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

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The Party Congress of the Communist Party of Germany.

By Pierre Sémar d.

The XII. Party Congress of the C. P. of Germany may be designated as an eminently successful congress of consolidation after a violent struggle against the opportunist deviations, against the Right and the conciliators who had joined hands in resistance against the application of the resolutions of the VI. Congress of the C. I. and of the IV. Congress of the R. I. L. U.

The political significance of this Party Congress extends far beyond the frontiers of Germany. It was held on the eve of important events in home and foreign politics, which have shown more clearly than ever the profound changes which have been going on in German economics and politics. The Experts Conference has demonstrated the increased power of German imperialism, and has evidenced its growing determination to secure for itself a place in the sun, its determination to participate in the predatory policy of the imperialists, and to join the Western powers in their economic, political, and military

struggle against the Soviet Union. The acceptance of the conditions of the Young Plan by the German bourgeoisie does not mean that it submits to the demands of the Entente states, but rather that it agrees voluntarily to the conditions imposed, in order to be able to take a more active part in the imperialist policy of the Western powers, and most especially in the anti-Soviet front, that is, in the systematic preparation of imperialist war against the Soviet Union.

The price paid is certainly somewhat high, but German capitalism and its ally, Social Democracy, have once more taken all the measures necessary to ensure that the costs will be paid by the working class. The blood bath attending the May-Day celebrations in Berlin is only one bloody illustration of this policy of increasing persecution against the proletariat, but the sharp answer given in return shows in its turn that the German proletariat is not inclined to bow down without resistance to that increased exploitation and intensified poverty

which the capitalists, and the Social Democrats governing in capitalists' interests, are endeavouring to force upon them.

These events have thrown into strong relief the counter-revolutionary attitude and Social-Fascist rôle of that Social Democracy to-day forming a part of the capitalist state; at the same time they have shown the rapidity with which the mass struggle increases in acuteness and rises to a higher revolutionary level.

The XII. Party Congress of the C. P. of Germany made a correct analysis of all these internationally important events, and energetically rejected both the policy and the theories of the Right and of the conciliators who, in opposition to the characterisation of the third period given by the VI. World Congress, deny the immediateness of the war danger and the Social-Fascist and Social-Imperialist evolution of Social Democracy, doubt the radicalisation of the masses and the importance of the unorganised, and therefore defend entirely wrong tactics towards Social Democracy, and above all utterly erroneous trade-union tactics.

The Party Congress of the C. P. of Germany may therefore well serve as an example of how the struggle against opportunism and the Right deviations should be carried on in all Sections of the C. I.

This Congress has been further distinguished by the thoroughness of the political discussion, and by the extensive participation of works delegates; of the 217 delegates 132 were workers from the shops and factories.

The condemnation of the Right and of the conciliatory group by the whole Party Congress, coming immediately after the "answer" given by the workers of Berlin to Zörgiebel, an answer dealing a direct blow in the face of all sceptics and defeatists with no faith in the masses, signifies a decisive advance towards the overcoming of the Right deviations in the whole Party. The conciliators must take to heart the earnest warning which has been given them, if they are desirous of remaining in the Party, and that they are so desirous was declared on their behalf by Ewert, who gave assurance of their joint willingness to submit to discipline and to defend the line laid down by the Congress.

They must be guilty of no further offences, and it must be pointed out that they, after supporting the fractional and liquidatory work of the Right, continued their equivocal policy during the whole Party Congress. The "cautious" declarations of their spokesman Ewert, who "acknowledged" the errors committed by the conciliators in their estimate of the dictatorial character of the Hermann Müller Government, are strikingly in opposition to the political content of the document signed by seven conciliators.

Ewert's concluding words, containing the assurance of their readiness to submit to discipline, cannot make us forget

their fractional document, which they continue to maintain "for the sake of history", but in reality for the sake of securing a free hand for their future attitude; nothing but the full application of the Party Congress decisions will permit a judgement to be formed of their political sincerity. Their capitulation is an important fact, but the C. C. and the whole Party must be on their guard against Right deviations, especially in the trade-union field.

The most important and paramount question, that of the war danger, was dealt with in a suitable and popular manner by Comrade Remmele in his report; it could however be seen from the discussion that the Party will have to exert considerable effort before 1st August, in order to bring about mass demonstrations against imperialist war and for the defence of the Soviet Union. This was the weak side of the Party Congress, and the speaker rightly emphasised that anti-militarist work must be taken up by the whole Party, and not relegated to individual "specialists". For these same reasons, and in view of the severer measures being taken against communism, the question of the illegal organisation of the Party becomes increasingly urgent.

The mighty demonstration at Wedding, and the numerous works delegations welcoming the Party Congress, show the existence of ideological contact between the Party and the broad masses. But it must be methodically organised.

Excellent resolutions were passed on the question of winning over the working class by means of ideological and practical work in the trade unions, and by means of conquering positions in the works and gaining the leadership of the factory councils. These resolutions must now be converted into deeds. The numerical strength of the Party in the great industrial undertakings does not correspond to its growing political influence, as expressed at the last elections. The C. P. of Germany, like all other Sections of the C. I., must organise its steadily increasing influence by systematic recruiting work in the midst of its daily political activities, and this daily struggle will only be productive in the degree to which all Communists themselves fulfil the tasks falling to them in the works and factories.

Finally, the Party Congress of the C. P. of Germany has elected a Central Committee whose political and social constitution, and whose homogeneity, correspond to the pursuance of that line laid down by the Party Congress for the further adaptation of the whole Party to the line of the C. I.

The C. P. of Germany will soon be in a position to accomplish successfully its historical task of seizing power for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and its success in this struggle will bring the hour of world revolution nearer for the whole world.

The Party Congress of the German Bolsheviks.

Leading Article from the "Pravda" of the 20th July 1929.

The Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of Germany which has just ended is of tremendous significance for the whole international communist movement. The Communist Party of Germany is the largest mass party and the most mature Bolshevik section of the Communist International in the countries of capitalism. The C. P. of Germany is the advance guard of the most powerful section of the European proletariat. It is the Communist Party of that country in which the contradictions of the capitalist stabilisation show themselves most clearly, in which the process of the decomposition of the capitalist stabilisation and of the revolutionisation of the working masses is proceeding most quickly. The C. P. of Germany has approached nearer to the solution of the most important historical task in connection with the overthrow of imperialism, than all other parties, i. e. the task of winning the majority of the working class, and this although it has to struggle against the strongest section of international reformism.

The experience of the C. P. of Germany in the struggle for winning the majority of the working class in the fight against

reformism, fructifies the work and the struggle of all other Communist Parties in the capitalist countries. To sum up the work of the C. P. of Germany during the last two years and to examine the decisions of the Sixth World Congress of the C. I. on the basis of German conditions and in the whole of the capitalist world, represents a great service of international significance. This service was performed by the Congress of the C. P. of Germany, and this fact will have to be taken into full consideration by the approaching Plenary Session of the E. C. of the C. I. The international significance of the Congress was underlined by the presence of delegations from all other important Communist Parties and by the speech of the representative of the E. C. of the C. I., Comrade Semard.

The Twelfth Congress of the C. P. of Germany took place shortly after the Congress of the German Social-Fascists which was held in Magdeburg. The Social-Fascists chose Magdeburg as their meeting place, the stronghold of the Fascist "Stahlhelm" and of the Social-Fascist "Reichsbanner". The German Bolsheviks chose Wedding as their meeting place, Wedding

Krasnaya Presnaya of Berlin, where the workers built barricades less than a month before and where working-class blood flowed in the streets. The choosing of the venues of these two Congresses, and their respective programs throw searchlight upon the present situation in Germany and upon the perspectives of the class struggle in Germany.

The Congresses of the Social-Fascists and of the German Bolsheviks took place after the May events in Berlin. The shots in the first days of May announced that the class struggle in Germany had risen to a new and higher stage, together with the development of the German working-class movement. The shots fired by Zoergiebel on the First of May were shots fired in the orders of the bourgeoisie. They represented the answer of the German bourgeoisie to the growing activity of the German proletariat, to the growing mobilisation of the proletariat around its advance guard, the Communist Party of Germany. The shots fired by Zoergiebel represented the bloody proof given by the reformists of their readiness and their capacity to perform their role as organisers of the dictatorship.

The Magdeburg Congress of the Social-Fascists declared openly through the mouth of Wels that the Social Democracy was prepared to take over the task of setting up a dictatorship. This Congress showed that the dictatorship is the last trump card of the Social-Fascists in the struggle for hegemony in the German working-class movement. This Congress adopted an unambiguous program of preparations for imperialist war, above all against the Soviet Union.

The Congress of the C. P. of Germany like the Congress of the Social-Fascists was concentrated upon the task of winning the majority of the working class. The difference was only that whilst the reformists conferred in order to maintain their influence upon the majority of the working class, the Congress of the C. P. of Germany devoted its attention to the task of winning the leadership of the majority of the working class, and how to tear the leadership from the lands of the reformists, a task whose solution the Party has approached more nearly than any other Party.

Five years of capitalist stabilisation, described by the reformists as a new era of peace, have not resulted in the consolidation of peace, but have faced the whole world with the danger of new wars, and in particular with the threat of a new intervention against the Soviet Union. Five years of capitalist stabilisation and one year of the coalition government, represented by the reformists as an era of well-being for the masses, and as an era of the transition to socialism, have resulted in reality in a sinking of the standard of living of the working masses, have created an unemployed army of two millions, and threaten the "democratic" achievements of the November Revolution (the freedom of coalition, the democratisation etc.).

The progressive intensification of the class contradictions during the course of a single year has caused the economic struggles of the workers to take on a political character. The Berlin May events showed that the workers are beginning to take up the counter-offensive not only upon the economic but also upon the political field. The Berlin events showed that the class struggle in Germany has reached a new and higher stage of its development. The Twelfth Congress of the C. P. of Germany examined the given situation soberly and logically. Comrade Thaelmann pointed out in his speech, for instance, that the Party should guard itself not only against an opportunist underestimation of the forces of the revolution, but also against a tendency to jump over stages in the path of the revolutionary development) and found every reason to declare that new great and decisive struggles were developing.

What were the fundamental tasks stressed by the Party Congress? The Congress placed the task of the winning of the majority of the working class in all its ramifications before the Party. Whilst declaring this task to be acute, however, the Congress also pointed out with Bolshevik accuracy that it could only be carried out in connection with the leadership of class struggles both upon the economic and the political field. It could be an illusion to think that the C. P. can win the leadership from the Social-Fascists purely by means of agitation and propaganda. The C. P. can only become the leader of the working-class movement if it places itself at the head of the economic struggles of the masses and of the struggle against the Social-Fascists, and if it mobilises these masses in a struggle against the danger of war and for the defence of the Soviet Union. The Ruhr lock-out, the campaign against the armoured cruiser and the shootings and barricades in Berlin, these are

the most important factors for the revolutionisation of the masses.

The Congress of the C. P. of Germany developed a broad program of the struggle of the working class and its communist advance guard. The most important directions given by the Congress to the Party in the question of trade-union strategy and tactics were: the commencement of economic struggles, the creation of independent organs (elected by the masses themselves) for the leadership of these struggles (unofficial strike committees), the struggle against the reformist bureaucracy, which openly strives to break strikes, persistent and untiring work for the exposure of the Social-Fascist bureaucracy, the winning of the masses of the workers organised in the trade unions, independent action by the trade-union opposition in all important questions and in connection with all important events (factory councils elections, etc.), the violation, when necessary, of the trade-union statutes, and a decisive rejection of all tendencies towards trade-union legalism.

In the closest connection with the tasks of the struggle against the capitalist rationalisation, the Congress put forward the task of the struggle against the Fascist policy of the bourgeoisie and of its reformist lackeys. Upon the basis of the May events, the Congress dealt with the question of the political mass strike as a political weapon in the struggle against the Fascist trinity of the employers, the State apparatus and the reformists. In the present period the political mass strike is a means of drawing the masses together in a fighting front in order to lead them onward to a task of a higher order, the decisive struggle for power.

The Twelfth Congress of the C. P. of Germany expressed clearly the revolutionary internationalism of the advance guard of the German proletariat. The Congress exposed the imperialist character of the policy of the German bourgeoisie. It tore the pacifist mask from the program of the Social-Fascists and showed the program of imperialist armament in Germany in its correct light as a weapon directed chiefly against the Soviet Union. The Congress declared the most important task of the next few months to be the mobilisation of the masses for the Red Day on the 1st August under the slogans of the struggle against imperialist armaments, for the defence of the Soviet Union, and under the slogans of mass strikes and demonstrations.

The Twelfth Congress of the C. P. of Germany refuted the hysterical howling of the Social-Fascists and of the Brandlerists concerning an alleged "decomposition" of the Communist Party, its "isolation" from the masses, etc. The overwhelming number of the delegates to the Congress were Communist workers, the delegates from the large factories. The Congress also received numerous delegations from the workers of large factories. Thousands of proletarian men and women took part in the demonstration organised by the workers of Wedding in honour of the Congress. The Congress which felt itself supported by the sympathy and good will of the broad masses of the workers did not rest upon its laurels. With Bolshevik frankness and thoroughness it exposed the weaknesses of the Party with regard to the organisational winning of the masses. The fighting slogan of the Congress was: "Into the factories, and above all into the large-scale factories!"

