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## CONTENTS

- M. N. Roy: The Heroic Struggle of the Indian Proletariat.  
N. Lenin: Those who are Terrified by the Collapse of the Old and Those who are fighting for the New.
- Politics.**  
Willi Schlamm: Increased Activity of the Fascists in Austria.  
J. B...z: The Significance of the Election of Comrade Marty.  
W. Sch.: Juridical Reaction in Austria.
- Fascism.**  
J. S.: Intensification of Fascist Terror in Poland.  
G. D.: The New Papal State.  
The Infamies of the Fascist Special Tribunal.  
Participation in the International Anti-Fascist Congress.
- The Labour Movement.**  
Paul Reimann: The Czecho-Slovakian Textile Workers' Strike.  
A. J. Sm.: Successful Anti-Mond Conference of the Swedish Trade Union Opposition.  
A. J. S.: Reformist Act of Violence in the Norwegian Trade Union Federation.
- The White Terror.**  
The Participants in the General Hunger Strike in Bulgaria in Danger of Death.
- Against the Right Danger.**  
Resolution of the C. C. of the C. P. of Sweden on the Situation in the C. P. of Germany.
- In the International.**  
T. H. Wintringham: The Results of the X. Congress of the C. P. of Great Britain.  
Bertram D. Wolfe: Results of the Elections to the Sixth American Party Congress.  
Resolution of the E. C. C. I. on the Korean Question.
- Proletarian Commemoration Days.**  
M.: Gastone Sozzi.
- Union of Soviet Republics.**  
A. Rykov: The Path to Socialist Agriculture.  
S. Ingulov: The Struggle for the Best Election Results Congress of Tractor Drivers.  
E. K.: The Development of the Standard of Living of the Industrial Workers of the Soviet Union.
- Proletarian Women's Movement.**  
Phyllis Neal: Working Women in the Coming General Election in Great Britain.

## The Heroic Struggle of the Indian Proletariat.

By M. N. Roy.

The happenings at Colombo and Bombay are not isolated events. Nor are they outburst of "religious fanaticism" as the imperialist news service depicts them to be. They are the culmination of a long series of events taking place during the last year which indicate the appearance of the proletariat as the driving and leading force of the Indian Revolution. Growing out of a bitter and protracted economic struggle, the happenings of Bombay are of the greatest political significance involving not only a local industrial issue; they represent a stormy development of the entire political situation of the country into the higher plane of revolutionary mass action.

First a few words about the events at Colombo. The movement was so broad and so deep that for nearly a week the government abdicated its functions to the popular leader, Gunasinha. The city was practically under the rule of the Trade Unions. Uniformed Labour Guards paraded the city, and replaced the police which had to be completely withdrawn on the demand of the proletariat. The situation was so intense and such an atmosphere of panic prevailed that a British member of the government was obliged to make an apologetic statement

in the Parliament, on behalf of the governor, contradicting the charge of the imperialist press that the government had abdicated in favour of the Trade Unions. Not only the police, but even troops could not face the strikers and the mass demonstrations organised in their support. The situation could be kept under control, avoiding a general outbreak and unlimited blood-shed, only with the help of the popular leader Gunasinha. For many reasons, the movement cannot be expected to go any farther in the near future; but the proletariat came out of it decidedly victorious. The weakness of an alien government has been revealed in this trial of strength with the revolutionary masses.

In Bombay, the movement developed into a regular barricade fight owing to several reasons. Firstly, the movement there is maturer being the culmination of a year-long industrial dispute; secondly, the government forces there are much too powerful to be so easily cowed down as at Colombo; thirdly, the imperialist government and the native bourgeoisie jointly provoked the precipitation of events in order to justify new repressive laws. Although the heroic action of the Bombay

proletariat indicates revolutionary maturing of the entire situation of the country, it cannot be expected to develop directly into a general national outbreak. It is only a prelude to what is coming.

The last two years have been a period of developing class struggle evidenced by great strikes and lock-outs which usually developed into mass activities of enormous dimensions. During the last year the situation became so acute that practically all the important industries were affected. The main events of this period were: 1. the great railway strikes lasting for months, involving hundreds of thousands of workers and frequently resulting in pitched battles between state forces and the strikers; 2. the strikes in the Tata Iron and Steel Works of Jemshedpur; and 3. the lock-out of nearly 200,000 textile workers in Bombay for five months. As far as immediate economic demands are concerned, the workers lost oftener than they won in those innumerable battles. But taking a longer view of things, they all contributed to the final triumph of the proletariat. The net result of those struggles is: 1. development of the fighting power of the working class; 2. increase of their will to fight; 3. liberation of the labour movement from the agents of the nationalist bourgeoisie; 4. defeat and discredit of the reformist leaders; 5. rise of revolutionary leaders from the ranks of the proletariat; 6. political independence of the proletariat in the struggle for national freedom; and 7. rapid growth of the influence of the Communists and other revolutionary elements close to them.

By superior forces at the command of the imperialist state, and by close collaboration between this and native capitalist interests, the workers were forced to accept starvation wages and wretched labour conditions. But in as much as the above victories accrued to the proletariat from the experience of the struggle, their power and will to resist capitalist attack grew. Badly organised, treacherously led, culturally backward, materially unequipped for a revolutionary struggle, as they were, the Indian proletariat, nevertheless, ceased to be the submissive "dumb millions" who could be coerced by demonstration of brute force or deceived by counter-revolutionary hypocrisy of a Gandhi. This transformation was evidenced particularly by the resistance of the Bombay textile workers to accept a further wage-cut "to help the premier national industry out of depression". Thanks to the services of nationalist labour leaders, two successive cuts amounting to nearly 30 per cent. of the starvation wages had previously been enforced annulling the raise granted during the period of boom caused by the war. The net profit made during that period of several years was more than double the total capital invested in the entire industry. Nevertheless, when the inevitable depression came, the workers were attacked. The final determination and ability of the workers to put up a stubborn resistance to this capitalist greed created the situation which was bound to develop into the present barricade fight in Bombay and is bound to develop further.

The power and will of the proletariat to fight, evidenced during the bitter struggle lasting for months and months, frightened the bourgeoisie, who clamoured for repressive measures. After five months the lock-out ended on condition that wages and labour conditions should not be altered pending the enquiry by an 'imperial committee'. This was a decisive victory for the workers, who urgently needed a respite in the bitter struggle with superior forces of the enemy. But the employers broke the truce no sooner than it was made. Lower wages and worse working conditions were introduced in individual mills. The employers thought that the workers were exhausted, and tried to take advantage of this exhaustion to beat them down. They were, however, mistaken. Determined resistance was put up from all sides, and the entire industry was thrown into a chronic state of chaos and idleness. In course of the enquiry it became further evident that the workers were no longer a mass of semi-human animals to be driven by capitalist whip. They had to be met as a class, conscious of their class interests and determined to defend and further these interests under revolutionary leadership. Hue and cry were raised against the Communist leaders whose blood was, of course, demanded. The capitalist press in a chorus deplored the fact that the workers have fallen for the Communist propaganda of class-war. Neither the British imperialists nor the Indian capitalists had been accustomed to see workers from the mills appear before the Strike Enquiry Committee, not apologising for their existence, but after exposing

the plans of veiled wage-cut, to declare: "It is for the capitalists to make whatever rules they like and impose them upon the workers. But it is for us to obey these rules or not."

Not only were the employers alarmed by such development of the situation. Not a few of the self-appointed reformist labour leaders, who had been disowned and denounced by the workers in course of the struggle, publicly deplored the ways the labour movement was taking, and practically appealed for measures arresting such unwelcome development. Reviewing the situation one of them said:

"These strikes (on the railways, in the iron and steel industry and in Bombay) are the outcome of the policy of direct action advocated by the Communists, who believe in strike as the first step for the redress of economic grievances; settlement is only sought after the strike is declared. They also believe in the policy of class-war or the promotion of hatred between the workers and the capitalists. (F. J. Ginwalla, in an article in the organ of Bombay mill-owners *The India Daily Mail*, Dec. 20.)

Another, B. Shiva Rao, protégé of the British Independent Labour Party, entrusted with the organisation in India of a branch of the Labour Bureau of the League of Nations observed:

"It is no use disguising the fact that Communist elements are gaining influence and aim to capture the movement. Genuine trade unionism does not believe in strikes as a means for building it up, and wholly disapproves the policy of promoting class consciousness by fomenting industrial unrest. The Indian Trade Union Congress is being exploited in the name of the workers by a few interested groups, and must be radically reorganised to prevent the movement from going into wrong hands!"

Encouraged by such frankly anti-communist pronouncements of the reformist leaders, the Bombay mill-owners openly demanded the suppression of the labour movement. The Bombay Chamber of Commerce, in a memorial to the government asked for speedy enactment of the Trades Disputes Bill which is the Indian replica of the British Trade Union Act. A deputation of the Millowners' Association waited upon the governor to draw his attention "to the alarming outlook and to urge timely measures". Justifying these open demands of the cotton magnates for the suppression of the labour movement their press organ, *The Indian Daily Mail* (Dec. 19) wrote:

"Violent counsel seems to be gaining ground among the workers, and there has recently been an outbreak which is unprecedented in the history of Bombay industry."

But all these threats failed to frighten the workers who persistently resisted the attack upon their already very low standard of living. Obviously in consultation with the government, the employers, then, devised another means of fighting the workers. Suddenly there appeared in Bombay swarms of strike-breakers from the distant nother parts of the country. These men have never had any connection with modern industry. They are inhabitants of very backward hilly tracts. Consequently they are religious and less susceptible to the revolutionary propaganda of class-struggle. Coming from the regions of primitive agriculture they are used to a much lower standard of living. Industrial wages, even at the reduced rate, were a great inducement for them. The introduction of this new factor in the situation was a provocation for the workers. They bitterly resented it; and instead of submitting, as was expected by the government and the employers, went ahead forging new weapons of combat to meet the new situation. Under Communist leadership the trade unions began to organise "Workers Squads", which in a few days enrolled thousands of determined fighters. The situation became acute when the religious fanaticism of the strike-breakers was fanned by a hidden hand. The result is the outbreak which demonstrates what a tremendous power and determination to fight Indian proletariat has acquired during the last two years of incessant struggle. It demonstrates the immense potentiality of mass action organised and led by a revolutionary vanguard. It brings out the proletariat as the only class capable of defying the armed forces of the state. The outbreak in Bombay may be crushed by superior forces; but the spirit it represents will spread, and it has been demonstrated by it that when such outbreak will take place throughout the country, there will be no power to crush it.

Their martyrdom will be another proof that the proletariat is the only leader of the revolution.

The historic significance of the heroic struggle of the Bombay proletariat becomes evident, when it is seen as the most characteristic indication of the whole situation. This struggle points out the driving force behind the radicalisation of the nationalist movement. A month before the outbreak in Bombay, twenty five thousand workers of Calcutta marched into and occupied the pandal of the National Congress against the wishes of the bourgeois leaders. That was a symbolic demonstration which augured the routing of the bourgeoisie from the leadership of the national revolution by the proletaria-

riat. As against the beggarly programme of self-government within the British empire advocated by the nationalist bourgeoisie, the revolutionary proletariat raised the red banner of "The Independent Socialist Republic of India." The demonstration of Calcutta can be compared with the Insurrection of June, 2, 1793, when the Parisian proletariat forced the Jacobins to stiffen up their back, and assume firmly the leadership of the revolution. What was accomplished in Paris has not been done in Calcutta; but objectively the demonstration had similar significance. This is proved by the heroic action of the Bombay proletariat. The proletariat is proving its fitness for the leadership it bid for through the Calcutta demonstration.

## Those who are Terrified by the Collapse of the Old and Those who are Fighting for the New.

By N. Lenin.

The following article, hitherto unpublished, was written by Lenin at the end of December 1917 or at the beginning of January 1918. The original manuscript was recently handed over by Comrade Uljanova to the Moscow Lenin Institute. Editor.

"The Bolsheviki have already been in power for two months, and instead of the socialist paradise we see a hell of chaos, of civil war and a still greater decay than before", so write, say or think the capitalists and their conscious and semi-conscious adherents.

The Bolsheviki have been in power only two months, we reply, but we have already made a tremendous step forward to Socialism. Those who do not see this either do not wish to see it or are incapable of judging the historical events and their connection. These people will not see that the undemocratic institutions in the army, in the village and in the factory have been almost completely destroyed in a few weeks. There is not nor can there be any way to Socialism except the way through this destruction. They will not see that, in place of the imperialist lies in foreign policy, which prolonged the war and cloak the robbery and annexations with secret treaties, there has been set up a real, revolutionary democratic policy, a real democratic peace; these can already point to such a practical success as the armistice and the hundredfold increase of the propagandist forces of our revolution. These people do not wish to see that workers' control, the nationalisation of the banks are in course of being realised; these are, however, only the first steps to socialism.

Those people who, blinded by the routine of capitalism, deafened by the tremendous collapse of the Old, by the noise, by the crash, by the "chaos" (an apparent chaos) of the sinking and collapsing century-old edifice of Tsarism and of the bourgeoisie, terrified by the extreme intensification of the class struggle, by its conversion into a civil-war, into this sole just, sole sacred — sacred not in the priestly but in the human sense of the word — war of the oppressed against the oppressors for the overthrow of the oppressors, for the emancipation of humanity from every yoke, cannot understand the historical perspectives. As a matter of fact all these blinded, deafened and terrified bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and "lackeys of the bourgeoisie" — often without knowing it themselves — allow themselves to be guided by those old, naive, sentimental, intellectually tasteless conceptions regarding the "introduction of socialism", which they know from "hearsay"; they seize upon single fragments of socialist doctrine, they repeat everything which the ignorant and semi-ignorant concoct regarding this doctrine and impute to us Marxists the idea, in fact the plan, of "introducing" socialism".

Such ideas, not to mention such plans, are alien to us Marxists. We knew and repeatedly said that one cannot "introduce" Socialism; that it grows up in the course of the most strenuous, severe — severe to raging, to desperation — class struggle and civil war; that between capitalism and Socialism there lies a long period of "birth pangs"; that force is always the midwife of the old society; that the transition period from a bourgeois to a socialist society corresponds to a special

State (i. e. a particular system of organised force over a definite class), that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat. The dictatorship presupposes and means the condition of a shattering war, a state of war-measures against the opponents of the proletarian Power. The Commune was the dictatorship of the proletariat; and Marx and Engels reproached the Commune with the fact, and considered it as one of the causes of its collapse, that it did not make sufficiently energetic use of armed power for suppressing the resistance of the exploiters.

To all intents and purposes all this intellectual outcry over the suppression of the resistance of the capitalists represents nothing else but a repetition of the old "compromising tendency", to put it politely. If however, one wishes to speak with proletarian candour, then one must say that, in essence the outcry against the present proletarian force which is being employed (unfortunately still too feebly and without sufficient energy) against the bourgeoisie, against the saboteurs, against the counter-revolutionaries is: continued funkism. "The resistance of the capitalists is broken" the good Pechetshonov, the opportunist Minister announced in June 1917. The good fellow never dreamed that the resistance must be really broken, that it will be broken, that this breaking means, in scientific language, the dictatorship of the proletariat, that the suppression of the resistance of the capitalists and, therefore, the systematic application of force against a whole class (the bourgeoisie) and its confederates, characterises a whole period.

