Congress, that the goal he sets before them is right and desirable, and that the method of approach he has prescribed is suited to the present conditions in India." (The Times of India, Dec. 30/28.)

The struggle for the leadership of the nationalist movement, resulting from the process of the differentiation of class interests, cannot be liquidated by compromise resolutions. Intensification of imperialist exploitation calls for intensified forms and methods of struggle for national freedom. As the big bourgeoisie, owing to its desire to come to a peaceful agreement with imperialism, are opposed to a revolutionary struggle for national liberation, the nationalist movement must have the leadership of a more revolutionary class. Even the petty bourgeoisie, traditionally incapable of taking an independent political attitude, are rapidly outgrowing the leadership of the big bourgeoisie. For example, the left Nationalist organ *Indian National Herald* considers the speech of Nehru as "disappointing" and remarks: "It is hopeless to expect much from men like Motilal Nehru who want to hand over the Congress machinery to the Moderates". After condemning Gandhi as an "adept to compromise" the same paper declares that "there should be no surrender in the fight for independence".

The process of class differentiation will be quickened, the nationalist movement will be completely freed from the influence of the anti-revolutionary bourgeoisie, and will develop a clear revolutionary way in proportion as the influence and intervention of the proletariat and its party in the situation will be effective. The struggle for leadership will have to be fought ultimately between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The present petty bourgeois revolt is only a prelude, and as such is of historic significance.

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

The C. P. S. U. and the Soviet Elections.

Appeal of the C. C. of the C. P. S. U. to the Members of the Party.

The C. C. draws the attention of the Party organisations to the extraordinary political importance of the Soviet election campaign now in progress. It is characteristic of the circumstances under which this campaign takes place that the pressure of the imperialist Powers on the Soviet Union is increased, while at the same time the class struggle within the country is accentuated in connection with the growing resistance of the capitalist elements to the Soviet policy of industrialisation and of a Socialistic reconstruction of agriculture.

The C. C. suggests to the local Party organisations that the proletarian and peasant masses be mobilised in connection with the election campaign in the sense of the main tasks of the Party and of the Soviet power, viz. (1) maintenance of peace and consolidation of the defensive strength of the Soviet Union, (2) continuation of the present rate of industrialisation in agriculture, (3) increase of the harvest output in relation to the area, (4) Socialist reconstruction of agriculture, (5) increase of the struggle against the bureaucracy, and (6) improvement and simplification of the State apparatus.

In view of an increasing aggravation of the contradiction within the capitalist system and of the growing struggle between capital and the working class, accompanied by ever renewed attempts on the part of the capitalist countries to increase the pressure on the Soviet Union, we are threatened more and more with the danger of fresh wars and quite particularly with the danger of an armed invasion of the Soviet Union by the imperialists.

By its energetic fight for peace and disarmament and by the constant revelation of the predatory plans of the imperialists, the Soviet Government does its utmost to prevent a renewal of sanguinary slaughter. The workers and toilers of our country must energetically support the peaceful policy of the Soviet Government and must be ready resolutely to repel all attempts of the imperialists to destroy our peace and our Socialist work of construction. It is up to all workers of the Soviet Union to guard their frontiers zealously and to use all possible means of strengthening the position of the Red Army, which is entrusted with the defence of these frontiers.

The work of industrialisation is progressing favourably. The development of industry in the current year surpassed the measures established by the respective control-figures. In the current year (1928) more than 1,500 million roubles were spent on new or additional industrial plant. We have experienced a further development of the Socialist section of our economy and an increase of the quota of the said Socialist section in our economy in its entirety. The numerical strength of the working class is on the increase. The seven-hour day is being introduced in an ever greater number of enterprises. We already see the first advantageous results of the reduction in the material standard-of-living of the working masses.

In effecting the work of industrialisation, however, we meet with great difficulties, which may be attributed to our economic and cultural backwardness. These difficulties find expression in the lack of means for the development of industry, in the want of goods for the complete satisfaction of the requirements of the masses, and in an extremely slow rate of development in agriculture, with particular reference to grain-economy.