At the same time the Congress proved the real Bolshevik unity of the C. P. of Germany. The balance of the struggle against the right-wingers and the conciliators during the past year was catastrophic for the enemies of the Party. During the course of the intensified class struggle the dividing line between Communism and Reformism was very quickly drawn. The May events in particular drew a sharp dividing line between the Communist Party, as the advance guard of the proletarian masses, and the right-wingers as the agency of Social-Fascism. The right-wingers were flung overboard, and they were followed only by an insignificant group of opportunists and petty bourgeois. The role of the right-wingers at the moment is the role of the agency of Social-Fascism outside the Party. Their main task is to prevent as far as possible the flow of the working masses into the camp of Communism. The elections in Saxony showed however, that the Brandlerists are not able to offer the Social-Fascists any serious assistance.

The position of the right-wingers in the Party has now been taken over by the conciliators. Ewert and Meyer are the successors of Brandler. The conciliators are the rallying point in the Party for all opportunist elements. The Brandlerism of

the conciliators is shown most clearly of all in their estimation of the danger of Social-Fascism. The conciliators, who deny that a Social-Fascist degeneration of Reformism is taking place and who place Fascism and Democracy in mechanical opposition to each other and refuse to see the development of the one into the other, repeated word for word the arguments of the Brandlerists. Whoever denies the Social-Fascist development of Reformism, however, disarms the Party in its struggle against Social-Fascism and assists the latter to keep the masses under its influence. The Congress acted in a true Bolshevik fashion when it placed the conciliators before the alternative: Subordinate yourselves to the decisions and discipline of the Party, or leave the Party now and go to your own devices. The Congress dealt with the question of the composition of the leading Party organs from the standpoint of the preparation of the Party for the coming revolutionary struggles. The Central Committee is the General Staff of the Party, and in a period of intensifying class struggles it must have an iron unity. Even insignificant vacillations on the part of the C. C. can endanger the whole cause of the revolution. The Twelfth Congress of the C. P. of Germany drew the Bolshevik conclusions from the lessons of the past and in particular from the important lessons of the past year. The Congress created a Bolshevik and united Central Committee.

The Twelfth Congress of the C. P. of Germany was a congress of the preparation of the coming revolutionary struggles. It developed a program of the struggle for the majority of the working class. It showed that the forces of the German revolution are growing and that the advance guard of the German proletariat, the Communist Party, has been consolidated and steered for its future great tasks.

We send our fraternal greetings to the German fighting section of the Communist International, to the Bolsheviks of Germany.

POLITICS

Disclosures Concerning the Military Armaments of Fascism in Austria.

Fascism and the Danger of War — the 1st August in Austria.

By Richard Schüller (Vienna).

In Austria it can be seen perhaps more clearly than in any other country, how closely the advance of Fascism is connected with the intensification of the danger of imperialist war, and how imperialism in its present stage produces and promotes Fascism in order to achieve its ends.

Even those who a few years ago regarded Austria as a sort of idyllic unarmed country for which the question of the war danger was the question of the wars of other States, are compelled to admit to-day that the danger of war exists for Austria also and, indeed, is a serious reality. The more Fascism develops, the more clear this becomes. The sensational exposures of the "Arbeiter-Zeitung" and the statements of Briand, have offered new proofs of this. The statements of Briand and the documents published in the "Arbeiter-Zeitung" show that the Fascist Heimwehr in Austria is being armed by the Gendarmerie and by the Austrian War Ministry, that it is already heavily armed, that it possesses gas, grenades and flame-throwers, and that it is generally regarded officially as a reserve force for the official Austrian army. The official Austrian army is of a nitelien type and can speedily be extended into a regular field army with a strength ranging from 200,000 to 300,000 men.

Other facts which have been revealed referred to the armaments and the production of war material in Austria, and above all to the close connection between the German and Austrian General Staffs, the adoption of the Austrian army to the requirements of the German Reichswehr, and the close co-operation of Austrian and German Fascism.

Fascism in Austria is encouraged by the new German imperialism which expects a strengthening of its own position from Austrian Fascism and hopes with the aid of the latter to swallow up Austria altogether under the cover of the unification of the two countries. Austria Fascism is also encouraged by the Hungarian and Italian authorities. At the same

time, the possibility of the unification of the two countries upon the basis of imperialism is the reward which is held out to Germany entering actively into the anti-Soviet front. The pursuit of these policy imperialism both in Germany and in Austria is developing towards Fascism. Fascism in Austria is therefore the bridge across which the Austrian bourgeoisie is being led by the other imperialist powers into the anti-Soviet front, at the same time it represents the instrument which the new German imperialism hopes to obtain in order for joining the anti-Soviet front.

The entry of Austria into the anti-Soviet front is never being carried out not only under the influence of the new German imperialism. It is being carried out at the same time under the influence of Fascist Italy and White Hungary, two countries whose imperialist interests in Europe are identical with the interests of the new German imperialism, run parallel with these interests, or at least do not run counter to them. Despite all the differences between the Italo-Hungarian group and the Little Entente and France, these latter groups are also influencing Austria in the same pro-Fascist anti-Soviet spirit.

Despite these uniform efforts to form a united anti-Soviet front under the leadership of the Anglo-French block, and encourage Fascism in Austria, the contradictions between imperialist States themselves, as shown also by Briand's statements concerning Austria, particularly the Italo-Hungarian group and the French-Yugoslavian-Czechoslovakian group, present a further source of the danger of war for Austria. The more Fascism develops in Austria, the closer Austria is brought to Germany, Italy and Hungary. In all these conflicts and combinations it would be an error to regard Austria solely as territory for other troops to march through, or territory from the Hinterland for other armies. Austria's bourgeoisie is demanding more and more loudly (in accordance with development of Fascism) that Austria should play a more "active rôle" in foreign affairs.

It is the task of the Austrian Communists not only to expose the dangers of imperialist war as described above, but also to prove, upon the basis of concrete facts how imperialism, which produces the war danger, is producing and encouraging Fascism inside Austria. It will only be possible to mobilise the broadest masses of the toilers against war, to make the 1st August a powerful day of demonstration against war, if we succeed in connecting the masses of the danger of war upon the basis of concrete facts with regard to all countries, and if we connect the danger of war with the daily questions of the working masses and with the political and economic effects of the offensive of capitalism.

Pursuing its Fascist course and with the assistance of the Social Democracy, the Austrian bourgeoisie has now really abolished the tenants' protection provisions. The new law actually means the gradual abolition of the tenants' protection provisions during the course of the next two years, and will come into force on the 1st August. The question of the tenants' protection provisions can very easily be connected not only with the question of Fascism, but also with the imperialist robbery and promoters of Fascism, for according to the statements of the bourgeois block, the foreign imperialist powers play a great rôle in the abolition of the tenants' protection law. In these powers, and in particular Fascist Italy, made it a condition for granting those investment loans so badly needed by Austrian capitalism, that the "revolutionary step" represented by the tenants' protection provisions should be abolished, that the Austrian government should pursue a strong Fascist policy.

Demonstrations organised by the Communists against the abolition of the tenants' protection provisions were prohibited by the government, and even public and private meetings dealing with this question were also prohibited. This question shows the formation of a united front between Fascism and Social Democracy, which is showing increasingly strong tendencies to Social-Fascism. Proof of this is offered by the fact that the Police President of Vienna, Schöber, prohibited demonstrations on the basis of the prohibition issued by the Social Democratic Mayor Seitz, and that Seitz confirmed Schöber's prohibition. The same Fascist-Social Democratic united front, which robbed the workers of the tenants' protection provision, now robs them the right to demonstrate on the street and even to hold closed meetings.

The 1st August in Austria will be dominated by the struggle for the right of the workers to demonstrate on the streets. Upon the basis of the demand of the Social Democracy there is a prohibition of all demonstrations for Vienna, Lower Austria and the Burgenland until the 15th September. The Fascist Heimwehr does not trouble itself about this prohibition and continues to hold its armed demonstrations, or in some cases, the authorities themselves raise the prohibition in order to permit the demonstrations of the Heimwehr. As far as the workers are concerned however, the smallest demonstration is forbidden under the general prohibition.

The intentions of the authorities are clearly seen by the fact that the prohibition ends on the 15th September, and the fascists announce a great parade of 50,000 uniformed Fascists in Vienna on the 17th September. The general prohibition, this product of the Fascist-Social Democratic united front, aims at making it impossible to mobilise the workers for a struggle against the danger of war and against Fascism, and at suppressing the 1st August. Behind this prohibition the preparations of the Fascists for civil war and the armaments of the bourgeoisie are proceeding. Behind this prohibition the bourgeoisie is working for the establishment of the Fascist dictatorship.

The 1st August in Austria will therefore take place in a very strained situation. In Austria also the Communist Party has appealed to the workers to celebrate the Anti-War Day by demonstrations upon the streets and by demonstrative strikes. The campaign in connection with the Anti-War Day has now been going on for some weeks. The disclosures of the last few days, both of Briand and of the "Arbeiter-Zeitung", have been utilised by our Party and answered correctly, and the campaign has thus received a new impetus. The demonstration in memory of the victims and against the murderers of the 15th June 1919 developed into a powerful preparatory demonstration for the 1st August. Despite the prohibition the demonstration was carried out, and a parade of uniformed members of the Workers Defence League took place. The demonstration in connection with the second anniversary of the 15th July 1927 will also be a preparatory demonstration for the 1st August.

On the 16th and 17th June a Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Austria took place and adopted a detailed plan for the continuation and the intensification of the campaign for the Anti-War Day on the 1st August, and this plan will now be carried out by the whole organisation. Thus, the 1st August in Austria will also be an impressive day of the struggle against the danger of imperialist war and against Fascism.

The Prussian Concordate.

Its Content, its Significance.

By Peter Maslowski (Berlin).

The Vatican has a further considerable success to book in its offensive. Prussia, the alleged stronghold of the republic in Germany; Prussia, where the Social Democrats have participated as leaders in the business of government uninterruptedly since 1918; Prussia, the internationally historical country of the Reformation and of the "heretics", has entered into a concordate with the Pope. This is the first time since 1918 that a concordate has been concluded with a great protestant country (Prussia is only one third Roman Catholic), whilst all other concordates agreed upon during this period have been with countries with preponderating Catholic population; Latvia (1922), Bavaria (1924), Poland (1925), Lithuania (1927), Italy (1929), and Roumania (1929).

This circumstance finds twofold expression in the solemn agreement signed on 14th June, after years of secret negotiations, by the Social Democratic prime minister Otto Braun and the papal nuncio Pacelli. In the first place the Prussian state finds itself obliged to enter into concordatory negotiations with the Protestant church, which signifies solely a deepening and widening of cultural reaction and an increase of the sums of money to be paid to the ecclesiastical bodies. In the second place more consideration must be accorded than in the case of the Bavarian concordate, for instance, to the mentality of the Protestant two-thirds' majority.

It must be admitted that the wording of the concordate, in what it states and in what it secretes or veils, does every credit to papal and Social Democratic secret diplomacy. All that might have given serious offense in Protestant Prussia, such as ecclesiastical enactments with regard to marriage laws, special privileges for the clergy in the spirit of canonical rights, or detailed school regulations, are entirely omitted from the text of the concordate.

In the question of school policy, the bishops are given an unconditional determinative right only with relation to the Catholic professors of philosophy and philology at the universities. According to the enactments of the concordate, not merely heretical teachings give the bishop a right to demand from the state the immediate dismissal of the sinner concerned, but even not perfectly irreproachable "conduct". That school enactments referring to the middle and lower schools are not contained in the concordate is due in the first place to the tactics avoiding endangering the concordate by the mention of those school questions which have given rise to the most disputes, and in the second place to the realisation of the fact that the Weimar national constitution lays down religious instruction in general in any case for 98% of all German schools. It is besides this certain that the conditions of the coalition agreed upon all over the country between Social Democracy and Roman Catholicism include the passing of a national school law, finally determining the giving of religious instruction in the schools, and placing the control of this instruction in the hands of the ecclesiastical authorities.

In the question of the election of the bishops, the almost sole right of appointment of the Pope is stipulated. The cathedral chapter submits a list of candidates, and the Pope is entitled to rule out all but three of these. The subsequent refers only to these three persons, and it is not until after this election that the Prussian state states whether any political misgiving is aroused by the elected person. The stipulation that students of the papal colleges may hold the highest ecclesiastical offices in Germany places in the hands of the Pope much more extensive rights, in the question of the election of the bishops, than he has ever before possessed in Germany.

The remaining enactments of the concordate appear to the uninitiated to refer merely to internal questions of ecclesiastical organisation, but in reality they deal, under a correspondingly skillful camouflage, with the extremely important financial question. The raising of Paderborn and Breslau to arch-bishoprics, and the founding of new bishoprics in Berlin and Aix-la-Chapelle, first of all doubles the dotations paid to the princes of the church, and bring this sum up to 2.8 million marks yearly. Besides this, all landed estate, all buildings used in the service of the diocesan administration, and all land used for the purposes of the church, pass for all time into the hands of the church, without any withdrawal stipulation or clause permitting notice of termination. It need not be said that this again means millions.