The greed, the dirty, malicious, savage greed of the money-bags, the fear and servility of those who eat their bread, this is the real social basis of the present outcry of the intellectuals, from the "Rjetch" up to "Novaya Shishn", against the employment of force by the proletariat and the revolutionary peasantry. That is the objective meaning of their howl, their miserable talk, their farcical cry for "liberty" (liberty of the capitalists to oppress the peoples) and so forth. They were "prepared" to recognise Socialism if humanity could arrive at it at once, by an effective jump, without quarrels, without a fight, without gnashing of teeth on the part of the exploiters, without the numerous attempts on the part of the exploiters to defend the old order or to return to it by devious clandestine ways, without such attempts always evoking the fresh "replies" of revolutionary proletarian violence. These intellectuals, who eat the bread of the bourgeoisie, were "prepared", in the words of the well-known German saying, to wash the fur without making it wet.

The bourgeoisie, and the officials, clerks, doctors, engineers etc. who are used to serving it, resort to the most extreme means of resistance. That frightens the intellectuals. They tremble with fear and they howl and whine still louder regarding the necessity of returning to "compromises". We, however, and all sincere friends of the oppressed classes can only rejoice at the extreme resistance of the exploiters, as we expect the maturing of the proletariat to power not from bargaining and persuading, not from the school of sweet sermons or learned declamations but from the school of life, from the school of struggle. The proletariat must learn to be the ruling class and finally vanquish the bourgeoisie: it does not acquire

such a capacity all at once. It must learn it in the fight. And only a serious, obstinate, desperate fight can drive home this lesson. The stronger the resistance of the exploiters, the more energetically, the harder, the more ruthlessly and successfully will they be crushed by the exploited. The more numerous the attempts and the efforts of the exploiters to defend the old, the more rapidly will the proletariat learn to drive its enemies out of their last retreat, to tear up the roots of their rule and to destroy even the ground from which wage slavery and the profit and the liberty of the money-bags could (and must) grow up.

The extent to which the resistance of the bourgeoisie and its servants grows, to the same extent grows the force of the proletariat and the peasantry allying itself with it. The exploited become stronger, mature, grow, learn and exterminate the "old Adam" of wage slavery to the same extent as the resistance of their enemy, the exploiters, grows. The victory will go to the exploited, for life is working for them, for they have on their side the force of numbers, the force of the masses, the force of the inexhaustible sources of all self-sacrificing people, of all the honest, of those who are urging forwards, of those who are advancing to the building up of the New, the gigantic reserves of energy and talent of the so-called "simple people", of the workers and peasants. To them belongs the victory!

## POLITICS

### Increased Activity of the Fascists in Austria.

By Willi Schlam m (Vienna).

Since the notorious Parade of 7th October 1928 in Wiener-Neustadt, the Austrian Fascists have been working with more concealed methods. They have been engaged behind the scenes with the extensive development and comprehensive armament of their organisations. And now they enter the arena with redoubled energy.

The tactics of the Austrian Fascists are being elaborated more and more obviously on Mussolini's tactics before the March on Rome. They are based on the certainty that the Social Democratic Party retreats on principle, and their strategic aim is the complete intimidation of the working class. The fighting methods used correspond to these tactics: **expeditions into the workers' quarters, breaking up of workers' meetings, raids on workers' premises.** One point common to all these Fascist measures is the deliberate impudence, the utter lack of restraint — an attitude truly made easy for these bandits by the support lent them by the state apparatus and the social democratic leaders. They are certain, that no provocation will be punished so long as the masses do not shake off the social democratic fetters.

The demonstrative expeditions of the Fascists into the industrial quarters are of paramount importance. The employers' union financing these expeditions finds no expenditure too great for this purpose, for this insolent demonstrating of the Fascist hordes in the workers' quarters aims at intimidating the proletariat. The employers hope — and are not far wrong — that industrial districts whose proletarian character has already been infringed by the unhindered holding of Fascist parades are likely to be "preserved" from strikes. Here the Fascists have to accomplish their most essential task, that of breaking the back of proletarian activity. And precisely because the recent **growth of unemployment and mass poverty in Austria** is causing the employers to fear an intensified fighting spirit on the part of the workers, precisely for this reason Fascism is increasing its activity.

On 3rd February the Fascists gave their gathering signal at the Lower Austrian industrial town of Gloggnitz: Here they fell upon a meeting being held in the Workers' Premises, demolished the house and injured numerous workers. It sounds like a joke when we hear that this meeting formed part of a social democratic agitation campaign, being carried on under the motto of: "With intellectual weapons against Fascism". The Fascists supplied an object lesson of what is to be hoped from these "intellectual weapons". The chief speaker, Püchler, was somewhat seriously injured; that same Püchler who, in his capacity of vice-mayor of Wiener-Neustadt, protected the Home

Defence League March on 7th October from the indignation of the masses; who arrested communists at that time and beat them until blood flowed; who is indeed one of the most notorious figures in all the gallery of social democratic promoters of Fascism. The Fascist bandits, in beating even this individual, have shown the workers whither the "cautious" policy of the retreating Austro-marxists leads.

The workers of the industrial district of Wiener-Neustadt and Gloggnitz have been roused to a fever of excitement. On 4th February several hundred men employed in the Hart mine declared a **political strike**, whose immediate object was the removal of those Fascist strikebreakers who had been smuggled into the mine during the previous months. Stormy protest meetings were held in the larger localities. The Social Democratic Party Committee has at once brought its whole apparatus into play to stifle the movement of the workers: One "conference of functionaries" follows another. Renner and other great guns are travelling about in the district to maintain "discipline". The strike in Hart has been throttled, and the possibility of its spreading to other parts of this great industrial district prevented.

The Austrian S. P. has found no other slogans to issue than: "Join the Republican Defence Corps!" Peace and discipline! "The ballot box will bury the Home Defence spectre!" The social democratic press writes so lamentably that the Fascist papers ridicule it daily.

The Communist Party of Austria, on the other hand, is endeavouring to strengthen the fighting will of the masses, and to show it the weapons to be employed: **Political mass strike in the Lower Austrian industrial district, until all undertakings are cleansed of Fascist germs; the prevention of all Fascist demonstrations or meetings; the formation of anti-Fascist defence committees in the works and factories; the reinforcement of the (revolutionary) Workers' Defence Corps; the disarming of the Fascists, the arming of the workers.** The C. P. of Austria is able to point out the positive success of its slogans of anti-Fascist activity: In Vienna and in Styria Fascist meetings have been broken up repeatedly on the initiative of the communists, and this was a severer blow to the Fascists than the "fight with intellectual weapons" advocated by the Austrian S. P.

The present movement in the Lower Austrian industrial district is of special importance, for the reason that a trial of strength is imminent in Vienna itself before long: the first Fascist demonstration in Vienna is announced for February 24th, in Meidling, one of the largest labour districts of Vienna. The parade will be reviewed by the Home Defence leader Steidle, and is to be followed by a "recruiting procession" through the workers' quarters. An official announcement made by the Home Defence leaders states that "strong intervention troops will be stationed in the immediate environs of Vienna" (Meidling is one of the suburban districts of Vienna), fully armed and prepared to intervene at the slightest attempt at a disturbance. That is plain language. One part of the bourgeois papers (for instance the "Neue Freie Presse") finds it even too plain; one fraction of the bourgeois camp is beginning to criticise the determination of Fascism, for it fears the resisting powers of the workers when too greatly provoked.

The 24th February will perhaps prove even more important for Austria than 7th October of last year. For this time the front has shifted to Vienna. Therefore the Austrian C. P. is concentrating its whole powers on the organised prevention of the Fascist March on 24th February.

The Social Democratic Party announces already that it will do everything, by means of its Defence Corps, to prevent the workers from breaking up the fascist rally on 24th February.

Their present slogan is: "No worker has any business in the street." It is not unlikely that in the further course of events the Austro-marxists will undertake this or that manoeuvre, but their main object will remain to guarantee the undisturbed carrying out of the Fascist parade. Is this not already evident in the fact that the head of the Viennese municipal authorities, Karl Seitz, refuses to make use of even the legal possibility of a prohibition of the demonstration, of that law which the social democrat Seitz has repeatedly utilised to suppress communist demonstrations in Vienna! The Austrian S. P. retreats in the matter of Fascist parades, to the fundamental standpoint that these parades may be held "in view of the democratic equality of all citizens of the republic".

The commanders of the Fascist bands have already proclaimed that if the 24th February passes off without disturbance, it is to be followed by a **comprehensive demonstration of the Vienna Home Defence Leagues on 1st May**, the fighting day of the proletariat! Austrian Fascism continues to pursue its path of challenge, energetically and consistently. Hence the utmost importance of the counter mobilisation of the proletariat, being organised to active resistance by the **Austrian C. P.**, the **Anti-Fascist Committees**, and the **Workers' Defence Corps**.

The inner political development of Austria is assuming increasingly acute forms; the next few weeks will witness in this country a struggle for an important section of that front which has been formed between Fascism and the proletariat all over Europe.

## The Significance of the Election of Comrade Marty.

By J. B. . . . z (Paris).

At the second ballot in the by-election which took place on February 3rd, in the constituency of Puteaux in the environs of Paris, our Comrade André Marty won a victory over the fascist Gautherot. Marty was elected by 8317 votes against 7679 polled by Gautherot; about 600 votes were polled by two opponents, one of whom is a so-called **Trotzkyst**, the renegade Souvarine, who, after having betrayed the III. International, now occupies the position of secretary to the worst socialist jobbers.

The result of this by-election renders it possible to establish two important facts:

1. The complete concentration of all the workers' votes upon the Communist candidate. At the election in 1928, when 3000 more electors went to the poll than at the present election, the former Communist candidate Ménérier polled 6227 votes at the first ballot and 7064 votes at the second ballot; this time Comrade Marty polled 6553 votes at the first ballot and 8317 votes at the second ballot. Thus the second ballot shows a **great increase of votes over the first**, and this for an outspoken class candidature, the character of which was clearly displayed: against "National Unity", against rationalisation, against war, for the defence of the Soviet Union and for the revolution. A comprehensive work for the united front has been achieved in the factories and the foundations for factory committees capable of putting up resistance were laid. It is to this work that the good result is before all to be ascribed.

2. In his election the Socialist Party disappeared as an important political factor, although it formerly had a strong position in this constituency.

The Socialist Party, unable to refuse its support to the social-fascist Torrès at the first ballot, found itself compelled, in order, if possible, not to disperse its decimated troops still further, to recommend its followers to vote for Marty at the second ballot. The respective declaration, full of malicious calumnies against our Party, was in reality **nothing else but a spiteful appeal to fight the Communists**, an appeal which was printed in the whole of the reactionary press and there met with the highest approval. Thus the Socialist Party is losing more and more contact with the working masses; it is incapable of laying down a clear line; it does not yet dare, for fear of losing its last followers, to recommend its adherents to direct their fire against our Party. But in practice it hastens to the aid of the most reactionary bourgeoisie not only at the elections, but also in the direct struggles of the workers: in the strike movements of the miners and the textile workers of Halluin.

The election of Marty shows that the workers of the Paris district are rallying round the Communist Party and its revolutionary aims, and this at the expense of the socialists. The result of the election enables us to raise in the whole country with still greater emphasis the question of the mass struggle for amnesty and against persecutions.

## Juridical Reaction in Austria.

The Planned Abolition of Trial by Jury.

By Sch. (Vienna).

Dr. Slama, Minister of Justice in the Seipel Government, has officially announced that the government intends shortly to bring in a law for the "reform" of the jury system. This "reform" is to consist of the abolition of trial by jury. Nothing more nor less.

Seipel has again shown himself to be a skilful tactician. This latest advance of his is made under circumstances favouring the concealment of its reactionary nature. In the course of the last few years Austrian juries have pronounced a considerable number of verdicts calculated to arouse the indignation of the broad masses of the people. One of these verdicts, the **acquittal of the Schattendorf murderer of workers on 14th July 1927**, acquired world historical importance: It was the occasion for the **July insurrection in Austria**. And even since then juries have persisted in the most amazing verdicts, acquittals for the most part; these have, however, generally been in **criminal trials** (chiefly trials for murder), and have not involved any **political consequences**.

In January, 1929, however, a more or less **political case** came up for trial by jury, and the issue of this has formed a suitable occasion for Seipel's "reform". The jury were called upon to deal with the Fascist journalist **Pöffel**, a corrupt former editor of the "**Neues Wiener Journal**", notorious as the most venal and unscrupulous anti-Soviet newspaper in Central Europe. Pöffel had shot his editorial colleague **Wolf**, in the police court, just as the defamatory accusations brought against him by Wolf were about to be discussed. In January the murderer stood before the jury. For five days his counsel exerted every effort to represent him as a victim of his "conservative convictions". And the result actually was an acquittal. Here was another verdict, pronounced by a jury, calculated to arouse the indignation of broad circles. And this indignation, directed against Fascist methods of justice, is now being exploited by Seipel's Minister of justice for the further Fascisation of justice!

The government proposes to replace trial by jury by trial before enlarged magisterial senates, consisting of three professional judges and three lay judges. Whilst hitherto the **twelve jurors** have decided solely the question of **guilt**, and the tribunal of **three judges** solely the sentence to be imposed, the three professional and the three lay judges are now to decide conjointly the question of guilt and the sentence. Whilst hitherto the jurors have been able to bring in their verdict of "guilty" or "not guilty" according to their free judgment, these new tribunals must give the legal grounds of their decisions, a provision further increasing the complete dependence of the lay judges upon the professional. Whilst the regulations hitherto in force permitted workers to be selected to serve on juries, the number of lay judges is to be confined to an extremely narrow circle of persons "known to the juridical authorities as suitable", that is, to reliable bourgeois intellectuals and petty bourgeois.

It need not be emphasised that trial by jury, in a certain sense, is an instrument of bourgeois class justice, and therefore the communists have no intention of defending it on principle. On the contrary, they leave no doubt that the proletarian revolution will have to replace the "democratic" jurymen's box by the class-conscious revolutionary tribunal. But until capitalist State power has been shattered, trial by jury can at least serve to render brutal counter-revolutionary class justice **unreliable**. Workers are not infrequently summoned to serve on juries, and are thus given the opportunity of frustrating class justice. The workers against whom the chief accusations were brought after the **July insurrection in Vienna** were acquitted, because they had to be brought before a jury. The "enlarged magisterial courts" as now planned would certainly have passed heavy sentences on them, for at that time the Austrian professional judges were thirsting for vengeance.

The abolition of trial by jury would mean an alteration of the constitution. If it is to be pushed through legally, it therefore requires the consent of a two-thirds parliamentary majority, and this is not to be accomplished without the aid of the social democratic parliamentary fraction. Signs are increasing that

the Austro-Marxists are ready for even this shameful act; probably they will induce the government to accede to this or that softening of some points in the present bill, and then, under the title of "adaption to the laws of Germany", will give their assent to the Seipel plan in its main outlines. The tone adopted by the Austro-Marxist press makes this extremely probable. It has long been railing against the system of trial by jury; and not in terms condemning the influence of bourgeois class justice on these tribunals, but in a manner representing nothing more nor less than the preparation of a frontal attack on the system of trial by jury.