We can only hope to overcome these difficulties by way of the utmost exertion of all forces of the workers, including the peasantry. If we receive no further credits from foreign capitalists, we can yet raise hundreds of millions of roubles which we need for the construction and repair of factories and workshops, for new capital investments in the heavy industries and in the output of the means of production, and for the creation of new branches of production intended to emancipate us from our dependence on the imperialist countries. This, however, is only possible by means of the mobilisation of all economic resources of the country, by the enhancement of the produc-

tivity of labour, by the elimination of all waste and sloth, by an enforcement of labour discipline, by an energetic reduction in the overhead costs of economy, and by a rationalisation of production.

A slowing-down of industrialisation would undermine the independence of our country and be tantamount to a further aggravation of the dearth of goods and to a failure to satisfy the growing demands of the peasantry for agricultural machinery, fertilisers, and other necessary goods; it would likewise entail a slowing-down in the growth of the economic and political importance of the working class, and would finally promote a growth of unemployment. The vital interests of our country, the interests of Socialist construction, and the interests of the broadest masses of workers in both town and country call for the maintenance and increase of our rate of industrialisation.

One of the main obstacles in the way of a maintenance and acceleration of our rate of industrialisation lies in the very slow rate of development in agriculture, especially as regards grain economy.

As a result of its extremely slow rate of development, agriculture is an obviously insufficient raw-material and foodstuff basis for a rapidly progressive industry. Owing to this extremely slow rate of development in agriculture, we are forced to reduce our exports and consequently also to restrict the importation of means of production.

Therefore, the enhancement of agriculture, the enhancement of the productivity of the soil, is one of the main tasks of the Party. The resolution passed at the last session of the Central Executive Committee according to which the productivity of the land in the hands of the peasantry must be increased during the next five years by at least 30 or 35 per cent., must be given the most energetic support by the broad masses of our population. The measures provided in support of the small and smallest peasant farms must be accompanied by a policy of the Socialist reconstruction of peasant economy on the basis of the resolutions of the XV. Party Congress and the subsequent plenary sessions of the Central Committee, by a wholesale development of productive co-operatives and collective farms, by a spread of the practice of cultivation-agreements, by the creation of gigantic Soviet farms, and by an undiminished provision of the peasants with machinery, seed-corn, etc. It is only thus that it will be found possible to liquidate the century-old backwardness of our agriculture and to ensure such a rate of development as is required by the growing demands of the country.

The gigantic tasks confronting the country, the maintenance and acceleration of the rate of industrialisation, the consequent reduction in the cost of output of industrial products, the task of enhancing the productivity of the soil, that of increasing the entire output of agriculture, and the tasks of a Socialist reconstruction of agriculture, all demand that the proletariat and other working masses be recruited for the entire work of the Soviet State far more intensely than hitherto; they demand an improvement in the quality of the work done by the entire apparatus of the State and of economy, they demand the decisive intensification of the struggle against bureaucracy and for a simplification, improvement, and cheapening of the State apparatus, and finally they demand an absolute adherence to revolutionary legality.

One of the most significant tasks of the Party at the forthcoming elections is that of strengthening the connection between the Soviets and the masses of workers and peasants, of expelling from the Soviets all such elements as are nothing but agents of the kulaks, of a resolute realisation of self-criticism, and of a struggle against bureaucracy against a withdrawal from the masses, and against a criminal and indifferent attitude towards the requirements of the masses, which hinders a further successful recruitment of the working masses in general and the proletarian masses in particular for the work of Socialist construction.

The Party and the Soviets have already attained certain results in the direction of an animation of the latter and of the fight against bureaucracy in the State apparatus. These achievements, however, are altogether insufficient in comparison with the volume and the requirements of our Socialist construction. What is needed is an enforcement of the fight against bureaucracy in our State apparatus on the basis of a development of proletarian self-criticism and on the basis of an in-

exorable purging of the State apparatus of all incapable functionaries who are out of touch with the masses and of all elements hostile to the proletariat and the peasantry.

The election campaign must be used as an opportunity to ascertain whether the organs of the Soviet power have carried out the line of the Party, and any distortions of this line must be exposed. It is necessary, in connection with the election and control work, to organise a broad criticism of bureaucracy and any symptoms of separation from the masses on the part of the Soviet organs, to draw the masses into the work of active Soviet construction and to place the best workers, agricultural workers, poor and middle peasants in responsible positions in the Soviets and in the executive committees.