To this must be added that the great financial resources of the church are not enumerated separately in the concordate, for obvious reasons, but are secured by an agreement including them in a general catchword to the effect that the "property and other rights of the church are guaranteed". Among these so-called "other rights" there is the extremely important right of taxation, which brings in 50 to 60 million marks yearly to the Catholic church in Prussia; further, the entire exemption from taxation of the "dead hand" of the church; further, the sums paid from the state budget for the salaries of the clergy and for the practice of religious worship, sums which have increased in Prussia to 25 million marks yearly for the Catholic church, or double the pre-war amount; and finally, the granting of ecclesiastical subventions for the numerous philanthropic associations, in reality ecclesiastical associations, in the national, provincial, and communal parliaments.

This generosity, practised in one united front from the German Nationals to the Social Democrats, has its political causes. In this epoch of imperialism and of threatening proletarian revolution, the capitalist state needs more than ever the ideological and organisatory media of the church for the suppression of the masses. In this sense the Prussian concordate is only one inner-political link more in the chain of that general cultural reaction now flooding Germany with its black waves in the form of censorship of the films, theatres, and radio, in the so-called law for the suppression of pernicious

literature, in the severer application of the blasphemy paragraphs, in the persecution of even bourgeois free-thinkers, and not least in the so-called religious socialism propagated by official Social Democracy.

Not only in internal politics, but in external, the Prussian concordate signalises an **intensifier offensive on the part of the papal church in the interests of international imperialism.** The Papal State and the Italian concordate as a medium for the sanctification of bloody Fascism, the abrogation of the law separating church and state in France and the re-establishment of the rights of the French congregations for the purposes of imperialist mission policy, the fact that the Vatican reinforces the imperialist war armaments against the Soviet Union by encircling this land of the workers and peasants by a complete girdle of concordates, enabling it to aid the ideological counter-revolution from these bordering states (Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Roumania) — all this corresponds to the general line of imperialist world policy, and shows that it is the ideology of the papal church which is to play a leading rôle in the defence of so-called Christian European civilisation against "godless Bolshevism".

Imperialist Attacks in the Near East.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

British imperialism is not satisfied with helping clerical reaction in Afghanistan to victory, though the independence of Afghanistan is thereby destroyed and an immediate danger for the Soviet States of Central Asia is created. The imperialists are now proceeding to employ the Afghanistan methods in other Islamic countries and in this manner to extend the imperialist-reactionary positions all along the southern frontier of the Soviet Union. At the same time these positions are also to be strengthened; the reinforcement of British imperialism in the Arabian territories, which form the hinterland of the fight against the Near Asiatic and Central Asiatic portions of the Soviet Union, is designed to serve this purpose.

The efforts of British imperialism are directed chiefly against Persia and Turkey. Great Britain has compelled its vassal State Irak to accept a number of Persian demands, so that British influence in Persia may be enhanced. The "conclusion of peace" between the neighbouring States Persia and Irak (between which no ordered relations have existed up to the present, as the Persian Government refused any recognition at all for the Irak State) is in reality nothing but preparation for war, a measure to bring Persia under British control and to draw it into the anti-Soviet block.

Another method is being adopted to compel Turkey to give up its neutrality and to participate in eventual hostilities against the Soviet Union. Again at the cost of the State Irak, a kind of "Kurdish State" is to be created in the territory of Mossul under direct British protectorate. The creation of such a State would mean that the movement of the Kurdish tribes, incited by the clerical sheiks against Mustapha Kemal's Government, would be afforded State aid. If then a reactionary revolt broke out in East Anatolia, a declaration could be given by Great Britain similar to that given in relation to the disturbances stirred up on the Afghanistan-Soviet frontier: Great Britain would not arm the insurgents; this would be done by the "autonomous" Kurdish State, who would help their tribal brothers, just as Habibullah-Khan helps his brothers in Islam on the other side of the Soviet frontier.

That this is not a question of plans for the distant future but an actual task of British imperialism can be seen from the circumstances that the four Kurdish deputies in the Irak parliament have already handed in a petition for the creation of a Kurdish State and that in Article 4 of this petition are the words: "Withdrawal of the Irak army out of Kurdistan and admission thereto of the militia created by Great Britain..."

At the same time the British are trying to get their policy in Arabia from the dead stop it came to two or three years ago. Here again is being carried on systematic intrigue, which is not noticeable until it bears fruit. The British have succeeded in provoking an open conflict between Ibn Seaud and Feisal

el Doveish, and now that Ibn Seaud has emerged triumphant from this conflict and Feisal el Doveish has been killed, the real gainers are really once more the British. Ibn Seaud is compelled to suppress the dissatisfaction within his own tribes and to this end he must rely more than ever on the British.

Very shortly negotiations are to be started again between Great Britain and Ibn Seaud, and it is not impossible that Great Britain will succeed in getting what British negotiators have always failed to get up to the present: the capitulation of Ibn Seaud to British desires, which would be tantamount to the long sought stabilisation of British power in North Arabia.

It would, of course, be false merely to enumerate the advantages achieved through British colonial methods without at the same time mentioning the aggravation of the conflict which is going on at the same rate as the British succeed in ingratiating themselves with the ruling classes (Ibn Seaud in Persia): The dissatisfaction of the masses of small peasants is constantly taking on more distinct shape, and in the countries where a proletariat already exists (Persia, Turkey, Irak, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine) everywhere the working classes are waking up and feeling the urge to organise, while even revolutionary outbreaks on a small scale are taking place. It is just these forces which are capable of decisively frustrating the imperialist attacks and diplomatic intrigues, which are becoming more numerous since the Afghanistan "success" in the Near East.

AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

Preparations in Czechoslovakia for the First of August.

By V. Kovar (Prague).

For the Czechoslovakian proletariat and for its vanguard, the Communist Party, the preparations for the First of August are of particularly outstanding importance.

This is so in the first place because Czechoslovakia is coming to play a more and more important imperialist rôle in Central and South-Eastern Europe, for the whole of this area it is the main centre of the war preparations against the Soviet Union. While the Western markets are increasingly closed to the products of Czechoslovakia's export industry, the aspirations of the Czechoslovakian imperialists are directed more and more pronouncedly towards the East. At the recent conference of the Little Entente, therefore, the problem of relations with the Soviet Union was in the forefront of interest.

There is, however, also another reason, which is closely allied to the first. In connection with the increasing imperialist expansion, with the growth of the war-danger and the greater exploitation of the working masses, the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie is resorting more and more to Fascist methods: the exercise of its class supremacy, State authority is first centralised in the hands of the supreme bureaucracy; the remnants of autonomy are being speedily eradicated; the State apparatus is armed with a number of exceptional laws, the assault on the political liberties of the working class has already attained such an extent as to render the freedom of press, of assembly and coalition, almost illusory, the result being that even every greater strike which is waged independently by the Red Trade Unions is transformed by brutal intervention on the part of the State apparatus from the very outset into a political fight for the right of striking and must be carried on practically as an illegal movement.

The third reason of the extraordinary significance of the action of August 1st in this country lies in the fact that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is hereby to make a further important step in its practical orientation to the Left by regaining its lost contact with the masses and placing itself at their head. The C. P. of Czechoslovakia has suffered severe reverses and been through an extraordinarily serious crisis. The isolation of the Party from the masses, the result of opportunist infection and the opportunist policy of several years has not yet been overcome. In spite of the initial successes

The Central Committee has been in a position to obtain (in the Slovakian strike of agrarian workers, in a number of small strikes, and in the May-Day action), the Party is not yet at the head of the decisive masses of the proletariat, and thus the First of August will represent for the C. P. of Czechoslovakia a fiery ordeal of considerable severity.

What is it then that we aspire to attain by the action of August 1st? In the first place we desire to enlighten the broad masses as to the existence of an acute danger of war, to the important rôle allotted to imperialist Czechoslovakia in the intended assault on the Soviet Union, as to the interconnection between the war problem and the various questions of daily life, especially such as regard the growing influence of Fascism and all phenomena of increased economic exploitation. Secondly, it is our intention to propagate in the masses the achievements of the Soviet Union and to convince them of the necessity of defending these achievements. Thirdly, we desire to unmask the active part played by the reformists in the imperialist war-preparations; fourthly, to mobilise the masses from below for the active fight against war on the basis of united-front tactics; fifthly, to persuade the masses that a successful fight against war can only be waged along Leninist lines.

The action of August 1st can only succeed in the case of a close and organic connection between the central task of the entire movement, the fight against imperialist warfare and against Fascism and in defence of the Soviet Union, with all the fights of the working masses for their daily demands. This means the fulfilment of three main tasks:

1. The organisation of the struggle of the working masses or their individual daily demands, especially such of an economic character.
2. Such a formulation of our struggle as will make its connection with the central problem of the present time, the problem of war, apparent from the very beginning.
3. The transformation of the economic into political fights (for which the maximum objective presumptions are already given in view of the fact that the State apparatus immediately intervenes in any fight) and their embodiment in a single great action, to culminate on August 1st.

What actions are there to which we can successfully link up the campaign for August 1st? In the first place there is the **wage movement**, the resistance to capitalist rationalisation and the demand for higher wages, especially in the armament industries.

The fight for higher wages is closely allied with the fight against **higher prices**. In the big cities in particular, this can be employed as a means of mobilising broad masses, even of the unorganised working population.

A very important factor, too is the **fight for the movement of tenants' protection**. This campaign is based on the one hand on the mass organisation of the tenants in which the Communists exercise considerable influence, and on the other hand on special united-front committees and conferences of workers delegates.

On similar lines there is an **action of the war-invalids** against the decrease and in favour of the increase of their allowances, a **movement against the Fascist influences in national insurance** and in favour of new elections in the insurance institutions, and a **campaign in the mining areas, especially in North Bohemia, in favour of miners' insurance**.

In the open country there is in the first place the question of **forest reform**, furthermore, the resistance to the **onus of taxation, to the price-tyranny of the trusts and cartels, to the prospective commassation of the land, to the emergency laws against "field-violation"**, and the like.

For all these movements, the Central Committee has worked out detailed principles and directives, which are so formulated that the fight against warfare is organically connected with each of the said actions.

The most important means of enhancing the political character of the fight will meanwhile lie in the struggle for political rights, such as the right of strikes, the right of assemblies, the right of coalition, and the right of demonstration. In fighting against war and in defence of the Soviet Union, against Fascism, for political rights, against increasing exploitation, and for their individual demands, the working class of Czechoslovakia will be waging a political fight against the bourgeoisie and the State apparatus, a fight closely allied with all the daily interests of the broad masses.

In its detailed directives, the Central Committee of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia attaches the greatest importance to the absence of any stereotyped form of procedure. In each district, in each town, possibly even in each factory, a concrete plan will be set forth with tangible questions and demands to which constant reference will be made in the mobilisation of the masses. The district party committees will be instructed to concentrate on the most important places and the most important works and to direct thither all the forces of the higher Party authorities for the purpose of an active support.

All the actions mentioned above will be carried out in keeping with **united-front tactics**. The object in view is the creation of a dense network of representatives of the united front, elected in the works on the basis of proletarian democracy. In many of the works there will from the very beginning be direct preparatory committees for the action of August 1st. In most cases, however, it will be the task of the Party and its fractions to embody in the movement against imperialist warfare such proletarian united-front committees as have been elected for the purpose of settling all sorts of matters connected with the daily struggle of the working class. To this end, the various points at issue will be worked out with particular reference to their political significance.

In this connection the **problem of activating and animating the nuclei in the works** plays a highly important, if indeed not the principal, rôle. In pursuance of the directive of "Attention to the Works!", issued at one of the latest sessions of the C. C., each district has been instructed to select the most important works and to concentrate on the animation of the respective nuclei. The leading works of the entire country will be handled by the central organisational department itself. Both this department and the department for agitation and propaganda have issued detailed practical directives for the work of the nuclei in this respect.

The **press campaign** for the First of August is being waged on the one hand along the lines of a direct resistance to war preparations and on the other hand by means of stimulating the daily struggles and connecting them with the anti-war campaign. At the latest Parliamentary sessions, the Communist deputies made a series of interpellations elucidating the problem of the war-menace from all sides, calling upon the masses to fight, and propagating the Leninist methods to be employed in the relative struggle. This material will be exploited by the press in the course of its campaign. The press will, furthermore, apply to the workers correspondents and ensure their constant co-operation by means of special conferences. During June and July, an agitational campaign is being carried out for the central organ, in the first place in Prague. The campaign is being so conducted that all forces are concentrated on one district after another, in regard to which district the press is publishing articles and contributions by workers. Various nuclei are already starting a competition in regard to canvassing for new subscribers.