In this stage of the battle between bourgeoisie and proletariat the Communist Party is again the sole leader of the Austrian working class, which must defend itself against this latest and most dangerous advance of juridical Fascism, if it does not wish to experience the frightful torture of a "legal" White Terror.

## FASCISM

### Intensification of Fascist Terror in Poland.

"The police shoot, and will continue to shoot."

By J. S. (Warsaw).

The International Anti-Fascist Congress to be held shortly in Berlin is to concentrate its main attention on the question of the organisation of the struggle against Italian Fascism. But there can be no doubt that the latest events in Poland will cause the Congress to direct the special attention of its participators to the intensification of Fascist Terror in Poland.

The crimes committed by Polish Fascism against the workers, peasants, and oppressed peoples, form an endless chain; Thousands of political prisoners, incarcerated in gloomy bourgeois gaols; the systematic breaking up of workers' meetings; the suppression of strikes by force of arms; the torture of political prisoners; the murder of peasants who protest against the exploitation exercised by the large landowners, the suppression of the emancipation movements among the oppressed peoples; the organisation of armed attacks by Fascist fighting groups in the Polish S. P. on workers' representatives, workers' meetings and demonstrations, and even whole districts of proletarian Warsaw.

Fascism has, however, hitherto attempted to conceal its crimes beneath the deceitful cloak of "legality" and "liberalism". But now Pilsudski the bloody deems the time to be fit for him to come forward a little more openly and to unveil a part of his countenance — the countenance of a Fascist hangman and murderer of workers and peasants.

At the session of the Polish Sejm on 4th February, during the debate on the budget of the Ministry of the Interior, the communist deputy Comrade Heinrich Bittner rose and informed the house of the murder of a worker by the police in the courtyard of the Defensive (political police) at Sosnowiec (Dombrova coal district). This worker had been arrested on suspicion of Communism. At this moment the Minister for the Interior, Skladkowski, rose from the government benches and interrupted the speaker, amidst the applause of the representatives of the government party, with the declaration:

"The police do not strike, but shoot, and will continue to shoot when the communists threaten the existence of the State."

It is the first time that in Poland the Fascist government has openly admitted in the Sejm that it employs a system of murder against the revolutionary workers and peasants, and will continue to employ this system. This declaration, unheard of even in Fascist Poland, met with an immediate expression of solidarity on the part of the acting vice marshal, the representative of the whole Sejm Presidium, which is headed by the leader of the Polish S. P., Daszynski.

What is the meaning of this declaration from the Fascist Minister of the Interior? It is an open legalisation by the government of all the murders and brutalities committed by the police against the working masses. It is both a stimulus and a command for the enhancement of the Terror, for the increased employment of bloody police methods.

"The police shoot, and will continue to shoot." These words, resounding in the Sejm in the name of the Fascist dictator, announce the rise of a fresh tide of Fascist terror.

A few months ago the Fascist government commenced an offensive against the rights hitherto enjoyed by the political prisoners. This was followed by desperate struggles with the aid of hunger-strikes, resorted to by the political prisoners in the well known Paviak gaol, in the notorious Myslowice in Upper Silesia, in the Lemberg Brigidki, notorious on account of the cruelty of its administration, and in other places. But this did not suffice the Fascist government. The growing discontent of the masses, their growing activity as evidenced in the great Lodz strike, in the agricultural labourers' strikes in the West Ukraine, and in a strike wave spreading over the whole country — all this the Fascist government intends to suppress by means of bullets and bayonets.

Polish Fascism, enclosed on all sides by mounting economic difficulties, seeks a means of escape in increased exploitation and in an unbounded reign of terror. The White Terror is at same time a means towards preparing for war. It is to subdue the resistance of the masses against the criminal preparations being made by Polish Fascism for an attack on the Soviet Union. Polish Fascism talks loudly of peace, but at the same time it is feverishly organising war. The Fascist government, in giving its police the command to shoot communist workers, is taking another step in the direction of war.

The terror being exercised against the workers and peasants is closely bound up with increased repression and brutality against the oppressed and subject nationalities. The chief sufferers are the working masses of the West Ukraine and West White Russia, occupied by Polish imperialism. A memorable incident was the pogrom against the Ukrainians in Lemberg on 1st November last year, when the police and the bands of young Polish Fascists wounded dozens of Ukrainians and demolished a large number of Ukrainian economic and cultural institutions. And after this frightful pogrom the government declared publicly that it was at one with the barbarism of the Fascist rabble. The same Minister of the Interior, Skladkowski, speaking at a session of the Sejm held on 14th November, hurled the following cynical words in the faces of the Ukrainian masses:

"The police were guilty, because they were too considerate."

Today the Minister of the Interior, Skladkowski, turns upon the whole revolutionary camp of Poland, and proclaims:

"The police shoot, and will continue to shoot."

The working masses will impress these words on their memory! Mr. Skladkowski is mistaken if he hopes to crush the revolutionary struggle of the workers and peasants by terrorist methods. The proletariat of Poland has been sufficiently steeled by its long years of struggle against the tsarist regime, and during the rule of the Polish bourgeoisie. The prison cells and bloody devices of the Fascist hangmen are nothing new to it.

The workers of Poland remember very well the famous words of the tsarist minister Treppov:

"Shoot, don't be sparing with the cartridges!"

Today it is Pilsudski who takes the place of the White Tsar, whilst Skladkowski apes Trentov and endeavours to surpass him. The throne of the Romanoffs has been shattered into fragments and the power of the bourgeoisie overthrown, beneath the organised blows of the proletariat. And no intensification of terror will save Polish Fascism from its fall. The workers and peasants of Poland will reply to the brutalities of Fascism by intensifying their revolutionary struggle under the banner of the Communist Party of Poland, and remain steadfast in their conviction that for the Fascist dictatorship, with its ringleader Pilsudski and with its whole horde of murderers of the working people, the day of reckoning is coming.

## The Infamies of the Fascist Special Tribunal.

### Figures Regarding Reaction in Italy.

Along with the methods of "illegal" extermination of the best leaders and most active elements of the labour movement of Italy, the Fascist Special Tribunal, Mussolini's Party "court of justice", composed of four officers of the Fascist Party militant, is entrusted with the "legal" defence of the Fascist State. The whole apparatus of Fascist reaction is unceasingly at work to impart its bias, by means of ruthless Terror, to the open struggle between the proletariat and Fascism.

In the course of 1928 the Special Tribunal increased, rationalised, and perfected its work. In order to make it possible for the Special Tribunal to deal with the whole of the enormous number of political trials, and in order to make it possible for the court to sit daily, the Fascist government has been obliged to increase the personnel of the court by numerous presidents, judges, and public prosecutors. The number of trials dealt with by the Special Tribunal, the number of prisoners sentenced by it, and the number of years of imprisonment which it has imposed, form a frightful record, of which the following figures bear witness:

In 1927 the Special Tribunal imposed terms of imprisonment totalling 1200 years; no data are available on the number of persons sentenced, the number placed under police control, or the amounts of the fines imposed, for this year.

In the first half of 1928 the Special Tribunal sentenced 264 accused to 1688 years, 4 months, and 4 days imprisonment and 521 years police control, and imposed fines amounting to a total of 149,600 lire; in the second half of 1928 the number of condemned rose to 379, and the terms of imprisonment to 1827 years, 5 months, and 5 days, and 1932 years of police control. The sum total of the fines amounted to 22,600 lire.

These figures bear witness to the heroism of the Italian workers in their daily struggle against bloody Fascist reaction.

## The New Papal State.

### Mussolini's Peace with the Vatican.

By G. D.

After several years of negotiations a treaty has at last been concluded between the Pope and Mussolini; it is true that this treaty has not yet been published officially, but its existence is no longer denied. The treaty provides for the resuscitation of the sovereign papal Church State. According to this treaty the territory of the Vatican, together with several other pieces of ground in and about Rome, is to be recognised as the Papal State with the Pope as sovereign. Diplomats to the Papal Court will have to take up their residence within the territory of the Papal State. The Pope is to regain all the rights of a State ruler. In Geneva the question of admitting the Papal State to the League of Nations is already being considered. This step would put the Pope under obligation to co-operate in all the diplomatic and military actions taken by the League. There is a special treaty to cover the military forces of the Papal State. The Vatican is to receive from Italy a milliard lire as compensation for the papal property confiscated in 1870.

Though the power of the new Papal State may be but very limited, this reconciliation between the Fascist State and the Vatican is not of mere symbolic political significance. The abolition of the Papal State was an important act of the bourgeois revolution against the feudal powers of the Middle Ages. After the proclamation of the Roman Republic in 1798 the Papal State was practically destroyed. In 1815 it was for a while restored by the Vienna Congress of the Holy Alliance upon the overthrow of Napoleon, only to be once more

abolished by the bourgeois national revolution in Italy in 1860. After this revolution the Papal State was confined to Rome until September 20th, 1870, when the troops fighting for the national unity of Italy wrested Rome, too, from the papal power. Since that time the Popes, who have never recognised this revolutionary act, have lived in "voluntary imprisonment" in the Vatican and have never entertained relations with the Italian State. The rise of the Italian bourgeoisie and the consolidation of the United National State of Italy was effected through fierce anti-clerical fighting against the influence of the Church.

In the beginning Fascism adopted this anti-clerical national tradition. But as soon as he had got into power, Mussolini began to flirt with the Pope and the Catholic Church. The alliance contracted between Fascism and the Vatican represents a confederation of the most reactionary forces of the day and symbolises manifestly the retrogressive development of the one-time progressive national bourgeoisie in the period of imperialism.

Mussolini's reconciliation with the Pope was effected out of considerations of a domestic and foreign-political nature. In home affairs Mussolini hopes thereby to disarm the growing opposition of the peasant and petty-bourgeois masses gathered about the low Catholic clergy of the Catholic People's Party. In foreign affairs, by recognising Italy as the "Catholic Power", the Pope will strengthen the positions of Italian imperialism in the colonies, especially against France. Up to the present France has been the patron of all Catholics in the colonies and has therefore been supported by the Catholic missionaries. Italy will now be able to exploit the Catholic missions as agencies of its own imperialism and give a set-back to its French rival.

This new alliance between Popery and Fascism is designed to strengthen Fascist imperialism against its rivals and Fascist reaction against anti-Fascist forces.

## Participation in the International Anti-Fascist Congress.

The appeal issued by the impending International Anti-Fascist Congress in Berlin: "To all opponents of Fascism", is meeting with an ever larger response among the workers, and among the Left inclined intellectuals. Many organisations and individuals have already responded to the appeal with expressions of concurrence and support, among these the "International of War Victims und Ex-Servicemen", the "Left Socialist Party of Poland", the "Algemeen Nederlandsch Vakverband" (Utrecht), Dr. von Schönaich, Bernhard Kellermann, Alfred Kerr, Heinrich Mann, Dr. Helene Stöcker, Ernst Toller, Prof. Heinrich Zille, Eduard Fuchs, Prof. Magnus Hirschfeld, E. J. Gumbel, Dr. Manfred Georg, Mme. G. Duchène, Henri Besiès, Victor Marguerite, etc.

The International of War Victims and Ex-Servicemen, has sent the following letter to the Initiatory Committee:

"We welcome the initiative to a congress against Fascism, and have resolved to take part in it. The International of War Victims itself has learnt by experience that the Fascist governments do not hesitate to persecute even war victims' organisations, as soon as these carry on a struggle against the preparation of fresh wars. Hence our Italian section was shattered by Mussolini, and thousands of its active functionaries thrown into prison or forced to emigrate. In Greece Pangalos crushed the Pan-Hellenic Union of Ex-Servicemen. It is only a few months since the Bulgarian government organised a coup against the General Union of War-Disabled in Bulgaria. — Down with Fascism!

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

### The Czecho-Slovakian Textile Workers Strike.

By Paul Reimann (Reichenberg).

On 7th February about 6000 textile workers of the North Bohemian textile industrial district around Reichenberg went on strike, partial strikes having been already in progress some days before in some factories of the Brünn district, as well as a partial strike among the workers of the firm of Klazar in Königinhof. The taking up of the struggle in the Reichenberg area, where the factories of the Grottau district have gone almost unanimously on strike, and undertakings playing a decisive role in Reichenberg, Kratzau, and Friedland, have joined the struggle, is the signal for the general taking up of the struggle in all textile districts of Czechoslovakia, where a wage movement has been going on since 1st December. During the next few days the strike will doubtlessly spread to fresh districts, and in the North Bohemian textile district the strike already begun will assume greater dimensions.

This is the beginning of a struggle which will undoubtedly prove a turning point in the development of the economic struggles of the Czechoslovakian proletariat, for this struggle has been under the leadership of the Communist Party and the Red trade unions from the very beginning, and has been from the first moment it broke out not only an economic struggle, but a fight carried on under the political slogans of the Communist Party.

The struggle of the Czechoslovakian textile workers has broken out in a large number of contract districts, in which about 150,000 textile workers are employed, forming the great majority of the whole Czechoslovakian textile proletariat. The textile section of the International Workers' Union gave notice on 1st December of termination of contracts for the East and Central Bohemian contract district, for the Brünn contract district, for the Asch district and the four Bohemian contract districts, and for the Friedek-Mistek district (in the vicinity of Modavian-Ostrau). The notice terminating the wage contract has been followed by that terminating the collective agreements, and by the presentation of demands directed, chiefly against capitalist rationalisation.

The Czechoslovakian textile workers live in the most wretched poverty. The Czechoslovakian working class is miserably paid in general, but it may be claimed that the textile workers belong to the worst paid categories of all. To this must be added that during the last few months capitalist rationalisation has been introduced in its intensest form into the textile undertakings. The increase in number of machines to be attended by only one worker, the introduction of new and studied forms of the piecework system (output wage etc.), the introduction of fines for faulty work, etc., are arousing the fierce resentment of the textile proletariat. Rationalisation, more than anything else, has aroused the fighting spirit of the textile workers, in addition to the political slogans of the Communist Party, there stand in the forefront of this struggle, first of all, those demands of the textile workers which are directed against capitalist rationalisation.

From the very commencement of the struggle the treachery of the reformists has been open and unashamed. In North Bohemia, for instance, the reformists have not given notice of termination of the agreements, thereby deliberately depriving the workers of the weapon of the open fight, but have called upon the employers to grant the workers a lump sum, and have not given notice of expiration of the workers' agreements. In the other districts the reformists have given notice terminating agreements, but have again, as in North Bohemia, expressed themselves as content with a meagre bonus in relief of the rising prices, and have everywhere concluded fresh agreements on this basis with the employers with the intention of throttling the struggle.

Immediately after concluding this despicable pact with the employers, the reformists commenced a campaign in all textile districts with the object of inducing the textile workers to accept the high prices relief. At the same time the Communist Party and the Red trade unions have been calling upon the textile workers to organise the struggle against this infamous agreement between reformists and employers, and to elect strike

committees in the factories for carrying on the struggle. The reformists, who, in the course of the wages movement, everywhere concluded their pact with the employers, soon made it quite evident that they intended organising open strike breaking.

