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## Questions of the Plenary Session of the E. C. of the C. I.

By D. Manuilski.

Almost a year has passed since the Sixth World Congress of the C. I., a period which is sufficient to draw a few fundamental conclusions and to examine the correctness of the decisions of the Sixth World Congress and the attitude of all the sections of the C. I., upon the basis of the political experience of the international communist movement.

The period which the world movement of the workers is now experiencing is not one of those in which the events follow each other in rapid succession, in which the relations of class forces alter radically from week to week and the revolutionary parties of the proletariat are compelled to alter their tactical line within 24 hours in accordance with such a changing situation. In various periods history gives us various measures. Political impressionism, the attempt to discover "new characteristics" in the third period of the post-war development of capitalism every three months, to discover "new stages"

in the working class movement at all costs every few weeks, would be very damaging at present. Such attempts would often lead to regarding things which are inseparable from the nature of imperialism as new; and the efforts to say something new at all costs would develop into mechanical formulations completely divorced from the actual historical conditions under which the working class movement is developing.

The policy laid down by the Sixth World Congress is correct and has not lost its significance in the present situation. The correctness of this policy is proved by the course of events in the past year. At the same time it would also be a great mistake, and still more damaging, to remain immovable within the limits of hard and fast formulations and to refuse to see the real alterations in the situation of the international working class movement both economically and politically since the Sixth World Congress. A good example of such

scholastic conservatism is offered by the attitude of the right-wing and conciliatory groups in the C. I. who fail to see the third period, the functional alterations in the role of the Social Democracy and the necessity of any other tactical line than for instance that of the period of the Third World Congress of the C. I.

In the past year events of great significance have taken place. Everywhere, the wave of economic strikes is growing, strikes which are split up and not co-operated for the moment. This wave of strikes shows however that the offensive of capitalism in its present phase has already arrived at the barriers of proletarian resistance. The class struggles of an offensive character on the part of the proletariat are developing into a counter-attack. In the colonial and semi-colonial countries the strike movement is taking on the form of armed insurrections in consequence of the extreme intensification of colonial oppression, as shown by the insurrection of the plantation workers in Columbia. In India tremendous colonial reserves are being drawn into revolutionary processes which are reminiscent of recent events in China. The Indian revolution is on the agenda. In the heart of capitalist Europe, in Berlin, events are developing whose significance will be tremendous for the revolutionisation of the international working class and for the breaking up of the influence of the Social Democracy upon the working class movement.

The increased fighting activity of the working class and of the toilers in the colonies is causing the bourgeoisie to mobilise its police and military apparatus for an armed struggle against the toilers, to strengthen the repression and to introduce Fascist methods of administration. The internal reaction is in accordance with the increasing aggressiveness abroad, in particular against the Soviet Union, the strongest barricade of the international revolutionary movement. This process of the intensification of the class struggle in the international arena has affected the colonial countries in as far as in the last year the national bourgeoisie everywhere moved suddenly to the right by capitulating before imperialism (India, China, Egypt). The process of differentiation within the national-revolutionary movement is also very sharply outlined, and the petty-bourgeois elements in this movement are developing swiftly towards the right. In the countries of South and Central America this process can be seen with great clarity in the fate of governments like that of Mexico etc.

In the past year the offensive of American capital increased considerably, not only in Europe (Kellogg Pact, the Plan for an inter-allied Reparations Bank), but also in those colonies which were previously ruled almost exclusively by British capital: In China American capital holds first place, the advance of American capital in the Near East, in Egypt, Arabia and Persia. The struggle between the United States and Great Britain for the hegemony of the world (the central contradiction of the whole capitalist world) is nearing its final decision. The little war in China between the Nanking Government and the Kwangsi Group represents the bloody manoeuvring of these two great antagonists of world politics, a threatening signal of the coming great war in the Pacific.

The "inter-relations" of economic interests (international cartels, trusts, emission banks) in which the Social Democracy sees a guarantee against war and which the right-wing communists, for instance, Crosé in France, regard as a factor which will postpone war for many years to come, will in fact contribute to turning the coming war into a war of such world dimensions that there will be no such thing as neutral States. At the same time those monopolist tendencies of capitalism pointed out by the Sixth World Congress, are becoming more and more stressed, tendencies towards State capitalism, which is represented by the Social Democrats as the birth of "democracy", as the real socialism.

The growth of the inter-relation between the Social Democracy and the reformist trade union bureaucracy with the employers organisations and the capitalist State has advanced very considerably not only in the last year, but in recent years. To-day one can no longer, as after the treachery of the 4th August 1914, speak of the harnessing of the leaders of the Social Democracy into the apparatus of the capitalist State. To-day the Social Democracy has corrupted thousands of its officials by the crumbs which fall from the table of the bourgeoisie. The Social Democracy has given its officials a material interest in the maintenance of the capitalist regime

which it serves, through the trade unions, the employers organisations, the municipal administrations, the posts in connection with the health insurance scheme etc., in the police apparatus etc.

The Berlin events showed that this stratum of officials etc. is, in order to avoid dismissal by the bourgeoisie, becoming Fascist in accordance with the speed with which it is losing influence upon the working masses. The Social Democracy is developing into a wild beast because it recognises that the historical period of its role in the working class movement has been shortened and that it will be the first corpse one which the working class will march to take up the decisive struggle with the bourgeoisie.

The extension of capitalism with all its chain of organisations and with the assistance of its agency within the working class, the Social Democracy, makes the struggle of the workers very difficult. Every economic struggle leads to a collision between the workers and the whole capitalist State. On the other hand however this fact is drawing the working class more and more into "politics", and it is beginning to realise more and more the whole mechanism of the capitalist system.

The conflict in the Ruhr district, in one of the most highly developed capitalist countries, where all these characteristics found their clearest expression, placed the whole international proletariat before the question of what methods to use in order to break through the front formed by all the forces of capitalist society. This question is made of still greater practical importance because the special circumstances of the struggle in the present period cause a spirit in certain sections of the working class to the effect that part struggles are useless and that all forces must be saved for the final decisive blow. Such a spirit is to be found for instance amongst the French railwaymen who are organised in the C. G. T. U. They have not yet freed themselves from the after-effects of the defeat of their movement in 1920.

Finally, in the past year there were a number of right-wing crises in certain Communist Parties (Germany, Czechoslovakia). In the years of the crisis phase in connection with the bolshevisation of the sections, which co-incided in part of time with the period of the partial and relative stabilisation of capitalism, we enjoyed a certain stability of inner-party relations and groups in our sections. The increased activity of the working class however came into contradiction with the organisational methods and customs in the solution of the fundamental questions of the international communist movement, with the customs which had formed in individual groups of our sections in the period of a certain stabilisation of class relations.

The right-wing and conciliatory groups, the historical political bequest of the Social Democracy, which showed their opportunist nature on more than one occasion at the important stages of the struggle of the working class (1923 in Germany, the Bubnik crisis in Czechoslovakia), and which had really degenerated into little nuclei of the "left-wing" Social Democracy inside the ranks of the Communist Parties, were swept away by the rising tide of the international working class movement.

The higher the tide of the working class movement, the sooner these groups develop towards the Social Democracy. The right-wing "crisis" (Brandler and Thalheimer in Germany, Hais, Jilek and Neurath in Czechoslovakia) showed quite clearly that during the ten years of the existence of the Communist International and its persistent struggle for the bolshevisation of the individual sections of the international communist movement, such firm bolshevist foundations had been laid, that all elements which attempt to split the communist movement must suffer shipwreck. These bolshevist battalions have not yet received their baptism of fire, they have still deficiencies and weaknesses, but deeply rooted in their consciousness is the knowledge that there can be no communist movement outside of the Communist International.

The past year has also shown still more clearly the development of the right-wing and ultra-left groups (Urbahn) into a united Social Democratic tendency. In consequence of sectarian persistence these groups still exist organisationally independent for the outside world, but, apart from former ex-

periences, their relation to each other is seen plainly in connection with the Berlin events: the same accusations against the C. P. of Germany which is charged with isolation from the masses, putschism, of ignoring the "masses" of trade union members who were called upon by the Social Democracy to demonstrate in closed meetings as a counter-demonstration to the appeal of the C. P. of Germany for street demonstrations. All these questions can not be regarded isolated from each other, they are connected with the analysis of the world situation whose chief characteristics were laid down by the Sixth World Congress.

## II.

At the Plenary Session of the E. C. of the C. I. we shall have above all to repulse attempts of the right-wingers and the conciliators to revise the decisions of the Sixth World Congress in the question of the capitalist stabilisation. It will then be necessary to formulate the term "third period" more definitely and more concretely upon the basis of the new factors.

The character of the capitalist stabilisation is the decisive question, and the answer of the C. I. to this question determines the estimation of the international and internal situation not only in the Soviet Union, but in all capitalist countries. Whoever underestimates the significance of the internal economic contradictions of capitalism, the proletarian class struggles, the movement in the colonies recently (China, India), the insurrections on the international front (Congo, Indonesia etc.) as factors making for the disorganisation of the capitalist stabilisation, must also overestimate the capacity of the stabilisation for resistance. The essence of opportunism always consisted in an overestimation of the strength of the class enemy and in a sceptical attitude towards the forces of the working class.

At the Sixth World Congress Comrade Ewert proved seriously that movements like the July insurrection of the Vienna proletariat in 1927 were only possible in a country like Austria and were determined by the special international situation of Austria. The May events in Berlin one year after the Sixth Congress showed how "far-seeing" such contentions were. In estimating the character of the capitalist stabilisation our Communist opportunists do not dare to deny theoretically the factor of the intensification of the class struggle. In all cases of concrete proletarian struggles however, for instance during the class struggles carried on by the proletariat in the last year, they are at hand to inject the poison of their pessimism and to cripple the fighting spirit of the proletariat.

However, the role of international opportunism is seen most clearly in the estimation of the Berlin events and in its attitude to the international action against war on the 1st August. These confused right-wingers and conciliators who see a "defeat" in the May action of the Berlin proletariat, and who are already prophesying the "failure" of the demonstration on the 1st August, spread an atmosphere of faintheartedness. Measured by the practical questions the actual attitude of the opportunist elements to the character of the capitalist stabilisation is exposed.

The underestimation of the forces of the proletariat by the opportunists in the international communist movement is closely connected with the right-wing elements in the Soviet Union who underestimate the forces of the working class of the Soviet Union in the struggle against the remnants of capitalist in the country. Our socialist stabilisation is no less a disorganising factor of the capitalist stabilisation of the world economic system, than is the revolutionary movement of the workers in the capitalist countries. The nature of the international right-wing deviation is expressed in the attempts to reduce the significance of our socialist stabilisation, the tendency to retreat in face of the difficulties of the socialist constructive work, to see everything in the Soviet Union with jaundiced eyes, and at the same time to exaggerate the resistance of the capitalist stabilisation of the world, to give way before the "prosperity" of capitalism and in this connection to take up an attitude related to that of the Social Democracy.

Such an attitude of course produces a corresponding tactical line. The opportunist elements capitulate before capitalism by overestimating its strength. The tendency amongst certain circles in the Soviet Union not to place too much pressure upon the kulak is the counterpart of the tactics of the right-

wingers in the capitalist countries based upon a more or less peaceful parallel existence of the Social Democracy and the Communists in the international working class movement. Therefore the attitude of the opportunists towards the Soviet Union is purely defensive. They are in favour of trade union loyalty in the reformist unions and against independent strike committees elected by the masses from below for carrying on strike movements, because this would violate the statutes of the trade unions and give the bureaucrats the chance to expel left-wing workers from the unions. They degrade the role of the unorganised workers. For them the third period is the period of the consolidation of the capitalist stabilisation and the strengthening of the positions of the bourgeoisie. And finally, the class struggle is regarded by them as the offensive of capitalism against the disarmed and exhausted working class.

The Plenary Session of the E. C. of the C. I. will have to stress still more strongly the factor of the tremendous contradictions which have accumulated in the third period upon the basis of the capitalist stabilisation and which make this stabilisation relative. The Plenary Session will have to urge the organised communist movement to utilise these contradictions still more persistently in order to prepare class struggles on a greater scale than previously.

The third period is the period in which the decisive contradictions of capitalism appear in sharper form than ever before upon the basis of the technical development of capitalism, and take on an insoluble character (market problems, unemployment, under-consumption of the masses etc.). It is the period in which the parasitic characteristics of monopolist capitalism appear with the greatest possible clarity, and make it into a hindrance for the development of the productive forces, narrow down the economic basis of reformism and give in this connection the social conflicts the character of great revolutionary movements, strengthened still more by the existence of a country of the proletarian dictatorship. It is the period in which tremendous crises arise, above all the danger of war against the Soviet Union, in short, it is the period of the decline of the capitalist stabilisation which intensifies the general crisis of capitalism and leads inevitably to the phase of the victorious proletarian revolutions.

"Organised" capitalism of the third period is decaying capitalism. The theoreticians of capitalist economy like Sombart, Schmalenbach etc., who are able only to "describe" the existing, call this form of capitalism "bound" capitalism and enumerate with the conscientiousness of a German scientist the various stages of the bound nature of capitalism as a consequence of its monopolist character. They point to the process of decomposition in its fabric, to the decay of such characteristics as personal initiative and the spirit of enterprise which in the past gave the capitalist system the appearance of usefulness, and which to-day are regarded by the apologists of the capitalist system produces. The quick change from booms to depressions is crazy in the economic leadership of the tremendous trusts and concerns of united undertakings, the obviously irrational management of the business of monopolist capitalism, which is directly faced with the question of socialisation, plan economy etc., all these characteristics of "organised" capitalism are by no means the discovery of Sombart and Schmalenbach\*). They represent the typical characteristics of decaying capitalism described by Lenin in his work on imperialism.

Monopoly, oligarchy, the will for power instead of for freedom, wrote Lenin, the exploitation of an increasing number of small or weak nations by a little group of rich or strong nations, all these things produce the special characteristics of imperialism, which force us to term it parasitical or decaying capitalism.

The structural alterations of capitalism are determined by the contradictions which arise in the epoch of monopolist capitalism between the productive forces and the forms of the appropriation of the product. "Organised" capitalism is based upon the contradictions which the unstable nature of its whole system produces. The quick change from booms to depressions is not only the consequence of a general instability but they increase this instability.

\*) German publication "Gesellschaft" No. 9.

Decaying capitalism is capitalism in the throes of a protracted progressive general crisis. All the contradictions of "normal" capitalism take on a tremendously increased character in the third period. The problem of markets also existed in the period of normal capitalism, but it was not an insoluble contradiction, as it is at present for monopolist capitalism. The ruined independent workers and the pauperised rural masses offered young industry an excess of labour power. Present day unemployment however has a structural character. Capitalist rationalisation in the epoch of decaying capitalism expels millions of people from the process of production, makes them beggars, Lumpenproletariat who represent a great burden for the proletarian masses still employed in the process of production. In colonial countries like India unemployment takes on dreadful forms, because it is at the same time the result of the capitalist rationalisation of industry and of the pauperisation of broad masses of small traders, independent workers and peasants.

Even the most favourable boom would not permit capitalism to take up in the process of production a great part of the unemployed masses who are now flooding the towns of the old world and the new. To-day it is perhaps too soon to build up any new law for the period of decaying capitalism based upon its tendency to reduce the number of workers employed in production and their transfer to the sphere of capital circulation (trade, the personal service of the bourgeoisie etc.). But the fact alone that the question is formulated concerning a general tendency to reduce the number of workers employed in production, proves that the task of solving the question is beyond the power of modern capitalism. This is shown by the confused state of mind of the ruling class in Great Britain in their search for a solution of this problem (see the electoral campaign in Great Britain).

The problem of the under-consumption of the masses has also taken on an insoluble character for modern capitalism. In connection with the tremendous increase in the productive capacity of industry on a world scale, the narrowing down of foreign markets owing to the industrialisation of economically backward countries, the removal of the Soviet Union from the sphere of capitalist economics, the civil wars in the colonial countries which destroy the trade relations with the capitalist countries (China), the reduced capacity of the internal market has a catastrophic significance for capitalism. The number of

unemployed all over the world is 15 millions, or together with their dependents 60 millions. And in the balance of consumption these 60 millions play a minimal role.

Parallel with the sinking purchasing power of the broad masses of the workers we can observe a rise in prices as a result of the monopolist character of capitalism. Men like the well-known German trade union leader Tarnow can console the workers deceived by them with the statement that the situation of the workers to-day is much better than the situation of the workers 200 years ago, but they cannot refute the absolute fact that the disproportion between the national wealth and the material situation of the workers in all capitalist countries is much greater to-day than it was before the world war.

Behind the objective contradictions of modern capitalism are the relations of the classes. The third period is not only a period in which all the contradictions of capitalism are reproduced upon an increased scale, it is also the period of the extreme intensification of the class struggle. In order to find a way out of the contradictions which are tearing at its vitals, capitalism will conduct great wars with a view to drawing all the continents of the world into war. These wars will be accompanied by civil wars and revolutions in the colonies. The world is approaching social conflicts and catastrophes against which the first revolutionary wave in Europe in 1918-19 as a result of the world war, will fade into insignificance, will appear as a passing episode. The countries in which the proletariat will be victorious will be compelled to conduct revolutionary wars against the counter-revolutionary governments of the capitalist countries.

At present we are only at the beginning of the third period which was introduced by the British General Strike and by the Chinese Revolution. The struggles of the proletariat are still sectional struggles, they have not yet taken on the tremendous extent which will no longer permit any difference of opinion with regard to their estimation, and will compel the sceptics to admit that they were in error. For the moment these struggles are developing in individual industries and proceeding on an isolated, national scale. Concentrated struggles class struggle on an international scale are before us. In this commencing period the class-consciousness of the proletariat is still being crushed by the firm apparatus of the class enemy. Therefore the radicalisation of the working class is a complicated process.

(To be continued.)

## Appeal of the Representatives of the Brother Parties to the 12th Congress of the C. P. of Germany.

### Declaration upon the Speech of the Representative of the E. C. of the C. I.

Read by Comrade Gallacher (Great Britain).