In summing up we may say that, relatively speaking, the preparations for August 1st have started very late in the C. P. of Czechoslovakia, especially in view of the fact that in this campaign the entire Party apparatus must be thoroughly reformed, while the working nuclei must be newly constructed. This admission is by no means meant as an excuse, but rather as an incentive to more intensive work. If it spares no efforts, the C. P. of Czechoslovakia will — given the proper political guidance, a change for the better in the work among the masses, and a practical victory over opportunist lethargy and legalist cretinism. — still be able to get the hearing of the masses in its campaign for August 1st and to place itself at their head.

Preparations in Switzerland for the International Anti-War Day.

By M. Bodenmann (Basle).

Preparations for a gigantic demonstration on August 1st against imperialist warfare, against capitalist dictatorship, and for the revolutionary defence of the Soviet Union, are in progress in Switzerland as elsewhere.

In the first place a campaign must be carried out among the workers for the purpose of establishing the First of August as the Anti-War Day of the international proletariat. The pro-

letariat must be made to understand that just as May 1st has been established as the day for demonstrations in favour of the eight-hour day, August 1st has been set apart by the Comintern as the day for anti-war demonstrations and will continue to be so reserved until the danger of imperialist wars is over and imperialism is beaten.

In the preparatory stages of the campaign, the main task lies in showing up the danger of an imperialist war against the Soviet Union, a war which would constitute a class struggle, an assault on the international proletariat and which therefore makes the defence of the Soviet Union by the international proletariat an outstanding political and revolutionary duty.

In this campaign, the Communist Party must and will convince the workers of the fact that the resolutions of the VI. World Congress in regard to the accentuation of differences among the imperialist Powers have proved fully true. From the Communists the workers will learn that the Kellogg Pact and the discussions of disarmament in the League of Nations Commission are merely intended to veil the war preparations of the imperialists. The two representatives of our Party in the National Assembly availed themselves of the occasion of the discussion of the Kellogg Pact in Parliament for the purpose of pointing to this delusion of the working masses, showing up the preparations for war and calling upon the working class to prepare for August 1st.

Nor will the Party fail to show up the rôle played by the Social Democrats, who either openly support the preparations for war or else, and this is particularly apparent in Switzerland, hoodwink the proletariat by pacifist phrases. Nowhere are pacifist illusions so pronounced or so deeply rooted as in Switzerland, for which reason the Party must be particularly energetic in combating such fallacies.

In the directives for August 1st, the main task appears to be the thorough popularisation of the guiding principle, that of turning any imperialist war into a civil war.

In the preparatory campaign the mobilisation of the entire Party membership may be designated as the chief presumption for success: thorough political and also organisational preparation throughout the Party; treatment of the resolutions of the VI. World Congress on the question of war and of the teachings of Lenin on war and its prevention; simultaneously, mobilisation of the broad working masses in the works, trade unions, and sport organisations; development of the system of workers correspondents; recruitment of the masses of juvenile workers and women; zealous propaganda among the peasantry, which is expected to furnish the soldiers employed against the workers; creation of unity committees.

In the entire bourgeois press, the International Anti-War Day has aroused a violent storm against the Communist Party. In this connection it is the Social Democrats who have taken the lead. They have made use of the libels spread by the German Social-Fascists and started the theory that "the Communist Party requires the corpses of workers for its propaganda". Considering what the Social Democratic leaders proved themselves capable of on the occasion of the Red Rally, no one will be surprised at this latest libel. The bourgeois press calls for the prohibition of the anti-war demonstrations and for the application, in part at least, of the same methods which were employed in Paris on May 1st, viz. the arrest of a great number of Communist functionaries with a view to strangling the demonstration in this way.

These desires of the "democratic" bourgeoisie do not come as a surprise to the Party. After the recourse had to the army and the police on March 24th and after the mobilisation of the State apparatus against the working class, the Party can count in advance on the fact that the ruling class in Switzerland will not allow the anti-war demonstrations to ensue undisturbed. The Red Rally and a number of other events have very clearly demonstrated the accentuation of class differences, also showing that in this connection the bourgeoisie is inclined to shed the democratic cloak of its dictatorship and have recourse to Fascist forms of the oppression of the working class.

We may just now see a very typical instance of this fact in the strike of the building workers of Lausanne. Throughout that Canton there is a state of emergency. Picketing is forbidden, demonstrations are prohibited, the strikers are provoked by police spies being sent to their assemblies, a number of workers have been exiled from the country on the strength of denunciation, and strike-breakers imported from abroad to work under the protection of heavily armed constables. Two dozen

leading comrades engaged in the said strike have been arrested; some of them have already been condemned to severe penalties of imprisonment. All this at a time when a strike-breaker who had shot an absolutely innocent worker was recently acquitted by the "democratic" tribunal.

From the very beginning the Party reckoned with measures of State authority against our demonstration. It will profit of all political and organisational experience made in connection with the Red Rally and make good the mistakes committed at that occasion. Notwithstanding a possible prohibition or other adverse measures, the Party is determined to call out the class-conscious workers of Switzerland to fight against the dictatorship of the ruling class.

It will make its preparations very thoroughly, paying particular attention to propaganda in the army and effecting all other political and organisational measures so as to be able to reply to the provocation of the bourgeoisie and the Social Democratic leaders by a mass demonstration of the working class.

In connection with August 1st and with the prohibition of the Red Front Fighters League in Germany, the bourgeois press is calling for the prohibition of the workers' defence corps. This organisation, albeit numerically weak as a result of insufficient support by the Party, does not suit the principles of the "oldest democracy". The reply which the workers' defence corps, the Communist Party, and all class-conscious workers intend to give to this agitation, will be a mass-agitation for the said corps and its development into a powerful bulwark against Fascism and capitalist dictatorship.

The resolutions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Switzerland have created the presumptions which permit the Party, with a full degree of clarity and internal consolidation, to take all the necessary steps for the international anti-war demonstration. We feel convinced that it will also succeed in effecting big and impressive demonstrations in all the more important centres.

The Preparations in Belgium for the First of August.

By de Boeck (Brussels).

The Parliamentary elections of May 26th and the provincial elections of June 9th resulted in 45,000 votes for the Communist Party of Belgium, a result which undoubtedly represents a step forward. The Party was, however, not in a position to mobilise the broad masses of workers which are turning aside from the policy of the Social Democrats and have to some part been influenced by our agitation.

The campaign for August 1st has been carried on more zealously and thoroughly than any Party campaign hitherto. The entire material for the lower organisations of the Party has already been collected and arranged; it consists of political and organisational directives and theses on the political object of the campaign and has already been despatched to all the organisations of the Party. The organisational, agitation and propaganda, and trade-union departments of the Party Centre continue their regular emission of directives for the campaign.

The Party has set itself the task of mobilising the broad masses of workers in the course of the campaign. It may be particularly pointed out that the main task which the Party Centre has set itself is that of carrying the campaign into the works in the first place. Already a year ago, when the militarisation laws for war-preparedness were submitted by the reactionary Jaspard Government, our Party organised a successful campaign for the mobilisation of the workers. This year we intend to carry our campaign still more into the works. Contrary to all former campaigns of our Party, we are anxious to see the question of the imminent danger of war systematically taken up by the trade unions. In the few trade unions which are either attached to the R.I.L.U. or else autonomous but under Communist guidance, this matter will be the subject of discussion at all trade-union assemblies, while in the reformist trade unions, which form the backbone of the Belgian Labour

Party (i. e. bourgeois labour party), our fractions will raise the same question at all local trade-union assemblies.

We repeat, however, that it is principle in the works that our campaign is to be put through.

By means of assemblies in the works, by the publication of newspapers in the factories, by constant and systematic endeavours within the works themselves, we shall attempt to mobilise the working masses, so that on August 1st they may take part in the street demonstrations of the Communist Party and so that on that day strikes may be declared in the most important industrial centres of the country and especially in those works which are to play a particular rôle in the imperialist wars of the future. Even if these strikes are not numerous, they are bound to have a tremendous effect on the revolutionary movement.

In view of the immense disproportion between the numbers of our small Party (1,250 members) and its substantial influence on the electors (45,000 votes at the elections, decisive rôle of the Party at various strikes, etc.), we must attempt, in the course of this campaign, to **organise our influence** over the masses. That is to say, we must form nuclei in a number of large enterprises where we have members of sympathisers who support our Party and take part in its work. At the same time, parallel with the creation of nuclei, we must proceed to found **Action Committees** in the works. These committees must consist of the best militant workers of the enterprise, whether Communist, Social Democratic, non-party, or unorganised. In this way we shall be able to realise the resolutions of our IV. Party Congress. Our nuclei and action committees must in the first place be created in such industrial enterprises as are destined to play an important part in future imperialist wars, i. e. the big metal-works, the ports, and the chemical works.

Our Party will, moreover, profit by the campaign for the International Anti-War Day for the purpose of spreading our agitation among the soldiers. Thanks to the satisfactory co-operation of the Party and the juvenile Communists, we can already record some achievements in this respect. But in this connection we cannot content ourselves with merely distributing leaflets and newspapers in the barracks; we must also **organise the soldiers**. This is our most important task in an anti-militarist direction. In all campaigns hitherto carried on by our Party, there was no mobilisation of such mass-organisations as the International Red Aid, the Workers International Relief, the Friends of the Soviet Union, the Anti-Fascist Committees, or the organisations of alien workers. Therefore, our Party has formed a special commission out of representatives of these organisations. The commission in question has already met and discussed the tasks to be effected within the organisations concerned, which will report regularly to the Central Committee of the Party during the campaign.

In the Party itself, preparations are already under way on a large and systematic scale. The district party committees recently convened to discuss the preparations for the campaign and to establish their various tasks. All districts will in the first place hold meetings for purposes of information. In the district organisations, sub-organisations, and nuclei, special sessions will be held for the purpose of a systematic discussion of these of the VIth Comintern Congress in regard to war. In this way a systematic effort will be made to raise the ideological level of the Party. It is obvious that in the course of the campaign our comrades will continue — as they did at the last electoral campaign — to unmask the rôle of the Social Democratic leaders, as the most active initiators of war on the Soviet Union. They will succeed in showing up the development of the reformists into Social-Fascists by commenting on the abominable crimes of men like Zörgiebel on May Day, on the "working programme" of H. M. MacDonald Government, and on the deeds of our own Zörgiebels, i. e. Vandervelde, Wauters, de Brouckere, and the like.

The First of August is bound to increase the influence of our Party in Belgium. It will have the double effect of strengthening the Communist Party of Belgium and condemning the social treachery of the leaders of the Belgian Labour Party.

THE BALKANS

Class Struggles in Bulgaria.

By V. Kolarov (Moscow).

The general strike of the tobacco-workers in Bulgaria is an event of great importance not only for that country but also for the entire Balkan peninsula.

Following upon the general strike of the tobacco-workers in Greece last year and upon individual considerable strikes in Roumania during the last few months, the strike of the Bulgarian tobacco-workers shows once more that in the Fascist-ridden Balkan peninsula, in spite of emergency legislation and white terror, the class struggle of the proletariat is constantly increasing; it is spreading to ever wider circles of the population, has arrived at a high degree of tension, and is turning from an economic into a political struggle, a revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the Fascist dictatorship.

This fight is of great revolutionary importance for another reason too: It has broken out at a moment when the imperialist Powers are making great efforts to unite the Balkans into an anti-Bolshevist bloc and prepare the individual Balkan countries for a war against the Soviet Union. The growing movement of the proletariat is not only directed against the semi-colonial exploitation of the masses but also frustrates the calculations of the imperialists on one of the most important sectors of the anti-Soviet and counter-revolutionary front.

The tobacco-industry is the chief industry of Bulgaria. In 257 factories and workshops, engaged in working up the raw tobacco for export purposes, some 35,000 workers are employed, 61 per cent. of them being women. In the year 1926, the tobacco-workers represented about 40 per cent. of the total number of workers in Bulgaria. In 1928, the exportation of tobacco-products figured at 36 per cent. of the entire exports of the country. It is on this exportation that the stability of the Bulgarian currency mainly depends, while the tax revenue of the country is greatly dependent on the volume of tobacco-production. This explains the tremendous interest entertained in this issue by all capitalist circles with the Fascist Government at their head.

A great part of the tobacco-production is in the hands of a small number of foreign capitalists who are united in a powerful cartel and enjoy practically unlimited power in the country. The tobacco-capital, which is mainly French, enjoys the privileges of exterritoriality. The tobacco-magnates have no regard at all for the laws of the country; they do not recognise the workers' organisations and have introduced a regime of the most severe subjugation and cynical exploitation in the tobacco-industry.

The situation of the Bulgarian tobacco-workers is extremely hard. The minimum living wage has been officially established at 165 levas, but even the highly qualified tobacco-workers earn barely half, or possibly a third of, this minimum wage.

The tobacco-workers have at all times protested vehemently against their lot and have taken part in all revolutionary struggles. After the revolutionary events of 1922/23 (when they had attained the eight-hour day and the recognition of their trade unions) the revolutionary movement in Bulgaria was suppressed, the revolutionary workers' organisations were destroyed, and the Bulgarian proletariat in general and the tobacco-workers in particular lost all they had achieved, including even the eight-hour day.

On May 17th last, the present struggle commenced at Haskovo and in two weeks developed into a general strike of all tobacco-workers of the country.