Under these conditions it was obvious from the beginning that the textile workers' struggle was bound to develop in the form of a struggle against the united front of employers and reformists, backed up by the capitalist apparatus of power, and that in the course of the fight the reformist trade unions would be transformed into storm troops aiding the employers against the fighting textile workers. Therefore the Communist Party made it a part of its preparations for the struggle to expose the rôle played in this struggle by the reformists, their alliance with the employers on the basis of industrial peace, and the false and opportunist slogans propagated by one section of the trade union functionaries ("Force the reformists to give notice of termination of the contracts", "We must drive the reformist trade unions forward"), slogans which have caused much confusion, especially in the initiation of the wages movement.

The openly blacklegging policy pursued by the reformist leaders is not the sole feature lending a special stamp to this struggle. The last few months have rendered the political situation in Czechoslovakia extremely acute. The development towards Fascism is becoming increasingly self evident, and the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie took the first decisive step in the transition to openly Fascist methods of rule, in December last year, at the election of representatives to the provincial and district councils. A further step towards open Fascism is the change of Prime Minister — the recent appointment of Udrzal, hitherto Minister of war, and a representative of the openly Fascist wing of the agrarian party, to the office of Prime Minister. In the Fascisation of Czechoslovakia the social democrats are again playing a conspicuous part. Udrzal's appointment to the post of Prime Minister has been commented upon by the reformist press with no less satisfaction than by the bourgeois, and the reformist press openly declares itself in favour of collaboration with the new Fascist head of the government in Czechoslovakia.

In view of the growing war danger, and in view of the leading rôle played by Czechoslovakia in the preparations for war against the Soviet Union, the Fascist course being pursued here is of extreme importance. In this situation the Communist Party at once combined the textile workers' struggle, which developed from the first moment on the lines of a broad mass movement, with the questions of Fascism and of the war preparations of the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie.

In carrying out this line of policy, however, the Czech C. P. has encountered a serious obstacle in the opportunist traditions in the Party itself. The pursuance of a correct political line in the textile workers' struggle has drawn upon the scene all the opportunist groups in the Party, and these, under various slogans, are now opposing the line of the Party. The opportunists, after sabotaging every suggestion of preparation for the struggle, now declare that the struggle cannot be carried on because it is insufficiently prepared; at the same time they attempt to defend the false theory of the passivity of the masses, and maintain that the difficulties are so great that the textile workers are not ready for the fight. The resistance to the Party line in the textile workers' strike has even led to a rebellion against the Party within the leading cadre of the textile section of the International Workers' Union, and some of the leading functionaries have resigned their positions with the declaration that they "will not take orders" from the Party.

In spite of these great difficulties within the Party itself, in spite of the united advance of the opportunists in the Red trade unions, the Jilek group and the exponents of the one-time Trotskyist Neurath opposition against the struggle, and in spite of the openly strike-breaking action of the reformists, the textile workers are following the slogans of the Communist Party, and the first troops of the Czechoslovakian textile proletariat have entered the fight. The whole of the Czechoslovakian proletariat anxiously awaits the issue of the textile workers' struggle, for it is being fought during the period of the development of open Fascism in Czechoslovakia, and will mark an important stage in the development of the class struggles in Czechoslovakia.

\* \* \*

Prague, 13th February 1929.

After a thorough discussion of the situation, the Strike Committee of the North Bohemian textile factories, together with the representatives of the various districts, decided today to break off the textile workers strike for the time being, and to continue the preparations for a still more energetic struggle against rationalisation and for higher wages. It has become evident that the struggle against exploitation and rationalisation is possible only under the leadership of the democratically elected Strike Committees, under the slogans of the Red Trade Unions and the Communist Party. Even the unorganised workers have understood these tactics. There is not the least doubt that the interrupted struggle represents a stage to a still broader fighting action.

## Successful Anti-Mond Conference of the Swedish Trade Union Opposition.

By A. J. Sm.

At the end of January there was held in Stockholm the so-called "Anti-Mond Conference" of the Swedish trade union opposition. This was called by the Unity Committee of the trade union opposition, and is to be regarded, as may be seen from the name itself, as a direct reply from the class conscious workers to the industrial peace conference of the employers and reformists held at the beginning of December on the invitation of the national government. This conference was attended by 100 big industrialists and 100 'labour representatives', the majority of which last were, however, trade union bureaucrats. These 100 "labour representatives" represented nobody but themselves, for they were not chosen by any organisation, but were nominated by the Committee of the trade Union Federation. The expenses were borne by the government, that is, by the State.

The "Anti-Mond Conference" was quite a different affair. The Communist Party made extensive propaganda for its convocation, and its aims and programme were passionately discussed with the greatest publicity. Bourgeois and social democrats exerted every effort to dissuade and intimidate the working masses from participating in this conference. In spite of this counter-offensive, the result of the campaign may be regarded as a complete success for the revolutionary opposition and for the Communist Party. The delegates were elected at the members' meetings of the local trade unions, after full discussion, and against the resistance of trade union bureaucracy, and could therefore lay claim to being really representative of the will of the workers. Although the very considerable expenses were borne by the local groups themselves, 265 delegates were elected from the works and factories, representing 497 local groups, some of them very large, the total number of members represented being 100,000, or more than the fifth part of the whole trade union federation. Every political tendency in the labour movement was represented at the conference — syndicalists, social democrats, communists, and non-party workers, but all were united in their recognition of the class war and in their rejection of industrial peace with the employers.

In the course of the struggle preceding the Conference the reformists again proved themselves to be the real splitters of the trade unions. Not only did the Social Democratic Party threaten its members with expulsion in the event of their participating in the Conference, but various union leaders publicly demanded that the communists be thrown out of the trade unions. In several towns in which the trades councils had decided by a large majority to take part in the Conference, the social democratic minority, acting in agreement with the union leaders, destroyed all unity and broke up the council; in these cases the local groups dominated by the social democrats withdrew from the trades council. On the other hand, numerous trades councils passed sharp resolutions representing the communist members to be splitters and destroyers of the unions, and have taken it for granted that the minority should submit in such cases.

After two laborious sessions, at which the present political and economic situation was dealt with in detail, the results and decisions of the Conference were summed up in an appeal which is to be distributed among the whole of the Swedish working class. This appeal calls attention to the close alliance between the reformists and the employers, and calls upon the workers to repulse determinedly any attempt on the part of the social democratic leaders to split the trade unions for their own purposes. As the majority of the Swedish industrial workers, especially those of the decisively important industries, are organised, the point of main importance is to rescue the trade union members from the evil influence of the reformists and to win them for the class struggle. It may well be claimed that the Anti-Mond Conference of these 100,000 revolutionary workers represents an important step towards the achievement of this aim.

## Reformist Act of Violence in the Norwegian Trade Union Federation.

By A. J. S.

The Norwegian trade union leaders have always seized upon every possible pretext for not undertaking anything like energetic action against the anti-labour compulsory arbitration law. They were also opposed to the "illegal" strike of the building workers last summer, which was carried through successfully against their will. Under the pressure of the working masses the committee of the Trade Union Federation recently found itself obliged at least, to pretend to be doing something, and resolved to organise a 24 hours' protest strike against the law.

The two communist members of the committee, the chairman of the bookbinders' union, Aas, and the old building workers' leader Volan, former vice-president of the Trade Union Federation, opposed this decision as an inadequate measure, and proposed a more far-reaching motion of their own. Although it has always been customary in the Scandinavian labour movement to publish both the views of the majority and of the minority in cases of differences of opinion in the leading bodies, this was not done on this occasion, and only the decision of the majority was made public. The attempt to conceal from the workers the disagreements among the leaders was frustrated by the central organ of the Norwegian Communist Party, "Norges Kommunistblad", which published the motion of the minority.

The reformists found in this an opportunity of carrying out a long-cherished plan of attack on the critics so disagreeable to them. The committee of the Trade Union Federation decided, with the votes of all the reformists and centrists, that the publication of the motion of the minority was to be regarded as an act disloyal to the Federation committee, since this had decided to suppress the motion of the minority. And now comes the incredible: The committee resolved, with the same number of votes, to expel the communists Aas and Volan from the Federation committee, because they declined to condemn the action of the communist newspaper.

It need not be said that this decision is flatly contrary to the statutes of the Federation, which do not give the committee the right to elect or remove its members. This right belongs only to the Congress. The decision shows, however, the means to which the reformists are determined to resort — even whilst making a radical gesture for the deception of the workers, as they are doing in Norway — for the purpose of suppressing inconvenient opposition and maintaining their own dictatorship in the movement.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### The Participants in the General Hunger-Strike in Bulgaria in Danger of Death.

Letter from Sofia.

The reply of **Ljaptchev** to the unexampled general hunger-strike, in which 1200 political prisoners of Bulgaria are participating, has been given. The Public Prosecutor has ordered for all those political prisoners who have participated in the hunger-strike 20 days solitary confinement and the deprivation for two months of the right to receive letters, visitors and food from outside. Not satisfied with this, the prison authorities have, under order of the local prosecutors, increased these penalties still further. Thus in the district prison of **Slivno**, where 91 political prisoners, among them being 3 women, have entered on hunger-strike, the term of disciplinary punishment has been extended to three months. In addition to this the Public prosecutor **Vassiliev** participated personally in the cruel mishandlings of some political prisoners, among them being the lawyer **Dr. Ivan Pashev**.

These inhuman disciplinary punishments have only had the effect of calling forth a still greater storm of protest, especially on the part of the relatives of the political prisoners. The political prisoners of the district prison of **Slivno** have again entered on a hunger strike.

The relatives addressed an Open Letter to the government and the Press in which it is stated:

"This punishment of the political prisoners is cruel and frightful. The prisoners, who have been buried alive already for four to five years, are in a state of complete physical exhaustion. Many of them are suffering from tuberculosis. They are all in need of the support of their relatives who bring them food!"

That the political prisoners are inevitably perishing is proved by the recent cases of death. Thus in the Summer of last year Comrade **Nikola Iliev**, member of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party, died in the prison cell on the third day of his conveyance into the central prison of **Sofia**. Comrades **Theodor Tchakalov**, **Georgi Panlov** and **Stefan P. Georgiev** died in the district prison of **Slivno** after the general hunger-strike in March 1927; two similar cases occurred in the district prison of **Haskovo**, etc.

The indignation of the workers at this state of affairs is so great that in the textile industrial city of **Slivno** a one day's general strike was carried out on January 15th, at the same time also as a protest against a gruesome explosion at which a worker was killed. In spite of terror and reprisals the strike was conducted splendidly and the impression it made was enormous!

At the same time numerous telegrams of protest and messages of sympathy for the political prisoners who were on hunger strike arrived from abroad.

**Ljaptchev**, the cunning "democrat", at once spread the news by means of the government press that the punishment of the political prisoners is abolished. But this at once proved to be a deceitful diversion manoeuvre of the government.

The attitude of the social democratic and and so-called oppositional bourgeois press is unexampled in its shamefulness. They completely ignore the tremendous struggle for an amnesty. They even keep silent regarding the protests sent to them from abroad in support of the political prisoners.

The Bulgarian working class is raising the alarm on account of the danger of death threatening the cruelly punished political prisoners. It appeals to the working class of the whole world to intensify the struggle for the immediate withdrawal of the disciplinary measures and for complete and unconditional amnesty.

## FIGHT AGAINST THE RIGHT DANGER

### Resolution of the C. C. of the C. P. of Sweden on the Situation in the C. P. of Germany.

The Central Committee of the C.P. of Sweden discussed the situation in the C.P. of Germany in its January session and without reservation approved the line laid down in the Open Letter of the E. C. C. I. to the C. P. G.

In the present situation, under the intensified pressure of the capitalists and their social democratic allies, it is more necessary than ever that the Communist Party draw a clear line of demarcation between itself and the Social Democratic Party. It must not, like the followers of **Brandler**, consider the tactics of the united front as an endeavour to form a bloc with certain sections of the social democracy. It must not obliterate the demarcation between itself and the social democratic "Left", which, by means of their radical phrases, aims at keeping the working class within the corrupt social democracy. It must not, by making use of unclear slogans such as "control of production" in an unrevolutionary situation, support the social democratic demand for "industrial democracy". Towards such Right tendencies, which are very dangerous, particularly in the present situation, there must not be shown any conciliation.

The C. C. of the C. P. of Sweden emphasises the great international importance of the struggle of the C. P. of Germany and the necessity to discuss these questions thoroughly in order to bring nearer to the members of the C. P. of Sweden the decisions of the VI. World Congress of the Comintern.

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### The Results of the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

By T. H. Wintringham.

The characteristic feature of the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain was the strength and enthusiasm of the response of the Party membership to the "New Line" of the International laid down at the Ninth Plenum of the E. C. C. I. and at the Sixth World Congress. The Congress as a whole faced up to the tasks of correcting the Party's line after the uncertainties and errors of the past year, and of applying that line fully in every department of the Party's work.

The growing swing to the Left of masses of the workers, found real expression in the speeches at the Congress. The purpose and importance of these speeches was that the delegates were saying: "We — the life of the working class movement — are being attacked more violently than ever before, by a united reaction. We must counter-attack!"

A very extensive discussion had preceded the Congress. This discussion was a new and valuable feature in the life of the Party. Nevertheless, it suffered from being limited to certain specific details of tactics (the questions of the political levy and the left wing occupying the major part of the discussion), and it failed to bring out the basic issues of the New Line as a whole.

It was very necessary to deal with those issues. The change in the world situation which is the basis for the new line had not in the past year been clearly seen in the Party. It had even been held that the change in the Party's policy

was due almost entirely to the Labour Party's degeneration into complete Liberalism from a noticeably Socialist policy. This policy of course never really existed except as a bait with which to attract the masses).

The first speaker whose time-limit for speaking was exceeded by unanimous agreement of the delegates was a miner straight from the Lanarkshire pits; it was the first Party Congress he had attended. "We are two years late", he said, "with this change in the Party line. That is why we have not got the full value out of it yet. After the General Strike, when all the bureaucrats united against the workers — that was the time to begin the change!" This expression was an important indication of feeling among the revolutionary miners.

Another delegate from the lower ranks of the Party's organisation made the strongest plea for the Party to carry out one of the heaviest and most profitable practical tasks implied by the new line: the creation of a daily paper.

In the discussion on the mining industry it was the comrades from the Fife and other coalfields who straightened the Party line on the question of the "Save the Union" committees. They insisted that the first need was to fight to organise the workers' resistance to the employers; only in so far as that struggle was put first could Communists in fact become the trade union leaders of the workers; to struggle primarily in the constitutional maze of the union machine for rights and positions would lead to defeat.

On the question of the **Left Wing** the Congress reached an important decision on a close vote. All were agreed on the necessity of the most active work in co-operation with the leftward moving workers both inside and outside the Labour Party. But the issue of controversy turned on the forms of this work. Hitherto the Party had given its support to a special organisation, the so-called "**National Left Wing Movement**", which had been originally formed to organise the left wing workers in the Labour Party on a programme of militant socialist demands against the reactionary and splitting policy of the reformist leadership. With the change in the situation, however, by the increasing expulsion policy of the Labour Party chiefs on the one hand, and the advance of the Communist Party to the direct fight against the Labour Party on the other, this organisation began to take on a different character, and to appear as a half-way organisation outside the Labour Party and the Communist Party and based on a centrist socialist programme. The Central Committee majority proposed to continue support to this organisation as a "bridge" for the advance of the workers; but the Congress rejected this proposal by 55 votes to 52. At the same time the Congress decided to apply the united front policy in every possible useful way with all leftward moving workers in the Labour Party or expelled from it.