The representatives of the Communist Parties signing this declaration declare themselves in complete agreement with the speech of the representative of the E. C. of the C. I. at the 12th Congress of the Communist Party of Germany.

The 12th Congress of the C. P. of Germany is of international political significance. It meets after great struggles of the German proletariat in the Ruhr and on the barricades on the First of May in Berlin. The First of May was a turning point which placed new great revolutionary tasks before the C. P. of Germany. The Congress gathers the experience of the struggle, examines the previous policy of the Party and concretises the further tasks of the Communist movement in Germany. The policy of the Communist Party of Germany and the policy of the Party Congress are in complete accord with the policy of the VI. Congress of the Communist International and the policy of the E. C. of the C. I. At this Party Congress the C. P. of Germany has demonstrated how closely it is connected with the masses of the workers in the factories, how deeply

it is rooted in the proletarian masses and how much its influence has grown.

The undersigned representatives of the Communist Parties declare themselves in complete agreement with the remarks of the representative of the C. I. regarding the right-wing elements. The conciliators have taken over the role of the right-wingers in the C. P. of Germany and founded a new right-wing fraction inside the Party.

The whole Communist International must warn the conciliators that if they continue their activity along the lines laid down in their memorandum, they will share the fate of the expelled liquidators. The cleaning of the ranks of the Communist Parties from the liquidators is a proof of the great ideological and organisational process of consolidation of the whole Communist International, the intensified ideological arming of the proletariat and the preparations of its revolutionary advance guard for the coming revolutionary struggles.

We are convinced that the 12th Congress of the C. P. of Germany will make a great step forward upon the path of

the revolutionary struggle of the German proletariat and of the whole communist world movement.

**Long live the Communist Party of Germany!**

**Long live the Communist International!**

The representatives of the following sections of the Communist International:

Communist Party of France.  
Communist Party of Great Britain.  
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.  
Communist Party of Italy.  
Communist Party of Poland.  
Communist Party of Belgium.  
Communist Party of Sweden.  
Communist Party of Norway.  
Communist Party of Austria.  
Communist Party of Switzerland.  
Communist Balkan Federation.

## AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

### The Preparation in France for the International Anti-War Day.

By Etienne Digard (Paris).

The International Anti-War Day was not subject of popular propaganda in France until quite recently. It was only shortly before May Day that this work was seriously taken in hand.

In the provincial press of the Party there is already considerable agitation. The "Humanité", the central organ of the Party, has started a daily rubric in which the significance of the Red Day, its necessity, and the practical tasks connected with its preparation are set forth.

Within the Party there is a tendency towards regarding the preparations for the International Day and the Day itself merely in the light of an agitational campaign. In reality, however, it is not only agitation that we have to keep in view but also, as the object of our agitation, the organisation and continuation of the proletarian fight against the bourgeoisie and Social Democrats.

The Central Committee attaches special importance to the particular rubric of the "Humanité", which is intended to contribute towards the better distribution of the directives to the broad mass of Party members. By means of the 200,000 copies of the "Humanité" that are distributed daily, the directives of the C. C. are brought to the immediate notice of the Party members and sympathisers, whereby the work of enlightenment and preparation for the International Day against Imperialist Wars is greatly promoted.

While the general influence of the Party is growing (witness the results of the municipal elections and the elections for the General Councils, the increasing circulation of the "Humanité", and the like), while the strike movement advances at ever quicker rate and radicalisation spreads to ever wider circles, while the objective situation for the mobilisation of these masses grows more and more favourable, our Party cannot succeed in mobilising the masses sufficiently under the principles of a direct fight against the bourgeoisie and against wars, though the very same masses are willing enough to take up arms for the realisation of their daily demands. Undoubtedly the new situation and the measures of persecution adopted by the bourgeoisie play an important rôle in this connection, though these reasons do not suffice to account for certain failures of the Party in the mobilisation of the masses.

The Central Committee of the Party has profited by the experience gained in previous fights and thus made the demonstration at the graves of the Communards into a proper militant demonstration, expressive of the will to fight on the part of the exploited classes and of progress in the work of the Party.

The following are the general presumptions under which the preparations for the Anti-War Day in France are being made: The centre of activity is to be in the works, and the main work will be done in the industrial districts, especially in the factories devoted to the armament and ammunition industries, as also at strategic points of the traffic system and in the ports. We shall

take care that the campaign is not merely superficial and without connection with the daily struggle of the workers, which can only develop within the bounds of an immediate perspective. An enhanced attention to the daily requirements of the workers and to the strike movement is absolutely essential. It is only in such measure as the Party can co-ordinate and develop the fight of the masses against exploitation, that it can succeed in really recruiting the workers for the fight against imperialist wars.

In regard to strikes the Party must display the political character of the conflict if it is to make the workers understand that their efforts must be directed against against the trinity of the employers, the State, and the Social Democrats. Our fractions within the trade unions will raise the question of a participation of the unions in the International Day and the preparations therefor; the same applies to all mass organisations on the basis of the revolutionary class struggle.

In explaining to the workers the political and economic problems which exist in the Soviet Union by showing up the preparations of the imperialists for an attack on the Soviet Union, by systematically setting forth the significance for the workers of the first proletarian State, and by a detailed discussion of all reports of the bourgeois press against the Soviet Union, we shall be imbuing the masses of workers and peasants with the principle of a defence of the Soviet Union by all possible means.

We are increasing, and shall continue to increase, our fight against the Social Democrats, by waging it in a less abstract form and by making use of all the small daily events which support our thesis of the transformation of the Social Democratic Party into a bourgeois Labour Party (the support by Le-villain and Fiancette of the congratulatory address to the Prefect of Police, Renaudel's report on expenditure for aviation, the alliance between the Socialists and the bourgeois parties against the Communists at the municipal elections, Gouin's motion of a law condemning the Communists as common criminals and the strike-breaking operations of the Social Democrats etc.).

The disclosure of the mendacious character of all talk on disarmament, the fight against chauvinist corruption, industrial mobilisation and the different forms of technical preparations for war, an explanation of the nature of persecution — all these are important tasks for the Party. Its anti-militarist efforts will be carried on with greater energy, in particular the development of connections between the peasants and workers on the one hand and the soldiers on the other and the advocacy and support by the workers of the movement of the soldiers for the satisfaction of their demands.

The unmasking of persecution as a means of preparing for imperialist wars is of particular importance, particularly at a moment when the bourgeoisie with the aid of the Social Democrats is increasing its attacks on the revolutionary proletariat and its organisations. The Party will see to it that the fight against persecution fosters the movement of the masses against imperialist wars.

Great significance attaches to the conquest of the streets by the proletariat and the holding of street demonstrations; the Party must put an end to the indifference which has long obtained in regard to the creation of formations for self-defence. We have started elucidating the political and technical experiences made in Berlin and in Poland. At the same time we have started agitation and propaganda for the purpose of gaining the workers' participation in formations for the defence of the working class, in which respect we have taken into consideration the experiences of our own demonstrations, our observations as to the attitude of the authorities in connection with strikes and demonstrations and the increasing brutality of the police, who fire without provocation at unarmed workers (witness the murder of a workman by a constable in the Rue Curial in Paris).

Without waiting till August 1st, we are endeavouring to give the campaign the character of a development of the mass struggle. The constantly growing strike wave is one of the best means of preparing for August 1st. In the course of this campaign we shall endeavour to organise street demonstrations and manifestations in the works. The same applies to the fight of the soldiers, sailors, and members of the military reserve. This fight is constantly on the increase. Only recently 600 reserve men demonstrated at Arras, refused to work, and for three quarters of an hour marched the streets singing the "International".

Our work for the united front is not being neglected. So as to include broad masses of unorganised workers in the preparation of the Anti-War Day, our Party intends, both locally and in the works, to establish Committees for the International Anti-War Day. These committees will not consist of representatives of organisations, but will stand for the realisation of the united front from below, the united front of workers against the bourgeoisie and the Social Democrats.

So as to unite the activity of these different committees and give the Party the possibility of ascertaining the sentiments of the masses, thereby binding them more closely to us, we shall hold district conferences between the end of June and the middle of July. These conferences of the workers and peasants will take place in the industrial centres. The Party has planned seven such district conferences viz. (1) district of Paris, (2) northern area with the participation of the works of St. Quentin, (3) metal industry of Briey and Lorraine, with inclusion of the works in the Ardennes, (4) Alsace-Lorraine, (5) industrial district of Lyons, (6) Marseilles, (7) a district conference uniting the shipyards of Cherbourg, Brest, Lorient, and St. Nazaire, the chemical works of Nantes, and the seamen and fishermen of the coastal area.

At the same time, the foundation of a workers' fund is planned, on the basis of collections in the towns and villages and contributions on the part of the revolutionary organisations.

Throughout all these struggles we shall not fail to keep sight of the strengthening of the Party and the trade unions by the recruitment of the most active workers of both sexes and by elimination of sceptical elements from leading positions.

On this general basis, which is merely an outline of the prospective work of the Party, the districts are beginning to mobilise. It is high time, however, for the entire Party to redouble its efforts.

## The Strengthening of Japanese Imperialism and the Danger of War in the Pacific.

By Tamura.

Of the three great imperialist powers which are fighting for precedence in the Pacific, the United States, Great Britain and Japan, Japan is probably the country which has been most aggressive in the Far East during the last forty years. As its own natural resources are limited and it requires markets and countries to which it can export its capital, the young and rapidly developing Japanese capitalism has tended from the very beginning to energetic expansionism.

The annexation of the island of Formosa in 1894, which belonged to China, was the first imperialist act of Japan. After the conclusion of an alliance with Great Britain in 1902, Japan took Liaotung and the South Manchurian Railway away from Czarist Russia in 1905. In 1910 Japan annexed Corea.

The World War brought a considerable strengthening for Japan which was able to win a number of new markets and which received the possibility — and this was its main advantage during the war — of carrying out its imperialist plans unhindered. It took Tsingtao away from Germany and annexed the Marian Islands, the Marshal Islands, the Caroline Islands and Shantung. It also forced the Chinese government by military pressure and by loans to grant it special rights and privileges in Manchuria, Mongolia and in North and Central China. The best illustration of the attitude of Japanese imperialism during the war is seen in the notorious "21 demands" which Japan put to China in 1915 in an ultimative form and which gave Japan almost unlimited rights in China. During the intervention of the allied forces against the Soviet Union Japan was still more aggressive. In this period Japan occupied North Sakhalin, the coastal district and a great part of Siberia.

After the World War the imperialist policy of Japan met with a powerful opponent and competitor in the imperialism of the United States of North America. North American imperialism which needed markets for its own commodities and spheres for the investment of its free capital, was not pre-

pared to tolerate the leading position of Japan in the Far East. As early as 1919 Washington exerted pressure upon London and Paris and caused a bank consortium to be formed for the purposes of a joint exploitation of China, the United States, Great Britain, France and Japan having equal parts in this consortium. At the Washington Conference in 1922 the American Government succeeded in obtaining the dissolution of the Anglo-Japanese treaty which divided China into spheres of British and Japanese interests. It also secured the signing of a guarantee pact of all the powers interested in China upon the basis of "the open door and equal opportunities". Further Japan had to undertake to evacuate Shantung, and Great Britain its leased territory of Weihaiwei.

As a result of the growing appetite of American capitalism, Great Britain was inclined to continue its agreement with Japan, despite the fact that the contradictions were growing, but in consequence of its complete financial dependence upon the United States in that period and under the pressure of the Dominions, Great Britain was compelled to make concessions to the United States. In the interests of the United States, the Washington Conference fixed the tonnage of ships of the line at 5:5:3 for the United States, Great Britain and Japan respectively. It also secured the prohibition of the fortification of a number of islands in the Pacific and Indian Oceans, in particular of the Islands in Japanese possession, the Marian, Marshal and Caroline Islands.

Japan, however, had not for one moment been content to put up with the efforts of the United States to squeeze it out of China under the mask of the principle of "an open door and equal opportunities". Great Britain was equally unwilling to submit to such a prospect. The further policy of Great Britain and Japan in China was an uninterrupted series of attempts to misuse in their interests the various military groups in China. The joint military action against the Chinese revolution was the only case in which the United States, Great Britain and Japan formed a temporary united front. In that period the United States did not hesitate even at bombarding Nanking. As soon as it became clear that there was no longer any immediate danger of the seizure of power by the revolutionary proletariat in China, the competitive struggle between the United States, Great Britain and Japan flamed up with renewed force.

In its struggle against the United States, Japanese imperialism tries to win the support of Great Britain. An example of this was the Anglo-Japanese agreement at the end of 1928 whose contents are being held secret. Japanese imperialism is striving to exploit the intensifying contradictions between Great Britain and the United States in various parts of the world, in its own interests.

The contradictions between Japan and the United States, and between the latter and Great Britain are intensifying and can, at any moment, lead to the outbreak of a new imperialist war. Japanese imperialism is well aware of this danger and is arming feverishly for war.

In his book, "Japan, the Air Danger of the Pacific", the American Captain Davis writes: "The only positive result of the Washington conference was the cheapening of armaments". According to the information of the American War Ministry, Japan placed orders for 5000 aeroplanes in 1925 in its own and in French factories. In the opinion of Captain Davis, in 1931 Japan will have the strongest airfleet in the world.

Japan is also working tirelessly to strengthen its navy. As according to the Washington Agreement, Japan may not possess more than ten dreadnoughts, it is concentrating upon increasing and improving its cruisers and its submarines. As far as cruisers, submarines and minelayers are concerned, Japan is not far behind the United States and Great Britain. In addition, Japan's naval units have the advantage of extreme modernity. In 1928 Japan had 25 cruisers of the newest type with a speed of 33 knots an hour. In 1925 Japan commenced to build 20 large submarines in order to strengthen its submarine fleet. Japan also has a very considerable number of minelayers with a displacement of 3000 tons, a great speed and a radius of 5000 miles. Thus Japan is a very strong sea power. In 1928 Japan expended 582,000 millions or about 35 per cent. of its total budget, for military purposes.

At the same time Japan is extending its metallurgical industry. The cast-iron production of Japan rose from 969,000 tons in 1925 to 1,507,000 tons in 1928. The production of steel rose from 1,108,000 tons in 1925 to 1,867,000 tons in 1928. By 1931 the Japanese government calculates that the cast-iron production will have risen to 2,200,000 tons and the production of steel to 2,300,000 tons. In order to encourage the metallurgical industry, the government raised the tariffs a few years ago and grants premiums to private firms.

No less attention is being paid to the chemical industry. For instance, the production of chloride of lime whose chief elements are calcium and chlorine, necessary for the production of poison gas, increased by twenty per cent. between 1926 and 1928. The production of nitro elements which are necessary for explosives, can be increased in Japan to a very considerable degree at a moment's notice.

The speedily growing danger of an imperialist collision in the Pacific and the rôle which Japanese imperialism is playing in the preparation of this collision, make the struggle against the danger of war one of the most important tasks of the Japanese proletariat. The successful carrying out of this task, however, meets with serious difficulties in the form of chauvinism which is still fairly strong amongst certain sections of the Japanese proletariat. A further hindrance is represented by the activity of the reformists. The fact that the development of Japan is directly connected with the three victorious imperialist wars against China, Russia and Germany, inevitably aroused and encouraged certain chauvinist and patriotic tendencies in the ranks of the Japanese proletariat. The reformists, who are social imperialists, are doing their utmost to support the Japanese bourgeoisie instead of exposing Japanese imperialism.

The more the contradictions develop inside Japanese capitalism and the more the Japanese working masses swing towards the left, the more difficult will it become for the reformists to play their part of the agents of capitalism within the ranks of the workers. The activity of the young Communist Party of Japan and of the left wing trade unions strengthens the anti-imperialist tendencies of the Japanese workers. To-day, when the danger of a new imperialist war is threatening, the left wing of the Japanese working class movement must strengthen its anti-imperialist activity amongst the masses.

On the Red Day, on the 1st of August, when the revolutionary workers all over the world will demonstrate their irreconcilable hostility towards new imperialist wars, the Japanese proletariat must also raise its voice in protest against the imperialist plans of Japanese capitalism. Its protest against the danger of new imperialist wars must also be raised at the Pacific Trade Union Congress which will be opened on 15th August in Vladivostok. The left wing of the Japanese working class movement will carry out its revolutionary duty without reservation.

## The Anti-War Day and the Peasants.

By a Communist Peasant.

The resolution passed at the Conference of Representatives of the European Parties on May 16th in regard to the Anti-War Day drew attention, *inter alia*, to the insufficient degree of preparatory work for the day in question and enumerated tangible measures to be taken so as to ensure to the campaign that amount of success which in view of its great significance it deserves. One of the measures in question lies in

"the inclusion of the working peasant masses and of the nationally suppressed masses in the revolutionary united front of the anti-war campaign".

This resolution on the part of the Conference once more underlines the Leninist principle of an alliance between workers and working peasantry which constitutes one of the most marked differences between Bolsheviks and Reformists. At the same time, this directive serves to remind not only such Communists as take an active part in the peasant movement but also all members of the parties that, though the anti-war demonstration naturally gravitates towards the greatest industrial centres, the

broad mass of active peasants in the villages, which even in industrial countries form the bulk of the armies, must absolutely be included in the campaign.

He who attentively pursues the life and the press of the various Communist Parties will be forced to establish that since the above-mentioned conference there has been a general reanimation and standardisation of the preparations for anti-war campaign. Nowhere, however, are there any signs that the directive of also including the peasant masses in the campaign is being obeyed. On the contrary, our press organs in important agrarian countries either preserve silence in regard to the rôle of the peasants in the anti-war campaign or else at best mention it in very general phrases. We consider it our duty to point to this circumstance, since the absence from the campaign of the working peasants would greatly diminish its practical effect, even in the case of complete success in the towns.