The main demands advanced are as follows: A rise of wages by 30 or 40 per cent. and the introduction of the eight-hour day. The local authorities at first declared that they would remain "neutral" in regard to the struggle, but when they had received the necessary instructions from the Government they immediately began to figure as the agents of capitalism. Most of the strike-centres were placed under a state of siege; the strikers were not allowed to assemble and were subjected to a system of organised terrorism.

A pretext for these measures has already been found by the authorities, who declare the strike to have been proclaimed at the instigation of "Moscow" and of the Communist Party.

At the same time, a "Communist conspiracy" was discovered, and fresh arrests were made. The bourgeoisie itself is thus turning the economic fight into a political one.

The tobacco-magnates decline all mediation, even that of the State organs, and declare that the doors of the factories are open to all who are willing to work; the wages, however, must be such as the manufacturers choose to establish. The same principle was voiced, albeit in other words, by Burov, the Foreign Secretary, who is one of the main shareholders of the tobacco-trust. "The workers", he declares, "ought to give up the strike and leave the settlement of their disputes to the State (i. e. the capitalist interests)".

Willy-nilly, the strike will have to be given up — such is the decree of capitalist Bulgaria. As usual, the Social Democrats are contributing to the realisation of this aim. They incite the strikers against the Communist Party and cynically betray their partisanship for the bourgeoisie and the authorities by declaring that the strike can but end in defeat for the workers if they listen to the advice of the Communists. In this way the Social Democrats hope to gain over such of the tobacco-workers as are not class-conscious and to split up the united front of the strikers.

In Bulgaria there is no reformist organisation of tobacco-workers, but during the strike a reformist "community of tobacco-workers" suddenly made its appearance and is attempting to act in the name of the strikers. This is obviously a manoeuvre of the Amsterdam International, as was obviously also the "workers' delegation" which recently approached Burov. In the case of a defeat of this strike, which is being waged by class-conscious trade unions, the Bulgarian Mensheviks would apparently like to profit. Such is the line of action of the Amsterdam International in connection with the events in Bulgaria. The delegation of the Foodstuff-Workers' Trade Union of the Soviet Union, which at the session of the International Foodstuff-Workers' Congress at Stockholm censured the attitude of Amsterdam in regard to the Bulgarian tobacco-workers as treachery, was certainly not overstepping the mark.

The Bulgarian tobacco-workers, however, are firm and unanimous. Though the majority of the strikers are women and a great percentage of them is composed of Macedonian and Thracian fugitives, they follow the revolutionary traditions of the Bulgarian class trade unions and of the Communist Party. They are not to be intimidated by terrorism. They are backed up by the entire Bulgarian proletariat, which regards them as its vanguard and their struggle as the beginning of the general attack of the workers of Bulgaria on the bourgeoisie.

The agents of the tobacco-magnates desire to play off 200,000 small tobacco-planters against the tobacco-workers by means of the argument that the demand for higher wages must lead to a sinking of the raw-tobacco prices. This lie, however, has been refuted, and the tobacco-producers of the villages have joined the tobacco-workers in a united front against the tobacco-capitalists. The striking workers, moreover, are seconded by the international proletariat, especially by the proletariat of the Soviet Union.

The situation which has resulted from the Bulgarian tobacco-workers' strike has also in regard to Bulgaria confirmed the truth of the theses issued at the VI. Congress of the C. I. in regard to the nature of the third period of the post-war crisis. Class differences are constantly growing, and collisions between the classes get more and more violent, turning into a gigantic struggle between labour and capital and undermining the foundations of the capitalist State. The tobacco-workers' strike in Bulgaria also shows how rotten the stabilisation in that country really is. The same may be said of the other Balkan countries. Capitalist dictatorship — whether openly terrorist or of the outwardly "democratic", Fascist variety, serving the interests of the big capitalists and the imperialist Powers, — keeps the Balkans in a condition of constant economic and political crisis. It is bound to lead to great social upheavals. From this standpoint, the occurrences on the Balkans deserve the most serious attention of the revolutionary proletariat of the world.

ECONOMICS

The French Debt Problem.

By Gab (Paris).

The fundamental identity of the policy of French heavy industry and the policy of the Social Democracy was illustrated by two manifestos which appeared simultaneously, one at the Congress of the Republican Federation (Marin Group), and the other at the Congress of the French Socialist Party in Nancy.

The identity of the two was shown in connection with one of the most important present day problems which dominate the policy of French imperialism, i. e. the problem of the debts.

In April 1926 France concluded the so-called Mellon-Béranger Agreement with its two creditors Great Britain and the United States concerning the repayment of the French debts. According to these agreements France undertakes to pay its creditors the sum of 274 milliard paper Francs.

The Mellon-Béranger Agreements provide for the repayment of the French debts in a period of 62 years. The capital originally loaned to France was reduced by about 50%. During the first years of the agreement France had about 25 million dollars to pay. From 1931 to 1937 the sums payable reach from 30 to 60 million dollars and finally reach the sum of 125 million dollars. France must pay the United States a total sum of 6470 million dollars.

The French negotiators demanded a revision of the agreement "for the eventuality that the annual payments to be made from France should exceed its capacity to pay in view of possible events". The Americans refused to agree.

Like the Churchill-Caillaux Plan for the regulation of the French debts to Great Britain, the Mellon-Béranger Plan was concluded by the cartel government at a time when the French franc was steadily falling. In July 1926 Caillaux who was prime minister of the French government and the representative of the Banking group Lazard, ordered the appointment of a committee of experts to work out a financial program. One of the most important proposals of this committee was the immediate ratification of the debt agreements. Poincaré and Marin immediately began a demagogic campaign against these agreements, and the formation of the Cabinet of the "National Unity" was the result.

However, the opposition of a section of French capitalists to the ratification of the debt agreements was of course only a facade. A few months later the Poincaré government took an attitude in the debt question which showed very clearly its intentions: The government proposed in parliament that the debt payments should be made without parliamentary ratification, and for two years this has been the actual situation. The government has repeatedly tried to obtain the consent of parliament to the ratification of the agreements by a surprise move, but each time the government has retreated out of fear of a vote of no confidence. This situation has now become intolerable for three reasons:

1. The Experts Committee has now completed its work.
2. The payment of the amount agreed upon by the French government as compensation for the immense amount of stores etc., left by the American Army in France after the conclusion of the war, approximately 400 million dollars is drawing near. The ratification of the debt agreements does not mean the wiping out of the so-called American stores debt, but merely the inclusion of this debt into the general system of payments extending over 62 years.
3. The government desires the ratification of the Churchill-Caillaux Agreement before the British Finance Minister Snowden is able to put his expressed intention of revising the Balfour Note into operation.

These are the reasons which cause the government of the "National Unity" to desire the ratification of the debt agreements so urgently, the same agreements which it pretended to fight against in 1926.

What is the attitude of the Marin Group on the one hand this situation, and of the Socialists on the other? A few days ago the Marin Group which holds the greatest weight in the government of the "National Unity", solemnly reiterated its opposition to the ratification of the debt agreements. The Socialist parliamentary fraction has also declared its opposition to the ratification, but this declaration is not worth the breath which it was made. This is proved by the resolution adopted in Rouen and by the speech of Leon Blum in Nancy.

In Rouen the Republican Federation adopted a resolution about which "Le Temps" wrote without irony that it had solved the difficult problem facing it with elegance". In fact, this resolution permits the deputies of the Republican Federation in the French parliament to ratify both debt agreements and also the Young Plan in their full extent.

The Socialist Party Congress in Nancy did still more, for it recognised the inalienable character of the imperialist debts. Leon Blum, who continually stressed the claims of his party to governmental power, said the following with regard to the debt problem:

"I would not advise you to say that we owe nothing to America. I do not think that we should reject the debts upon principle. If we regard the question from this standpoint, I for my part, would even say that we are just as bound to pay our debts to America, as Germany is bound to pay her debts to us."

The Socialists are also in agreement with the Republican Federation concerning the inclusion of a "security clause" in the debt agreements. Such a clause would mean to agree to the permanent right of the American creditors to interfere in the affairs of the debtor country, that the creditors would have the right to convince themselves of the correctness or otherwise of possible French objections by altering the French Budget, by determining its income and expenditure and, in order to carry out these measures more easily, they could establish a sort of guardianship and set up a finance dictatorship in order, as in all countries under the yoke of Anglo-Saxon capital, to open up new sources of wealth from the pockets of the workers.

It must not be forgotten that Ford commenced his offensive three months ago. He has issued 520,000 shares at 100 Francs each, and with this has strengthened his weak position in France and now faces General Motors upon the French market. The two protagonists are looking for allies. According to the information of the "Journal de Finance" it can be taken with a fair amount of certainty that General Motors have allied themselves with Citroen, i. e. with the Bank Lazard Frères, the same bank which commenced a furious offensive in February against the Bank Oustric, the protector of the automobile works Peugeot, and almost forced it into bankruptcy. The Bank Oustric is now the agency which is working behind the scenes to place the Ford shares in the French market. The agreement between Ford and the Peugeot firm is already concluded, and the agreement between the Citroen company and General Motors is about to be concluded.

One thing is certain, the two great American rivals are attempting to exploit the fierce competition which exists in Europe between the big firms.

The struggle between Lazard-Citroen and Oustric-Peugeot was so severe two months ago that the government was compelled to intervene in order to prevent disturbances on the money market. What will the situation be in the near future when the wirepullers on the other side of the Atlantic set their French puppets into operation on behalf of American interests? It is characteristic that now that this offensive has developed, the Socialists appear on the scene in order to reach subordination to the dictates of the dollar.

The touching unanimity of the decisions of Rouen and Nancy deserves to be stressed. It justifies once again the tactic introduced by the Communist Party — Class against Class! It stresses the urgency of the proletarian struggle for the wiping out of all imperialist debts.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

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

By D. Manuilski.

(Conclusion.)

III.

The Plenary Session of the E. C. of the C. I. will have to pay special attention to the question of the radicalisation of the masses, to the causes of this radicalisation, to its speed and to its forms, because the tasks of the C. I., particularly the tasks of the Communists upon the field of trade union work, can only be properly mapped out in connection with a correct answer to these questions.

The leftward swing of the working class is connected with the character of the Third Period. As is generally known, the economic basis of the reformist influence upon the working class was the "Rate of Super-Profit" obtained by the capitalist Great Powers either in the colonies or through the utilisation of their privileged monopolist positions. These super-profits enabled the bourgeoisie of countries like Great Britain, to favour the aristocracy of labour, to grant it to a certain extent a privileged position, to corrupt it with concessions which nourish reformist illusions within the ranks of the working class. This represented the roots of British reformism before the war.

Here one must seek for an explanation of the fact that the British working class movement which experienced the Chartist period, was during the course of decades so bound to the triumphal chariot of the bourgeoisie that it could not even boast of the liberal reformist Labour Party which now appears as the third party of the British bourgeoisie. The economic decline of Great Britain which was conditioned on the one hand by the loss of Great Britain's monopoly position on the world market and on the other hand by the decrease of its capital export, destroyed the privileged situation of the British aristocracy of labour, and with this commenced the leftward development of the working class in Great Britain.

The transfer of the main weight of the world economic system to the United States which commenced to show itself at the beginning of the 20th century, the tremendous profits of America during the world war, the increased export of American capital, and the possession of a type of economic organisation having its own raw material sources, and giving the United States an extremely favoured position as against other capitalist countries thus making it possible for the United States capitalist also to obtain "a super-profit rate" — all this caused the American aristocracy of labour, in the tow of their own capitalists, to take up the position occupied before the war by the "non-commissioned officer" of British capitalism.

The demoralisation and corruption of the upper section of the working class did not take place in Great Britain and America alone, but found there their clearest expression. In the other capitalist countries of Europe the bourgeoisie also worked, although not with such rich reserves as in Great Britain and America, to weaken the class-consciousness of the workers with measures upon the field of social legislation, insignificant partial concessions of an economic character and the use of the corruptest elements amongst the workers to fill small leading posts. In "normal" periods, capitalism succeeded in awakening the impression that the basis of reformism was extremely broad, that the situation of the workers would steadily improve, and that the working class would develop into socialism without crises and without revolution. It was upon this policy of corruption, that the international Social Democracy grew and strengthened. During the course of decades, it persuaded the workers that the achievements of the proletariat were due to the efforts of the Social Democracy.

The first breach in the influence of the aristocracy of labour upon the working class movement was made by the war with its terrible consequences for millions of working-class families. Impoverished and ruined Europe became the first arena of

revolutionary explosions. In connection with the general decay of the capitalist economic system, the radicalisation of the workers took on catastrophic forms for the bourgeoisie. It was no slow growth of the working class movement as we see it to-day, but a radicalisation of the masses which only occurs in periods of an immediately revolutionary situation. The speed of the radicalisation was so great that days counted as months and even years. Instead of slow processes, often invisible to the naked eye inside the Social Democratic Party, as to-day, at that time great masses of members split away. The class conflicts took on the form of open armed collisions.