In the **trade union discussion** comrades from positions in the lower ranks of the trade union machine insisted on a more active fight, and against formalism or passivity. They fought the pessimistic idea that we are being "driven into the factories because the unions are becoming closed to us". Those who insisted most strongly on the need for more work, and work of better quality, in the factories, were those who also said there is a wider field than ever before for Communist work in the trade unions, so long, as the Party goes forward boldly as the leader of the workers' economic struggles, which are now continual as well as intense in almost all industries.

The Congress has revitalised the Party, to go forward hard at work while also carrying on a vigorous discussion in order to get the line correct; to challenge nationally all three capitalist parties in the coming general election; to lead the fight against nationalisation and Mondism. It has put before the Party as its first task to fight energetically for the new line, not merely as an election tactic but as a struggle for the leadership of the **British working class** in all spheres of the class struggle. The tasks ahead, all recognise, are heavy; but in the unpractised speeches of these delegates there was a living movement able to face great tasks.

## Results of Elections to Sixth American Party Congress.

By Bertram D. Wolfe.

Out of 99 delegates to the forthcoming convention of the Workers (Communist) Party of America to be held in New York March 1, 93 are industrial proletarians in their origin. Sixty eight of these come directly from the mines, mills and factories and twenty five are Party functionaries who formerly were industrial proletarians. The Detroit district convention of the Party held in the big American automobile centre was made up of 98% factory workers most of whom are working in automobile factories. This is the first convention of the American Communist Party where the majority of the delegates are workers in industry and not Party functionaries. It is part of the response of the Party to the proposals of the Sixth Congress that the American Party should hasten the process of drawing proletarian elements into the leadership.

Twelve of the delegates to the forthcoming national convention are **Negro workers**, one is a **Japanese** and one a **Filipino**. There will be fraternal delegates from the Communist Party of Mexico, the Communist Party of Canada and from several other Latin American countries.

The voting for convention delegates, after the most thorough discussion in the history of the American Party, completely wiped out the Party opposition as a political force in all industrial centres. The opposition received no votes among the miners, steel workers or textile workers. The vote on the **Iron Range** (metal mining region) was one hundred seven against one in favour of the Central Committee. The vote on the **Copper Range** was one hundred and fifteen for the Central Committee, nothing for the opposition. In the **Ohio Coal fields** where the Party has led the **Pennsylvania-Ohio coal strike**, the vote was one hundred fifteen for the Central Committee, nothing for the Opposition. The Anthracite Coal region of **Pennsylvania** and the soft coal fields of **Illinois** (the latter a former opposition stronghold) voted unanimously for the Central Committee. All textile, shoe, packinghouse and rubber centres voted almost unanimously for the C.E.C. The opposition received some support only in **California** (where only forty percent of the membership are industrial workers), and in **New York** where the opposition carried five units and the Central Committee seventy two and in **Chicago** where the vote was about the same.

The reason for this overwhelming defeat of the opposition is to be found in the following developments:

1. The opposition campaigned for support on the basis of reservations to the decisions of the Sixth World Congress. This was overwhelmingly rejected by the membership of the American Party.

2. The opposition repeatedly rejected the proposals of the Central Committee for the unification of the Party on the basis of the acceptance of the Comintern Decisions, all other matters to be adjusted by mutual agreement. This the opposition rejected. However, the membership insisted upon the unification of the Party.

3. In the midst of the discussion part of the opposition bloc went over to Trotskyism (Cannon and his followers) and were expelled from the Party by unanimous vote of the Central Committee (including the minority members). After Cannon's attempt to split the Party, the opposition continued to fight the Central Committee much harder than the renegades who were trying to split the Party. This was resented by the membership and scores even of opposition leading figures broke with the Opposition on this account and announced their support of the Central Committee.

4. The most capable leader of the Party Opposition, Comrade Foster, was defeated for leadership of the Opposition by Comrade Bittelman, and his leadership caused the Opposition to lose support and to adopt the reckless line which called forth the rebuke of the membership.

The drift of former opposition supporters to the Central Committee continues after the voting. **Fourteen leading opposition supporters in New York** have just issued a declaration renouncing their opposition and calling upon former followers

to do likewise. Ella Reeve Bloor, one of the oldest opposition leaders, issued a similar statement.

The convention was postponed for one month till March to give time for the E. C. C. I. to send a letter to the Convention. The Central Committee is using the period of comparative calm after the election of delegates is completed to intensify the convention discussion still further, to develop self-criticism, discussion of party tasks and issues, strengthening of the apparatus of the Party, especially the illegal apparatus and to intensify the Party's anti-war activities.

The agenda of the Congress is as follows:

1. Report of the Central Executive Committee (Economic and Political Situation, Activities of the Workers (Communist) Party and Tasks before the Party).
2. Report of the National Executive Committee of the Young Communist League.
3. Report of the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern.
4. Report on the Right Danger and Trötskyism.
5. Report on Trade Union Work.
6. Party Organisation Problems.
7. Negro Work.
8. The War Danger and the Struggle against American Imperialism.
9. Election of the Central Executive Committee and the Central Control Commission.

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## Resolution of the E. C. C. I. on the Korean Question.

Adopted by the Polit-Secretariat of the E. C. C. I. on December 10th 1928.

To the Revolutionary Workers and Peasants of Korea.

Dear Comrades!

The revolutionary movement in Korea is passing through a severe crisis. The blows of persecution by the Japanese imperialists are raining down upon it. The advance-guard of the working class, the Communist Party is being born to the accompaniment of severe birth-pangs. The severe birth-pangs are caused not only by the objective conditions (weak development of industry and a resulting weak development of the working class and the working youth, fluctuation of its membership and weak organisations of the working class), not only by persecution on the part of Japanese imperialism, but also by those regrettable inner quarrels and conflicts which for several years have rent the Communist movement in your country. The birth of the Communist advance-guard of the Korean proletariat is accompanied by severe birth-pangs, and the class enemy is endeavouring to disintegrate the movement not only by means of the most furious white terror but also from within.

Japanese imperialism is intensifying its assault upon your country. The working class and the peasantry are beginning to stir, as the events of the last months have proved. But the Communist movement, torn by inner disputes, cannot be the initiator, the organisator and the leader of the revolutionary struggle, so long as the closest connection is not established between the individual revolutionaries and the working masses, so long as the Party does not exert its organisational influence upon the national revolutionary movement.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International, after having thoroughly discussed the situation in the country and the position of the revolutionary movement, has adopted the following resolution, which is to assist the revolutionary workers and peasants to form their revolutionary advance-guard:

### Resolution.

The key positions in Korean economics are all in the hands of Japanese finance capital. American and British capital has but an absolutely negligible share in the mining industry. With this exception which barely merits any attention, Japanese capital has taken possession of all major economic positions. Transportation (railways, steamships), the mining industry, foreign trade, the banks and the entire credit and monetary

system and the few industrial enterprises which deserve that name (textile, cement, leather, matches, sugar), the manufacturing concerns of any size (distilleries, paper factories, fat producers) are in the hands of Japanese. But Japanese imperialism has very strong positions also in the sphere of agriculture. The irrigation system, the colonisation fund of the country, the forests, fishing, the tobacco fields, etc., are controlled by Japanese imperialism which was able to grab vast tracts of land for the Japanese colonists and plantation owners. The role of Korea in the system of Japanese imperialism is to be an agrarian hinterland supplying raw material for Japan and serving as a market for Japanese goods; the principal mission of Korea is to supply the Japanese market with rice. The Korean population is fed on inferior food while rice is exported to Japan. The mining resources of the country were used during the world war more intensively, but the industry has barely emerged from its post-war crisis. Even the light and manufacturing industries are developing very slowly and modern large-scale factories can be counted on one's fingers. Meanwhile the export of farm products and the import of manufactured goods is rapidly increasing. The increase in arable land, the construction of irrigation systems, the extension of irrigated areas, the improvement in forestry and the petty-agrarian reforms, have not improved the position of the people as it was accompanied by intense exploitation on the part of Japanese imperialism. Korea is a typical colonial country in the sense outlined in the Theses of the VI. Congress of the Comintern. It is merely an agrarian and raw material base of Japanese imperialism. But from this point of view the importance of Korea is becoming more significant.

Japanese imperialism exploits Korea not only economically, but also by other than economic means, squeezing vast sums of money out of the country in the form of taxes, customs tariffs, excise duties, State monopoly profits, etc.

Japanese imperialism grabbed not only the key and central positions in the government, but almost all more or less important positions in general. Korea is of enormous importance for Japanese imperialism also from a strategical point of view. Korea, together with the Kwantung Peninsula, is the main hinterland of Japanese imperialism on the Asiatic Continent from where Japanese militarism can direct its blows both against the U.S.S.R. and against China. To the extent that the coming war of the Pacific becomes more imminent the economic and strategical importance of Korea is increasing. Korea will have to maintain a big Japanese army, the police and the armed forces intended for the suppression of the revolutionary movement, and for military purposes in general.

Japanese imperialism has its own military, police and bureaucratic machine for the administration of Korea, deprives the country of the opportunity to develop its own culture, deprives it of the opportunity independently to develop its productive forces, and retards its industrial development.

Owing to the poor industrial development of the country the overwhelming majority of the population, over 80%, is occupied in, or depends on, agriculture. The number of industrial enterprises of a modern type in 1922 was 664, employing 50,000 workers; there are only enterprises of all sorts with a fixed capital of over one million yen.

The agricultural relations, notwithstanding the rapid development of commodity and money relations, are chiefly of a pre-capitalist type. The peasants having less than one uro of land, comprise 83.7% of all landowning peasants. The peasants possessing from one to two uro constitute 9% of the total. At the same time, 64.4% of all irrigated rice fields and 57.4% of all dry fields are cultivated by tenants. Most of the tenants hire land because of want. Rent in kind, crop sharing, semi-feudal relations between landlord and tenant, slave-forms and methods of exploitation, is what characterises the positions of the tenants. A relatively small group of landlords exploit the vast majority of starving peasants. Independent peasants are exploited in the form of taxes, usury, cheating, false weights and measures, etc. Terrific exploitation makes for the majority of the peasants even simple reproduction of values and labour power impossible. Even official statistics admit that about 1,300,000 farms are run at a loss. No doubt that the poor peasant is the main figure in Korean agriculture both among the independent peasants and the tenants. There is no doubt a pro-

ness is going on in Korea of transition of land to the landlords, merchants, usurers and speculators, including Japanese, a process of concentration of land in the hands of landlords of various types and origin, and a process of breaking up agriculture among the peasants. Emigration to Japan, Manchuria, the Far East, etc., does not solve the problem of pauperisation of the great mass of peasants.

The yoke of landed exploitation, the yoke of exploitation on the part of the Japanese financial and administrative apparatus, is distinguished also by the pre-capitalist slave methods of exploitation of the peasantry employed by merchant and usurers capital. These economic factors — the domination of Japanese capital and the subordinate role of native capital in agriculture, industry and trade, the considerable investments of capital towards the development of large scale agriculture, etc. — determine the position and role of the classes in the class struggle of Korea. Thanks to the poor development and juvenile character of industry the Korean proletariat is still very weak. Not only is it numerically small, but is to a large extent still connected with the villages and is not sufficiently class-conscious. On the other pole, in view of the dominating, subjugating and determining role of Japanese capitalism, the big landowners are closely attached to it and the urban bourgeoisie — the manufacturers, merchants and usurers — connected with large-scale agriculture or directly subordinated to Japanese capital, is coming ever-closer towards it. The vast majority of the Korean population consists of economically enslaved peasants who are suppressed and downtrodden by the terroristic police regime and who have no prospects of an improvement of their position without a revolution.

That is why the revolution in Korea will, by its social and economic content, be directed not only against Japanese imperialism, but also against Korean feudalism. It will be directed towards the abolition of all pre-capitalist remnants and survivals, towards a cardinal change in the agrarian relations, towards a cleansing of the land from pre-capitalist forms of slavery. The revolution in Korea must be an agrarian revolution.

Thus the overthrow of imperialism and the revolutionary solution of the agrarian problem is the main objective historical meaning of the revolution in Korea in the first phases of its development. In this sense the Korean Revolution will be a bourgeois-democratic revolution.

Of all classes in Korea, as well as in any other colonial country, the proletariat is the most consistent anti-imperialist class. To the extent that the working class will grow and organise, especially the industrial workers, its leading role in the revolutionary movement will increase and the basis for the development of a Communist movement will be created. Apart from the proletariat, the toiling peasantry and the mass of the urban petty-bourgeoisie constitute a motive force in the revolution. The basic mass of the bourgeoisie constitutes, especially since the experiences of the Chinese Revolution, at best only a national-reformist opposition to Japanese imperialism, whilst the big landowners are completely on the side of the Japanese imperialists.

Under these conditions the national liberation movement in the majority of modern colonies, including Korea, is not only an anti-imperialist and an anti-feudal movement, but is closely linked up with the class struggle of the proletariat against the imperialists, the feudal lords and the national bourgeoisie. The proletariat of the colonial countries, in alliance with the broad masses of peasants, enters the political arena as an independent political factor which must have the hegemony in the revolution.

The Korean proletariat will not be able to take over the leadership in the national-revolutionary movement if the Korean Communists will not link up organically the agrarian problem with the national revolution. Inasmuch as the Korean bourgeoisie is bound up with big land ownership, in view of its dependence upon landed property, it is not interested in a radical agrarian programme and will find it very difficult to gain leadership over the peasants. (A big danger in this respect is its agency — the national-reformist petty-bourgeoisie.) The agrarian problem of Korea can be solved only by revolutionary and plebeian methods (by means of seizure of land from all big landowners).

There can be no victorious national liberation struggle without an unfoldment of the agrarian revolution. It is precisely the almost complete absence of control between the national-liberation struggle and the struggle for land that is responsible for the weakness and the defeat of the revolutionary movement of recent years (1919—1920). A victory over the imperialist yoke presupposes a revolutionary solution of the agrarian problem and the establishment of a democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasants (in the form of Soviets) through which the bourgeois-democratic revolution under the hegemony of the proletariat is transformed into a Socialist Revolution.

Under these conditions, the peasant problem, the problem of the agrarian revolution, is of greatest importance for Communist activity in Korea. Only by bringing the peasants under their influence, only by appealing to them by means of intelligible and popular slogans and demands, will the working class and its vanguard be able to accomplish a victorious revolution in Korea.

The method by which Japanese imperialism has hitherto administered the country consisted in direct and open domination of the bureaucratic apparatus of occupation. Japanese imperialism does not even formally share its power with any of the native classes of Korea. The governor-general's consultative body consists of picked and pro-Japanese representatives of the Korean feudal aristocracy and has no backing of any considerable sections of the Korean bourgeoisie and liberal intellectuals. Opposed by a wide front of workers and peasants, which is still weak, but carries with it the possibility of great complications in the future, Japanese imperialism is according to some indications ready, especially since the experiences of the Chinese Revolution, to resort to certain safety measures so as to secure its position in Korea by winning over and attraction of a certain section of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois intellectuals to its apparatus of occupation.