A timely energetic intervention is all the more necessary seeing that the broadest masses of the agrarian proletariat and also the working farmers develop much understanding and an initiative which is not to be despised wherever there is a question of fighting with the working class for a common cause. It is a fundamental duty of the Communist Party to exploit this initiative, to increase it, and to turn it into a powerful factor of alliance.

In this connection we will not attempt to analyse the economic position of the village proletariat and of the small and middle farmers. We need only mention the economic struggles waged during the last few months by the rural proletariat in Slovakia and France and by the peasants of Poland and Greece. If in addition we bear in mind the peasant movements which are intercepted by landowners and Fascists and thus led into channels of counter-revolution, it is obvious that the process of fermentation among the village population not only finds expression in the general discontent of the peasants but also takes the form of organised action. The fact that it is not always we who act as the organisers of such action, merely proves our weakness and lack of understanding but not the impossibility of heading such a movement and liberating it from reactionary elements.

The share of extensive sections of the working peasantry in the May-Day celebrations, shows that these tasks can be solved if the Parties approach them with sufficient understanding and devote sufficient energy to their solution. Although our information in regard to the participation of the peasantry in the May-Day celebrations is still incomplete and we have so far not succeeded in gaining a full survey in this respect (which it is far more difficult to do in the open country than in the industrial centres), the fairly scanty reports to hand speak of a very considerable participation on the part of the working population of the country districts of Poland, Germany, Slovakia, and even Yugoslavia (where in various Croatian villages work was interrupted on May Day). Nor did the sanguinary events in Berlin fail to have their effect on the working peasantry.

If we consider that the 1st of May, which is a typically proletarian holiday, nevertheless stirred very substantial numbers of peasants (in Poland more than 70,000 peasants took an active part in the celebration), all the more understanding on the part of the peasantry may be presumed in connection with a campaign against the danger of war, which is palpably in the interest of all workers. There is no question here of complicated connections, which are sometimes fraught with apparent anomalies and which not all peasants are able to comprehend, but only of a question which is just as vitally important to the broad mass of peasants as it is to the proletariat. The existence of an actual understanding for this question is proved by the fact that many peasant organisations have upon their own initiative put forward the question of anti-war measures. In the immediate future this question will form the focus of activity of a number of revolutionary peasant organisations in various European countries.

The organisations in question have resolved to develop an increased activity so as to render possible a mobilisation of the bulk of the village population in the matter of the war-menace, in which ultimately all the daily problems of the working peasantry culminate. These organisations are preparing a

systematic campaign both in their press and in their common mass activity. Provisions have been made for the most detailed discussion of the question of a war-menace and of its prevention at all committee meetings down to the smallest local groups, at village assemblies and discussions, at Sunday gatherings in the open country, and the like. The same applies to demonstrations and manifestations.

This initiative of the organisations of working peasants deserves all the more attention on our part, since in consequence of the petty-bourgeois character of these organisations there is the danger that without our active intervention and energetic co-operation these laudable endeavours may lead into the stagnant backwaters of pacifism. In this connection certain difficulties have become noticeable which can only be overcome with the assistance of the proletariat. The fact that in most countries August 1st is in the very midst of the hottest harvest season, at a season when it would mean a great sacrifice for the peasantry to devote a day to purposes of demonstration, must not be overlooked. Thus it can be explained that among certain comrades a pessimistic attitude is becoming predominant in regard to a pursuance of the campaign in the open country. The difficulties are over-estimated; there is a lack of confidence in the masses, whose initiative and readiness to fight are not sufficiently appreciated. Such tendencies represent a dangerous deviation and must be energetically combated.

The workers, however, will also be called upon to render active aid in connection with the campaign in the open country. It is necessary that the representatives of the revolutionary peasant organisations be included in the committees engaged in preparing for the Red Day, that organised columns of workers be delegated to the village meetings, Sunday meetings, and village demonstrations and should take part therein under the guidance of comrades who are versed in village life. Pamphlets, booklets, and newspapers must be distributed in the country. The agitational campaign must also be exploited from an organisational standpoint. Village groups must be formed of those who took part in the last war. Particularly good service may be rendered by the juvenile comrades, who should get into touch with the juvenile elements in the village, the future soldiers. The women's sections will have the task of organising the peasant women for the fight.

If energetic steps are taken to fulfill these tasks, we may reckon not only with a full measure of success on the Anti-War Day but we shall also succeed in gaining ground from our opponents, the organisations of Fascists and Agrarians. Every Communist must remember that in this campaign he must "keep his face turned towards the country". The campaign for the preparation of the Anti-War Day forms a real foundation for the realisation of the alliance of the working class and the working peasants, and this alliance in its turn is a firm guarantee against the menace of war. The peasants desire this alliance, and it is up to the workers to meet them not only with words but with deeds.

## From Brussels to Paris.

Two Years of the League Against Imperialism.

By Willi Münzenberg (Berlin).

The Second Congress of the League Against Imperialism will meet at Paris on July 20th, 1929, under circumstances different from those which prevailed at the Brussels Congress in February 1927.

The first Congress took place at the time of great open revolutionary fights for freedom on the part of the oppressed nations throughout the world. The revolt of the Rif-Kabyles against Spanish oppression was still in progress, big demonstrations were being held in Egypt against British imperialism and could only be suppressed by the use of strong police and military forces. In India there were signs of a developing anti-imperialist movement. In Indonesia there were big insurrections against Dutch imperialism. In Mexico the fight of the Calles Government against the Church and against Wall Street was at a critical stage and threatened to turn into a war. But

the event which stamped that period, which formed the mighty background of the Brussels Congress and really gave the Congress its great historic significance, was the commotion in China. After months of preparation, revolutionary Canton, which had been fighting hard for more than a year against Great Britain, formed a workers' and peasants' army, which began its triumphant advance just at the time when the Brussels Congress was in session and, after a number of rapid successes, captured Shanghai.

The fight of the Canton workers against British imperialism and against the counter-revolutionary generals was the first big battle of the Chinese proletariat against its foreign and native oppressors. The rapid successful advance of the Canton army awoke not only enthusiasm and joy among millions of oppressed colonial slaves and among the proletarian masses of the imperialist countries, but, through the expectation of an early and complete victory of the Chinese revolution over all its enemies, considerable interest in petty-bourgeois, socialist and intellectual circles.

It was no wonder that the invitation to the Brussels Congress was greeted with hearty approval by millions of workers and gained approbation in many circles, who later turned hurriedly away from the "Communist" League when the rapid success failed to ensue. In the happy anticipation of big successes and victories on the front of the revolutionary fights for freedom against imperialist oppressors, the most diverse organisations and groups had paved the way to the League Against Imperialism. Not only did a strong official delegation from the Kuomintang arrive at the Congress, but Chiang Kai Shek and the general staff of the Chinese Southern Army assured the Congress per cable of full support. From Great Britain there came at the head of a strong delegation of British members of parliament the present chairman of the British Labour Party, Lansbury. The Social Democratic Party of Switzerland sent to the Congress "greetings from brothers in arms".

The colonial fight for freedom was popular; everybody hastened and pushed to be on the spot in order to be able to say subsequently that he, too, was in it when 400 million Chinese carried out their revolution.

It will be under different circumstances from those prevailing at that time that the Second Congress of the League will be held in the summer of 1929. There will be no flames from armed fights for freedom and national freedom wars to illuminate the Congress. The Rif-Kabyles have been subjugated, and the Mexican Government has concluded peace with the petroleum kings of the United States. The Indonesian revolution has been suppressed with brutal violence. On account of the treachery the Kuomintang practised on its own original party, regression has set in in the revolutionary development of China. The Nanking Government is ruling with the aid of the imperialist States for the imperialist States against the Chinese workers and peasants. Chiang Kai Shek, who assured the Brussels Congress of the support of the Southern Army, has dissolved the League Against Imperialism in China and with the help of his army has hanged, shot and tortured to death members and propagandists of the League. The political speculators of the Brussels Congress have fled and made their peace with the imperialist oppressors.

But the League Against Imperialism, in spite of the deserts, is meeting for its international revue more numerous, more uniform and more consolidated than in Brussels. The tasks of the League have not become smaller but larger.

Even though at the present moment none of the oppressed nations are fighting openly, weapon in hand, against the imperialist oppressors, the economic and industrial preliminary conditions for the spreading and advancing of the anti-imperialist fight have been augmented, particularly in recent years, in the most important nations ruled by foreign capitalists. The fight of the Latin-American countries against the policy of expansion of the United States is only interrupted, not abandoned. The splendid example of Sandino, who, with a small, poorly armed group, has fought for years against greatly superior forces, shows how tough is the fight which is being carried on for the independence of the Latin-American

ates. In addition to this, in place of the vacillating bourgeois and petty-bourgeois elements, the broad masses of the workers and peasants are entering the political arena of the Latin-American countries in greater and greater degree, and they are less disposed to compromise, but carry on the fight against foreign capitalists as a part of the general fight against oppression and economic slavery.

In China the thousandfold murder of workers and peasants has not been able to destroy the idea of a proletarian revolution. In spite of all the cruel tortures and murders, there break out in all the districts of China new revolts and movements of Chinese workers and peasants, and these will not cease until their aim, the carrying out of the proletarian revolution in China has been attained. A new wave of big movements is also in progress in the Arabian countries.

But the political interest of the approaching Congress centres in India. In India, recent years have rapidly aggravated the situation. Gandhi has tried in vain by compromise with the British Government to stem the radicalisation of the masses. It was but by a slight majority that the resolution was won through in the Indian National Congress. In a fighting division, nearly 100 delegates voted for the slogan of the Brussels Congress "Complete independence for India!" The newly-founded workers' and Peasants' Party is growing. Strike follows strike, and constantly growing masses are being drawn into the fight. In India, the next big battle will be against imperialism. Examination of the situation in India and active support of the Indian revolution must, therefore, be the chief urgent task of this year's International Congress of the League.

The movement for the freedom of all oppressed nations gives a strong impulse through the existence and progress of the Soviet Union. The existence of the Soviet Union is the easiest incitement to the oppressed nations to do as Russia has done and break all the imperialist chains.

In view of the present situation this year's congress of the League will enjoy far less notice from the press and the public, even though its work may go on more quietly. It will be the more earnest and bring about greater practical results in the anti-imperialist fight. The basic programme of the League against Imperialism set up by the Brussels Congress has proved the practice of the daily fight to be right. The chief thought of the Brussels Congress was to unite in the League all anti-imperialist forces and groups without regard to their other political and trade-union attitudes. In particular, however, the two mighty currents of the present fight for freedom, namely, the national-revolutionary movement in the oppressed countries and the great proletarian mass movement in the imperialist countries, were to be united. This thought was right and is still right to-day.

The fact is not altered by the circumstance that at present several of the national-revolutionary organisations, formerly allied to the League, such as the Kuomintang, have left the League and gone over to its imperialist enemies. It has happened hundreds of times in the proletarian class fight that proletarian parties and organisations have degenerated and deserted to support the mortal enemy, capitalism. Among the deserters from the League there are not only national-revolutionary leaders like Chiang Kai Shek but also Labour leaders like Lansbury. Desertion on the part of these people does not detract from the League but only from the deserters themselves.

The League can fulfil its task only if it succeeds in the future, too, in leading the best national-revolutionary organisations and groups together with the broad proletarian masses of the capitalist countries in a common fight, and consolidating this fighting community with groups of honest anti-imperialist intellectuals, like Henry Barbusse and hundreds of others.

Such is the historic task of the League, which it has fulfilled in recent years and will fulfil still more effectively in the future.

## POLITICS

### The MacDonald Cabinet and Anglo-American Antagonism.

By Moskvich (Moscow).

The general interest of the world in the British elections has pushed the question of Anglo-American antagonism somewhat into the background recently. This circumstance caused the speech made by President Hoover on 30th May (the day of the entry of the United States into the World War) to pass almost unnoticed. There also exists a volume of opinion according to which, unlike the Conservative government, the Labour government will come to an agreement with the United States concerning the basic questions which at present divide the two countries.

There is no doubt that the MacDonald Cabinet will strive to come to an agreement with the United States. The policy of the Labour government in this direction will undoubtedly meet with more sympathy in Great Britain than the intransigent policy of the Conservative Cabinet. The question that remains is, upon what basis can an Anglo-American agreement be reached, and, whether such an agreement is at all possible.

The main and most acute question between the two countries, is of course, the question of naval armaments. In the five years of Conservative rule the growth of the general antagonism between Great Britain and the United States was reflected by intensifying bitterness in this question. The lack of success attendant upon the Three-Power Conference in 1927, the new naval programme of the United States, the bill for the building of new cruisers in Great Britain, aggressive speeches in the American Senate, the speech of the First Lord of the Admiralty in Great Britain and the polemics in the press of both countries marked the stages in Anglo-American disagreement in naval questions.

With the accession of the Hoover Cabinet to power in the United States, a new factor was added to Anglo-American differences, whose role and significance was by no means clear. The open imperialist programme of Hoover provided for a further intensification of Anglo-American antagonism and for greater aggressiveness on the part of American foreign policy towards Great Britain. Considered from this point of view therefore, the declaration of the representative of the United States, Gibson, at the session of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission, who addressed a conciliatory speech to Great Britain, was unexpected and ununderstandable for many people.

This gesture of conciliation towards Great Britain in the question of naval armaments was interpreted as the beginning of "a new era" in the relations between Great Britain and the United States. The British Conservative press hurried to interpret Gibson's speech in this fashion and sought to prove that the firm attitude of the Conservative government in the question of naval armaments had won the United States for a policy of conciliation. It is quite clear that the Conservatives needed this interpretation for their electoral campaign and that this interpretation was by no means in accordance with the actual facts. The Conservative interpretation of Gibson's speech, and the spirit of his proposal did not enable the Conservatives to avoid their defeat at the hands of the British electors on the 30th May.

The forced character of the Conservative interpretation of the speech of Gibson becomes clear when the actual proposal of the American delegate to the Preparatory Disarmament Commission is considered. His proposal was for a limitation of naval armaments according to both methods under consideration, namely according to total tonnage and according to categories. Such a proposal unaccompanied by any concrete figures meant nothing more than a simple appeal to come to an agreement. The basis of such an agreement continued to remain unclear. A reduction of naval armaments by the application of both methods might result in three equally possible solutions: a limitation of naval armaments upon the basis of British naval hegemony, a limitation upon the basis of American hegemony and finally an attempt to create a certain parity.

We repeat, the proposal of Gibson offered no answer to the question as to which of the three solutions should be applied in order to bring about an Anglo-American agreement.

On the 30th May, on the same day upon which the Conservative Party was defeated, President Hoover made a speech. In this speech he recorded the fact that despite the Kellogg Pact and despite the Preparatory Disarmament Commission of the League of Nations, the general level of armament had risen. It is well at this point to call to mind that the repeated declarations of the Soviet Government concerning the growth of armaments were consistently denied by all the collaborators of the League of Nations and by the representatives of the governments which were represented at the Conference. From this point of view the honest declaration of Hoover who was not afraid to face facts, must be welcomed.

Hoover's conclusion was expressed in an appeal for a limitation of naval armaments upon the basis of parity between the fleet of the United States and the fleets of other countries. The British Conservative press, represented by the "Morning Post" hurried to declare that Hoover in his speech did not add much to what Gibson had said in Geneva; but this is by no means correct. Hoover declared himself in favour of a parity of naval armaments between Great Britain and the United States. Hoover's declaration does not represent any concrete and exact programme of American demands, but it does contain the fundamental attitude of the United States. At the given stage of the development of Anglo-American relations, the United States government obviously does not consider it necessary to fight for the principle of American naval hegemony in the form of the building of a fleet superior to the British fleet.

Superficially, this position might appear to be a retreat on the part of the United States. In reality, however, when one considers that at the present moment the British fleet is stronger than the American fleet, whereas the United States is stronger than Great Britain in all other respects (economically and financially), and that the British government definitely refused to extend the principle of parity agreed upon in Washington for ships of the line, to cruisers, then it becomes clear that Hoover's programme is a programme of American hegemony.

This circumstance lends extreme importance to Hoover's declaration.

Immediately after Hoover's speech the American Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Stimson, pointed out that a sum of 1,170,600 Dollars had been allotted for the present naval building programme of the United States. He declared that the United States intended to carry out its naval building programme and that any alteration was only possible if the other powers agreed to a limitation of naval armaments. This very definite declaration is a concrete illustration of Senator Borah's recent statement that:

"Should Great Britain refuse to agree to a limitation of naval armaments, then the United States would build a fleet which would be stronger not only than the British fleet, but stronger than any other possible combination of fleets."

In this fashion the President of the United States and his Secretary of State divided their roles: The President proposed an agreement upon the basis of parity, whilst the Secretary of State pointed out where a refusal to accept this agreement would lead.

The MacDonald Cabinet is faced with an extremely difficult task. After MacDonald has sharply criticised the policy of the Conservative Government towards the United States, it will not be easy for him to evade coming to an agreement with the United States. On the other hand Hoover's programme undoubtedly represents a defeat for Great Britain and an inevitable and gradual recognition of American naval hegemony. It will not be easy to find a way out of this situation.

It is characteristic that the official organ of the Labour Party, the "Daily Herald" is spreading a rumour according to which Hoover intends to propose an agreement to the new British Government going still farther than the Kellogg Pact. According to the "Daily Herald" this agreement will contain an undertaking on the part of both States not to engage in war against each other under any circumstances whatsoever. We do not know how far the reports of the "Daily Herald" are based upon fact.

Should the "Daily Herald" reports be well founded, then taken together with the concrete programme for the limitation of naval armaments upon a basis of parity, such an agreement would not be worth much. Under such circumstances it would be nothing but pacifist gilding on the bitter pill which the United States has ready for Great Britain in the question of the limitation of naval armaments.

It is very probable that by spreading this rumour of a coming step on the part of Hoover, the "Daily Herald" aims at weakening the impression made by the concrete naval building programme of the American government.

Hoover's speech confirmed once again the correctness of the perspective of a further intensification of Anglo-American antagonism. The speech of Hoover also showed up one of the most dangerous rocks in the course of MacDonald's Cabinet.