In this period of the tremendous advance of the masses, the working class wrested from the bourgeoisie most important concessions which the capitalists of all countries and their servants, for instance Cassel, at present declare to be the cause of the disorganisation and instability of the capitalist economic system. This was the first serious blow directed against world reformism, but it was not the decisive blow. After the revolutionary wave had ebbed, the majority of the working class still remained under the influence of the Social Democracy. The task which was not concluded in the years 1918 to 1920, must now be fulfilled in the third period, under other and new conditions. This task of winning the majority of the working class, that is, its most decisive sections, for the Communist Party, will have to be carried out in the beginning under conditions which are not those of an immediately revolutionary situation such as existed in Germany in 1918 and 1919.

But this is not the only difference in the situation. The third period is also characterised by the fact that in connection with the growing contradictions of capitalism, the basis of reformism has been limited to the utmost. We have already seen, how narrow the basis of reformism is in the colonies. It is true, with the assistance of brutal repression, Kuomintang trade unions can be formed, as shown by the example of Tchiang Kai-shek, fascist trade unions as in Italy or individual trade union leaders corrupted like the dictator in Chili, Ibanez, does, but there is no economic basis for the growth of reformism in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

Upon colonial ground, Menshevism is a weak and parasitic growth which will never bear fruit. In the capitalist countries, of course, the situation is different. Here the bourgeoisie has not exhausted all its possibilities for the formation of an aristocracy of labour. In countries like America the economic basis for the corruption of the upper sections of the working class is still fairly intact. It is an undeniable fact, however, that the general tendency of the capitalist economic system is to limit this basis. The law of the falling tendency of the rate of profit plus the bitter struggle for markets, compelled the bourgeoisie to seek ways to cheapen the cost of production. It helps itself with the capitalist rationalisation whose whole weight rests upon the shoulders of the working class. However, the capitalist rationalisation lessens the share of variable capital and demands an increase of the share of constant capital. In other words, the capitalist rationalisation intensifies the contradictions which the bourgeoisie strives to solve by oppressing the proletarian masses.

The extremely intense competitive struggle will even compel countries like the United States to force down the living conditions of their workers to the level of the European workers. America, which entered the world arena of economic expansion later than the other countries, has to use its elbows energetically. Its export meets with customs barriers in Europe, the rationalisation of European industry and with successful "competition" in the sinking of wages, particularly in Great Britain. Its capital export in the form of the means of production, builds native industries in those countries in which it is invested. Under these circumstances the hegemony of America is not only inevitably connected with war, but also inevitably connected with the destruction of the privileged situation of the American aristocracy of labour.

It must also be remembered that the capitalist rationalisation has reached bounds where its further development is extremely difficult. The bourgeoisie has, however, one supplementary measure in reserve in order not to be crushed by the world competition: further attacks upon wages. All these processes are developing slowly and not suddenly. They fill up

the historic stage between two waves of the revolution. "Such perspectives" are not impossible in the third period as the consequences of inevitably sharpened forms of economic crisis and of wars, but possible and probable are also longer perspectives in connection with a reduction in the speed of the radicalisation of the working class.

Quite apart from the fact that the capitalist rationalisation causes the formation of a tremendous section of unemployed workers who represent particularly good ground for revolutionary agitation, it also produces structural alterations in the composition of the working class. It wipes out the dividing line between qualified and unqualified workers. It has been ascertained that in the Ford factories 45% of the workers receive only one day's training. The rationalisation shakes the foundations of the old aristocracy of the qualified workers and places them on a level with unqualified workers. Certainly it also results in the formation of a larger section of leading personnel, of "sergeants" of production. This circumstance will, of course, make it possible for the bourgeoisie to utilise this section as a counter-weight to the rest of the working masses. The general principle under the conditions of capitalist rationalisation, however, will be that the decisive sections of the working class must descend to a lower stage in the social scale. The old qualified workers will have to retire and make room for unqualified workers (youths, women) in production.

Between this new unorganised mass and the old trade union organised sections a barrier develops. The reformist trade union sections are educated in the traditions of the aristocracy of labour. Towards the new masses they play the role of a conservative factor. The unorganised sections enter production during the declining stage of capitalism. Under the circumstances of the rise of the working class movement, these sections are instinctively more revolutionary than the workers trained by the reformist bureaucracy in other methods of fighting. They are organised in stable reformist trade unions. This fact makes clear the significance of the problem of the unorganised sections of the whole of the Red trade union movement. The experience of the recent strikes in the Ruhr district, in Lodz, and numerous strikes in France (Loire Department, Rouen) shows what general revolutionary material is often represented by those sections of the working class which are unorganised.

At the same time the fact that the employers are quite able to replace qualified workers by new and unqualified workers and that a great economic reserve army exists, increases the difficulties of the economic struggles of the proletariat. The employer can permit political considerations to play a role in choosing his workers. This possibility is being utilised on a large scale by Fascism in Italy, Poland, Germany, France, Austria and other countries. This is one of the factors of "factory fascism", a certain strengthening of fascist influence in the factories (the supporters of Jaworowski in Poland, the attempts in Austria) despite the general radicalisation of the working class. The radicalisation of the masses does not exclude the possibility of the formation of little fascist groups in the factories by means of sharp measures of oppression. This fact causes many workers to draw incorrect conclusions and makes them tend to doubt the existence of the process of radicalisation altogether. Here is the key to the recognition of why the reorganisation of our Communist Parties upon the basis of factory groups is so difficult. Communists are hunted out of the factories. The bourgeoisie makes the factory the main arena of its class struggle.

The radicalisation of the working class is also increased by the changes in the respective significance of individual branches of industry. The unequal development of capitalism is shown not only in the altered relation of forces of the national sections of the world economic system (Great Britain, America) but also in the role of the individual industries. Certain branches of industry are gradually declining (world crisis of the coal mining industry, developing crisis of the textile industry) whilst other industries which not long ago played an insignificant rôle in the balance of world economy, are now developing rapidly (the chemical industry, the electrical industry, the automobile industry, the production of artificial silk). The regrouping of the productive forces and the territorial economic centres also results in a regrouping of the working class. It is a source of the extremely unstable situation of the working masses.

IV.

In what forms does the radicalisation of the international working class take place? Does this process develop in all capitalist countries in the same fashion? ~~Certainly not.~~ The tempo of the radicalisation of the working masses in the various countries depends upon the totality of the existing economic and political conditions. In the colonies the radicalisation of the working masses is influenced by imperialist oppression and feudal relations which revolutionise the peasantry and therefore create at a definite stage an atmosphere of sympathy with the struggle of the proletariat.

In India, for instance, where at the present time the radicalisation of the masses is proceeding especially quickly, the connection of modern capitalist methods of rationalisation with methods of exploitation taken from the period of the primitive accumulation of capital, is of decisive importance. Considered metaphorically, the modern moving band system together with the rags of the Indian worker produce in the last resort such heroic movements as the strike of the Bombay textile workers which has now lasted for months. In the countries of South America where the radicalisation of the masses develops parallel with the development and existence of an immediately revolutionary situation in a number of these countries, where the civil war already has its traditions, the tempo of radicalisation is determined by the inter-relation of three various socio-political phenomena: the remnants of slavery with all its terrible forms of exploitation, feudal relations and modern capitalist methods of exploitation upon the basis of capitalist rationalisation.

In the capitalist countries of Europe the speed of working class radicalisation is also varied. It does not develop in a straight line. In countries like Germany and France the masses are coming under the influence of the Communist Party. The situation in Great Britain, however, is different. The Sixth World Congress pointed out that the radicalisation was taking place in two parallel processes: increasing influence of the Communists but also the numerical and external growth of the influence of the Social Democracy. The parallel nature of these two processes is temporary and results from the twofold character of the "stabilisation" of capitalism.

The preponderance of the elements of the decline of capitalist economy over the elements of stabilisation in the third period will inevitably lead to a regrouping of the relation of forces inside the working class in favour of the Communist Parties. In the consciousness of the working masses, these processes will develop as crises of the confidence in the Social Democracy. We have seen a crisis amongst the German workers, who previously followed the Social Democrats. Such crises are also making themselves evident in other countries. The Social Democratic and reformist apparatus can put the brake upon this process of decline for a time, but the decline is already very definite.

The Social Democracy was the party which had the majority of the workers under its influence in a number of countries. At the last elections the Labour Party in Great Britain received over 8 million votes (over a third and less than a half of the total poll). At various stages of its development, the Social Democracy formed governments. It deceives the working masses with the legend that its victory is an expression of the power of the proletariat even within the framework of capitalist society. It describes the coalition policy as the way to Socialism.

To-day the decisive moment has come when, upon the basis of post-war experience, the international working class raises the question: What advantages has the working class had from the fact that in various countries the Social Democracy was the party of the majority of the working class? The July insurrection in Vienna which broke out against the will of the strongest Social Democracy, signalled the beginning of a revision by the masses, of their attitude towards the Social Democracy. The insurrection showed that in the ranks of the Social Democracy there are broad sections of the workers who vote for the Social Democracy and who perhaps honestly believe that the Communists are sectarians but who are nevertheless prepared to apply methods of the revolutionary class struggle only recommended by Communists. In numerous countries we

are about to see the decision of the historical struggle with the Social Democracy for the broad masses of the working class (in France, in Czechoslovakia, and even in Poland, the country of the white terror). This question faces, above all, the Communist Party of Germany which is nearer to its practical solution than any other section of the Communist International.

The winning of the decisive sections of the working class is today no longer an abstract problem. It is not a matter of the future, it is an acute political task and unless it is solved, it is useless to speak of the approach of an immediately revolutionary situation. Hundreds of thousands of workers voted for the C. P. of Germany during the recent shop councils elections not only because they had convinced themselves of the development of the Social Democracy into an active agent of capitalism, not only because they had convinced themselves that the Social Democracy misused the will of the majority of the working class, but also because they recognised that their own forces had grown and that only the Communist Party was capable of leading the proletariat against capitalism.

Our Party can only win the broad masses of the working class through great class struggles. These struggles will become the decisive method for the winning of the majority of the working class by the Communist Parties. The example of Jilek in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, who believed that one could win the majority of the working class with methods and measures differing little from those of the reformists, and who thought that the influence of the Communist Party could be saved up like small change for a time of need, and that great class struggles must be avoided up to the last moment, showed all sections of the C. I. the necessity of activating their policy.

Only an active revolutionary policy can win the confidence of the broad masses of the toilers for the Communist Party. We shall not lose courage because of the fact that during the recent British elections the Communists only received 50,000 votes. These 50,000 workers who voted against the Labour Party in a country where every vote given for the C. P. was described as increasing Baldwin's chances, where the working masses believed that by giving their votes for the Labour Party, they would overthrow the government which had throttled the general strike, crushed the miners and passed the anti-trade union bill, in such a country these 50,000 workers represent the forces of a future great Communist Party. To-morrow, after they have seen MacDonald and Thomas at work, the British workers, like the German workers who have learned from the policy of Mueller and Zoergiebel, will also find their way to the only proletarian party which stands for the revolution and for Communism.

We know that the formation of a Government of the Labour Party by MacDonald can temporarily nourish democratic and pacifist illusions. Some people are already speaking of the possibility of a repetition of the "pacifist era" of 1925, a decline of the fascist tendencies, a lessening in the danger of war, etc. However, it must be said loudly and clearly that any second edition of the "pacifist era" of 1925 on a more or less international scale is quite impossible. The intensification of the class struggle upon an international scale will effectually prevent this. The government of MacDonald will be an episode of short duration. The inevitable differentiation in the conglomerate block into which the Labour Party has developed, the development to the right of all the companions of the noble Lords, etc. at present in the Labour Party, including the "leaders" of the workers, and the development of the workers themselves to the left in a situation of intensified class conflicts, will cause the fall of this government in the none too distant future. It will be more right-wing and more reactionary than the first MacDonald government both with regard to home affairs and with regard to foreign and colonial affairs.

Governments of such a type cannot postpone either the historic dates of wars or of revolutionary movements, they cannot create either a political or economic stability for the regime which produced them. They are themselves the result of the instability of the whole existing political and economic system. Such governments are destined to carry out those tasks which under the given concrete circumstances are beyond the power of the ruling classes to perform. The bourgeoisie will strive with the assistance of MacDonald to lull the work-

ing class not only of Great Britain but of the other capitalist countries into a false sense of security, possibly by recognising the Soviet Union, by coming to some agreement with America in the question of naval armaments and by a number of alterations in the anti-trade union law. The government of MacDonald is a government of war and reaction, and war is being prepared under the mask of pacifist and democratic phrases with means and methods "acceptable" to the working class.

The longer such a government exists, the more thoroughly it will expose itself. The speed at which the British workers will free themselves from their illusions, will depend to a great extent upon the energy and capacity of the Communist Party of Great Britain. The small British C. P. will have the possibility of making a great step forward on its way to becoming a mass party and winning the leadership of the radicalising British working class movement.

In a number of countries our sections are still small. However, the support of those masses who are fighting all over the world with our revolutionary methods, often without having heard a word about Lenin's lesson makes us strong. The Communist International is already a power which can and must influence the relation of class forces in favour of the proletariat by the organisation and preparation of great class struggles.