The development of the Socialist section of economy and the consolidation of the co-operatives, the elaboration of collective farms and Soviet estates, and the stricter realisation of the policy set up by the XV. Party Congress in regard to an increased assault on the capitalist elements of town and country, represent a blow against the class-enemy of the Soviet power, the new-bourgeois element in the towns and the kulak element in the rural districts. Hence there follow the intensification of the class-struggle, the increased activity of these elements in town and country, and their attempt to exploit the imminent election-campaign in their own interest against the proletarian dictatorship and its leadership by the Bolshevist Party.

In connection with the elections we may observe the increase in the hostile activity of the kulak and of the organised, counter-revolutionary groups, which include the members of the various sects and those who are in the service of the church. This hostile activity is actually supported by the illegal groups of Trotzkyites, which have in fact turned into counter-revolutionary organisations of a Menshevist type.

In all such activity, a special vigilance and zeal on the part of the Party is requisite. By organising the working class, the rural workers, and the village poor to fight for the suppression of the capitalist elements, and by developing the greatest possible activity on the part of all organisations of the proletariat and of the Soviet public (trade-unions, youth league, organisations of the village poor, assemblies of women-worker delegates, etc.), the Party must keep in check the kulaks who are becoming more insolent, and all anti-Soviet elements in town and country. An essential factor is the guarantee of a proper execution of such regulations as the Soviet Government has provided with a view to restricting the suffrage of the exploiting classes. On this occasion the C. C. calls upon the Party organisations to exercise particular vigilance lest these stipulations be interpreted in a wider sense and extended to the middle peasants, and also to see that any errors in this regard are speedily rectified.

The C. C. is of opinion that the leading rôle of the proletariat in the Soviets, with the village poor as a support and in close alliance the middle peasants, is possible only if such a policy as described above is pursued.

An indispensable condition for the successful realisation by the Party of all the said tasks in connection with the coming elections lies in the consistent pursuit of a pronounced class policy on the part of all Party organisations and in a decided resistance to all vacillations and deviations from the Leninist line in the direction of a compliance with the wishes of the kulaks and a virtual capitulation to the capitalist elements or else in the direction of an under-estimation of the alliance between the working class and the great mass of the peasantry (including the middle peasantry) or of a misrepresentation of the policy of the Party in relation to the middle peasants in particular.

It is only such clear directives as these that will enable the Party to suppress the kulaks and all anti-Soviet elements once and for all and place the working class in a position to lead the broad masses of the peasantry against the kulak and new-bourgeois classes, against the parasites and speculators. Only such a policy as here outlined will enable the Party to overcome the petty-bourgeois vacillations in certain sections of the working class, which are fostered by the influence of certain hostile elements, particularly on the basis of existing difficulties.

The Central Committee is convinced that the Party organisations will see their way to solving the political and practical tasks confronting us in connection with the coming elections and to mobilising the working masses under the leadership of

the proletariat to fight for the further consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship and for the successful continuation of Socialist construction.

The Party enters upon the elections under the unfurled banner of Lenin with the firm conviction that its policy will meet with the unshakable support of the working class and the broad mass of working peasants.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviki).

AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

Prevent the Threatening War against the Soviet Union!

The Pilsudski government has replied to the serious proposal of the Soviet Union to sign, along with Poland and Lithuania, a Treaty of non-aggression as a means of securing peace, with increased armaments and support of the Ukrainian war-mongers.

The English imperialists have made a further advance in India. English agents organised in Afghanistan, along with the backward strata of the country, an armed rebellion in order to align this country also in the anti-Soviet front.

The revelations made by Comrade Cachin in the French Chamber of Deputies regarding the organising of the war of aggression against the Soviet Union, the conclusion of secret agreements, the delivery of war material to the Border States, show the dangerous situation and the determined will of the French government to attack the Soviet Union.

In the German Reichstag there was recently exposed the secret arming of the bourgeoisie and the production of war material on a large scale; the construction of the armoured cruiser, ostensibly "for the defence of the Baltic", shows that the new German imperialism is also taking its place in the anti-Soviet front.

The establishment of the open military dictatorship in Yugoslavia is a further step towards the extension and completion of the aggressive front against the Soviet Union.

Workers of all countries! Friends of the Soviet Union!

All these facts show the exceedingly menacing war danger against the Soviet Union. A war against the Soviet Union is a war against the workers of all countries.

It is the duty of the working class to prevent this war by every means.

The friends of the Soviet Union must organise the defensive front in the factories and workshops and in all workers' organisations.