## The Situation in Turkey.

### Increased Terrorism against the Communists.

By P. KASSAN-OGLU.

In Turkey a campaign against the Communist workers has been started. More than sixty comrades have already been arrested and are to be tried according to Kemalist "law". The imprisoned Communists have been subjected to inhuman tortures; they were beaten until they swooned, hot eggs were put under their arm-pits, some of them were blinded and tortured with hot irons. Such was the treatment meted out to them by the agents of the Turkish bourgeoisie.

What is it our comrades are accused of? They have been brought to trial for distributing a leaflet opening the eyes of the Turkish workers to the true character of the bourgeoisie and instructing them as to the significance of the May-Day celebration. That is why the Communists are imprisoned, beaten and tortured in a "free" country like Turkey.

The ruling Kemalist bourgeoisie desires to show the imperialist western countries that the radical enthusiasm of the youth has already been outlived. The Kemalists are doing their best to flatter the financial capitalists, for they desire to get a foreign loan at any price. Therefore they are endeavouring to show the sharks of the European and American stock-exchange that Turkey is a thoroughly orderly bourgeois country, where Communism is not only not encouraged but virulently attacked, as in all orderly bourgeois States. Let the foreign capitalists see that they need not fear to invest their funds in Turkey; let the Turkish workers be well muzzled and those that rebel are so "settled" most effectively by the "national" gendarmes, the police and the courts. That is the object underlying the raging of the Kemalist authorities.

Turkey has been racked by a violent economic and financial crisis. The Turkish currency is rapidly depreciating. One pound sterling costs more than 1000 piastres, whereas in 1915 it stood at 500 or 600 piastres. Prices are extremely high. In comparison with pre-war times they have risen twentyfold. Wages, meanwhile, are on a very low level, besides which the Turkish workers are oppressed by very severe taxes, those levied on the wage-rate being particularly heavy. The workers are literally starving. Meanwhile the bourgeois circles enrich themselves at the cost of the proletariat.

The Turkish workers have come to see that the national bourgeoisie, whom they assisted in attaining independence, are merely out to secure their own power and prosperity by an unprecedented exploitation of the working class. Until quite recently the Turkish Parliament had passed no laws at all for the protection of workers. Not a single reform had been effected in their favour. The entire activity of the ruling clique is devoted to protecting the interests of the well-to-do classes.

Neither the peasantry (with the exception of the richer farmers) nor the petty bourgeoisie of the towns have received any attention from the national bourgeoisie. Taxation presses most heavily on the urban petty bourgeoisie and the workers.

the peasants again have so far failed to attain fulfilment of their chief demands, for land and cheap credits. The Parliament, which is composed of representatives of the bourgeoisie, the landowners, and the upper bureaucratic cliques, is deaf to the demands of the peasants of Asia Minor.

The constructional programme of the Kemalists has been carried through by means of an excessive use of the tax-screw. The bourgeoisie is in need of foreign loans. Foreign capital, which has been deprived of its political privileges in Turkey, demands the capitulation of the Kemalists. The latter have already taken the first step in this direction. As from the current year, they have started paying instalments in redemption of the debts of the Sultanate. 32 million Turkish pounds have been set aside for this purpose out of the entire State budget (amounting to 20 million pounds); the debts in question were contracted by the deposed Imperial Government. Forty per cent. of the budget is allocated to war purposes. So as to cover the deficit, the Kemal Government again and again resorts to squeezing the poorest farthing out of the classes.

Whenever the workers attempt to improve their position by means of strikes, the Kemal Government pounces on them with all the brutality of State authority and the police apparatus, interrupting the strikes and arresting and torturing the leaders.

The Turkish workers fully recognise that the national bourgeoisie is their greatest enemy. Day by day they move further to the left. They pay increased attention to the Communists and zealously read the illegal Communist publications, surrounding the brave young Communist Party of Turkey with a proletarian wall of sympathy and solidarity.

The authority of the C. P. of Turkey has grown apace during the last year and a half. The progressive workers of Constantinople, Smyrna, Eskeshehir and other larger towns rally closely round the Communist Party, in which they recognise their only protector. The Kemal press itself is forced to confess that Communist literature has been distributed by many workers. The Communist Party of Turkey has considerable successes to record.

This, however, is most displeasing to the Turkish bourgeoisie, which is beginning to kowtow to foreign capital interests. The bourgeoisie now has recourse to pronounced terrorism, but the fear of the working class of Constantinople has induced them to transfer the trial of the Communists to Smyrna, at a safe distance from the revolutionary workers of the metropolis.

Let the Kemalists rage; the working class of Turkey has awakened. In place of the hundred revolutionaries torn from their ranks, thousands will arise. Neither torture nor cruel sentences on the heroic workers will stay the hour of retribution. The Turkish workers advance under the flag of Communism, under which they will fight till their final victory over the bourgeoisie, which daily betrays the cause of national revolution.

## The International Agrarian Congress in Prague.

By Paul Reimann.

In the last days of the month of May a session of the International Agrarian Bureau took place in Prague. This Bureau is the international centre of a number of agrarian parties which have united upon the basis of reactionary bourgeois agrarianism. Agrarian parties or peasant unions from the following countries are affiliated to the international bureau: Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Esthonia, Finland, France, Holland, Yugoslavia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Austria, Roumania and Switzerland.

This agrarian International was brought into being last year upon the initiative of the Czech agrarians. The character of this international organisation of bourgeois agrarian parties is in accordance with the character of the creators of this new green International. The Czech Agrarian Party which took the initiative in forming the new International, is a party

of finance capital which has built up its position upon a unification of agrarian and finance capital and upon the capitalist industrialisation of agriculture in Czechoslovakia. As a party of finance capital, the Czech Agrarian Party conducts a fascist policy, thinly masked by democratic demagoguery. According to the idea of its creator, Svehla, the newly formed agrarian International will have the same aims. The main policy is a struggle against the revolutionary proletariat and the mobilisation of the middle and well-to-do peasantry on behalf of the fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The new International aims at being the agency of Fascism within the ranks of the peasantry, and as such it will carry the struggle against the proletarian revolution into the countryside.

This character of the new International was completely confirmed by its meeting in Prague. The representatives of all agrarian parties expressed their firm belief in the necessity of the struggle against Bolshevism. For instance, the representative of the Swiss Peasant Party, Doctor Feisst, declared in his speech:

"The highest aim of our party is to support the bourgeois state and to work for the prosperous development of our national economic system, whereby each individual shall have the possibility of enjoying the fruits of his own labour. We wish to spare our people the tragic fate of Russia. We hold firmly to the principle of private property and regard private undertakings as the best form for giving the utmost efficiency upon the field of production."

Jannbusch, the secretary of the Bund der Landwirte (Farmers Union), the German agrarian party in Czechoslovakia, declared, that

"the rural population are well aware of their task of forming a protective bulwark against the socialist-communist revolution".

All the other representatives of the agrarian parties which participated in the session of the International Agrarian Bureau, expressed similar opinions. There can therefore be no doubt that the main political tendency of this new International is to fight Bolshevism and to prevent the spreading of the class struggle to the village. It is also clear that the new International is a supplementary organisation of finance capitalism in the country to suppress the forces of the proletarian revolution.

The formation of this new International shows that the question is of acute importance for finance capital, particularly in those countries adjoining the Soviet Union, which are in the forefront of the military preparations against the Soviet Union. The bourgeoisie is well aware that the solution of the agrarian question from the standpoint of finance capitalism, from the standpoint of the preparation of a new imperialist war, is being countered by the social development in the countryside which is tending more and more to undermine the capitalist stabilisation. The process of class differentiation in the country is proceeding at the same rate in which agrarian capital is uniting with finance capital and pauperising the masses of the peasantry upon the basis of the capitalist development of agriculture. The pauperisation of the masses of the peasantry is the unsurmountable hindrance to the consolidation of the political dominance of the bourgeoisie in the countryside and unleashes the class struggle in the village in the third post-war period.

Well aware of this development, the agrarian bourgeoisie attempts to prevent the development of the class struggle in the village, and to consolidate its own social positions there. With this in mind, the representative of the Roumanian National Peasant Party at the Prague session stressed the necessity of "strengthening" the small peasant undertakings with the assistance of the co-operatives, i. e. bringing them under the dictatorship of finance capital. Dr. Feisst, the representative of the Swiss Peasant Parties, pointed out that only a strong middle class would be able to dam the revolutionary wave. The representative of the Finnish Peasant Party, Professor Jutila, declared, that independent peasant undertakings must be created and care must be taken to ensure the development of an independent peasantry.

Of course, it is not the aim of the representatives of the international agrarian bourgeoisie to improve the situation of

the masses of the peasantry, a task which is insoluble within the frame-work of the capitalist state. The aim of the agrarians is not to raise the low level of the great masses of the peasantry, but to consolidate the social position of a thin upper stratum in the villages whose living conditions are superior to those of the broad masses of the peasantry and which would form a reliable guard of the bourgeoisie in the villages. This is the real meaning of the speeches about "strengthening the peasant middle classes". The aim of the agrarian bourgeoisie is to form fascist guards in the village which will be strong enough to counter the class struggle of the masses of the poor peasantry against the dictatorship of finance capital.

The rich agrarians will, however, not be able to carry out their plans on account of the intensification of the pressure of finance capital upon the village and the resulting class differentiation and the inevitable intensification of the class struggle. Nevertheless, the Communist International and all its sections must pay close attention to the attempts of the agrarian bourgeoisie to consolidate the basis of the finance capitalist dictatorship in the country and to extend the struggle against Bolshevism in the ranks of the rural population. Only if the Communist Parties in the various capitalist countries realise their tasks in the agrarian question and increase their struggle against the political organisations of the agrarians, which are to-day attacking the revolutionary proletariat upon an international scale, will they be able to prevent the mobilisation of the peasantry by the Fascists and in the interests of the preparations for war against the Soviet Union.

## The Incident at Curacao.

By A. de Vries.

On the Dutch island of Curacao, located off the coast of Venezuela, a strong troop of Venezuelan revolutionaries under the leadership of General Urbina and reinforced by numerous workers of the important oil-refineries of that neighbourhood, made a nocturnal attack on the fortress of Amsterdam, which is situated close to Willemstad, the capital of the island, overpowered the sentinels, and confiscated the arms and ammunition, so that the garrison, numbering about 50, was powerless. The insurgents, also numbering about 500, then entered the town, fought a pitched battle with the police, and finally quitted the island on a requisitioned steamer, bearing the Governor and the Commandant of the island with them as hostages.

When the Venezuelan revolutionaries had landed on the Venezuelan coast, the Dutch prisoners were set at liberty.

Of late years Venezuela has become the second in importance among the oil-producing territories of the world. The Gomez Government, which has been ruling the country autocratically for the last twenty years, is subservient to foreign imperialist interests. It has at all times employed the most cruel and sanguinary methods of terrorism against the workers and the anti-imperialist, revolutionary movement. Of General Urbina it is reported that he has already frequently organised revolutionary movements against the Gomez Government.

The Dutch colonies in the West Indies have grown important thanks to the development of the oil production in Venezuela. Both the Anglo-Dutch petroleum trust (Royal Dutch Shell) and the American petroleum trust (Standard Oil) have great interests in Venezuela, where they compete severely with one another. Both of them have founded gigantic refineries on Curacao and on the neighbouring island of Aruba. It cannot yet be ascertained exactly to what extent imperialist intrigues are responsible for the Curacao raid.

The excitement in Dutch capitalist circles is very great. The negligence of the Dutch Government, which left the island without any particular military protection, is severely criticised. The Dutch Government has now resolved to send a warship and some submarines to the West Indies. The capitalist press calls for an adequate protection of the colonies by means of a stronger fleet and colonial army.

The well-known imperialist politician Colijn, formerly manager of the Royal Dutch and subsequently Prime Minister,

profits by the incident for the purpose of making a virulent attack on the Government and will doubtless employ it as an important plank in his vehement nationalist platform at the Parliamentary elections on July 3rd.

The Communist Party of Venezuela has already raised a vehement protest against the support of the Venezuelan revolutionaries by the Dutch Government.

The Communist Party of Holland demands the recall of the men-of-war, the immediate convocation of Parliament, and the repeal of all military dispositions. It has approached the Dutch workers in a manifesto, in which it points to the growing and threatening danger of war and to our attitude regards Dutch imperialism in particular.

The suddenly critical situation in the West Indies renders the preparations for the Red Day on August 1st of all the more importance to the workers of Holland and will figure in the forefront of our electional campaign.

## THE BALKANS

### Roumania Drifting to Fascism.

By St. F. (Bukarest).

One year after the magnificent demonstration of the Roumanian peasant masses in Alba-Julia against the bloody dictatorship of the finance oligarchy, the "unification" circus of the Roumanian bourgeoisie to celebrate ten years of "Greater Roumania" took place on the 20th May in the same Alba-Julia. Last year the National Peasants Party (National Zaravists) stood at the head of the rising peasant masses. It has now betrayed the peasants and to-day is celebrating through its government ten years of imperialist oppression in the conquered provinces. But Roumanian imperialism is not yet satisfied. It is preparing to conquer and oppress new districts. "L'Indépendance Roumaine", the official organ of the Liberal Party, the party of the Old-Roumanian finance oligarchy, writes on the 9th of May in connection with the ten-year anniversary:

"Unfortunately not all Roumanians are yet united. There are Roumanians in Banat, Timoc and Dniester, and sooner or later they must also form irredentist groups."

At the same time the conference of the Little Entente took place in Belgrade. Both before and during the conference, the press of the French bourgeoisie carried on a violent campaign against the Soviet Union and declared the main task of the Little Entente to be the concentration of all forces against the Soviet Union. At the same time Zaleski, the Polish foreign minister was in Budapest negotiating with the Hungarian government with a view to bringing about an understanding between the Hungarian and Roumanian bourgeoisie. Recently, at the command of Anglo-French imperialism negotiations have been going on and agreements been made between various of the Danube and Balkan States.

The imperialist powers attack a special project to be "reconstruction" of Roumania which they wish to see well prepared and well equipped for the coming war against the Soviet Union. But despite the "stabilisation loan" which has been granted and despite all the measures of the international finance bourgeoisie, the crisis of Roumanian capitalism is intensifying and reached a catastrophic stage just at the time of the tenth "anniversary of Greater Roumania". As is known, the Maniu Government reduced the State budget by almost two milliards lei at the order of international capitalism. Despite this however, the military budget was increased by approximately a milliard lei. The Maniu Government increased the income tax of the working masses, it increased all indirect taxes by 20 per cent, and the prices of articles for which the State holds a monopoly, by 40 per cent. But even these measures did not lead to the desired result.

In consequence of the severe production crisis, and in particular the catastrophic decline of agricultural production, and the total absence of exports, the income of the State decreased. In the current year the State income will be approximately 24 mil

hards, instead of the expected 37 milliards. A few days before the "unification celebration" in Alba-Julia, the Roumanian Minister President, Maniu, announced sharp measures to liquidate the tremendous State deficit. Above all wholesale dismissals were to take place, all "unnecessary" officials and workers in the employment of the State or of State undertakings were to be dismissed. Secondly, salaries and wages were to be cut. Thirdly, all not urgent public building and other works were to be stopped immediately, and fourthly the government prepared for a further increase of indirect taxation.

The severe crisis at present prevalent in Roumania is dealt with clearly in the quarterly report of Professor Rist, the financial adviser of the French finance oligarchy in the National Bank:

"At the moment it is quite clear that Roumania is experiencing a severe crisis. This crisis is the consequence of the bad harvest last year and of the deficit in the trade balance" ("Lupta", 4th June 1929).

Unemployment is increasing. Mass dismissals are taking place all over the country and in particular in the Shil Valley and in the other industrial centers of Transylvania. The Roumanian bourgeoisie is adopting the methods of capitalist rationalisation: Wage cuts, increase of working hours and the introduction of the moving band which is proceeding rapidly in the leather and textile industries. The rationalisation is also being carried out in the metallurgical and petroleum industries. Three months ago the number of unemployed had risen to 128,000, to-day it is reported to have reached 200,000. This number will be increased soon by about 100,000 through the mass dismissals in the State institutions and undertakings. In order to fight against unemployment, the Maniu Government is organising mass emigration of the workers. Negotiations are taking place with the French government with a view to sending hundreds of thousands of Roumanian workers and peasants into the French colonies. The slogan of the Social Democrats for fighting unemployment is the expulsion of all foreign-born workers (see the interpellation of the Social Democratic deputy Mirescu).

The first six months of the "reconstruction" of Roumania by foreign capital show, according to the report by Professor Rist, that the offensive of national and international capital against the working masses must be increased still further. The standard of living of the working class must be reduced still further. In his report Rist announces that indirect taxation can still be increased. According to the figures of the trade newspaper "Argus" the index figures for food are seventy times greater on an average than before the war, and the prices for ready made clothing a hundred times greater than before the war. Wages, on the other hand, are hardly more than twenty or thirty times greater than they were before the war, so that real wages have been decreased by over fifty per cent.

The tremendous worsening of the situation of the working class and of the toiling peasantry results in a process of speedy radicalisation. Great strike movements are developing all over the country. And in the agrarian districts disturbances are taking place to an increasing extent. After the disturbances in Bessarabia and in Old-Roumania, bourgeois newspapers report revolts of the poor peasants in Transylvania. The governmental newspaper "Universul" of the 29th May writes that in the Transylvanian villages of Popesti, Monotac, Bruisor and Huedin the peasants had driven out the officials and attack the gendarmerie barracks. Numerous persons were wounded. Large reinforcements of gendarmerie had to be sent to suppress the peasants. The disappointment of the toiling peasants and even of the backward sections of the workers with the attitude of the National Peasant Party is growing.