To-day, when the capitalist world is inevitably driving towards new wars, the Communist Parties must throw the whole weight of their influence into the scales. This is the significance of the International Red Anti-War Day on the 1st of August. By international demonstrations on this day the proletariat must show the bourgeoisie that a repetition of the 4th August is no longer possible and that by provoking war the bourgeoisie prepares civil war against itself. We know the difficulties with which a simultaneous action of the working class against war will meet. The bourgeoisie will mobilise all its forces to prevent it. The Communists, however, would fail in their elementary duty if under the present circumstances, when the horizon is already lit up by the bloody lightning of coming wars, they did not call to the working masses: "Force the bourgeoisie now, immediately, before it is too late, to take your increased strength into account!"

We must also approach the question of our trade union tactics from the point of view of our most important task, the winning of the decisive sections of the working class. We remain the supporters of the unity of the trade union movement, but we do not fear any threats of disruption. We know that if the Communists were about to win the most important positions in the trade unions, the reformist bureaucracy would not hesitate to disrupt the unions. (A proof for this was the disruption of the Basle Trades Council.)

One cannot imagine a struggle of the Communists to win the majority in the trade unions taking place under idyllic conditions in which the cunning and treacherous reformist bureaucracy would permit the left-wing opposition to overwhelm them upon the basis of the statutes and of inner trade union democracy. Our struggle with the Social Democracy will end in civil war. Those who hope to intimidate the Communists with threats of disruption (Walcher, Enderle, etc.) show in the trade union question that they expect a peaceful development into the revolution.

The Communists must, however, oppose the formation of parallel organisations out of small groups of workers expelled by the reformist bureaucracy. Such parallel organisations would only fulfil the wishes of the reformist bureaucracy. Such conservative organisations cannot possibly decide our struggle against the reformists for the majority of the working class. The decision will have to be given by organisations upon a different scale. These tendencies, however, are dangerous because they might cause our small sections, having an insignificant radius of influence, to develop along the line of least resistance. The greatest damage would be done if small Communist Parties, as for instance the Austrian or the Belgian parties, in order to appear arch-left, and under the pretext that such expelled workers must be organised, commenced a policy of founding parallel trade union organisations. This would be absolute opportunism, and would represent a capi-

tulation before the difficulties. This path is full of dangers for communists for other reasons also.

If the principle is correct that we are approaching an intensification of the class struggle everywhere, then it is obvious that the bourgeoisie will strive to place the Red Trade Unions upon the same basis as the Communist Parties with regard to their open existence. (See Roumania.) The Communists would be poor strategists if, in the period of the preparation for decisive struggles, they cut off their path in the open trade union arena. Here the question of the speed of the radicalisation of the working class is decisive. Or in one situation can we overstep the existing trade union and that is, when the radicalisation of the masses takes such energetic forms that the overwhelming majority of the organised workers follow the opposition. The situation, however, not yet so mature that the majority could drive the reformist bureaucracy which is supported in its struggle against communist influence by the apparatus of the bourgeois State. If that were the case now, then we would be in a period immediately before the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship, in a period which would speedily develop into civil war.

The Communists who to-day remain in the reformist trade unions, must increase their activity tremendously, must fight ruthlessly against all the tendencies of trade-union legalism, and, when the circumstances demand it, violate the formal limits of the trade union statutes, always remembering that the highest test of their activity is the interests of the proletarian revolution. Only by such an active revolutionary policy will the Communists be able to consolidate their influence in the trade unions and not run the risk of lagging behind the growing strike wave. The extending strike struggle of the proletariat is creating all the preliminary conditions for the conquest of the majority in the trade unions by the Communists. In past years the situation for the fulfilment of this task was never so favourable as it is now, and this favourable situation will guarantee that the Communist Party will fulfil this task in the Third Period.

V.

Let us now deal with the tasks of the C. I. These tasks result from the aim which has been set, i. e. the winning of the decisive sections of the working class and the winning of the sympathy and support of the broadest masses of the toilers. We must approach the carrying out of these tasks in a different manner to that of the period of the Third Congress of the C. I. The old forms of the application of the united-front tactics, the form of "Open Letters" to the leaders of large and small organisations, have become antiquated. People like the Italian conciliator Serra and the German right-wingers, who would drag us back to the period of the Third Congress, fail to understand the elementary truth that the forms for the application of the united-front tactics worked out by the Third and Fourth Congresses of the C. I. applied to the period of the decline of the revolutionary wave of 1918/19. To-day the forms must be determined by the rise of the international working class movement. That is the fundamental difference in the situation.

The contention that the Social Democracy did not alter its character after the 4th August 1914, that no more negative evolution of the Social Democracy commenced after the rôle of Noske-Scheidemann in the years 1918/19, idealises the Social Democracy which is at present allied with the trusts. On the 4th August the Social Democracy declared itself in favour of the war and supported it actively. It had had no part in the preparation of the war prior to the 4th August however. To-day on the other hand the Social Democracy of the trusts, of the epoch of "economic democracy", is an active agent in the preparation of war. The Social Democracy of Noske and Scheidemann suppressed the revolt of the workers and sailors in blood no less brutally than Zörgiebel shot down unarmed workers. The Social Democracy of Noske and Scheidemann, however, did not dare to abolish the eight-hour day and the social legislation, and to oppose with cynicism the most moderate economic demands of the proletariat.

The Social Democracy of heavy industry in the Ruhr district is already risking it. Despite a number of deficiencies in their carrying out, the shop council elections in Germany can be excellent examples of the new forms of the united-

front tactics. They refuted the slanders of the right-wingers concerning the alleged abandonment of the united-front tactics by the C. I., and showed how great masses of the proletariat can be drawn into this front under the influence of the Communist Parties with correct revolutionary tactics and the exposure of all opportunist prevarications.

The first task of our sections is to learn the lessons of the C. P. of Germany and to extend and deepen these forms of the application of the united-front tactics. We must take into account the concrete experience which other Communist Parties have made in this connection. The experience of the French comrades is particularly instructive. A few days before the 1st May they held two general conferences in the Paris district of the metal workers and the woodworkers in order to organise the May-Day demonstration. The result was that on the 1st May 80% of the metal workers and 100% of the woodworkers went on strike. This form of the mobilisation of the masses must be urgently recommended to all Communist Parties for the preparation of the demonstrations on the 1st August. If the Communist Parties seriously wish to make the Anti-War Day a tremendous success, then they must cover the whole country with a network of August committees elected in the factories.

The solution of our most important task, the successful struggle for the masses, determines our attitude towards the right-wingers and the conciliators. We fight against these groups because they hinder us in the performance of our task. They opened their campaign against the C. I. with the slogan: "Long live the United-Front Tactics for the Winning of the Masses!", and ended as little sectarian groups cut off from the main stream of the international working class movement (Brandler, Hais, Jilek). They are in the way of the Communist Parties and hinder their work by expressing the tendencies to passivity, legalism and backwardness in certain sections of the working class which have not yet flung off the apathy of the stabilisation period, in political platforms.

These tendencies are more widespread than the right-wing and conciliators' groups, and inside the Communist Parties they are more extensive than these groups. Occasionally they appear, externally, in very radical forms. When for instance the Central Committee of the C. P. of Germany appealed to the Berlin workers for a mass strike as a protest against the May-Day events, voices were heard demanding: "Give us arms, then we can talk about protest demonstrations!" In the overwhelming majority of cases however, these tendencies in the Communist Parties expressed themselves as open opportunist errors (the proposal of the C. C. of the C. P. of Switzerland for the formation of an electoral block with the Social Democracy immediately after the VI. World Congress, the incorrect estimation of the rôle of the Polish Socialist Party by some comrades who even stand upon the line of the VI. World Congress etc.).

The struggle against the right-wing deviation and against the conciliatory attitude towards it, and the merciless exposure of opportunist partial errors even amongst the supporters of the line of the C. I., means to overcome the passivity and indifference in certain sections of the workers. Only by exposing right-wing opportunism and the conciliatory attitude towards it, will we be able to fight successfully against the "left-wing" Social Democracy, which is the most dangerous and damaging kind of reformism and which saves the party of Noske and Zörgiebel with pseudo-radical phrases. Without first of all disposing of the right-wingers and conciliators as political tendencies, the Communist Parties cannot prepare their ranks for the great decisive struggles and cannot move forward swiftly. The only way to dispose of these tendencies, however, is by a broad application of the united-front tactics from below embracing not only the organised, but also the unorganised workers.

The question of the revolutionary united front is of the greatest practical importance for the joint struggle of the proletariat and the peasantry in numerous countries. There are countries where the civil war continues almost without interruption, where history is an uninterrupted chain of such wars. These are the countries of South America. In a number of these countries, for instance in Ecuador and Columbia, one can speak of an immediately revolutionary situation. Here the question

of the united-front tactics is the question of the leadership of the struggle of the peasant masses by the proletariat. The Brandlerist errors express themselves here in a diminution of the leading rôle of the working class. Therefore in these countries the Communists must above all abandon the idea of a permanent workers and peasants block which represents nothing else but the slogan of workers and peasants parties rejected by the Sixth World Congress.

The formation and strengthening of independent proletarian parties is the best way of ensuring that the tactics of the united front will not develop into the hegemony of a few petty-bourgeois politicians who appropriate the right to represent broad masses of the peasantry, and that the civil war developing on the basis of a broad workers and peasants front, does not degenerate into the 101st Mexican generals revolution. The altered situation in the colonies makes the formation of Communist Parties in all colonial countries a particularly important and acute question. Our experience has shown that only such Parties can fructify the national-revolutionary movements upon a class basis. This question is most acute in India where up to the present there has been no independent Communist Party. The struggle for the winning of the masses of the workers who are already in movement cannot be taken up without some point around which the pioneers of the struggle for the social revolution can rally.

The question of the reduction of the disproportion between the political influence of the Communist Parties and their organisational strength, must also be approached from the standpoint of our decisive task, the struggle for the leadership of the working class movement. This disproportion is not only the result of objective conditions, the "stabilisation period", the persecutions and repression, it is also the result of the insufficient ideological content of the life of our Party organisations. The fluctuation in the membership of the Parties, shows that our organisations and our factory groups are unable to utilise the revolutionary enthusiasm of new sections of the workers coming to the Communist Parties. The enlivenment and renewal of the activity of the factory groups, the organisation of the factory groups in such a fashion that they are able to react to the demands of the broadest non-Party masses, and the permanent winning of each new worker member for the Party, means to dispose of half this "disproportion" immediately.

We must abolish the purely formal attitude to our tasks, the self-satisfaction, the hard and fast bureaucracy of some of our groups, the practice of stewing in their own juice etc., and must educate them to energetic initiative and activity. In the "stabilisation period" a membership was formed, particularly in the smaller Parties, reminiscent of an exclusive caste which patiently waited for better days to dawn and fatalistically declared that it was impossible to run their heads through brick walls (Spain, Austria etc.). These memberships are slothful and without backbone, infected with the spirit of pusillanimity. With such fossilised troops we shall be able neither to win the decisive sections of the working class nor win the leading rôle in the working class movement.

The problem of the backbone of our Parties is at present the most important task. In numerous strikes (in the Ruhr district, in France, etc., quite apart from the strike in the Czech textile industry) it was shown that our old membership was far behind the non-Party masses with regard to its political level, its spirit and its fighting capacity.

The greatest possible attention of the Communist Parties must be directed towards selecting the best elements in the old membership and then extending them with fresh forces won in the process of the class struggle. We need a new type of Party official in the factories, a type free all petty-bourgeois prejudices and from all the old methods of Social Democratic agitation and propaganda, a type which does not let itself be misled by the false consideration that "under the conditions which exist in our country", the "Russian" methods are not always advisable. Into the factories! Every factory a fortress of the Communists! This is the fighting slogan of the day. The lessons learned by the C. P. of Germany from the May-Day events, when it succeeded in leading 200,000 workers to demonstrate on the streets despite the prohibition, but, in consequence of our weakness in the factories, was unable to

organise a sufficiently powerful mass strike after demonstrators had been shot down, these lessons must be taken to heart by all the sections of the C. I.

In numerous countries our parties are more like circles of professional politicians, more like political clubs, than organisations of Communists from the factories. They lead a life isolated from the factories. This must all be altered radically. The decisive verdict upon the worth of a Party member, his devotion, activity and capacity, as a Party official, must not be his oratorical capacities, or his readiness to discuss political subjects with good friends, but the verdict must be decided from the point of view of how many new members he has won for the Party in his factory, what mass work he has performed in the factory in order to increase the confidence of the workers in the Party. In a number of illegal Parties a type of "communist for personal use" has arisen, a type which appeals to conspirative considerations in order to do no work of any kind. Such Communists are at the cross-roads of their final breach with the Party. In Austria there are Party members who play a leading rôle in the Party and who have never been victimised in the factories. One cannot say that this is the best proof of their activity.

Apart from the work in the factories the Communist Parties must carry on an active policy towards the unemployed workers. The work among these workers must be closely connected with the general movement of the working class. The conferences and congresses of the unemployed in Germany and the British unemployed march upon London must be studied and applied on an enlarged and international scale. Such a movement of the unemployed could be given an international character by organising a march of the unemployed workers upon the 1st August in various countries in connection with the Anti-War Day.