Factory meetings, mass demonstrations must be held in order to enlighten the workers regarding the threatening war danger.

Committees in factories and trade unions must conduct the mass fight against war preparations.

Down with the imperialist war-mongers!

Long live the Soviet Union!

League of Friends of Soviet Russia.
International Committee.

THE WHITE TERROR

General Hunger-Strike of the Political Prisoners in Bulgaria.

By D. Ivanov (Sofia).

The terrorist government of Liapcheff has replied to the growing amnesty movement by a pardon-swindle. The Bulgarian telegraph agency has spread abroad the lie regarding a "New Years amnesty" in Bulgaria. As a matter of fact it was proposed to pardon or commute the sentences of 195 prisoners, among them being 60 persons who have been condemned under the law for the protection of the State, i. e. political prisoners. It should be remembered that there are in Bulgaria no less than 1200 political prisoners, including 51 who are condemned to death. And even of the 60 political prisoners

only 10 are being granted a full pardon and released, the remaining 50 only being granted commutation of their sentences, whilst for the rest of the political prisoners conditions have been worsened.

The political prisoners immediately reacted to this government manoeuvre by unanimously refusing to accept the "pardon". Thus according to the report of the government newspaper "Zora", all the political prisoners in the Central prison of Sofia have informed the prison management in writing that they refuse the "pardon"; only two or three persons are alleged not to have done so, and these were then immediately recommended for a pardon. In the other prisons, as for instance in the district prison of Tirnovo, a hunger-strike was proclaimed on the 27th of December as a protest against the amnesty swindle. The hunger-strike was taken up spontaneously by the other prisoners. On the 27th December "Pladne", a daily paper of the Peasant League, wrote that already over 800 political prisoners are on hunger-strike and that a general hunger-strike of the whole of the political prisoners is imminent. This news was confirmed on the following day by the labour and trade union press.

Thus the general hunger-strike broke out as a protest against the amnesty swindle of the government and against the refusal to submit to discussion in Parliament the amnesty bill introduced eighteen months ago by the Worker and peasant parties.

A complete political amnesty has become the most popular demand in Bulgaria. For years the government authorities have been bombarded with written requests and appeals, bearing thousands of signatures, often signed by the inhabitants of whole villages, by all the members of town councils (Vratza, Ferdinand) demanding a complete and unconditional political amnesty. In spite of the government repressions this protest movement is even assuming organisational forms. More than eighteen months ago general amnesty committees were set up in a number of towns. The nuclei of these committees are formed by the wives, mothers and relatives of the political prisoners and emigrants, as well as representatives of the workers' and peasants' organisations.

Last month a campaign for the amnesty was organised by these General Amnesty Committees. Also on the occasion of the opening of Parliament on 25th November last, amnesty meetings were arranged in many localities, as for instance in Sofia, Varna, Russe, Dupnitsa etc. The strength of the amnesty movement is shown by the amnesty meeting in the town of Russe, where the representatives of the oppositional bourgeois parties were compelled to declare themselves in favour of the amnesty.

Fierce debates have taken place in Parliament on the amnesty question, especially on the occasion of the so-called reply to the king's speech. Liapcheff succeeded, however, in rejecting the amnesty demand of the Peasants League and of the Social Democrats by means of promises, whilst the deputy of the Workers Party, Comrade Avram Stoyanov, was suspended from Parliament for three sessions and threatened by the minister of justice with imprisonment on account of his energetic insistence upon a complete and unconditional amnesty. Comrade Stoyanov was in fact arrested shortly afterwards.

On the eve of the general hunger-strike of the political prisoners there took place an exceedingly important event, i. e. the demonstration before parliament on the 27th December last. This demonstration, which was attended by delegates from all parts of the country, was the high-point of the amnesty and anti-terror campaign which had been conducted for a month amidst the fury of the white terror. The demonstrators distributed amnesty appeals and protests against the wholesale arrests, which have been taking place since September 1928, and the threats to dissolve the class-conscious legal workers' organisations. (Workers Party, Youth and independent trade unions.) This demonstration, the first to be held since the 1st May, 1927, was broken up by the police; many of the demonstrators were arrested, including 28 from the provinces.