The more far-sighted representatives of imperialist Japan are beginning openly to speak of the necessity of partial reforms in Korea, understanding that the present conflict between the colonial regime and the growing revolutionary forces in the country cannot be overcome with the help of police measures alone.

Meanwhile, terror against the Communists and radical nationalists is being multiplied. The class labour and peasant movement has actually been outlawed. The suppression of the press has become more brutal.

There is thus the possibility that Japanese imperialism will within the next few years try to crush the development of the revolutionary movement not only with knout, but also by granting small concessions to the exploiters. The latter, however, will not be able to satisfy the proletariat nor the peasants and the broad sections of the urban petty-bourgeoisie. The national-revolutionary movement in Korea which has a firm social basis to stand on will develop also in the future.

The rapprochement of Japanese imperialism and the big native landowners has not failed to influence the position of a considerable section of the intelligentsia which plays a big role in the organisation and leadership of the nationalist movement. These changes in the class relations in favour of conciliation with Japanese imperialism, just as the growing repressive measures and persecutions of the national-revolutionary organisations, cannot fail to influence the position of the latter. We may expect growing national reformist tendencies in their ranks, a diminishing of their revolutionary character and their transformation into a loyal "opposition". With the elimination of the Communists (through imprisonments, etc.) from the national-revolutionary movement, the tendency of growing national-reformism is becoming ever more pronounced.

The main line to be followed by the Communist movement of Korea in the present phase of development is, on the one hand, to strengthen the proletarian revolutionary movement, to guarantee its complete independence with regard to the petty-bourgeois national-revolutionary movement, and, on the other hand, to strengthen the national-revolutionary movement by lending it a class character and dissociating it from compromising national-reformism (i. e. from the bourgeois-democratic movement, the vacillations of which must be untiringly and mercilessly exposed).

The present situation and the existing class relations in Korea determine the political and organisational tasks of the Korean Communists. The years of factional struggle could not fail to retard their development and to confront them now with tasks, the accomplishment of which will be no child's play. The first of these tasks is a conscious and constant formation of Communist cadres with sound Communist views, the working out of a genuine Communist conception and a true scientific Marxian-Leninist mode of thinking; it is about time to discard the superficial pseudo-scientific phrases which have so frequently been our stock in trade till now; a profound discussion of all problems arising from the tactics of the movement is necessary.

The ranks of the Communist Party of Korea have in the past consisted almost exclusively of intellectuals and students. A Communist Party built on such foundations cannot be a consistently Bolshevik and organisationally sound Party. The first task of the Communist movement of Korea is therefore to strengthen its own ranks. The problem of improving the social structure of the Party is confronting us in its full scope. The petty-bourgeois intellectual composition of the Party, and the lack of contact with the workers constituted until now one of the main causes of the permanent crisis in the Communist movement of Korea.

The Korean Communists must do their utmost to attract first of all industrial workers and also poor peasants who have not given up their farming, into the Party. The Communists will be able to accomplish this great task only if they effect a sharp break with the old methods of organisation of intellectual circles and undertake mass Bolshevik work, particularly in the factories and trade unions. More intensive work must be carried on in the labour and peasant organisations, in the old and new national-revolutionary mass organisations, some of which, like the "Sin-Han-Hwei", "Khen-Fen-Sa", "Chen-Do-Hio", etc. are semi-religious associations. Fighting for the toilers in those organisations the Communists must expose the half-heartedness and indecision of the national-reformist and other opportunist leaders. In their organisational work the Communists must avoid mechanical methods such as, for instance the mechanical organisation of nuclei, etc.

Oral and written agitation among the toiling sections of the population must be developed much more extensively than hitherto. The Communists must respond to every social event in the country. Such events should be interpreted from the proletarian point of view and from the point of view representing the interests of all toilers of Korea. The response to Communist leaflets and oral agitation coming from the sympathising and hostile sections of the population and their press will be the best measures of the quality of Communist work.

The methods of work in the national-revolutionary organisations must also be changed. The illegality of the Communists obliges them to work in the mass organisations more under cover, to carry their propositions, suggestions and resolutions through non-Communist members of those organisations. This of course does not mean that the Communists must be so clandestine that their work should be entirely invisible or unfelt. On the contrary, the work of the Communists must be felt on every step. The Communists must always and everywhere, if occasion demands, come out clearly and stop at no sacrifices, openly advancing the Communist point of view and methods of solution of problems. But they must work for the desired results also by means of deeper contact with the masses of these organisations and by means of deeper influence and greater popularity. This will protect the masses against the influence of the anti-Communist forces even when the Communists will be arrested or will suffer losses and defeats.

The frequent failures of the Korean Communists show that the Party was unable to organise its conspirative work properly. The employment of correct conspirative methods is therefore one of the most urgent tasks. Great pain must be taken to prevent the presence of agent-provocateurs in the Communist ranks. It must be particularly borne in mind that with the present factional struggle the Japanese spies and agent-provocateurs can penetrate the Communist organisations without any difficulty and that the creation of an ideologically compact and truly Bolshevik basis for the Communist Party is one of the first prerequisites for the struggle against provocations.

The E. C. C. I. considers the task of ideological consolidation of great importance and advises the Korean Communists to concentrate their attention to it; on its part, the E. C. C. I. will take every step towards a most speedy restoration and consolidation of the Communist Party of Korea.

The Communists must be able to overcome the political indifference of the working masses in the Japanese governmental enterprises in Korea. The higher wages in those factories and the rapid dismissal of "undesirable workers" by the administration render Communist work among those workers very difficult, but, nevertheless, the Party must find a way of reaching those workers.

The Communists must devote special attention to the trade unions. The latter are still far from being militant class organisations. They are rather workers' associations which constitute no danger for the employers. The trade unions must be imbued with the class spirit, and must be reorganised and strengthened. This is an immediate task of the Communists. The percentage of industrial workers in the unions must be increased.

In the sphere of work among the peasants, the Party must become more active among the tenants and half-tenants. The activity of the masses can be raised and the workers and peasants can be drawn into their mass organisations only if the Communists will learn to do mass work and to link up organically the final aim of the movement with the daily needs, requirements, and demands of the masses.

Much more system is necessary in the daily activity of the Party. It will not do to limit those activities to discussing from time to time "big" problems which, as experiences has shown, do not always arise from the requirements of the class struggle. A most important element of work is the concentration of attention on questions of the practical requirements of the movement, which gives rise also to great and general problems.

Only by means of practical work and the following up of all questions of the Communist, labour and national bourgeois movements, can the guiding abilities of the Communists be tested and evaluated, can the value of their statements and the force of their arguments be measured. In their practical work the Communists must not labour without a plan and haphazardly; they must be guided by a definite programme of action arising from the peculiarities of the situation and the petty-bourgeois groups and parties. But "whenever expediency given circumstances.

In all their work and action the Communists of Korea must strictly preserve the full independence of the revolutionary labour movement which must be definitely dissociated from all of the revolutionary struggle demands, temporary collaboration, and under some conditions even a temporary alliance of the Communist Party and national-revolutionary movement inasmuch as that movement ... is revolutionary, is permissible." (Colonial Theses of the VI. Congress of the C. I.). This collaboration, however, must by no means "find expression in a fusion of the Communist movement with the bourgeois-revolutionary movement" (Ibid). With regard to the bourgeois opposition the Communists may conclude agreements with them "if the action of the bourgeois opposition can be utilised for the development of a mass movement and, if such agreement will in no way restrict the freedom of the Communist Party in its agitation among the masses and in their organisations. In this connection, Communists must not only fully preserve their political independence and reveal their own position, but on the basis of action they must open the eyes of the toiling masses under the influence of the bourgeois opposition so that they may see the unreliability of that opposition and the danger of the bourgeois-democratic illusions disseminated by it." (Ibid.)

The Korean Communists will have to advance in the future, and popularise more energetically, the slogan of the agrarian revolution as an organic part of the national-revolutionary movement. They will have to fight more energetically against the bourgeois-nationalists, expose their half-heartedness and inconsistency in the struggle against Japanese imperialism as well as against the big landowners, and they will have to take steps to prevent their falling under the influence of the nationalists who use radical phrases and are the most dangerous op-

ponents of the Communists. The Communists must remember that the conquest of the national apparatus without the necessary preparatory work among the masses is no guarantee that they will have any contact with the masses.

By constantly advocating the Communist programme, the Korean Communists must coordinate the slogans of the daily struggle with the main slogans of irreconcilable struggle against Japanese imperialism, for complete national independence, for a democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasants (a Soviet Government of workers and peasants), for the agrarian revolution, i. e. the distribution of the estates and the State lands to the peasants without compensation, for the nationalisation of the mills and factories, etc., etc. It is at the same time necessary insistently to advance in the day to day activity the partial demands of the **working class**, fighting for the recognition and extension of the rights of the unions and the labour organisations, demands in the sphere of social legislation (the 8-hour day, 6-hour day for juveniles, equal pay and equal working conditions for men and women, equality of conditions of Korean and Japanese workers, labour protection, etc.).

Special partial demands and slogans should be advanced by the Communists in the course of the struggle in the interests of the peasants, including the demands for limiting the rates of rent to a certain percentage of the crop, fixation of definite tax rates, abolition of compulsory prices on certain agricultural products, passing of laws against feudal tyranny, etc. Finally, the Communists in their daily work must advance demands for political rights and liberties (against all forms of arbitrary power of State officials, against political persecution, for freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association, strikes, etc.).

The Korean Communists must invariably and in all cases come out sharply against the imperialist policy and military action of Japan. Slogans of struggle against imperialist war and for the Soviet Union must be advanced and the work organised -- considering this task, propaganda and agitation of special importance in the daily activity of the Korean Communists.

Fighting against the Japanese terrorist regime, defending the legality of the labour and peasant movement, the Korean Communists must find ways and means of entering the arena of an open political struggle on the part of the mass movement. Thus the question of utilisation of all legal possibilities is rising before the Communist Party of Korea in its full scope.

This utilisation of the legal possibilities must, however, be to a certain extent kept also within certain limits. Thus, for instance, the utilisation of the liberal bourgeois press for the discussion of Party questions and for polemics which tend to discredit the ranks of the Party is intolerable. The Korean Communists must see to it that the discussion of such questions and problems of the Communist movement be possible in their own publications.

The enumerated measures of a political and organisational character cannot of course embrace all tasks of the Korean Communists. However, they can serve as a pre-requisite for the development of extensive and profound work of a truly Communist nature.

The E. C. C. I. is convinced that a conscientious and serious attitude of the Korean Communists to the tasks arising from the present situation in the country will help them to overcome the maladies of the past and to restore and strengthen the Communist Party of Korea on the basis of the decisions of the E. C. C. I.

\* \* \*

Comrades, Workers and Peasants!

Such is the estimation of the situation given by the Comintern and the tasks resulting therefrom for the revolutionary workers and peasants.

The E. C. C. I. earnestly hopes that the Korean Communists will carry out the instructions of the above resolution, and will -- in a severe struggle, demanding great sacrifices -- establish the iron cohorts, the Communist Party. The E. C. C. I. will

support you in this struggle. Without the restoration and consolidation of the Communist Party a consistent and determined struggle for the emancipation of the country from the yoke of Japanese imperialism and for carrying out the agrarian revolution is impossible.

## PROLETARIAN COMMEMORATION DAYS

**Gastone Sozzi.**

The First Anniversary of his Murder.

By M.

The 6th of February last was the first anniversary of the death of Comrade Gastone Sozzi. He was a heroic champion of the Italian working class and sacrificed his life for the cause of the anti-fascist struggle.

Gastone Sozzi was arrested and barbarously tortured by the methods of the inquisition. But he preferred to die rather than to gain freedom at the price of betrayal. It is thus that the true champions of the working class live and die. Many died before him, many since. And many yet will fall as victims. The murder of Sozzi is not an isolated case; it is a system. Since his death Riva, Sanvito, Pirola, Landi and others have like him, been cruelly tortured and murdered: della Maggiorre has been shot; many others died of tuberculosis in the prisons of Portolongone and Pianosa; the lives of others are still in danger. Thousands of workers who fill the prisons are delivered over to slow death by starvation; the victims of the exceptional court are innumerable.

The murder of Sozzi in the year 1928 roused public opinion against fascism, and the anti-fascist campaign set the working masses of all countries in motion against the dictatorship of the dagger.

What aims had this movement? Before all to initiate an international investigation of the Italian prison regime and the tortures, by means of which it will be possible to ascertain the inquisitorial methods employed by fascism against prisoners during examination and in the prisons, as well as at the police stations and in the barracks of the fascist militia.

Secondly, that all political murders committed in secret be brought to light; that all the facts be ascertained with regard to the murder of Sozzi; that the world proletariat defend the endangered lives of the political prisoners in Italy and expose the provocations of the police which were carried out after the events in Milan.

As a result of the press campaign and agitation a great protest was raised against fascism. The workers of the whole world, especially their representatives in the anti-fascist committees in Paris, Basle, Zurich, Berlin, Brussels, Lugano, New York etc. refused to allow that fascism continue with impunity the tortures and the murder of workers. This action was undoubtedly successful. The much advertised trial of Milan collapsed and the prison regime was improved.

We must not, however, be satisfied with these first successes. We are only at the beginning of the struggle which we must not abandon. The prison regime in Italy still means death for the prisoners, and tortures are the customary methods of examination in the political trials.

The proletariat of the whole world must raise its voice in order to put an end to this systematic murder, which has become a governmental system. There must be a protest finding expression in an organised mass action capable of successfully defending the faithful fighters of the Italian revolution.

The campaign initiated in 1928 must be extended and developed until concrete results are achieved. We must bring about the release of all the victims of fascism.

## UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

### The Path to Socialist Agriculture.

Extract from Comrade Rykov's Speech at the II. National Congress of the Agronomists of the Soviet Union.

The most important tasks to be accomplished by agriculture at the present time may be characterised by the following figures: For the current year a seven per cent. extension of the cultivated area and a three per cent. increase of yield per unit of land are anticipated. Within the next five years the increased yield of the soil is to amount to 30 to 35 per cent. When these figures were being laid down, some of the Gosplan functionaries doubted the possibility of their realisation. I am of the opinion that these functionaries, drawing their arguments from a comparison of the rate of development of our agriculture with the rate of development of pre-revolutionary Russia and of the bourgeois countries, have committed a serious error. They have compared with one another things which are not to be compared.

The conditions under which agriculture develops have been fundamentally different, since the October revolution, to anything existing before the revolution. In the whole history of the human race there has never been a country in which the nationalisation of the land has been carried out so consistently as in Russia. History attords no example of a system in which the producers themselves have been organised in Soviets, have held the power in their own hands, and every exertion of power has been for the most rapid development of the productive forces. There has never been a country in which the co-operative has played the rôle in agriculture which it now plays in our country. There has been no State in which an active agricultural policy has been based on a consistent economic plan, or the execution of this plan has been backed up by such mighty powers of influence, as in the Soviet Republics. The October revolution, in abolishing private ownership of land, removed the greatest obstacles in the way of such an organisation of agriculture.