In order to deceive the working peasants, the Maniu Government is organising the so-called "Agrarian League" through the former Minister for Agriculture, Garoflid. According to its programme, this League is a "non-party association" representing the interests of the "whole of the agricultural population". On the 20th May this League held its first congress in Jassv. This new Agrarian League is not only a means to promote the interests of the rich landowners and kulaks, but it is also an instrument for the preparation of war against the Soviet Union. A resolution adopted at the congress de-

manded a tariff policy for the support of agriculture, the complete abolition of all export duties, an increase of prices ranging from ten thousand to fifteen thousand lei per waggon for all grain sorts, the immediate granting of wide-scale agricultural credits, the granting of foreign capital to agriculture, and the abolition of taxation for such capital. In reality, all the demands of this congress are solely in the interests of the Boyars and the village bourgeoisie.

The Maniu Government uses the Social Democracy against the workers. The following facts show the tendency for the Social Democracy to become an integral part of the bourgeois State and its institutions and of the employers organisations: The election of new Social Democratic deputies upon the governmental lists of the National Peasant Party, the handing over of the Nationalist trade unions to the Social Democracy, the occupation by Social Democrats of important positions in the Ministry of Labour, in the national insurance institutions and in the corporations, and the undertaking of important State concerns (the railways, the tobacco factories, etc.) to set up trade union offices for the Social Democracy, and to prevent the organisation of the workers by the revolutionary class trade unions.

The failure of the attempts of the Roumanian bourgeoisie at stabilisation causes them to attack the working masses still more energetically. The Maniu Government is preparing a Fascist dictatorship of the Roumanian bourgeoisie against the revolutionisation of the working class and of the poor peasantry. During the elections the government organised, together with the social-traitors, armed Fascist bands in the industrial districts of Transylvania and the Bukovina against the fighting workers and their revolutionary organisations. For two months now the government has been engaged in organising the so-called "Voinic Guards" (Guards of the Mailed Fist). The "democratic" Maniu Government of the National Peasant Party is organising Fascist bands under the slogan of "defending King and Country". Together with the Social-Fascists, the government organised the blood bath in Temesvar.

The Social-Fascists requested the government to dissolve the Independent Trade Unions and to hand over the buildings of the latter to the Social Democrats. In this way the Social Democrats facilitated the work of the Fascist bourgeoisie for the dissolution by "democratic means" of the only legal class trade unions of the Roumanian proletariat all over the country.

Despite the bloody attack of the Maniu Government and of the Social-Fascists upon the proletariat and its class organisations, they did not succeed in breaking the fighting spirit of the working masses, as was proved by the May-Day demonstrations in Bucharest, Jassv, Targu-Muresh and in the Shil Valley. The great struggles of the working class in Marosh and Shil and in the other industrial centres were led by the "dissolved" Independent Trade Unions.

The bloody attacks of the Roumanian bourgeoisie upon the working masses are accompanied by feverish preparations for war against the Soviet Union. As is known, the journey of General von Seeckt to Roumania was followed by the journey of a director of the Krupp Works. Negotiations were carried on for the building of new armament factories. This was also the aim of the negotiations of the Krupp Works with the largest factory in Transylvania, the "Astra", in Arad. The "Lupta" reports on 4th June:

"This month two warships and a submarine will be delivered from Italy. These warships form a part of the war material delivered to us by Italy in accordance with the conditions of the loan negotiated by the Avarescu Government."

At the same time the Social-Fascist press is intensifying its campaign of vilification against the Soviet Union.

But the Communist Party exposes the feverish preparations for war against the Soviet Union carried on by the bourgeoisie and by the Social-Fascists. The Communist Party mobilises the proletariat, the masses of the peasantry and of the toilers for the struggle against the threatening danger of war. Under the leadership of the Communist Party the working masses are preparing themselves for the coming 1st August.

## Revolutionary Solidarity with the Fighting Bulgarian Tobacco Workers.

Appeal of the Executive Bureau of the Communist Balkan Federation to the Workers and Toiling Masses of the Balkan and All Other Countries!

In Bulgaria there are nearly 30,000 tobacco workers on strike for higher wages and against the offensive on the part of capital and against the violent Fascist regime.

After six years of licentious class rule by the bourgeoisie, built up on a mountain of corpses, after six years of Fascist dictatorship, which will be recorded in the history of the Balkans as the epoch of scaffolds and jails, the Bulgarian proletariat is taking up a counter-offensive on a broad front. Under iron discipline, in close order and with great enthusiasm, the tobacco workers, the most active section of the industrial proletariat of Bulgaria, are carrying on their attack.

With this fight, which is directed specifically against the most aggressive and belligerent capitalist group of the Fascist bourgeoisie, against the chief organiser of the Fascist revolution, the Tobacco Trust, which is most closely associated with international capital, a new phase is beginning in the class fight of the Bulgarian proletariat. It is a far more important affair than a fight for a bigger piece of bread. This heroic fight is directed in principle against the whole violent Fascist regime itself.

The bourgeoisie, who rightly regard it as the beginning of the counter-offensive from the proletariat, are mobilising their agents of suppression and their murder bands against the strikers. At the same time they have at their side, along with the bourgeois opposition parties, their "left-wing" watch dog — Fascist Social-Democracy — which, by means of its hypocritical "support" of the strike and the agitation campaign against the proper class leadership of the fight, is trying to bring confusion into the ranks of the workers, to shake their front and to break through it.

The whole toiling masses of Bulgaria sympathise with the strike of the Bulgarian tobacco workers, support their demands, and protect and defend them against persecution by the hangman government. In spite of the mass unemployment, there are no strike-breakers. The Bulgarian tobacco workers' strike is therefore developing into a huge struggle of class against class.

### Workers and Toilers of All Countries!

The successful carrying on of this fight will not only be a blow to the bank-capital trust and to Bulgarian Fascism, it will not only give a fresh revolutionary impulse to the Bulgarian Labour movement, it will also be a blow to international capital and a matter of great significance, in the present period of aggravation of class conflict and growth of revolutionary development among the toiling masses, both for the Balkan and the whole international proletariat in their fight against the offensive of capital and the imperialist danger of war. For this reason, the fight of the Bulgarian proletariat is a common cause for the whole of the Balkan and international proletariat.

### To the Tobacco Workers on Strike in Bulgaria!

We welcome your heroic fight, which constitutes a fresh phase in the history of the Bulgarian Labour Movement. The Balkan proletariat is behind you and urges you to keep up the fight until you win!

### To the Tobacco Workers of Greece and Yugoslavia!

To you, who by your own experience know the lot and the fight of the tobacco workers, the tobacco workers on strike in Bulgaria appeal for help and the exercise of energetic solidarity!

### Workers and Toilers of All Countries!

Demonstrate your revolutionary solidarity with the fighting Bulgarian tobacco workers! Give your material and moral support to their strike! Raise your voices in protest against the incipient wave of terror and calumny of the blood-besmirched Fascist dictatorship! Expose the hypocrisy and perfidy of the bourgeois opposition and of the Social-Fascists who, under pretence of supporting the strike, design to render it possible for the murder bands of the Tobacco Trust to throttle it!

Long live the fight of the tobacco workers!

Long live proletarian solidarity!

Hands off the strike of the workers!

Down with the Fascist dictatorship!

Long live the Balkan Federation of Workers' and Peasant Republics!

June 1929.

The Executive Bureau of the Communist Balkan Federation.

## ECONOMICS

### The New Reparations Plan.

By G. P.

After months of discussion, the experts of the imperialist Powers in Paris have ultimately come to an agreement. The result of their efforts is the final draft of their report, to be known as the Young Plan. This plan will still have to be investigated carefully and seriously, for only on the basis of a detailed analysis of the results of the work of the Paris experts will it be possible to arrive at definite conclusions regarding the political and economic consequences of the agreement signed in Paris. By enumerating the chief facts of the case, however, we can even now draw a certain number of conclusions.

The fundamental items of the Young Plan figure as follows:

The first difference between the Young Plan and the Dawes Plan lies in the difference of the yearly payments of Germany. Whereas according to the Dawes Plan the "normal" annual German payments, beginning with the fifth year from the inception of the plan, i. e. from the current year, amounted to 2500 million marks, the average sum which Germany will have to pay annually for the first 37 years according to the Paris agreement figures at 1988 millions. Germany's annual payments have thus been reduced by more than 500 millions.

The present capital value of the Young Plan amounts to 39,200 millions, with the addition of the present capital value of the last 22 yearly payments to an amount of 5200 million marks. On the other hand the capital value of Germany's indebtedness under the Dawes Plan, with due consideration of the welfare index, stood at 56,000 millions on the basis of 37 years of payments, or at 71,600 millions on the basis of 58 years of payments.

In contradistinction to the arrangement under the Dawes Plan, the payments are to be subject to a sliding scale. They will rise slowly from 1707 millions in the year 1930/31, reach the two thousand million mark ten years later, and continue rising to 2428 millions in 1965/66.

If we still bear in mind that German economic circles feared that, by reason of certain clauses in the Dawes Plan an improvement of Germany's prosperity might call forth an increase in the yearly payments beyond the two-and-a-half thousand million mark, the advantages of the Paris agreement for German economy will be obvious. (The so-called "welfare index", it may be added, has been altogether dropped.)

It would be wrong, however, to limit ourselves entirely to this purely arithmetical conclusion. It must not be forgotten that at the moment of the commencement of the Paris negotiations, in the fifth year of the Dawes Plan, it had become obviously impossible for the colossal sums of the Reparation-

payments to be squeezed out of German economy for any length of time. Germany's creditors already spoke of a paralysis of the Dawes Plan. In place of a clear and unambiguous declaration on the part of Germany that the respective payments should be made, the Allies have now received an assurance of Germany's willingness to continue making the yearly payments, but curtailed by 20 per cent. The political and economic advantages of such a repeated and "generous" confirmation of the will to pay on the part of Germany must not be underestimated. It should not be forgotten that it was not in 1924 that such readiness was evinced, at a time when Germany economy was in a condition of almost complete collapse, but in 1929, when Germany is in possession of far more power and also of more reason to resist the payment of an onerous gold tribute.

If therefore this problem of annual payments is regarded not from the purely mathematical standpoint but rather with a consideration for the entire complex of political and economic consequences of Germany's renewed promise to make further payments, the victory of the German delegates in Paris loses considerably in glamour.

The second difference between the Dawes Plan and the Young Plan lies in the establishment both of the final sum total of all Reparations payments and of the final date of their performance. The full term of payment was fixed at 59 years and divided into parts, one comprising 37, and the other 22 years. Mathematically it may also be established that the sum total of payments, as laid down in Paris, is far below the sum hitherto named. It will be remembered that in 1919/20 the sum total of German Reparations was put at 250,000 million gold marks. At the London Conference of 1921, this sum was reduced to 132,000 millions. At the Paris and London Conferences of 1923 it was reduced again to 50,000 millions. At none of these conferences, however, was the ultimate sum total established. Not even the Dawes Plan really established it, since it merely stated the amount of the yearly payments but not the number of years during which such payments were to be made. The Young Plan has established both the amount of the payments and the length of time during which they will continue to be due. At the same time the sum total was put at a lower figure, than it had ever stood at before.

It appears that in this question, too, German economy may be said to have achieved a great success. But even this conclusion is in some respects incorrect. It will be remembered that the representatives of German economy were not over-anxious to see the sum total ultimately established nor yet to learn for how many years payments would still have to be made. This is comprehensible, seeing that the changing political and economic position might enable Germany in a few years' time to shake off the Reparations debt entirely. To act thus would now be far more difficult, since Germany has promised to pay the debt in the course of 59 years. True, neither Germany nor its creditors consider this term seriously. Nevertheless, an engagement so voluntarily incurred cannot but impair Germany's freedom of action in the case of a further change in the conditions of payment.

In regard to the other stipulations of the Young Plan, we may still speak of the question, of payments in kind, of the question of a connection between the German Reparations and the debts of the Allies, and finally of the question of the foundation of a Reparation Bank.

It is well known that both before and according to the Dawes Plan part of the Reparations payments were made in kind. By the Young Plan these payments in kind have been established at a value of 750 million marks per annum, a sum which is to decrease successively every year by 50 millions, ceasing completely in ten years' time. From the outside this stipulation also appears in the light of a German success. In reality, however, it is quite a serious blow which is thus dealt to the German industrial interests. As things lie at present, the deliveries in kind on the part of German economy opened up a guaranteed market for a very considerable sum. According to the Young Plan, this market is to be successively narrowed, so that finally payments in foreign currencies will take the place of deliveries in kind. For German economy the question of foreign markets will assume more serious proportions every

year. Under such circumstances the present regulation of the deliveries in kind can hardly be looked upon as a victory of the German delegates.

In the course of the first 37 years, the German Reparations amounts will be employed for defraying the military expenditure of the creditors and for the payment of inter-Allied debts. In the course of the subsequent 22 years, Germany guarantees to enable the creditor Powers to defray their indebtedness to the United States. This stipulation of the Young Plan is undoubtedly of the very greatest importance. For the first time the victors of Versailles have managed completed and formally to shift their burden of indebtedness to America onto the shoulders of Germany. The latter State has thus become the only debtor of the United States, while Great Britain and France are no more than agents of transfer for the payment of their debts.

In this connection the instructions of the Young Plan in regard to the foundation of a Reparations Bank are of particular interest. We may well say that the Reparations Bank will be a powerful channel by means of which American capital will penetrate European economy in a far greater degree than hitherto, while at the same time circumventing the mediation of the British banks. The activity and profits of this bank will have immediate influence on the volume of the German payments. There obviously results the interest of German economy in the operations of this bank. The extent and character of such operations, however, will not depend on Germany. The leading rôle in the administration of the bank will undoubtedly lie with the American business world. German export trade will be financed and guided along lines which appear advantageous to the American capitalists, though these lines may deviate from the lines of an organic development of German economy.

We have by no means enumerated all the stipulations of the Young Plan here. What has been said, however, should suffice to lead us to the conclusion that in spite of certain advantages Germany derives from the Young Plan, it entails yet more palpable advantages for the Versailles victors on the one hand and the United States on the other, in both cases at the cost of Germany.

## The Effects of the Reparations Policy upon the International Coal Market.

By Gustav Sobotta (Berlin).

For years Great Britain has had an army of unemployed miners ranging from 250,000. From year to year the production of the British coal fields decreases. 1928, a year in which the British mine owners did their utmost to find markets for British coal, again shows a decrease of production and particularly a decrease of exports. The reasons for the decrease of the demand for British coal in foreign markets lie for the most part in the reparations question.

In all reparations negotiations the question of the supply of coal by Germany to France, Belgium and Italy plays a great rôle. All these three countries are dependent upon coal imports. It is therefore natural that they want German coal as a part of the reparations tribute. For this reason the Versailles Treaty provided that within ten years Germany should supply France with 70 million tons of coal, Belgium with 80 millions and Italy with 77 million tons. Further, Germany had to provide France annually with an amount of coal representing the difference between the annual pre-war production of the coal mines in Northern France destroyed during the war and the yearly post-war production of these mines. Later on a supplementary agreement fixed this amount of coal to be provided by Germany at 20 million tons a year. Up to the year 1930 Germany had to deliver almost 300 million tons of coal to the Allied States.

Up to the present Germany has only delivered the half of this sum, approximately 140 million tons. The reasons for this are various. First of all no more could be squeezed out of the German miners, and any attempt by France and Belgium to extract these enormous amounts of coal would have made the economic system of Germany unworkable. Further, every extra

ton of reparations coal means a further decrease of the export of British coal to France, Belgium and Italy.

The following comparison shows the effect of the reparations supplies of German coal to France, Belgium and Italy upon the export side of the British coal trade:

In 1913 Great Britain exported 24,800,000 tons of coal to France and Belgium. French consumption of coal rose by 20 million tons in 1928 as compared with 1913, whilst French coal production was only 12 millions more than in 1913. The consumption of coal in Italy has also increased, though not so much as in France. A natural development would have increased the export of British coal to these countries in 1928, but in reality exactly the opposite is the case. In 1927 the export of British coal to these three countries was 18,287,000 tons and in 1928 17,546,000 tons. Germany supplied reparations coal (compulsory and contract supplies upon the basis of the Dawes Plan) in 1927 to the amount of 15,419,000 tons and in 1928 16,006,000 tons.

Another decisive factor for the British coal mining industry is the policy of the Entente in Upper Silesia. The Versailles Treaty cut up this district. Three quarters of the Upper Silesian mines and coal production were given to Poland, and one quarter remained German. It is clear that the German nationalists and capitalists do everything in their power to make up for the coal production handed over to Poland by increasing the working of the mines remaining to Germany and that they boycott the coal which is now Polish. Poland, however, had no market for the coal which was presented to it:

The mines handed over to Poland had a production of over 41 million tons. Added to this production came the production of the other Polish mining districts around Krakow and in the Dombrowa which totalled approximately ten million tons a year. That is to say, Poland had to find markets for over forty million tons of coal annually. In 1924, however, Poland had a coal consumption of only 20,600,000 tons which rose in 1926 to 27,100,000 tons. The only reason why the Polish mining industry in Upper Silesia did not collapse immediately, was that the Entente compelled Germany to accept 500 million tons of Polish coal a month up to the year 1925.

Poland, however, did not rely alone upon this market but sought other markets for its coal and found them. These markets were in the Scandinavian countries. Recent years in this respect show the following figures:

Coal Export to the Scandinavian Countries Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland.

Year	From Great Britain tons	From Polish Upper Silesia tons
1913	9,895,000	—
1924	8,929,000	9,400
1925	7,258,000	565,400
1926	2,547,000	4,055,700
1927	5,906,000	4,117,900
1928	4,387,000	5,111,500

In 1913 Upper Silesian coal was not exported to the Scandinavian countries at all, and these countries were completely dominated by British coal, but in 1928 we see that the export of British coal to these countries has been out in half and that the other half has been taken up by Upper Silesian Polish coal. It must also be borne in mind that up to the present Poland has had no well-equipped harbour for the export of coal at its disposal. With the completion of Gdynia harbour the picture will change still more to the disadvantage of Great Britain.