The brutal regime in the political prisons of Bulgaria is well known. The political prisoners are worse treated than the ordinary criminals. As disciplinary measures they are often deprived for months of the right to read newspapers, to write or receive letters and to have visits. The regime is a system for the physical annihilation of the political prisoners. In recent

times there have been frequent cases of death among the political prisoners: in Sofia 2, in Slivno 4, Haskovo 3, etc. Most of the political prisoners have already been in prison 3, 4 and 5 years.

The whole cruelty of the government is best to be seen in its prohibiting of support being rendered to political prisoners and their families and dependents. International proletarian solidarity, against which not even the draconic law for the protection of the State is directed, is nevertheless prohibited.

The general hunger-strike of the political prisoners in Bulgaria, the cry of these victims who are buried alive must be an alarm signal to the international proletariat. It must be answered by a powerful protest movement, by the demand for an immediate, full and unconditional amnesty and the repeal of the law for the protection of the State.

FIGHT AGAINST THE RIGHT DANGER

Resolution of the C. C. of the C. P. of Austria on the Situation in the C. P. G.

(Adopted by the C. C. of the C. P. of Austria with two abstentions from voting.)

The VI. World Congress emphasised that in the present period the Right deviations in the Communist Parties constitute the main danger, and demanded that the struggle against these deviations be placed in the foreground and also that the conciliatory attitude towards the Right deviation be systematically combated.

Precisely in Germany has this decision of the World Congress found its full confirmation. The Right opportunist sentiments and deviations there found expression in the formation of a Right fraction, the nature of which has been correctly characterised by the Open Letter of the E. C. C. I. as a Left social-democratic group in our ranks. In accordance with this political attitude the Right fraction has conducted an open and furious fraction fight against the Party (Fraction conferences, separate newspapers, refusal to submit to discipline etc.) and still continues its Party-splitting activity even today.

In view of all these circumstances it must be declared that it was perfectly necessary and correct, and in fact was even high time, that in addition to the ideological fight also organisational measures have been adopted against the Right leaders responsible for the factional activity. The C. C. welcomes the Open Letter of the E. C. C. I. and endorses the measures which the Polbureau of the C. P. of Germany have adopted in order to carry out the Open Letter, in particular the expulsion of the leaders of the Right fraction. The C. C. is convinced that the C. P. G. will now be in a position to conduct better and more effectively the fight against social democracy, a fight which was hindered and hampered by the Right fraction.

The C. C. further considers as perfectly correct that which the Open Letter and the Polbureau said on the question of the conciliatory attitude to the Right danger, namely, that such a conciliatory attitude only means assisting the Rights and fighting against the Party, and that there can be no place in the life of the Party for such conciliation. The conciliators must finally decide whether they intend to go with the Rights or with the Party.

Resolution of the IV. Party Congress of the C. P. of Yugoslavia on the German Question.

The general intensification of the class conflicts in the present situation undoubtedly demands an iron discipline, unanimity, organisational and ideological clarity and firmness of the whole membership of the Communist Parties. On the basis of this generally more acute political situation there has arisen at present in the Comintern, as a result of the tremendous pressure of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois State apparatus, as

well as a result of the demoralising influence of petty-bourgeois elements upon the Party, certain vacillations and deviations from the political line of the Comintern. Such vacillating, opportunist elements (Brandler, Thalheimer and Co.) made their appearance also in the German Party and attempted to make use of certain difficulties in the Party life for their fractional interests. By their actions these Right elements have undoubtedly caused great difficulties to our brother Party, the C. P. of Germany, which is fighting against imperialism, against the capitalist organisations and against social democracy.

Apart from these Right elements, who are known to all, there are the so-called conciliatory elements, who are no less dangerous because they recognise in words the decisions of the VI. World Congress of the Comintern but in reality do not intend to conduct an energetic fight against the Right elements, which would guarantee the clear and consistent carrying through of the political line of the VI. Congress of the Comintern. By this action the conciliatory elements hinder the leadership of the C. P. of Germany in carrying through the Party actions and thereby undoubtedly weaken the fighting capacity of the whole Party.

The IV. Congress of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia fully and unanimously approves the decision (of October 6th 1928) of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. on the German Question and considers it to be the only correct and necessary one for enhancing the capacity for action of the C. P. of Germany.

IN THE R. I. L. U.

The Forthcoming Organisation Conference of the Subordinate Trade Union Functionaries of the European Countries.

By *F. A p e l t (Moscow).