It must be admitted that the scattered and individual nature of the peasant farm represents a hindrance in the way of a rational organisation of agricultural production. Nothing less than the complete socialisation of the process of production, that is, the systematic organisation of agricultural work, will raise agriculture to the level of large-scale factory production. But even the small producer is offered much greater possibilities of developing his undertaking, under the conditions of the Soviet country, than in any other country. The change thus brought about by the October revolution can be best characterised by what has been taking place in industry.

Before the October revolution the oil fields of Baku were divided up among competing owners, and there was no possibility of exploiting the region rationally, in accordance with the natural conditions. Or, to take another example, in our country the process of electrification is going forward under conditions entirely different from those of any bourgeois country, where special agreements must be made with individual owners before electric cables can be laid down. These positive factors and advantages of our state of society are often spoilt by our inertia, backwardness, and faulty work, and by the errors which sometimes creep into our plans. But this does not refute the fact that the new order holds mighty possibilities of development for agriculture, and mighty possibilities for the application of scientific achievements to agriculture.

It need not be said that all the inventions and advice of the agronomists cannot be successfully applied until the peasantry itself evinces interest in these agronomic measures. We may talk to the peasant as long as we like about the advantages, for instance, of sowing wheat or rye according to the new (scientific) methods instead of the old, nevertheless the peasant will not follow this advice if it is disadvantageous to him to sow at all. The awakening of the peasant's interest is its political prerequisites.

In this respect the leading factors are the grain prices and the taxes. This year we have raised the price of grain, and considerably lessened the disparity between the prices of grain and industrial goods. The experience gained during the last few years has shown us a number of errors in our taxation

policy. A new law on the agricultural single tax will be issued within the next few days, bringing considerable alleviation to the middle peasant. The receipts from the agricultural tax may be calculated for the current year at about 420 to 430 million roubles. Had there been no failure of crops in the Ukraine and North Caucasia, these receipts would have been higher by 20 to 30 million roubles. We estimate the revenue from next year's agricultural tax at 375 million roubles; this means, taking into consideration the growth of agriculture, a considerable reduction of the burden of taxation.

Besides this, in all districts, newly cultivated areas are exempt from taxation for two years in cases where the taxation is based on the area cultivated. These privileges cannot of course be extended to obviously kulak farms. Taxation relief is also provided for those farms which have carried out the measures which the law adduces for increasing the yield of the soil. The milch cows of the butter producing districts will be subject to much lower taxation than this year. The new law ensures greater stability to the taxation rates, laying these down for three years.

These are most important alterations in our taxation policy, having as their object the increasing of the interest of the middle peasant in the development of his farm. **The farms of the poor peasantry continue to be exempt from taxation.**

All that has taken place in the collectivisation movement during the last few years has shown us that collectivisation can be continued with further success in the future. When the idea of developing the collective undertakings was raised for the first time, it encountered a certain mistrust among the scientific workers and among a section of the agronomists. This mistrust and these vacillations no longer exist, and this is a great success. It is impossible to build up Socialism only in the town, without including the village in the development towards Socialism. We must not allow the socialist town and the socialist industry to be surrounded by an agriculture developing on capitalist lines. The planned organisation of economy includes not only industry, but agriculture. But the socialist organisation of agriculture implies a re-forming of agriculture on lines enabling a systematic and rational organisation of the work to yield more grain with less expenditure.

One of the causes of the backwardness of agriculture is its scattered nature. The comprehension of agricultural production by the co-operatives, the collectives, etc., leads it out of this blind alley, and gives it all the advantages of the large-scale undertaking. Therefore, the course steered towards the co-operatives and collectivisation possesses a progressive and revolutionary character, even from the standpoint of agricultural technics. This does not, however, mean that the present small individual farms have no prospects of advance. The backwardness of the peasant farm is so great that every small peasant farm has mighty possibilities of development. We must therefore at the same time help the individual farm. And we must help it because for the next few years the individual farm will still continue to play the decisive rôle in the production of grain and its supply to the country.

In building up the socialist state of society we must make a much more courageous application of all those scientific achievements, which raise the productivity of human labour to colossal heights, than is done by the bourgeois countries. Therefore our scientific workers, our agronomists, engineers, and technicians play an exceedingly important part in the carrying out of the greatest technical and economic revolution of history. The work of the agronomist is in many ways similar to that of the engineer; but it is more difficult. When the engineer introduces a new machine or a new work bench into a weaving mill, he finds sufficiently qualified workers at his disposal, and in any case the possibility of applying scientific working methods is greater in factories than in agriculture. You agronomists, in order to revolutionise the peasant farms, must at the same time revolutionise the peasantry, and prove to them practically the advantages of this or that working method, this or that improvement in production. When you organise a collective farm, you must first of all teach the peasants how production is organised in collective organisations, in order that they may be convinced of the advantages of the collective farm over the individual. This is a much more difficult and responsible social work. And for this reason it is a cause for great congratulation that the whole mass of the agronomists are now speaking the same language as our-

selves. There are very few agronomists, and their work is extremely difficult. It is characteristic that at this Congress the agronomists speak in detail of the difficulties hampering their work; they call for more means of transport, for suitable laboratories, etc. But they say little or nothing about the wages question. This fact shows that we are dealing with a cadre which loves its work, and pursues it enthusiastically for its own sake.

Formerly the agronomists collaborated with individual peasants and carried out individual measures. But such scattered activities on the part of the agronomists could not bring about any radical and rapid change in the development of agriculture. That which we call revolution in agriculture does not begin until the moment when millions and tens of millions of peasant-producers are set going. We are entering a period in which the main mass of the peasantry is already awakened, and of late the agronomists have been advancing more and more from trivial and accidental tasks to ever greater ones, to the task of serving the advance of growing masses of poor and middle peasantry towards the reconstruction of agriculture on a new basis.

Had we been asked, three years ago, whether the village was capable of producing a consciously active cadre, able to support the agronomist in his difficult work, it would have been difficult for us to furnish an entirely categorical, certain, and positive answer to this question. Now this process is going on quite spontaneously in many cases, and in other cases the active cadres take the form of special production conferences and other organs. The village has begun to lend the aid of its active elements to the agronomists. These active elements have clearly realised the necessity of revolutionising agricultural production, and will support the agronomists in their difficult work.

A danger for the successful building up of the socialist state of society and for the securing of the necessary speed of industrialisation lies in the fact that the development of agriculture lags too much behind the development of industry. The most urgent problem of the moment is the overcoming at any price of this backwardness, for until this is done we shall not be able to fulfil our tasks in other directions. At the present stage the development of agriculture represents that minimum determining the development of our whole economy. Hence it is imperatively necessary to develop agriculture, and especially grain growing, at all costs. The Soviet Union must be transformed from a country which has suffered a shortage of grain this year and last to a country exporting many millions of tons of grain. The agronomist must play a great rôle in this transformation, and on behalf of the government I promise the full support of the present Congress and of all agronomists in this difficult and fruitful work.

## The Struggle for the Best Election Results.

By S. Ingulov (Moscow).

This year's election campaign has been enriched by new forms of election work. The various cities, working class districts, works and factories, as also many villages, have organised a lively competition for the most efficiently conducted election campaign. The Leningrad districts have competed with those of Moscow. At the same time the Moscow working class district "Krasnaya Pressnya" has entered into competition with the largest working class district of Leningrad and with the town of Charkov.

The separate republics, gubernias, districts, etc., compete among themselves. The factories, villages, and village communities are taking part in the competition. The competition is initiated by some factory, town, or district, which challenges another factory, town, or district.

At the same time a peculiar form of fraternisation takes place between the workers of the competing towns, gubernias, etc. Delegations are exchanged between Charkov and Baku, between Leningrad and Moscow, between Odessa and Kiev, etc. This competition, and the brotherly exchange of ideas on the mutual experience gained, are bound to lead to greatly increased activity among the workers and peasants, and finally to a real activation of the Soviets and to a real development of proletarian democracy.

At first it was feared that the competition would exhaust itself in mere formalities, greetings, etc., without any serious political content. And at first there were very many greetings, replies to these greetings, and assurances that the election campaign would be carried on "efficiently"; but it speedily became evident that the object behind this flood of words was not a football match, but serious political action.

A change was soon apparent. As soon as the moment came to pass forward from abstract promises, etc. to their practical realisation, then all the political election slogans came to the fore, and the campaign showed its clear political colours. The combating of the activity of the class enemy has become the main content of the campaign.

The campaign, adapting itself to the needs of the class struggle, has turned its chief attention to the village. The sending of workers' brigades into the villages has become general and has brought about a real activation of the poor and middle peasant strata. The workers' brigades have proved an extremely affective means of aiding the village poor in the struggle for influence over the middle peasant and for the isolation of the kulak. The expenses incurred by sending the workers' brigades to the villages are generally met by the workers of the works and factories, who do two or three hours voluntary work and give the proceeds.

The election results already published show that the activity of the masses has greatly increased since the last elections; this is greatly due to the new working methods. The progress made becomes still more evident at the meetings where reports are delivered. Last year many report-meetings had to be abandoned owing to poor attendance, but in this year's campaign, even in the villages, 45 per cent. of the electors have taken part in the report-meetings, and in many districts up to 92 per cent. It need not be said that the percentage of participants in the election meetings and the increased voting activity do not yet guarantee that the kulak and his representatives are defeated, that the electors exercise a really active control over the activities of the Soviets, and that the newly elected Soviets will succeed in drawing really broad masses into their work. And so far as can be judged at the moment, the campaign and competition have permitted the question of participation in the election (which is certainly of great importance) to push other equally important questions into the background. This is undoubtedly an error which must be corrected.

These errors will be remedied with the aid of the press and of proletarian publicity, and the campaign entered into with such élan will not end in mere agitational fireworks, but in a brilliant political victory for the working class.

## Congress of the Tractor Gangs.

The so-called tractor gangs are being developed into an important instrument for the collectivisation of agriculture. The tractor gangs are an entirely new organisation. The first of them were founded in the autumn of last year. Their object is to render the use of agricultural machinery possible to those peasant farms or small co-operatives lacking the necessary financial resources for buying their own machines. At the same time the gangs can play an important rôle in the class struggle, for they gather the poor and middle peasantry around them, exercise a socialist influence over them, equalise advantages, and give a stimulus for the cultivation of fallow land.

Up to the present there are 14 gangs with 300 tractors, cultivating about 10,000 peasant farms with a fallow area of 70,000 hectares.

At the Congress all initial difficulties and organisational errors still remaining to be overcome, were brought forward. The expenses incurred by the work of the gangs have been too high, the apparatus too large, too few trained tractor-drivers available, the supplies of fuel and spare parts inadequate. In spite of these drawbacks, the gangs have already won the confidence of broad masses of the peasantry. The Congress was able to place on record that this new organisation has proved its value. "The appearance of the gangs" — a peasant delegate declared at the Congress — "has not only encouraged the poor peasantry, but afforded a great stimulus towards the collectivisation of the working village population". A considerable extension and increase of the tractor gangs in the near future is contemplated.

# The Development of Standard of Living of the Industrial Workers of the Soviet Union in the Last Two Years.

By E. K. (Moscow).

The money wages of the industrial workers of the Soviet Union have increased by 21 per cent. in the last two years. Among the positive phenomena accompanying the increase in wages are the reduction of prices of industrial goods in the co-operatives and State undertakings and the considerable extension of the influence of the co-operative sector of trade on the household budget of the worker. These two last facts are to be seen from the following table:

## In What Way Does the Industrial Worker Cover His Demands for the Most Important Articles of Consumption?

|                                 | (Average Per cent. in the whole of the Soviet Union) |                    |                  |
|---------------------------------|--|--------------------|------------------|
|                                 | In the Co-operatives                                 | In the State Shops | In Private Shops |
|                                 | November 1925 . . . . .                              | 48.0               | 9.6              |
| November 1926 . . . . .         | 55.1   | 6.1                | 38.8             |
| January-March 1927 . . . . .    | 58.4   | 9.0                | 32.6             |
| April-June 1927 . . . . .       | 60.5   | 8.4                | 31.1             |
| July-September 1927 . . . . .   | 58.5   | 6.6                | 34.9             |
| October-December 1927 . . . . . | 64.7   | 6.2                | 29.1             |
| January-March 1928 . . . . .    | 69.5   | 6.0                | 24.5             |
| April-June 1928 . . . . .       | 70.5   | 6.3                | 23.2             |

Apart from these favourable facts there are also phenomena which had an adverse effect upon the material position of the worker. While on the one hand the prices of industrial goods have been reduced, at the end of 1927 and in the beginning of 1928 the supply of the most important articles required by the workers declined in relation to the steadily increasing demand. As a result, prices in the sphere of private trade have greatly increased. What effect all these contradictory facts have had upon the consumption of the workers is shown by the following data:

### Food.

Let us consider in the first place how the workers' diet has changed in the course of the last few years:

### Average standards of consumption in kilogrammes per month and per adult member of a workers' family, for the whole Union:

|                                     | 1925   | 1926   | 1927   |
|-------------------------------------|--------|--------|--------|
| Rye flour . . . . .                 | 6,194  | 4,107  | 3,202  |
| Rye bread . . . . .                 | 3,710  | 3,490  | 3,613  |
| Wheat flour . . . . .               | 8,311  | 9,743  | 11,364 |
| Wheat bread . . . . .               | 4,545  | 5,210  | 5,470  |
| Barley . . . . .                    | 1,553  | 1,353  | 1,138  |
| Potatoes . . . . .                  | 11,398 | 10,854 | 9,780  |
| Other Vegetables . . . . .          | 4,176  | 3,829  | 4,448  |
| Mushrooms, berries, fruit . . . . . | 2,705  | 2,722  | 2,413  |
| Cooking oil . . . . .               | 0,488  | 0,492  | 0,336  |

### Consumption of articles of clothing per member of a working class family in the first half years of 1926-1928.

|  | Provincial towns of the |       |       |                |       |       |             |       |       |
|--|-------------------------|-------|-------|----------------|-------|-------|-------------|-------|-------|
|  | Moscow                  |       |       | R. S. F. S. R. |       |       | The Ukraine |       |       |
|  | 1926                    | 1927  | 1928  | 1926           | 1927  | 1928  | 1926        | 1927  | 1928  |
| Cotton cloth and cotton clothing in metres . . . . .             | 8.35                    | 10.11 | 10.22 | 8.51           | 8.55  | 10.20 | 10.43       | 11.64 | 12.40 |
| Woollen cloth and woollen clothing, in metres . . . . .          | 0.79                    | 0.93  | 0.98  | 0.72           | 0.87  | 0.65  | 0.71        | 0.84  | 0.69  |
| Other kinds of cloth and clothing, in metres . . . . .           | 0.33                    | 0.69  | 0.54  | 0.22           | 0.57  | 0.42  | 0.25        | 0.78  | 0.68  |
| Pairs of leather shoes . . . . .                                 | 0.92                    | 1.08  | 1.09  | 0.78           | 0.84  | 0.75  | 0.93        | 0.96  | 0.93  |
| Pairs of galoshes . . . . .                                      | —                       | 0.24  | 0.28  | 0.11           | 0.14  | 0.25  | 0.14        | 0.15  | 0.15  |
| Total consumption of clothing and footwear, in roubles . . . . . | 24.69                   | 31.98 | 32.08 | 19.14          | 19.92 | 21.26 | 26.49       | 28.83 | 28.14 |

The consumption of cotton material and of articles of clothing made therefrom shows an uninterrupted increase in all the districts investigated. The consumption of woollen cloth and articles of clothing made therefrom showed a trifling increase in the year 1927 and remained stationary in the year

|                                   | 1925  | 1926  | 1927   |
|-----------------------------------|-------|-------|--------|
| Sugar and confectionery . . . . . | 1,406 | 1,611 | 1,815  |
| Meat . . . . .                    | 4,314 | 4,406 | 5,028  |
| Fish . . . . .                    | 0,947 | 0,896 | 0,929  |
| Milk and milk products . . . . .  | 7,131 | 7,952 | 11,255 |
| Butter . . . . .                  | 0,254 | 0,287 | 0,323  |
| Eggs . . . . .                    | 0,373 | 0,422 | 0,512  |

Thus we see that the diet of the industrial workers has increased both qualitatively and quantitatively as regards the most valuable food items.