The above details show clearly the disadvantageous effect of the reparations policy upon the coal market for Great Britain. Those who suffer from this policy in all countries are the miners. In Germany the miners were compelled to work overtime, were robbed of the seven-hour day and compelled to

accept the eight-hour shift in order, allegedly, to fulfil Germany's reparations undertakings. In Great Britain wages were cut and the working time was lengthened in order, allegedly, to enable the British coal mining industry to compete with German reparations coal. In Poland the ruling class abolished the seven-hour shift and compelled the miners to work shifts of eight and a half hours in order to extend Poland's coal export trade. The reparations experts in Paris have once again come to an agreement, but they will not and cannot abolish the contradictions of the capitalist economic system. Only the working class can abolish these contradictions by abolishing capitalism itself.

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

### The Swedish Trade Unions Opposed to Splitting Tendencies of the Social Democrats.

By A. J. Smolan.

Of late the Swedish Social Democrats have started consciously and systematically destroying the hitherto uniform trade-union movement. In a circular letter, the Executive of the Trade Union Federation calls upon the organisations attached thereto to put to all members who exercise any kind of function in the Unity Committee of the Trade-Union Opposition, the choice between quitting the Committee and immediate exclusion from the Federation. Similarly, all local groups are to be excluded which refuse to solve their connection with the Unity Committee.

Thus far the fight between the Social Democrats and the Communists in Sweden was carried on by "democratic" means; in local groups or assemblies in which there was a numeric superiority of the Social Democrats, they were often in a position to quash the discussion and to prevent their opponents from speaking, but in a purely formal sense such a procedure is also part and parcel of "true democracy", since the majority is always right; thus they were able to all appearances to figure as "good democrats". They contented themselves with allowing the silent majority to lay down the law, without effecting exclusions such as were made in many other countries. In the knowledge of their absolute superiority they were long in a position to observe this attitude of toleration. The reformist trade unionists made no secret of their collusion with the Social Democrats; they caused thousands of local groups of the trade unions to join this Party and at the Trade Union Congress voted large sums for the press of the Social Democratic Party. But even this was in the eyes of the masses under their influence no actual infringement of democracy since it was effected in a democratic way, by the resolution of the majority.

This period of "respect for the majority" in the Swedish trade-union movement is now definitely over. Recent events have completely nonplussed the reformists, who have been convinced by the great achievements of the Communists and in particular by their surprising victory at the autumn elections. That the advance of the opposition is no longer to be stopped by means of free discussion. On the contrary, whenever the Social Democratic leaders confront their opponents at public mass-meetings, they are beaten according to all the rules of democracy, so that even their heaviest artillery generally prefers to go out of the Communists' way. Confronted with the choice between fighting democratically and thus gradually becoming a minority or introducing a dictatorship of the leaders and thus retaining power, the apparatus, and the funds, the reformists choose the latter, seeing that for them there is much at stake and that a defeat would entail the loss of their position and their monopoly.

So as to substantiate their procedure, they assert that the Unity Committee constitutes an independent organisation, collects special subscriptions and "aims at the division of the trade unions by order of Moscow". This assertion, however,

by themselves know to be a lie, since according to the statutes the Unity Committee serves no other purpose than that of propagating the revolutionisation and uniform comprehension of the trade-union movement. Nor are any definite contributions collected, though hundreds of local groups of the various trade unions have allowed the Committee single allotments from their local funds, with which to carry on propaganda. This is, however, in no way contrary to the statutes of the trade unions, seeing that every local group is free to dispose of local funds at its own discretion. Thus the local trade unions have for decades been making allotments to all sorts of bodies, such as cultural associations, temperance organisations, Social Democratic, Communist, and Anarchist juveniles, both for propaganda against militarism and for propaganda against alcoholism, without it ever having occurred to any of these local groups to join or subordinate themselves to the abstainers, Anarchists, or Communists.

Though the Social Democrats affirm that the propaganda of the Unity Committee is detrimental, they refrain from trying to prove this assertion. On the other hand the Communists can give many instances in which the Social Democratic leaders have infringed on the statutes and forced their will dictatorially on the members. Numerous Swedish trade unions, e. g. the municipal, saw-mill, paper-mill, and railway workers, had had organisational connections with the corresponding organisations in the Soviet Union and were subsequently deceived by the leaders to give such connections up. The same leaders, without asking the opinion of the members, informed the Norwegian Trade Union Federation that the agreements existing for decades among the trade unions of Scandinavia and providing for mutual financial aid, would be dissolved if a radical Norwegian workers were to ratify the Copenhagen Agreement with the trade unions of the Soviet Union. They even founded an association of blacklegs for the purpose of breaking the strike of the Stockholm bricklayers, although the strike in question was no "irregular" one but was waged by an old trade union of the bricklayers and resolved and victoriously carried out by all the organised bricklayers of Stockholm.

In 1926 the leaders of the Trade Union Federation refused to permit the official representatives of the British Trade Unions, headed by Purcell, to speak at the Trade Union Congress in favour of the striking miners, and thus prevented any further measures of support from the very beginning. In collusion with the Social Democratic Party, moreover, they took part at the commencement of this year in the conference on industrial peace organised by the reactionary government, without having been authorised to such a step by the members of the leading bodies of the Federation. By word and deed they make propaganda for co-operation with the employers' organisations, although the statutes of the Federations and those of most of the trade unions plainly state that the trade unions are to be based on a basis of class-war and must work for the establishment of the Socialist order of society. Finally, the leaders have on their own initiative formed a joint committee, with the representatives of the employers' organisations, though more than 100,000 members protested against such a step at important meetings.

By their recent manoeuvres, the leaders have so far attained exactly the contrary of what they intended. A great number of the biggest local trade unions have vehemently protested against their circular and resolved to decline the suggestion put to them. In their resolutions, all these local groups declare that they will not obey the dictates of the leaders nor permit any member to be excluded for belonging to the Unity Committee.

Such resolutions have been passed, inter alia, by the great Metal-Workers' Trade Union at Göteborg, the control of which was for two years in the hands of the reformists, by the greatest local group of the shoe-factory workers' union, by the transport workers, factory workers, saw-mill workers, paper workers, and miners. But not only the local trade unions, but entire federations decline to take part in the separatist offensive of the reformists. Thus the executive of the large Transport Workers' Union has, resolved simply to ignore the circular letter of the Trade Union Federation, although this executive is greatly composed of old reformists, its chairman being one of the oldest and most extreme Right leaders of the Swedish trade union movement. These elements are certainly

moved by no love of the Communism, but they feel the pressure of the indignant masses of members and they are wise enough to see that the policy of the leaders must entail the complete destruction of the trade unions.

But not all the leaders of the federations are so wise; they obey the behests of the Social Democratic Party, this being the case in particular in instances when the Communists are near to having an absolute majority. The executive of the Saw Mill Workers Union, e. g., has issued a kind of ultimatum to the local groups, calling upon them to break off all relations with the Unity Committee by July 1st. This haste on the part of the executive is comprehensible if it is considered that the Union meets in August and that the opposition, which has greatly increased of late, already represented one third of the membership at the last Union Congress three years ago.

How hypocritical the fuss is which the reformists make in regard to a maintenance of unity, also appears from other facts. At the negotiations carried on with a view to amalgamation with the syndicalists, they promised the latter that they should form an independent fraction within the trade unions and that they would be allowed to collect separate contributions and make organisations propaganda for their syndicalist principles so long as they were loyal in their opposition. So as to secure a new ally in their fight against the hated Communists, the Social Democrats actually go to the length of promising a privileged position within the common organisation to the same syndicalists whom they will soon have been combating most vehemently for twenty years as traitors and destroyers of the trade unions. So as to gain them over for a speedy alliance, they grant them, at least temporarily, a far greater degree of liberty than they ever granted the great majority of the old members. What is considered unloyal in the case of the Communists and in connection with the Unity Committee and can only be followed by exclusion, is admitted by the same leaders to be loyal if it serves the purpose of baiting and attracting a formerly hostile organisation.

In the course of this campaign, the Opposition has succeeded in winning over more considerable masses than on any former occasion. Of the local trade unions which dealt with the circular letter, only one third approved of the measures of the leaders, while two thirds protested vehemently against them and identified themselves with the Unity Committee. It remains to be seen whether under such circumstances the reformists will still venture to put their threats into execution.

## UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

### Resolution of the V. Soviet Congress of the Soviet Union on the Five-Year Plan for the Development of National Economy.

The V. Soviet Congress of the Soviet Union, after hearing the reports of Comrades G. M. Krshishanovsky and V. V. Kuybyshev, approves the Five-Year Plan for National Economy and Development in the Soviet Union, as confirmed by the Government, and resolves:

1. The great advantages of the Soviet system of economy and the correct economic policy of the Soviet power, based upon the close alliance of the working class with the poor and middle peasantry, have secured within a short time the restoration of the national economy of the Soviet Union, have raised this above the pre-war level, and have guided the country upon the path of socialist reconstruction. The Five-Year Plan proposed by the government is the programme of the socialist reconstruction of national economy, and corresponds to the general course taken by the Soviet Union towards industrialisation, towards the socialist reorganisation of the village, towards the elimination of the capitalist elements, and the consistently firmer establishment of the socialist, in the economic construction of the country, and towards the increased, self-defensive capacity of the Soviet Union.

At the same time the Soviet Congress is able to state with satisfaction that the proposed Five-Year Plan envisages a decided economic and cultural uplift of the backward regions and nationalities of the Soviet Union.

2. The Congress approves the expansion of the production of energy anticipated by the Five-Year Plan, as also the extensive electrification programme, projecting an increase in the output of the electric works from 500,000 kw at the beginning of the five-year period to 3,2 million kw by the end of the period. The present Congress, in full agreement with the 8th Soviet Congress of the R. S. F. S. R., which confirmed the electrification plan proposed by Lenin, sees in the tasks laid down by the Five-Year Plan — the development and extension of 42 long-distance stations, and the formation of great industrial combines in the vicinity of the great power stations — the decisive prerequisite for the realisation of the plan of national economic reconstruction, and for the successful actualisation of the slogan proclaimed by the Communist Party: "In technics and economics we must overtake and pass the leading capitalist countries."

The Congress states that the plan of socialist industrialisation projected in the Five-Year Plan, expressed in a growth of industrial production by over 2½ times, in an extension of the positions of heavy industry, and in an increase of capital investments amounting to 16.4 milliard roubles for the five-year period, is in conformity with the energetical programme of the plan, with the idea of the chemicalisation of the country, and with the tasks of reconstruction in every branch of national economic, imposed by the Plan.

3. The Congress recommends to the special attention of the government the tasks of production laid down by the Plan, and of decisive importance for the socialist industrialisation of the country: the generation of electric current to be increased to 22 milliard kilowatt hours, the coal output up to 75 million tons, of naphtha to 22 million tons, crude iron to 10 million tons; the mighty development of the chemical industry and the chemicalisation of the country; especially an output of chemical fertilisers exceeding 8 million tons; the growth of general machine building up to a yearly output to the value of 8 milliard roubles; the manufacture of agricultural machinery to the annual value of 610 million roubles, and the manufacture of 53,000 tractors.

With respect to increased self-defensive capacity in the Soviet Union, the Soviet Congress commissions the government, when carrying out the Five-Year Plan, to take definite measures guaranteeing the development of those branches of national economy which are indissolubly bound up with the defensive abilities of the country.

The Congress extends its special approval to the extensive programme laid down by the Five-Year Plan for overcoming the backwardness of agriculture, for increasing its productive capacity in proportion to that of the rapid industrial development of the country, for the determined elimination of the kulak elements from the village, and for the transition to the socialisation of agricultural production on a mass scale (the creation of Soviet estates, collective farms, machine and tractor stations, the promotion of co-operatives, of contracts buying up future harvests, etc.); this alone can guide the many millions of poor and middle peasantry into the path of economic uplift, of socialist reorganisation of the individual peasant farm.

Powerful support from our rapidly growing socialist industry, new forms of the production alliance between town and country, the experience won in the great mechanised undertakings, extensive utilisation of machinery and chemical fertilisers in agriculture, development of agronomic science, incentives for the growth of the individual farms, growing comprehension among the toiling peasantry for the immediate advantages gained by transition to mass collectivisation and co-operation on the basis of vast mechanical technics — this alone ensures the rapid overcoming of centuries of backwardness in the peasant farm and the rapid development of its productive forces.

The Congress calls upon the many millions of poor and middle peasantry to support the plan of agricultural advancement proposed by the Communist Party and the Soviet power,

and to accelerate by their working enthusiasm the accomplishment of the enormous tasks of the socialist reorganisation of the village.

4. The Congress approves the extensive programme of transport service extension proposed by the Five-Year Plan envisaging a great reconstruction of the railway network on the basis of new lines enabling the 76,000 kilometres of existing at the beginning of the five-year period to be extended to 92,000 kilometres by the end of the period; also determines effort for the betterment of traffic conditions by means of the building of new roads, and of the extensive development of newer forms of transport (motor cars, aeroplanes).

At the same time the Congress commissions the government to revise the programme laid down by the Five-Year Plan in inland shipping, to the end that work in this direction may be extended, both for the improvement of the existing waterways and for the enlargement of the system of river shipping and the advancement of ship-building.

The Congress reckons with the insufficiency of the existing traffic possibilities in comparison with the gigantic areas to be connected up, and with the importance of the task of opening up fresh regions for participation in national economic reconstruction and regards the present programme of transport service development as a minimum programme; it declares it to be the duty of the government, in the execution of the Five-Year Plan, to utilise every possibility of surpassing the Plan with regard to the development of the transport service.

At the same time the Congress imposes on all local Soviet organs the duty of concentrating their powers on the struggle against those unfavourable traffic conditions which are hampering our economic development, and calls upon all public organisations to lend their aid.

5. The accomplishment of the great building and production tasks set by the Five-Year Plan can only be made possible by a rapid growth of the productivity of labour, a considerable increase in the yield of the soil, a great reduction of the prices of industrial productions, a development of the transport service, a decided drop in building costs, that is, by a considerable improvement in the quality of our national economy. We must secure the needful accumulation of capital, the needful reserves of food and raw materials, and the needful saving methods in the use of our financial resources, raw materials, and fuels.

In this regard the Soviet Congress fully approves the tasks imposed by the Five-Year Plan, and draws the attention of the government to the necessity of taking a number of measures creating conditions not only ensuring the complete realisation of the factors proposed, and in themselves decisive for the execution of the Plan for the Development of National Economy, but actually rendering an out-stripping of the Plan possible. The heightening of the degree of technical equipment and of the working enthusiasm of the masses of the people, the firm establishment of enthusiastic and conscious social discipline, the better organisation of the administration of economy, the determined struggle against bureaucracy, the widest application of self-criticism, the utmost development of socialist competition in the works and factories, separate railways, workshops, Soviet estates, collective farms, separate village, and whole districts, in the execution of our great socialist tasks — this must combine to secure an intensification of labour productivity in the land of the Soviets such as is impossible in the capitalist state of society.

The Congress calls upon the great mass of the working peasants, and technical cadres of our national economy, the workers engaged in educative activities, in the health service, etc., to contribute to the realisation of the tasks of the Plan by their energy, initiative, and working discipline.

6. The Congress approves the increase in the number of workers employed in industrial undertakings, as proposed by the Five-Year Plan, as also the considerable reduction in the numbers of the unemployed, accompanied at the same time by a radical reconstruction and rationalisation of industry, by the transition of all industrial and transport workers to the seven-hour day, by the considerable increase of real wages and the improved standard of living among the broad working masses.

the peasant population, and by the gradual liquidation of the material and cultural differences between the city and the rural population. In this the Congress sees the fundamental difference between socialist construction and the capitalist rationalisation of production, which condemns the broad masses of the workers to chronic unemployment and hopeless misery.

7. The Congress commissions the government to secure, suitable measures, the execution demanded by the Plan of the following points: radical measures for placing the working conditions in the works and factories on a really sound basis, improvement of the programme of social insurance, introduction of general compulsory schooling, determined combatting of illiteracy, development of the network of schools, further development of the network of people's houses, clubs, crèches, people's dining rooms, reading centres, etc.; comprehensive advancement of vocational and economic training, comprehensive and systematic advancement of the institutions for scientific research and of scientific work, the organisation of new technical cadres in every department of technics and more rational utilisation of those already existing, employment of competent foreign experts, development of reading matter in the languages used on Soviet territory, development of cinema and wireless, and realisation of all those cultural measures contained in the Five-Year Plan, and necessary for the socialist reconstruction of our national economy.

The Congress emphasises in particular the necessity of an around intensified struggle against the housing shortage, and the imperative indispensableness of carrying out the programme of the Five-Year Plan with reference to house building and to municipal welfare organisations.

The Congress calls upon all public organisations, trade unions, co-operatives, etc. to contribute, by their initiative and participation, to the accomplishment of the mighty task of cultural construction.

8. The Congress approves the financial plan proposed by the Five-Year Plan, based on the increased buying powers of the chervonetz and on the formation of considerable reserves of foreign securities, and requiring a comprehensive mobilisation of national means for the aims of economic and cultural progress. The Congress commissions the government and the role of the organs of the Soviet power, to ensure the further application of the saving regime in the expenditure of the financial resources, and to secure that firm discipline in financial matters which is the prerequisite making it possible for the Soviet Union to carry out a programme of industrial construction unparalleled in history.

9. The Congress places on record with satisfaction that the Five-Year Plan envisages a considerable growth of the proportionate share claimed by socialised economy in the actual imary capital of the country, further the extension of the co-operative system (in complete agreement with Comrade Lenin's plan) to 54 per cent. of the home workers industries, up to 100 per cent. of the peasant farms, and an even higher percentage among the co-operatives of the working class; further the intensive development of the socialised section of agriculture (Soviet estates and collective farms), comprising over 20 millions of the peasant population, and securing by the end of the five-year period approximately 43 of the marketable grain produced. All these measures must of necessity deal the capitalist elements an annihilating blow, and at the same guarantee the final victory of socialist forms in the economic system of the Soviet Union.

10. The fulfilment of the great economic tasks contained in the Plan demands the utmost effort on the part of the whole State administrative apparatus and of the national economy of the Soviet Union.