The establishment of close and permanent connection between the leading organs of the trade union movement and the working masses is acquiring great importance in view of the intensification of the class struggle and of the big economic conflicts, becoming ever more frequent, in a number of countries. We must confess, however, that the organisational connection with the working masses is by far the weakest side of the revolutionary trade union movement. Hence the altogether unsatisfactory leadership of trade union work in the lower organisations, the lack of a permanent, active centre conducting the practical daily work of the trade unions, and the frequently incorrect estimation of the forces and possibilities of our movement.

Already at the IV. Congress of the R. I. L. U. these shortcomings were recorded and the different organisations called upon to do their utmost in order to remove the causes of this unsatisfactory state of affairs. There is not the least doubt that since the congress there has been a real improvement in the connections between the organisations and the R. I. L. U., as well as between the leading organs of the red trade unions and of the oppositional minorities and the lower trade union functionaries.

In order, on the one hand, organisationally to extend and consolidate the already existing connections and, on the other hand, to draw the lower trade union organs into the work of leadership and render it possible for them to exchange experiences, the Executive Bureau of the R. I. L. U. has decided to convene a European conference of representatives of trade union functionaries to be held in April, 1929. For the Agenda of this conference the following items are proposed:

1. The work of the lower trade union organs and of the factory councils in the workshops and factories.
2. Questions of mass work.
3. Organisation of the unorganised.
4. Activity of the lower trade union organisations in economic struggles.

This conference is to be attended by sixty representatives from the following European countries: from France, Germany

and Czechoslovakia about six comrades each, from England, Poland and Italy five comrades each, from Belgium and Switzerland three comrades each, from Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Greece, Roumania, Hungary, Austria, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Ireland, Spain and Portugal two comrades each. The delegates are, in the majority of cases, to consist of comrades who are doing practical work in the lower trade union bodies.

As is to be seen from the agenda, it is intended that this conference shall deal with questions of practical, everyday work. The conference is to demonstrate that revolutionary trade union work as a whole is based on perceiving and caring for the interests of the workers and getting the broad working masses, and in the first place of course the members of trade unions, to discuss and to decide the most important questions of the movement. Much greater attention, therefore, must be devoted to the daily work in the factories and workshops.

The strengthening of our influence in the big undertakings is one of our main tasks, which must be carried out by means of organisation and propaganda. The successful accomplishment of work among the masses again demands the creation and education of a cadre of lower trade union functionaries. The projected conference will have to discuss the methods and ways of training our cadres of trade union functionaries.

An important item of the agenda is the organising of the unorganised. The revolutionary trade unions must become real mass organisations, winning ever fresh sections of workers for the trade union class movement. Unfortunately the decline in the membership of the revolutionary trade unions in certain countries is evidence that these organisations do not know how to tackle in a practical manner the solution of this task, which is an elementary one for the revolutionary trade union movement.

The active participation in and conduct of economic struggles by the lower trade union functionaries is of great importance. The election of strike-committees in the factories, the discussion of appropriate measures before the broad masses of workers, alone renders possible a firm and united carrying out of the struggle. Here it is before all a question of putting to practical use the experiences gained in the last struggles.

In order that a certain preliminary work shall be achieved already before the European conference, national conferences are to be convened in France and Germany so as to be able to provide the big conference with definite material. At the same time it will be necessary, after the European conference, to organise national and district conferences in order to insure that the decisions of this conference shall be fully utilised.

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

Resolution of the Young Communist International on Japan.

(Extract.)

Japan is at the present time experiencing an acute economic situation which is expressed in a sharp competition on the world market which compels the Japanese imperialists to re-organise their industry for the purpose of successful competition. The bourgeoisie is trying to utilise the whole machinery of the State and its economic power for the solution of its internal difficulties, the overcoming of which is necessary in order to strengthen its basis for further imperialist expansion in the Far East, especially in China, which increases the possibility of an imperialist war in the Far East.

This state of affairs in Japan serves as a lesson for the advanced proletarians and raises the class-consciousness of the workers and will lead to big struggles of the Japanese workers against the bourgeoisie. Foreseeing the menace of mass struggles the Japanese bourgeoisie deliberately encourages the reformist movement and illusions amongst the workers and peasants. By destroying the true organs of the working class it helps the reformists to build their own organisations.