What effects have the difficulties of the last few years had on the diet of the industrial worker? As the standard of nutrition bears to a great extent a seasonal character, we will, for the sake of better comparison, only give the results of the first half year of each individual year.

### Average monthly standard of consumption of food in the first half year of 1927 and 1928.

(In kilogrammes per adult member of a family)

|                                      | Provincial towns |       |                       |        |             |        |
|--------------------------------------|------------------|-------|-----------------------|--------|-------------|--------|
|                                      | Moscow           |       | of the R. S. F. S. R. |        | The Ukraine |        |
|                                      | 1927             | 1928  | 1927                  | 1928   | 1927        | 1928   |
| Rye flour . . . . .                  | 0,120            | 0,042 | 5,422                 | 3,448  | 0,172       | 0,196  |
| Rye bread . . . . .                  | 10,068           | 9,135 | 1,681                 | 2,508  | 2,233       | 2,299  |
| Wheat flour . . . . .                | 3,926            | 3,812 | 15,613                | 14,968 | 7,563       | 5,870  |
| Wheat bread . . . . .                | 7,037            | 6,916 | 9,392                 | 2,758  | 11,986      | 12,169 |
| Potatoes . . . . .                   | 11,089           | 7,160 | 8,817                 | 8,000  | 11,562      | 11,803 |
| Other vegetables . . . . .           | 4,121            | 4,483 | 1,683                 | 2,434  | 5,069       | 5,763  |
| Mushrooms, berries, fruits . . . . . | 1,437            | 1,152 | 0,746                 | 0,618  | 1,562       | 1,293  |
| Oil . . . . .                        | 0,494            | 0,510 | 0,852                 | 0,242  | 0,465       | 0,528  |
| Sugar and confectionery . . . . .    | 2,229            | 2,494 | 1,536                 | 1,762  | 1,892       | 2,011  |
| Meat . . . . .                       | 6,098            | 6,136 | 4,001                 | 4,058  | 6,894       | 7,118  |
| Fish . . . . .                       | 1,616            | 1,567 | 0,834                 | 0,932  | 1,485       | 1,421  |
| Milk and milk products . . . . .     | 7,994            | 8,698 | 14,426                | 12,361 | 8,509       | 8,808  |
| Butter . . . . .                     | 0,401            | 0,447 | 0,236                 | 0,267  | 0,387       | 0,295  |
| Eggs . . . . .                       | 0,738            | 0,573 | 0,321                 | 0,355  | 1,005       | 0,880  |

Thus the consumption of wheat flour decreased in 1928 as compared with 1927 while the consumption of wheat bread shows an increase in some cases. The consumption of potatoes decreased, while the consumption of other kinds of vegetables increased. In all the towns outside of the Ukraine the consumption of butter and eggs increased at the cost of the consumption of oil. The consumption of sugar and meat shows a considerable increase.

### Clothing and household articles.

With regard to the consumption of clothing and footwear we have the following data:

1928. The consumption of shoes and galoshes is increasing but slowly.

The expenditure on household articles and also, for the time being, the consumption of alcoholic liquors and cigarettes have increased considerably.

**Expenditure on household articles in the first half years of 1926—1928.**  
(In roubles per member of a worker's family.)

|                                    | Moscow |      |      | Provincial towns of the<br>R. S. F. S. R. |      |      | The Ukraine |      |      |
|------------------------------------|--------|------|------|---|------|------|-------------|------|------|
|                                    | 1926   | 1927 | 1928 | 1926                                      | 1927 | 1928 | 1926        | 1927 | 1928 |
| Furniture and bedding . . . . .    | 2.52   | 3.18 | 4.36 | 1.50                                      | 1.11 | 1.56 | 2.01        | 2.70 | 4.25 |
| Crockery . . . . .                 | 1.41   | 1.20 | 1.49 | 0.75                                      | 1.17 | 1.26 | 1.35        | 1.44 | 1.55 |
| Other household articles . . . . . | 2.22   | 2.01 | 2.62 | 1.62                                      | 2.37 | 1.80 | 1.53        | 2.04 | 2.37 |

**Expenditure on alcoholic beverages and tobacco for the first half years of 1926—1928.**  
(In roubles per member of a worker's family.)

|                               | Moscow |      |      | Provincial towns of the<br>R. S. F. S. R. |      |      | The Ukraine |      |      |
|-------------------------------|--------|------|------|---|------|------|-------------|------|------|
|                               | 1926   | 1927 | 1928 | 1926                                      | 1927 | 1928 | 1926        | 1927 | 1928 |
| Alcoholic beverages . . . . . | 5.76   | 5.88 | 7.01 | 2.43                                      | 3.81 | 4.53 | 3.93        | 4.41 | 4.72 |
| Tobacco and matches . . . . . | 2.43   | 2.73 | 3.38 | 0.93                                      | 1.20 | 1.49 | 1.62        | 2.10 | 2.15 |

**The Total Budget of the Industrial Worker.**

The total extent of the budget of an industrial worker has changed somewhat considerably during the last two years, chiefly as a result of increasing wages.

Of the items of expenditure, those representing rent and food increased greatly in the year 1927, while the general structure of the budget remained the same. The subscriptions to State loans and the increased expenditure for cultural and

social purposes caused a certain alteration in the structure of the worker's budget in the year 1928. Thanks to increased wages, the material position of the worker in the first half year of 1928 not only did not suffer under the various short-comings of the food supply, but showed an improvement in comparison with the same period of the preceding year.

**The Budget of a Worker's Family.**

In roubles for six months (January to June) of the years 1926—1928.

| A. Income  | Moscow |        |        | Provincial towns of the<br>R. S. F. S. R. |        |        | The Ukraine |        |        |
|--|--------|--------|--------|---|--------|--------|-------------|--------|--------|
|  | 1926   | 1927   | 1928   | 1926                                      | 1927   | 1928   | 1926        | 1927   | 1928   |
| Wages of the chief earner . . . . .                            | 523.90 | 572.92 | 648.73 | 304.16                                    | 358.36 | 391.41 | 481.12      | 532.08 | 581.02 |
| Wages of the other members of the family . . . . .             | 157.66 | 145.48 | 166.58 | 45.31                                     | 37.03  | 37.91  | 48.18       | 45.02  | 39.01  |
| Social insurance etc., for all members of the family . . . . . | 52.31  | 43.73  | 47.78  | 42.17                                     | 42.03  | 40.14  | 29.04       | 37.34  | 34.22  |
| Income from other sources . . . . .                            | 48.07  | 72.04  | 66.89  | 43.38                                     | 68.41  | 66.57  | 75.29       | 85.09  | 99.19  |
| Total . . . . .  | 781.94 | 834.17 | 929.98 | 435.02                                    | 505.78 | 536.03 | 633.63      | 699.53 | 753.44 |
| <b>B. Expenditure</b>  |        |        |        |   |        |        |             |        |        |
| Rent, light, heating etc. . . . .                              | 85.64  | 93.14  | 101.17 | 54.59                                     | 73.36  | 73.40  | 69.73       | 84.29  | 87.67  |
| Food . . . . .   | 345.30 | 358.35 | 388.07 | 201.25                                    | 222.58 | 227.76 | 293.21      | 311.20 | 317.57 |
| Alcoholic beverages . . . . .                                  | 25.85  | 26.80  | 31.79  | 10.56                                     | 16.42  | 18.66  | 18.77       | 18.95  | 20.00  |
| Tobacco etc. . . . .   | 11.42  | 12.53  | 15.32  | 4.10                                      | 5.21   | 6.15   | 6.66        | 9.12   | 9.11   |
| Clothing . . . . .   | 134.03 | 166.84 | 172.44 | 98.31                                     | 97.87  | 98.99  | 135.82      | 141.67 | 137.12 |
| Washing and soap . . . . .                                     | 5.98   | 7.68   | 7.44   | 3.09                                      | 4.08   | 4.41   | 4.63        | 6.17   | 6.25   |
| Hygiene . . . . .  | 5.96   | 4.41   | 5.70   | 1.52                                      | 1.18   | 2.26   | 3.01        | 1.84   | 2.26   |
| Household articles etc. . . . .                                | 30.49  | 30.53  | 39.84  | 18.33                                     | 20.10  | 19.64  | 24.40       | 27.61  | 35.60  |
| Medical treatment etc. . . . .                                 | 2.58   | 3.79   | 4.35   | 0.90                                      | 1.77   | 0.92   | 2.53        | 2.43   | 3.94   |
| Culture . . . . .  | 14.29  | 25.10  | 26.47  | 5.85                                      | 7.28   | 10.18  | 14.18       | 16.94  | 19.34  |
| Social and political expenditure . . . . .                     | 18.93  | 19.55  | 23.40  | 9.80                                      | 9.30   | 11.29  | 13.68       | 14.33  | 20.14  |
| Religion . . . . .   | 0.41   | 0.87   | 0.65   | 0.35                                      | 0.34   | 0.34   | 0.19        | 0.13   | 0.08   |
| Payment of instalments for goods had on credit . . . . .       | 20.91  | 9.53   | 5.88   | 7.09                                      | 4.99   | 6.01   | 5.28        | 8.70   | 17.35  |
| State loans . . . . .  | —      | 3.60   | 9.32   | —   | 0.26   | 4.56   | —           | 6.11   | 8.87   |
| Convalescent homes and sanatoria . . . . .                     | —      | 6.90   | 5.33   | —   | 0.78   | 5.77   | —           | 1.57   | 4.90   |
| Other outgoings . . . . .                                      | 54.96  | 50.71  | 71.84  | 15.72                                     | 25.32  | 31.64  | 24.87       | 32.72  | 40.77  |
| Miscellaneous . . . . .  | 4.66   | 4.44   | 3.02   | 0.36                                      | 0.08   | 0.15   | 1.48        | 2.19   | 2.53   |
| Total . . . . .  | 762.34 | 824.77 | 912.03 | 431.82                                    | 491.62 | 522.13 | 618.44      | 685.97 | 733.50 |

## PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

### Working Women in the Coming General Election in Great Britain.

By Phyllis Neal.

By the Enfranchisement of Women Act introduced by the Conservative Government and passed by the British Parliament in 1928, 5 million women between the ages of 21 and 30 years were enfranchised. There is now equality of suffrage in England between men and women. Of the five million newly enfranchised women, it is estimated that 4 millions belong to the working class. To awaken these to political life, to develop their revolutionary consciousness and mobilise them in active support of the Communist Party's electoral policy and programme, thus becomes a very important task of the Party; and since a General Parliamentary Election is due in 1929 (probably as early as May) an urgent one.

Naturally the Party did not wait for the complete enfranchisement of working women before endeavouring to draw them into electoral struggles. In the General Election of 1924, and the annual local contests prior to 1928 (while still supporting the Labour Party candidates) it worked for the participation of the working women in a revolutionary spirit, both those who had votes and those who had not. Later, when the Left wing Labour Parties in the London area (disaffiliated from the official Labour Party) advanced their own candidates from the County Council, on a Communist programme, against the Right wing Labour candidates, the Party was successful in organising bands of very energetic women workers.

Immediately after acceptance of the C. C. in February, 1928, the Resolution of the IX. Plenum of the E. C. C. I., which included among its most important features a new electoral policy for the Party, in opposition to the Labour Party, the Political Bureau brought before the Central Women's Department the necessity of linking all aspects of its work with the Party's electoral policy.

In March 1928 the Enfranchisement of Women Bill passed its second reading in Parliament, and in April "The Working Woman" contained a very clear and strong article: — "A Letter to New Women Voters."

The votes of the working women were claimed for the Communist Party as an act of class-loyalty. And not their votes only, but their active participation in the work of the electoral committees, and above all, membership of the Communist Party.

The same issue contained a leading article on "Ourselves and the Labour Party", which set forth very sharply and correctly the reasons for the new policy.

From that time every issue of "The Working Woman" has contained material in connection with the coming General Election.

Beginning with the conference in London in February, in preparation for International Women's Day, and continuing through the many United Front Conferences held under the leadership of the Communist Party in its International Women's Day and Anti-War Campaigns, a very strong propaganda has been sustained to mark out the Party in contrast to the Labour Party as the leader of the working women in their fight against capitalism. The reception of our propaganda by the delegates (the great majority of whom were of course not Communists) has been good without exception, and there have been many recruits to the Party. In the South Wales coalfield, where the

Labour Party Women's Sections were forbidden to be represented at our conferences, under threat of expulsion from the Labour Party, many sections sent delegates, and a number of Labour women joined the C. P.

The first elections to take place after the IX. Plenum were those for the Urban District Councils and Boards of Guardians in April. The Communist and Left Wing candidates included many women.

The first Parliamentary election fought by the Party since the IX. Plenum was at Aberdeen (Scotland), where, although the Party had only a very small group of members, it polled 2,650 votes against the Labour and Liberal Parties, gained 5% recruits, collected £ 100 from the workers toward the election expenses, and secured the organised support of entire ward committees of the Labour Party, in favour of the Communist and against the Labour candidate. Here the women were exceedingly active, especially the younger women who were not yet enfranchised. In the canvassing, meetings, distribution of literature, etc., they worked tirelessly: went out in bands, wearing red kerchiefs on their heads, held meetings in working class streets, and brought out the women to listen: hung red banners from their houses and organised parades of their children to march and sing revolutionary songs.

In November the elections took place for the Borough Councils (local governing bodies of the more important towns) and for the Scottish Parish Councils (the equivalent in Scotland of the English Boards of Guardians). In the English Borough Council elections, the Party vote was 10.5% of the Labour vote; in Scotland 19.5%; but in the Scottish Parish Council elections 42%. The much better results in the Parish Council contests were no doubt due to the fact that these were fought around issues concerning unemployment, scales of relief, care of needy children, etc., on which the workers have had long experience of the Party's work. The number of women candidates of the C. P. and Left wing was very considerable. In London alone about 18 were women. The issues specially affecting working women were prominent in the Party propaganda, and again the women were among the most active workers for the Party.

The big Communist bazaar held in London at Christmas time in aid of the General Election Fund was successful mainly through the work of the women, very many of whom were non-Party sympathisers. It realised about £ 400, and had very considerable propaganda value.

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The Business Manager.