These comprehensive efforts in town and country for the building up of socialism impart special importance to the activation and strengthening of the lower organs of the Soviet power, the Soviets and their executive committees, in their work for the execution of the measures prescribed by the Five-Year Plan of economic development. The V. Soviet Congress therefore commissions the government of the Union to devote serious attention to the provisioning of the subordinate authorities with the necessary material means, and with experienced

functionaries from the midst of the working class, agricultural labourers, and small and middle peasantry, and at the same time to devote attention to the continued systematic development of the subordinate apparatus by inducing fresh masses of the workers to take part in its work, by establishing closer contact between the masses and the apparatus, and by the energetic abolition of bureaucratic abuses of every description.

11. The workers of the Soviet Union, under the leadership of the Communist Party and the Soviet government, brought the civil war to a victorious conclusion, have since then rebuilt the economy destroyed by war and capitalist intervention, and have gathered much economic experience in the course of this restoration; from out of their midst fresh cadres of economic leaders have sprung up. The Five-Year Plan, the proof and result of the experience gathered in the course of years of planned guidance of economy, opens up at the same time fresh possibilities, and promotes the most rapid fulfilment of those organisational tasks which are of extremest importance for the socialist reconstruction of our economy.

The Congress expresses its firm conviction that the workers of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, despite the prophecies of their enemies and the vacillations of those of little faith, will overcome the difficulties lying in their path, will break down the resistance of the hostile capitalist powers, and will be completely successful in accomplishing the great tasks of socialist reconstruction.

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### The Fight Against the Right Deviation in the C. P. of Palestine.

By Bob (Jaffa).

The last Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Palestine passed a resolution giving detailed expression to the attitude of the Party in regard to the Right deviations in its ranks. The basis of these deviations lies in an under-estimation of the strength of the proletariat in the Arabian countries in general and in Palestine in particular, as also in defeatist tendencies in regard to the rôle of the Communist Party.

From this point of view, a number of comrades oppose the passing of a resolution in favour of a Workers' and Peasants' Government, such as was recommended to the Party in a letter addressed to it last December by the E. C. C. I. These comrades are in favour of aiming at a "Democratic Republic", since it is only by adopting such an aim that the Party could gain the support of the petty-bourgeois circles, whose rôle, it must be added, is greatly over-estimated by the Right deviationists. Such a principle, however, would entail the danger of arousing democratic illusions among the masses, which would be all the more noxious seeing that just at present the bourgeois leaders of the national movement are aspiring to a compromise with the British imperialists upon the platform of a "Parliament" (which could naturally be no more than an empty formality as long as the British occupation continues).

In the first place, however, the opportunist opponents of the idea of a Workers' and Peasants' Government fail to understand that at the present moment of accentuated class war in Palestine and the neighbouring countries, the programme of the Communist Party cannot consist in general phrases in regard to the liberation of the country, national independence, and the like, but that the concrete contents of the fight for liberation must necessarily be formulated. A broad movement among the people can only be based on a maximum activity of the toiling sections of the population, particularly the workers and peasants. Such an activity, however, can only be attained if the worker has before him the prospect of social liberation and the peasant that of an agrarian revolution, entailing the distribution of landed property, liberation from indebtedness to usurers, etc.

In close connection with the opposition to the directives recommended by the E. C. C. I. and confirmed by the C. C.,

there is the capitulatory tendency of many members in regard to the tactics of the Party. Overlooking the slow but continuous progress of radicalisation among the toiling masses and underestimating the growth of the Party organisation (especially in regard to the inclusion of Arab workers) and the achievements of the Party (success at the last trade-union elections, organisation of an Arab workers' demonstration on the Nebi-Mussa holiday, greater circulation of the Arab and Jewish Party papers, etc.), the Right elements see nothing but the increased attacks of the reactionaries (arrest, deportation, etc.) and are of opinion that the Party should merely retire in the face of such an offensive and should not mobilise the workers to a counter-attack.

The Right deviation in the C. P. of Palestine is particularly dangerous in view of the fact that, whereas many representatives of the opportunist direction entrench themselves behind purely "local" motives, others employ motives of the Right deviationists of European Parties (such as a false estimation of the "third period", a misconception of the danger of war, and the like) and interpret the resolutions of the VI. Comintern Congress in a "Brandlerian" way.

The C. P. of Palestine, which recently celebrated the Tenth Anniversary of the foundation of the first Communist group in Palestine, has in the decade of its existence experienced an ideological concentration. It has overcome all remnants of Zionist and Poale-Zion tendencies, liquidated boycottism and putschism, put an end to the theories of emigration, and succeeded in consolidating the best elements of the Palestine proletariat around its banner. To-day it is the only party in the country which is really international in word and deed and revolutionary in its tactics.

Therefore the C. C. is fully justified in its resolution by which it energetically declares against peace with the Right deviationists in the Party (which would only lead the Party into a hopeless slough of opportunism and defeatism) and calls upon the Party speedily to liquidate its Right wing.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### How Conrade Yamamoto was Murdered.

The following description has been taken by us from "Political acts of violence in Japan. — Yamamoto's death", an article by Dr. Sternberg in the "Berliner Tageblatt" of June 5th. Ed.

Three Socialists, Hebe Takao and two others, respected, scholarly, quiet people, went unarmed for the purpose of a conference to the house of the Nationalist lawyer Yonemurra, president of the "Anti-Bolshevist Association". Yonemurra met them with a revolver and while running away Takao was shot in the back and killed. Although in general the Japanese courts usually reject on principle the plea of acting in self-defence, except in the case of an armed attack endangering the life of the person attacked, the plea was accepted from Yonemurra. A non-nationalist would have been treated differently. A certain Suzuki was sentenced to imprisonment for life, because as an act of vengeance he sent an infernal machine to the City governor, General Fukuda, who, as chief, was responsible for the murder of Osuga, even though the infernal machine did not explode. As was only to be expected, he has since been pardoned.

Along with Osuga and Noye, nine socialists, who had been arrested for no specific reason, met their death; they sang in prison and did not stop when they were ordered to; thereupon a lieutenant of cavalry, Tamura, had them bayoneted to death. The decision of the court-material: that, as material law prevailed, Lieutenant Tamura's behaviour was correct.

In conjunction with the arrest of Communists last year, there was a case against a police official, who was charged with torturing and other little weaknesses; against his accusers he brought a counter-charge of defamation; as matters appeared very serious for him, the following took place, although the authorities had already acquitted him as regards the com-

promising results of the case against him: Fascist friends the pay of this good man wounded the accused, murdered the two defending counsels and, in consistency with their general heroism, did not commit suicide in order to escape, but severed the pulse of the mother of one of the murdered barristers. They were caught, but the sentence passed on them was severe. The constant cry: "Patriotic motive".

Senji Yamamoto, the latest victim, came from Uji near Osaka, and was the son of a hotel keeper who is now very old to do. He went to America, where he became a domestic servant and student, graduated brilliantly at the State University at Tokio, became professor of zoology at the State University of Kioto and of the big Protestant Doshisha private university in the same town. At the last parliamentary election he was chosen to represent the Rodo-Nominto, for short, Rodo the Peasants' and Workers' Party, the left wing of the socialists. Immediately after the election the Government accused this party of "secretly entertaining Communist views" and dissolved it on this ground; the expulsion of the two Ronoto members contemplated at the same time, was not successful, for there were no legal means to this end.

However, such means were not considered necessary. The same objective could be attained by other paths: in the first place all socialist members of parliament are constantly accompanied by police; in the second place, it was clear to the Japanese mind that the secret societies would take action against people whom the Government suspected of Communism. Right from the beginning people therefore feared that attempts would be made on the lives of the Ronoto members of parliament, especially on that of Yamamoto. People in general shook their heads over his audacity; then came the debates on the Social Law, namely, the introduction of capital punishment, which the Tanaka Government had had passed by extra-parliamentary measure, namely imperial decree, after the emperor had been got to preside personally at the three-day discussion of the question in the State Council. The Chamber was to make an imperial decree law. No resistance dare be made thereto.

The parliamentary sanction of an imperial decree is a mere formality in Japan; as the emperor's signature is all that anybody may criticise, much less vote in opposition. It is in the constitution, but the law of custom of lese-majesty precedes the constitution. The government would have been criticised merely because it had applied to the emperor for sanction of the capital punishment, although it could have had it sanctioned at the proper time in parliament (but by a simple majority, and this it did not want). Yamamoto had the nerve to demand the suspension of the decree. His fate was sealed.

A few days later capital punishment was simultaneously sanctioned by the vote of both houses.

On the evening of the same day, at 9.20, a Mr. Yabu Kuroda requested an interview with Yamamoto at his home. Yamamoto said that it was too late to receive a visitor. The Japanese is an early riser and goes to bed at nine o'clock. Kuroda said that he had something very important to communicate and insisted on being received. When a person comes in this fashion and refuses to go away, people know what it means. If the visitor is denied entrance, a crowd bursts through the door, wrecks the house and abuses the tenants. Such was the case when Count Goto invited Yoffe. The "intermediary", as the blackmailer called himself, was invited in. And this was also done by Yamamoto.

Kuroda ceremoniously laid before him a manuscript document in which Yamamoto, for his offence to the emperor committed in his opposition to the capital punishment, had described himself most humbly as a completely unworthy man and renounced for ever his seat in parliament. Kuroda demanded signature. Yamamoto declined. A hefty discussion ensued. When Yamamoto definitely refused to sign, Kuroda drew a long dagger and drove it into Yamamoto's throat. Yamamoto who was in night attire, threw himself upon his assailant, a former commissioned officer, and by means of Jiu-Jitsu of the educated classes gripped him firmly, but both of the men fell down on the stairs in the clench, whereby Kuroda was able to get an arm free and make another thrust at Yamamoto, which proved most effective.

The hotel staff and passers-by rushed to the spot, but in the commotion Kuroda made his escape. He is 37 years of age.

the president of the Hichiseh Gidan Association and editor of official organ, the "Nationalist Journal". He immediately gave himself up to the police. For a long time beforehand his paper had been openly threatening the socialist deputies with assassination. A doctor was promptly summoned to assist Yamamoto, but he could do nothing. Yamamoto's friends came to see him, but the wounded man was too far gone to recognise them. At 10 o'clock the deputy passed away...

When the cortège in Tokio, formed to accompany the ashes to the station for transportation to Kioto after the cremation in Tokio, set in motion, without any provocation the police stepped upon the orderly ranks, mishandled and injured a number of people, arrested many, including a number of students. The students who are accused of joining in the singing of the "Song of Labour" are to be expelled from college.

In Osaka, the workers had resolved to hold a fifteen-minute's silence in memory of their leader. There is no legal assurance to prevent this, so the police entered the factories, laid hold of a worker here and there to arrest him and used other provocations in order to disturb the ceremony.

The ashes still lay at the house of Yamamoto's parents in Tokio. Workers and peasants came to accompany the funeral; they were arrested. When the urn arrived at the main station in Tokio, there were no fewer than two hundred policemen on the spot, who caused considerable disturbance by arresting thirteen people in the procession which was being formed. At the funeral itself, the carrying of trade-union and Labour association banners was forbidden, and all grave-side speeches and songs had to be submitted beforehand to police censorship. Although no word was uttered which had not been passed by police censorship, the speeches were interrupted. At the approach of the words "capitalist exploitation", which the censor had permitted, the police official with manuscript in hand intervened; and the same thing occurred when the lawyer Koiwai started to draw a parallel between Yamamoto and Karl Liebknecht: "Halt! No mention may be made of Liebknecht!"

## IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

### How the Italian Social Democrats Prepared the Way for Fascism.

By R. G.

The attitude which the Italian Social Democracy seems to adopt towards the government of Mussolini, and the fact that Mussolini did not spare the Social Democratic organisations when he sent his fighting troops into action, the dissolution of the Socialist Party and the suppression of its press, serve the international Social Democracy as a welcome excuse to disguise its role as the agent of capitalism within the working class, to conceal its role as the advance guard of Fascism, and sometimes as masked, but nevertheless real Fascism. The Social Democracy of Germany, Austria, France, and Norway, etc. like the "persecutions" of Mussolini against both the Socialist Parties of Italy (the Reformists and the "Independents") as proof that the Social Democracy is the "historical opponent" of Fascism. Of course, the Social Democrats in these countries maintain a discreet silence concerning the Polish, Spanish and other socialists who have allied themselves with Fascism.

However, it is necessary to unmask the Italian Social Democracy and its "anti-Fascism" about which the Second International talks so much and to expose them in the eyes of the broad masses of the workers.

First of all, it is necessary to point out that Fascism fought with various weapons, not only against the communists, socialists and republicans, but against all oppositional parties and movements, including the parties of the Constitutional left- and right-wing opposition, including even the Catholic People's Party (Popolari).

That Italian Fascism was compelled to fight against all opposition, and that this struggle was intensified under the regime of Mussolini, is explained by the relations of the classes which developed after the war in Italy, and by the economic

structure of Italy and its economic crisis. The Fascism of Mussolini is the most characteristic method of stabilisation in the Italian situation and has created insurmountable contradictions in Italian society and in the Italian economic system. Whilst Fascism consolidated its own position by gradually reforming the capitalist block, the democratic freedoms, which had been badly mutilated, became a greater and more threatening danger for the regime. Finally, no legal opposition of any sort against Fascism was tolerated. The fact therefore that the Social Democracy suffered the same persecutions as all other oppositional parties suffered, deprives it of the right to be considered as the representative central point of Italian anti-Fascism.

In what does the anti-Fascism of the Italian Social Democracy consist? The Social Democracy did everything in its power (and successfully) to break the revolutionary wave in Italy. In this it utilised quite different methods from those of the German or Austrian Social Democracy, because in Italy the class conflicts and the class relations between the proletariat and the other classes and thus also between the groups of the old Socialist (Unitarian) Party were different from other countries and other parties.

Italian reformism is based upon a very thin stratum of the aristocrats of Labour whilst the working masses of Italy were always radical, and this explains why the Italian right-wing socialists were unable to break the discipline of the Socialist Party in 1914/15 and why they voted against the war credits and were against the war in general. The attitude of the reformists during the war was often used by them against the Maximalists (centrist group), who declared that the reformists who were disciplined during the war, would also have been disciplined during the revolution. But these two situations were fundamentally different: In 1914/15 a section of the Italian bourgeoisie (Giolitti) was opposed to the war, and this made the attitude of the reformists easier. In 1919, however, the bourgeoisie was united and solid in its defence against the revolution, and the reformists did not desert the bourgeoisie in this difficult moment.

In the party and in the trade unions the reformists conducted a policy directed towards extending the strong positions which they already held. The Trade Union Federation, the central leadership of the co-operatives, most of the urban administrations and the majority of the parliamentary fraction were in their hands. At the congress of Livorno they succeeded in preventing the communists from winning the majority in the party. This was one of the first successes of Fascism which had already been carrying on an open struggle upon the streets for some months against the proletarian organisations and against the "red" peasants. In 1921 the young Communist Party stood alone in the fight against the Fascist fighting groups. Every group of workers which was attacked by the Fascists or which attacked the Fascists was represented as a communist group, even when the workers were socialists or members of no party.

In the Socialist Party of Italy both of the groups which composed the party (Unitarian reformists and Maximalist centrists) were united in adopting a purely polemical and parliamentary defensive opposition, and this was the cause of the catastrophe suffered by the proletarian organisations in Italy. In the summer of 1921 the socialists concluded a "Pact of Peace" with the fascists. This shameful pact sowed illusions amongst the masses of the workers and caused them to remain passive whilst the fascists used the opportunity to strengthen their fighting organisations. Mussolini, who was still a deputy, wanted to separate the reformists from the maximalists and to form a coalition cabinet with the former (Reformists, Catholics and Fascists) which was to take over the reins of government in the difficult situation which existed. But the maximalists also signed the fact, and thus the "unity" of the Socialist Party was "saved" once again. The civil war took on sharper and sharper forms. The socialists hoped to persuade the government to fight against Fascism but themselves only fought against it upon the parliamentary field without attempting to mobilise the masses who were left to themselves.

In 1922, although the reformists and the maximalists had parted company and each side had formed its own party, the Italian socialists conducted their struggle against Fascism exclusively upon the parliamentary field. In 1922/23 Mussolini

still had the idea of absorbing the Trade Union Federation and using it as a basis. The reformists were not opposed to this idea and began to expel the communists from the trade unions. In October 1922 Mussolini offered the reformists two seats in the cabinet, and only the resistance of the extreme nationalists in Mussolini's cabinet caused this plan to fall through. In 1923 D'Aragona declared in parliament in the name of the Trade Union Federation his willingness to "co-operate technically" with the government.

The Socialists never thought for one moment of mobilising and organising the masses against fascism. In the severe crisis which followed the discovery of the murder of the reformist Matteotti, the socialists in coalition with the bourgeois democrats, did everything in their power to prevent independent action on the part of the proletariat. Fascism pursued its way relentlessly and answered on the 5th of January through the mouth of Mussolini with the Press and Coalition Laws and with the Trade Union Law. The policy which the socialists pursued in 1925/26 was a capitulation before Fascism. The process of decomposition commenced in the ranks of the socialists, and only a few thousand remained, more to conduct the struggle against the communists than to fight Fascism. Towards the end of 1926 they removed the field of their "activity" to France on the ground that "nothing more could be done in Italy".

This whole process from 1921 until to-day saw not only open treachery on the part of the socialist leaders of both parties, but also witnessed the sowing of the seeds of decomposition amongst the groups of leaders. Many of these leaders have gone over individually into the service of Fascism, and the treachery of the trade union leaders D'Aragona and Rigola was no isolated instance. It came as the consequence of a long series of "crises of conscience" and was only the commencement of a series of further such "crises".

What Mussolini was unable to obtain from the reformists in the period 1922/24 he obtained later and he will complete his work in the future under circumstances which are far more favourable to himself. He has pushed aside the main group of the former trade union leaders and taken over a number of them. He has also won a few hundred journalists, organisers and local leaders of the two Socialist Parties. He has completely finished off the leaders of the Maximalist Party.