Despite the growth of class consciousness the young workers of Japan have not yet consolidated their advanced political organisation, the Young Communist League. Conditions for the development of the Y. C. L. are very favourable, as shown by the development of the Proletarian Youth League. The most class conscious elements of the youth were grouped around that League. The appearance of Social Democratic youth organisations last year and the intense governmental repression of the radical youth organisations (dissolution of the P. Y. L.) on the other, show that conditions have matured for a proletarian youth movement.

The Social-Democrats are beginning to devote their attention to the youth movement because it has lately become a serious factor in the political life of Japan. Only the weakness of the Y. C. L. and its big mistakes (political, tactical and organisational) and the intense governmental repression made possible the temporary success of the S. D. Youth organisations.

The main task confronting our Japanese comrades is to make a thorough, all-round study of the causes of our inability to consolidate the Y. C. L. in Japan. The main reason is hidden in the failure to understand the role and character of a Communist Youth Movement. Our Japanese comrades have not yet fully understood the treacherous role of Social Democracy and the necessity to fight against it. The theory, which found adherents in the ranks of our Japanese comrades, that any kind of young workers organisation, even if it be organised under the influence of the Social Democrats, would be an achievement, must be considered wrong. The organisation of the Y. C. L. is impossible without a struggle against the Social Democratic Youth Organisations.

There has been a wrong attitude towards the question of the united front of the young workers and peasants. The Japanese comrades limited themselves to the creation of one all embracing organisation of young workers and peasants. This renders impossible an actual realisation of the united front. The most suitable tactic would be the establishment of the united front of the young workers in youth sections, youth committees etc., on the basis of struggle for the daily interests of the young workers.

The third cause of our failure was the incorrect utilisation of the struggle for restoration of the Proletarian Youth League. The campaign contained elements of adaptation to the existing political regime. The centre of gravity must be an appeal to the youth to fight for the right to organise. The activity of the youth must be directed towards the organisation of the Y. C. L.

Fourthly, was the creation of all kinds of organisations whenever opportunity arose without any serious attempt to consolidate the Y. C. L. The result was that the organisations formed soon collapsed.

The Y. C. L. of Japan must pay chief attention to winning over the young workers, must be the initiator in organising the working youth in the struggle for immediate interests, through youth sections in the trade unions, youth committees in the factories etc. The struggle against the S. D. youth organisations must also have as its aim the winning over of the best elements to our side, on the basis of criticism of the principles of Social reformism and propaganda of communism. The Japanese experience in calling young Workers Conferences was valuable, but must be linked up with the formation of youth committees, etc. The Y. C. L. will have to draw up a general programme of economic struggle.

The "preparatory societies" (for the formation of a new P. Y. L.) must become the centre of struggle against the present government.

The Y. C. L. of Japan will have a great role to play in time of war against the colonial countries and the Soviet Union. More intensive attention will have to be paid to work among the forces and the various military organisations of the youth. In counteracting the military youth societies it will be necessary to advocate the idea of creation of a proletarian defence force. The Y. C. L. must pay utmost attention to the creation of a mass workers sports movement.

It is necessary to develop youth sections in the Peasant Leagues. Attention must be directed towards the young agricultural labourers, who must be organised in the Agricultural Workers Union.

PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

The Tasks of the Work among the Women Toilers of the Soviet Union.

From the Speech of Comrade Artjuchina on the 10th Anniversary of the Work of the C. P. S. U. among Women.

In our work among the toiling women we have always taken into consideration two points: It was and is our chief task to induce the working women to participate in the solution of the tasks of the Party and of the Soviet State. And in fact the working and peasant women of the Soviet Union participated in the struggle against the invaders; they fought on the front; they assisted in the reconstruction of industry and agriculture. The second point was the concentration of our attention upon those questions which render most difficult the carrying through of the above task, of drawing great masses of women into social work. These questions relate to the cultural backwardness of the women masses.

Now we are confronted with the task of drawing the masses of working and poor peasant women, of agricultural labourers into the work for the industrialisation of the country and for raising the level of agriculture. This was easier in the first years of the revolution. At present greater demands are made upon every working man and woman, upon every peasant and peasant woman who is drawn into the work of socialist construction, into our Soviets, trade unions, co-operatives and other public institutions of all kinds, than were made in the first years of our existence.