To-day Mussolini aims at breaking up the present reformist center in Paris. There are many signs that Mussolini is pursuing a policy of "pacification" which aims at assimilating a section of that group of Italian reformist leaders which represents the crown of the international Social Democracy. On behalf of the Amsterdam International Trade Union Federation Citrine and Sassenbach visited the Rigola-D'Aragona group of traitors in Italy. This group, however, has its connections with the Buoizzi group in Paris, and it is well-known that Mussolini uses people like D'Aragona and the Amsterdamers in order to influence the group of emigrated socialists.

The "crisis of conscience" amongst the remaining group of leaders of the two socialist parties is much more severe than is generally considered. Pietro Nenni, the former chief editor of the "Avanti!" and the present editor of the "Quotidien" and of the "Soir", recently wrote an article in which he appealed for a Franco-Italian rapprochement using the arguments of a defender of Mussolini. Before very long we shall witness important happenings in the camp of the Italian Social Democracy whose anti-Fascism is worth just as much as that of the Social Democrats of all other countries and no more. Unless one recognises in the Italian socialists one of the main reasons which led to Fascism, one fails to realise the real significance of the history of the Italian proletariat from 1918 down to the present time. In a moment of rare honesty the Maximalist Pietro Nenni wrote:

"If a revolutionary Socialist Party had existed in Italy in the years from 1919 to 1922 Mussolini would not be in power to-day."

That is true, but it does not justify the treachery of socialists like Pietro Nenni, but confirms our thesis that the Social Democracy prepares the way for Fascism, if it does not become fascist itself.

## A New "Left" Wing in the American Generation of Labour.

By A. G. Richman (New York).

The "Progressives" in the United States labour movement have at last crystallised into an organisation — and sold out to the organisation to the yellow Socialists. They were kicked out of the organisation, for otherwise Liberals seldom get to the point of such decisive action.

With the Socialists manipulating the job, they and the Progressives are trying to recover some of the confidence of the masses who are going to the Leftward, and at the same time force the reactionary bureaucracy in the A. F. of L. to recognize their services and throw them a few crumbs.

In New York on May 25 and 26, the Conference for Progressive Labour Action was organised by the "Progressives" who had been repudiated by the 1928 A. F. of L. Convention in New Orleans. It was taken over by the Socialists, who grabbed the majority of the Executive Committee: the Brookwood Labor College group, headed by A. J. Muste; the Socialist Party faction led by Norman Thomas and James Maurer, their presidential and vice-presidential candidates in the last elections; the radicals expelled from the Communist Party, Ludwig Lore, and J. B. Salutsky-Hardman, of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Justus Ebert, former I. W. W. who helped build a split organization organised by government spies; the leaders of the N. Y. Teachers Union, who work hand in glove with the Tammany controlled Central Trades and Labour Union of N. Y.; and others of their ilk.

The positive cause for the organisation of these wavering Liberals at this time was the mobilisation of the Left-wing Communist-led masses for the Trade Union Unity Convention in Cleveland on August 31, which will create a new Left-wing center. The organisation of Left-wing coalmining, textile, shoe, food and needle industrial unions recently — with their militant strikes and the only platform of struggle against rationalisation and class collaboration — has shown the Progressives that they will be crushed between the millstones of the A. F. of L. reaction and the Communist militancy, and this has prompted their organisation. A negative cause was the kick in the hind quarters given them at the last A. F. of L. Convention, which sustained the withdrawal of support by the A. F. of L. bureaucracy from their pet institution, Brookwood College.

The high points of the conference were the bitter attacks upon the Trade Union Educational League (T. U. E. L.) and upon the Communist Party of the U. S. A., on the one hand, and the tender chiding of the A. F. of L. reactionaries. Their beautiful "impartiality" was summed up by Muste in his attack upon the Cleveland T. U. E. L. Convention. "You cannot unite with anyone if you are identified with either the Right or the Left wing." They therefore, in sweet, childlike innocence, dropped their Left phrases, and their Right garments, and proceeded to unity at any price — by uniting with the Socialists (and, objectively, with the A. F. of L.) as a lamb unites with a lion, in the stomach.

The only militant note at the conference was sounded by J. M. Budish, former editor of the "Headgear Worker" (organ of the reactionary S. P.-A. F. of L. cap and millinery union) who was fired out at the recent packed convention of this union and by R. L. Cruden, of the Detroit Auto Workers Union. The latter declared that the only unions really fighting class collaboration were the new Left-wing unions under Communist leadership. He pointed out the betrayal of the auto workers' strike by the A. F. of L., and showed that this conference would not work in the direction of organising the unorganised. He condemned the attacks upon the Left wing, as well as the refusal to permit the "Daily Worker" reporter and the Left-wing Labor Research Association representative to attend the conference. His resolution introduced by Cruden and Budish, calling for the election of a delegate to the Cleveland T. U. E. L. Convention, was of course, cynically rejected.

The Socialists openly admit that it is the growing radicalisation of the workers and their disillusionment with the Socialist and Progressive leaders, as well as with the reactionary Green-Woll leadership of the A. F. of L., that have forced this new turn.

While "fighting" the A. F. of L., these Liberals insist that there is no question of our loyalty to the American Federation of Labour. Learning from the Left-wing T. U. E. L., they pretend to form a group within the A. F. of L., to "bore from within", but being spineless in action, and reactionary in purpose, they serve as a means of attempting to betray the masses to continued toleration of the U. S. State Department lackeys to lead the A. F. of L.

After gently criticising the A. F. of L. for its inconsiderateness to the Progressives, A. J. Muste, chairman of the conference and head of Brookwood, said, "Elizabethton (Tennessee) strike. A. G. R.) is the only bright spot" in the organisation of the unorganised in the South. This, despite the fact that they know full well that the A. F. of L. leaders betrayed the southern strikers time after time. The selling out of the first Elizabethton strike in March of this year was so crass that the workers immediately and unanimously went on a spontaneous strike, only to be sold out again in May after weeks of militant struggle.

When the Left-wing National Textile Workers Union sent a delegation of Gastonia, North Carolina, strikers to Elizabethton to expose the A. F. of L., betrayal and to organise the workers strike again, the A. F. of L. leaders there urged the businessmen of the town to lynch them, and "Comrade" Porter, Socialist Relief Committee representative, spied upon and pointed the militants out to the Ku-Kluxers.

The A. F. of L., S. P. and Progressives are a unit in preparing again to join with the bosses and police to fight the Left-wing fur workers, who have issued a strike call to organise 14,000 furriers upon whom the yellow Socialists have forced organisation and sweatshop conditions. In the same manner they fought the dressmakers' strike early this year, and are now fighting the striking cafeteria workers, and all other attempts by the Left wing to organise the unorganised and company-union-organised masses.

So openly reactionary has the S. P. become that J. F. Hylan, Tammany Hall mayor of New York City before the present incumbent, could propose that he run in the coming city elections as a fusion candidate of the Socialist and Democratic parties.

The movement for this Conference began with the publication in the February issue of their organ, "The Labor Age", of a program in the form of "A Challenge to Progressives", in which they mapped out the basis of their fight against the Left wing. In April, some two-score Progressives sent out the call for this conference.

The program printed in February was as follows:

"1. Organise the masses of unskilled and semi-skilled. 2. Appeal primarily to workers instead of to employers in organising efforts. 3. Expose and fight National Civic Federation influence in the labour movement. (The reference here is to the millionaire bosses' association of which Mathew Woll is vice-president, at the same time that he holds the same office in the A. F. of L. A. G. R.) 4. Insist that union membership shall not be denied because of race, or political views or affiliations.

"5. Fight for the right of a minority or opposition to exist in the movement. 6. Fight injunctions and yellow-dog contracts. 7. Campaign for social insurance. 8. Encourage co-operative enterprises. 9. Emphasise labour's goal as a social order controlled by workers. 10. Work out effective methods of collective bargaining and of union control, without sacrificing the union's independence. 11. Struggle for the five-day week, higher wages and better conditions. 12. Advocate recognition of Soviet Russia by the U. S.

"13. Work to make the American labour movement anti-imperialistic and anti-militaristic. 14. Assert the principle that labour must be international in its spirit and activities. 15. Develop a Labour Party based on mass organisation of industrial workers. 16. Support a broad workers education movement based on progressive concepts."

This program is simply an echo of the Left-wing program, but deliberately vague and confusing in its ideas and expression. Points 4 and 5, for example, are the usual hypocritical cant of Liberals, with their vicious attacks upon the Left wing and Communists as evidence of their real meaning. Point 9 is typical MacDonaldism. Point 12 has implicit in it

the idea "... but fight like hell against the Soviet Trade Unions, the C. I. and C. P. S. U. and C. P. U. S. A." Point 13 is pacifist phrasemongering. Point 14 is a bid for the Amsterdam I. F. T. U. Point 15 means recognition of the S. P. as the Labour Party. Point 16 is the most vital of all, since the backers of the movement are in large part "labour educators" from the Progressives' Brookwood, the Socialists' Rand School, etc. How this point is the thought behind point 1 can be seen from the slogan adopted at the conference in May "... immediate organisation of the unorganised — into study groups (My emphasis. A. G. R.).

That the struggle against the Left wing has taken a more determined course we see from the expulsion from Brookwood on June 3 of A. W. Calhoun, teacher there for the past six years, and open sympathiser of the Left wing and the C. P. The majority of even the carefully picked students at Brookwood were opposed to the new turn, and adopted a resolution condemning the peculiar application of "academic freedom" which these Progressives have so loudly mouthed, the attacks upon the Left wing, and the handing over of the institution to the yellow Socialists and renegade Communists.

This by no means epic conference shows the Labour Progressives, like the petty bourgeois politically, a middle group of waverers and pacifists, except when fighting the Left wing, when they become militant in the interests of the bourgeoisie and labour aristocracy. Practically every Progressive who has worked with the Left wing in recent years has betrayed the struggle or withdrawn from it in pessimism.

The organisation of the conference will do much to clarify the trade union atmosphere in the U. S., even though, as may be expected, it will soon disintegrate and its elements go into the most reactionary sections of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, into the S. P. or into the Liberal groups represented by the N. Y. "Nation" and the La Folettes. It will not be able to fulfil its avowed purpose of sidetracking the growing radicalisation of the masses, as expressed by the Cleveland Left-wing Convention, nor will it successfully be able to continue long as the safety-valve of the bosses and the A. F. of L.

## PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

### The Women in the Class Fight in Mexico.

By Maria del Refugio Garua.

For many years the women of Mexico were under the influence of the Catholic Church, that evil legacy which Mexico received from its Spanish "civilisers", and they were confined to work of a menial character and particularly to house-work, which compelled them to live a life of misery and humiliation.

It was only at the beginning of the present century that the women of Mexico began to play a part in the growing industry, and then only a very modest part. The textile industry, which developed fastest, employed most of them, and then came the millinery trade. Gradually, however, the women found their way into commercial and banking houses, and also into the printing trade, which at the present moment employs a relatively large number of women. The large majority of the women are still engaged in household work, for which they get a miserable wage of three to five dollars a month and poor food, etc.

In spite of the high rate of illiteracy among the working class (up to the year 1910, the schools were accessible to the upper classes only), the idea of the trade-union spread even in those early days, despite the influence of the church, and women, too, joined the unions in order to protect their class interests.

On January 7th, 1907, the employers in Rio Blanco, Santa Rosa and Nogales, in the Mexican Federal State Vera Cruz, moved down the textile workers of that district. Women courageously took part in the fight of defence of the workers, distributed arms and ammunition, looked after the wounded and even handled weapons usefully themselves.

In the year 1913 the Workers Club was founded, and this became the agitation and propaganda centre of the revolutionary

proletariat of Mexico. On May 10th, the workers organised a big demonstration of protest against the military dictatorship, and the woman took part in it. This action led to the closing of the Workers Club.

At the end of June, 1916, the workers were forced into a fight for higher wages, owing to the steady depreciation of the paper money issued by the government. When their demands were rejected, they proclaimed a general strike in protest and stopped industrial activity throughout the Federal State of Vera Cruz and other Federal States of Mexico. The government took the most drastic measures and despatched soldiers to the disaffected areas. At the big Labour demonstration of protest, the women marched in the van and persuaded the soldiers not to turn their weapons upon the workers.

In the meanwhile, the trade-union movement continued to develop in Mexico. In May, 1919, the workers declared their solidarity with the teachers in their strike, whereby the working women zealously participated in the relief committee work for the teachers. In places where there was a failure of the professional teachers, the working women themselves took in hand the education of the children.

In the year 1919, the textile mill girls took an active part in the fight of the tenants associations, especially in the capital, Mexico City, in the harbour town of Vera Cruz and in the other towns of the Federal State of Vera Cruz. Side by side with the workers they fought for the reduction of rents and for the improvement of dwellings. In Vera Cruz the bourgeois government of Obregon slaughtered proletarian tenants. But in spite of this sacrifice and in spite of the imprisonment of tenants, including several women, the fight continued until the government issued rent decrees in the Federal State of Vera Cruz and of other parts of Mexico, limiting rents to 6 per cent of the registered value of the property. The administration of this decree is entrusted chiefly to women, who undertake all the necessary revolutionary tasks for the defence of the interests of their class.

The participation of the wives of the workers was no less important in times of strike, and especially during the strike of the tramway workers in Mexico City, which ended in a blood bath for the strikers and the destruction of their organisation. This defeat was chiefly due to lack of foresight and to bad leadership of the strike by the anarchists in charge of the trade union federation, to which the tramway workers' organisation, one of the most revolutionary trade unions of the proletarians of the metropolis, was affiliated. In this strike the working women belonging to the organisation played a prominent role.

In the strikes of the miners of the Federal State of Jalisco and in Parhuca in the State of Hidalgo, in the textile strikes at Puebla, Atlixco and other places, the working women, under the influence of the women Communists, have recently participated energetically in all the activities of the revolutionary class movement.

Under the slogans of the Communist Party of Mexico, the working women also took part in a lively manner in the anti-imperialist fight. In the international campaign for Sacco and Vanzetti the work of the women was very noticeable.

The Workers International Relief and the International Red Aid also enjoy the keen support of the working women of Mexico in all their activities and campaigns.

## From the Life of a Woman Revolutionary.

By Stoya Markovich.

I was born in poor little Montenegro in the Balkans. As a child I attended the village school. When I finished school I worked with the family on our little farm.

When the war broke out our misery began. My father was at the front and was wounded. The cattle was confiscated. We often suffered hunger; we could earn nothing and we cultivated the land in the most primitive way. The war made a deep impression upon me, but I could not explain the causes of this terror. To my questions I got such answers as: "For the fatherland", "for Christ".

In the year 1914 an uncle came from Russia. He was born in our village and as a boy he went to Russia, where he finished his schooling. At the outbreak of war the Tsarist Government sent him home to defend his native country. He told the peasants quite openly that it was an imperialist war in the interests of the capitalists and landowners. The rumour of this propaganda among the peasants reached the ears of the Montenegrin Government. The Government sent out its spies who secretly murdered him and spread the report that he had committed suicide.

The war came to an end, but the bloody pictures dwelt in my memory. Fresh disaster overtook us. Montenegro was incorporated in the new State of Yugoslavia. The Montenegrins were now under the hegemony of the Serbian bourgeoisie and of the Serbian king, as a national minority together with the Croats, Slovenes, Dalmatians and Macedonians. The national minorities were oppressed, the peasants were poor. Then began the peasant revolts of the years 1919, 1920 and 1922. The gendarmes of the Serbian bourgeoisie regarded the insurgent peasants, set fire to their houses and villages, put the relatives of the insurgents in prison, tortured them and murdered them. Indignation swelled in me.

At this time (1921) a second uncle came from the Soviet Union, Dr. Wukashin Markovich, an old Bolshevik. He began to teach the peasants why and for what they should fight. On account of this propaganda an attempt was made on his life. He escaped to the woods and became a partisan. Many peasants supported him in the partisan war. As my uncle and his brother were Red partisans, the police put the whole of our family in prison. They tortured me in order to learn from me where the partisans and Communists were in hiding. Gradually I came to the determination to escape from prison. As soon as I was free I took a rifle and joined the partisans to fight against the defenders and servants of capital. For seven months (October 1921 until May 1922) I served with the partisans. We often had encounters with the gendarmes. On May 24, 1922, I and my seventeen year old brother were wounded in a bitter fight between our group of five against a gendarme division consisting of 500 men and we were arrested. They put us in chains, took us to prison and gave us solitary confinement. In prison it was terrible: dirty, bad and foul food, beating and maltreatment. We were kept in prison for three and a half years without any trial. Finally, in November 1925, the sentence was taken place, and we were condemned each to 15 years imprisonment.

After sentence had been passed upon me, I began to make preparation for a fresh escape — this time disguised as a gendarme. It took me two months, and the gendarmes watched me constantly and searched me every evening, but found nothing. My brother got a coat and boots for me. Finally everything was ready, and in the night of February 6th, 1927, I escaped from jail. After only 15 days of freedom I was again caught by the gendarmes and put into the same prison. In a fresh trial my brother and I were sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment. Immediately after the trial I was taken to the Agram prison in Croatia, my brother was sent to Bosnia. He is languishing there, hoping for a revolution to restore him his liberty.

I spent 15½ months in Agram jail. The possibility of escape occupied my mind a great deal, but I could not get in touch with the comrades. Finally, I succeeded in getting in communication, through our "secret" post, with my brother. He was free. He came to Agram and discussed with me another attempt to escape. On August 12th, 1927, I was again arrested and set out for the Soviet Union.

When I arrived in the Soviet Union, I was ill and nearly blind. The five years I had spent in the dungeons of the bourgeoisie had completely debilitated me, so that I could hardly move. In the Soviet Union the C. P. and the Red Aid took me in hand and sent me away for convalescence. In a friendly, proletarian environment I recovered my health, and I am now working.