In order to build up our national economy under present conditions it is necessary to raise the cultural level. If we are not able to raise the level of the masses of women, if we prove unable to drive home to every working and peasant woman that without raising the cultural level it will be difficult to carry through the work in which our Parties and Soviets are engaged, we shall not be able to achieve that which the broad masses of the toilers could achieve. Therefore, our task consists not only in attracting the masses, but also in enlightening them in every way, in raising the cultural level and education and inducing the working women to learn something.

The country cannot be industrialised, the collectivisation of agriculture cannot be carried through without the participation of the toiling masses; but the masses are still unenlightened, unprepared, uncultured. In order to commence work energetically, in order to assist the Party, in order to participate in construction, we must know to concentrate our attention and the attention of the Party upon the fact that the raising of the cultural level of the broad masses is an important task.

In addition to these main tasks we must not disregard those special circumstances which are still chaining the feet of the proletarian and peasant woman, the questions of daily life. Here our task consists not only in extending the appropriate institutions by means of the State but also in drawing the attention of the local Soviets, trade unions, co-operatives etc. to this work.

The most important institutions in which we have to work are dining halls, laundries and other institutions which make the working woman free for her work and education. Thus is the state of affairs in the cities. But in the village it is necessary to help the peasant woman by mutual insurance, to help the agricultural labourer by the establishment of institutions in the collective undertakings, Soviet undertakings, and municipalities. We must concentrate the attention of the Party, as well as of the social organisations, before all of the Soviets, upon these things. With the carrying through of the seven-hour day there arises the question of the exemption from night work of the pregnant women and the mothers who are suckling their

children. It is our task to carry through these measures of the government.

The workers' dwellings must be constructed in such a way that the working woman shall have more free time at her disposal. We need creches, children homes, laundries, dining halls. By means of the housing co-operatives we must achieve that such institutions are erected along with the new dwellings. These dwellings must not be constructed in the old manner, but simultaneously with the new dwellings the conditions must be created for a new mode of life.

An extremely important question is that of the education of the Communists and of the Youth. The number of working women in the workers' faculties is not increasing. During the last years the number of girls in the elementary schools has been increasing only slowly; the increase of working girls in the vocational schools is insignificant. Our task consists not only in inducing the working women to take part in the schools but also in supporting those who are willing to learn. We must so work among the mothers that our girls do not remain illiterate.

We have still much to do in drawing working women to the Party. The number of working women in the Party is increasing; we have 167,000 women Communists, among them being 91,000 working women. But in practice this number represents less than 13 per cent. We must work very hard to increase the women cadres of our Party.

Our efforts, especially in regard to our work among the working women, must be concentrated upon attaining that our working methods, our delegate meetings, our clubs, our circles and schools, by their common work with the active functionaries in the Soviets, in the trade unions and in the co-operatives, create the necessary cadres for drawing them into the Party.

A further question is the practical training of the working women for the defence of the country. In our agitation work among the broad masses of working and peasant women we shall have to put this question much more seriously than hitherto. We must equip ourselves with military knowledge in order that every proletarian woman, not only at home but also with the rifle in her hand, shall be capable of protecting the Soviet Union from within and without.

The connection of our working women with the working women of the West and of the East must be improved and practically promoted. We welcome with great enthusiasm our proletarian sisters who come to us, but we have no immediate responsibility towards our work in relation to the working women of the West and the East. This work must be organised in such a way that every individual factory, every individual works, whole delegate meetings, newspapers and reviews possess immediate connection with the working women of the West and the East. This will greatly promote the work of the Communist Parties of the West among the working women.

Ten years ago our Party called upon the masses of women to defend the achievements of October, to administer the country. The masses of toiling women have justified this appeal. Now, when the Party is confronted with the question of drawing in still greater masses for the construction of socialism, we must say to our Party that we shall concentrate all our efforts on attracting both the working and peasant women to the solution of the most complicated tasks confronting our Party.

We know that a great responsibility is laid upon us now, because we have behind us the experiences and the practice of ten years of work. We can say to the Party that the masses of women have known how to appreciate the achievements of the October Revolution, because only this revolution created the possibility that the working and peasant women not only obtained equal rights, but that they also take a practical part in the building up of socialism. Upon the barricades of October, under the leadership of Lenin's Party we have obtained equal rights, and we say to the Party: we are prepared to give our life, our forces, our will for the defence of the October Revolution.