The line of our struggle for the leading rôle in the world movement of the working class must find its expression upon the field of inner-Party politics in the liquidation of the fractional groups which formed themselves inside the Communist Parties during the "stabilisation period" in the life of the C. I. The unity of the Communist Parties, their bolshevist amalgamation as the expression of their united will to struggle as the advance guard of the working class, is one of the greatest achievements of the C. I. The C. I. is not a mechanical linking up of "autonomous" national sections, it is an united communist world party.

In the past the existence of groups of such a nature was inevitably conditioned by the bolshevisation process of the Communist Parties. The fight of the left-wing groups against the Social Democratic remnants in the Parties played a great and positive rôle. In a number of Parties however, the fractional groupings remained rigid even after this process was essentially at an end. The split-up nature of the communist movement promoted their maintenance. Under the circumstances in which the overwhelming majority of the Party has become the arena of a struggle against opportunist deviations, the fractional groups have become a reactionary factor hindering the development of the Communist Parties.

Fractonalism degenerated into an unprincipled struggle of groups (America). Occasionally the fractional groups reflected the split-up nature of the State (Balkans) or the semi-feudalist conditions of a struggle between individual provinces (Spain, Barcelona against Madrid). Upon the whole they have become a hindrance to the conquest of the world, they conserve a deleterious bureaucracy and prevent, as in Poland for instance, any self-criticism of the errors of the Party. Individual groups bound by fractional discipline conceal the errors of their own fraction and exaggerate the errors of the other groups. The Communist Parties can only grow by honest bolshevist self-criticism of their own mistakes.

We have not dealt especially with the tasks set by the Sixth World Congress which still remain in force (struggle against war, against the consequences of the capitalist rationalisation etc.). The most important duty of all sections of the C. I. is not to find new tasks at every Plenary Session, but to work persistently for the carrying out of those tasks which have not yet been performed.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Coming Pacific Trade Union Congress.

By A. Lozovsky.

On the 15th of August this Congress is to meet in Vladivostok where it will summarise the results of the two years' activities of the Pacific Secretariat which was set up in Hankow at the Conference held there towards the end of May 1927.

During these two years big events have taken place on the shores of the Pacific. When the Pacific Conference opened in Hankow on May 20th, the Chinese Revolution was still moving forward. It is true that there were already serious symptoms of an onrushing counter-revolution, and the treachery of the Left-Wing Kuomintang was clearly taking shape, but at the time in question the "national-revolutionary" Government was still in existence in Hankow and screening its counter-revolutionary preparations under a froth of revolutionary phraseology. Within a month after the Hankow Conference the "national-revolutionary" Government revealed its true counter-revolutionary features. There began a period of bitter persecution against the labour-peasant movement throughout the length and breadth of China, a time of mass executions and the shooting of the finest fighters the working class has ever produced. This was followed by a number of revolts of which the most important was the Canton uprising. These insurrections were crushed and, along with the imperialists, the Chinese militarists regained their old position.

Deep underground they drove the labour movement. But soon as the revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants was broken up the united front of the militarists at once collapsed, and in China to-day a fierce civil war is raging. The different military groupings having the backing of the various imperialist powers (Great Britain, the United States and Japan).

These two years have been years of bitter experiences for China's working class movement. In spite of the physical extermination of tens of thousands of workers and peasants, the revolutionary movement is not dying down. It keeps breaking out, now here, now there. The trade unions continue to exist and fight from underground, and the Communist Party has not laid its weapons aside, but is carrying on with its great work of organising the masses for the struggles that lie ahead of them. But if it seemed in the middle of 1927 that it was only a matter of months ere a new wave of revolution would rise, to-day we are bound to recognise that at that time we underestimated the extent of the defeat suffered. The worker and peasant masses were weakened by the brutal blood-bath, and the help given by the United States and the other imperialists enabled the Chinese militarists and bourgeoisie to consolidate their victory for the time being.

This break up of the Chinese labour movement could not fail to hit the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, as well as seeing that the Secretariat, working in China, was compelled owing to this reaction to act in underground conditions and was not in the position to carry out to the full, as far as China was concerned, those tasks laid upon it by the Conference.

Yet in spite of the tremendous difficulties it had to face the Pacific Secretariat has rendered yeoman service to the Chinese trade union movement by fighting both against the "Futurism" of adventurists and Right-Wing deviations, by disentangling and straightening the policy to be followed and rallying round the banner of the revolutionary class struggle all the genuinely revolutionary and class-conscious elements of the Chinese trade union movement.

As in China, so in Japan the labour movement has seen stormy times during these two years. The Japanese bourgeoisie have begun to apply purely Chinese methods to the labour movement: murdering leaders, breaking up organisations, and introducing terrorism in their system of administration. The dissolution of the Hiogikai, the break up of various trade unions, and the arrests and murders of a large number of leaders have not given the results expected. In Japan to-day the class struggle is getting steadily more acute. Dispute after dispute comes along and strike follows strike. The labour movement is growing, and the will too of the workers to fight is growing, as is, too, their urge to unite their forces.

Despite the refined methods used for crushing the labour movement, methods which are a combination of reformist corruption and police provocation, shooting of working class fighters from behind and open terrorism, the revolutionary wing of the labour movement has not been crushed entirely, and the working class of Japan is taking counter-action in reply to the onslaught of the bourgeoisie. Many of the strikes called by the workers have been of a most stubborn character. Japan's working class movement is smashing down the barriers of the reaction, and, in spite of tremendous difficulties, is moving out on the broad road of consistent class struggle. The most welcome feature in this fight of theirs is that, despite all terrorism, the revolutionary wing of the movement in Japan has never for one minute broken off its connections with the Pacific Secretariat, which is to be ascribed to the great services the Secretariat has extended to the Japanese movement by doing everything to help the Left wing to carry on its uphill struggle against the Japanese reformists and capitalists.

Nor have the Secretariat's activities been confined to these two countries: In the Philippines, too, the labour movement has grown in stature and developed both in regard to outlook and organisation during the two years under review. As is common knowledge, the labour movement of the Philippines was first drawn into the international movement through the Pan-Pacific Secretariat. Until the Secretariat came into being no one was aware that any trade union movement existed in the Philippines or knew of the conditions in which the proletariat of these islands had to live and fight. The formation of the Pan-Pacific Secretariat evoked a warm response among the Filipino workers, and, save for few exceptions, among all the unions as well, besides a number of peasant organisations. Many of these bodies have affiliated to the Pan-Pacific Secretariat, thus breaking down the handicap of their previous national insularity.

In the coming Pacific war the Philippines will be the apple of discord for which the Powers are going to fight. Japan has long had its eye on the Philippines which have become the rear base of the United States. In the struggle between the imperialist giants the labour movement of the Philippines can occupy neither a neutral position nor take its stand alongside one or the other of the warring imperialists. Together with the working class of other countries it will have to take its stand against all the imperialist Powers. The working classes of the Philippines are beginning to realise, that anti-imperialist tactics on their part would be impossible if their labour movement is to be isolated from the International and fit to a narrow insularity. For this reason the affiliation of the trade unions of the Philippines to the Pan-Pacific Secretariat is the best surety the labour movement of the islands has against the possible exploitation of its workers as cannon fodder for American or Japanese imperialism.

Connections between the labour movement of the Philippines and the Pan-Pacific Secretariat have always been very close indeed, and many of the political and organisational directives given by the Secretariat to Filipino comrades have brought for the most gratifying results as regards the growth and development of the labour movement in the islands.

Big work has been done during this period by the Pan-Pacific Secretariat in Australia where the labour movement has always been aloof from the world labour movement. As a Dominion Australia herself possesses her own colonies, and as the Australian bourgeoisie are closely bound up with the bourgeoisie of the "Mother Country", they are still supporting Britain's claims to world rule. On the other hand, the Australian bourgeoisie realise perfectly that if the United States and Britain come to grips the Island Continent will be powerless to defend herself and her colonies against the U.S. navy. The Australian bourgeoisie, then, are manoeuvring, and there exists a possibility that in the event of an Anglo-American War Australia will proclaim her "neutrality".

Developing for decades far from the labour movement of other countries, the Australian Labour movement possesses some peculiar features of its own. Of these the most important is the hatred of the Australian workers for the coloured workers that they have given evidence of for years back. The chauvinism of white supremacy is a widespread sickness among the Australian workers. One big thing the Pan-Pacific Secretariat has done has been to declare unrelenting war on this "All-White Australianism" and that it has founded in Sydney "The Pacific

Worker" which right from its first appearance has consistently and insistently fought this brand of chauvinism, national insularity, racial prejudices, its "home-made" reformism and the superiority attitude of the Anglo-Saxons towards the coloured races.

"The Pacific Worker" has rendered great services both to the Australian and the world labour movement by the very fact that it is the first paper in the Australian trade union movement which has raised the entire question of the revolutionary class struggle and all other issues effecting the movement in their broadest aspect; it has been the first to bring Australian questions out on to the international arena, and, on the other hand, to bring international issues to the immediate notice of the Australian workers. Under the blows of "The Pacific Worker's" biting criticism all the reactionary elements of the country have joined forces, but this has also brought about the unification of all progressive elements in the Australian labour movement. There is no gainsaying the fact that by helping to draw this clear political line within the working class movement the Pan-Pacific Secretariat and "The Pacific Worker" it is publishing from Sydney have rendered a service that time will never discount.

Extensive connections during this period have been formed between the Pan-Pacific Secretariat and the labour movement of Formosa, Singapore, as well as all the Latin-American countries with Pacific seaboard. This is a matter of prime importance, since connections between Mexico, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Chile, and the labour movement of the rest of the Pacific is of the most outstanding political significance. Firstly, these connections tighten up the united front of the Pacific labour movement generally; secondly, through these countries the Pan-Pacific Secretariat finds itself organically linked up with the Latin-American Trade Union Confederation; and the united front of these two bodies is going to prove of the most tremendous importance for the further development of the revolutionary trade union movement throughout the world.

Of great importance also are the connections the Secretariat has formed with the left wing of the labour movement of the United States, Canada, Great Britain and France. To tighten connections between the Secretariat, the United States and Canada the Secretariat has transferred the publishing headquarters of its organ "The Pan-Pacific Monthly" to San Francisco. The first numbers have already appeared so that both the North American and Latin-American seaboard of the Pacific are linked up ideologically and organisationally with the Pan-Pacific Secretariat, which will make the forthcoming Vladivostok Congress of all the greater importance.

Less prominent during this period have been British India and the Dutch Indies. After the insurrection in Java the labour movement of Indonesia was driven underground, and owing to the terror and police persecutions still raging in the Archipelago the Indonesian trade unions have still weak contact with the Pan-Pacific Secretariat, although they were among the trade union bodies responsible for first lining up the workers throughout the whole of the Pacific.

As regards India, there is a head forward movement in that country which plainly shows that a revolutionary crisis is rushing down on that land. The combined forces of the Anglo-Indian reaction cannot smash the labour movement. Arrests and shootings will prove of no avail either, any more than the missionaries of the General Council and the British Labour Party. India's labour movement is shaking off the effects of nationalist done and reformist influence. Although India already possesses really representative left-wing organisations prepared to affiliate to the Pan-Pacific Secretariat, it has been impossible so far to establish organic connections between them and the Secretariat owing to the first-class working methods of the Anglo-Indian Government's police and spy service. This does not mean, however, that no connections exist — they are there, but are still rather weak, although it is precisely the working class movement of India that will be called upon within the next few years to take practically the dominant part in the country's struggle for independence and in the long fight of the international proletariat against imperialism. Connections are weak, but there is no doubt that they will be strengthened and that the united front of the workers throughout the Pacific will be still further reinforced.

Laborious indeed has been the work of the Pan-Pacific Secretariat, and very hard, too, have been the conditions under

which it has worked. Owing to the wild reaction sweeping China there could be no thought even of calling the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Congress there. Attempts to convene the Congress in Australia also failed, as the Australian Government was strongly opposed to any such thing. After these fruitless efforts the Central Council of Trade Unions of the Soviet Union suggested to the Pan-Pacific Secretariat that the Congress could meet in Vladivostok. The Secretariat accepted the offer, and its Congress will meet on the 15th of August on the territory of the Soviet Union.

The fact that the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat could not find a place to meet in congress legally is characteristic of present-day bourgeois democracy. Australia is considered an "advanced" democracy, but the very idea of the Congress meeting there roused the bourgeoisie as well as the leaders of the Australian Labour Party to frothy fury. Where then was the Congress to be held? In China, Japan, the Philippines, India, Indonesia, Formosa, Singapore, the United States or Great Britain? All these places were plainly out of the question. The only place where the delegates could meet in full freedom without police interference and hammer out the problems confronting the Pacific labour movement was Vladivostok. The C.C.T.U. was one of the initiators taking part in the constituent conference of the Pan-Pacific Secretariat, and it was but natural that the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union should offer hospitality to the Secretariat. Its congress, then, will meet on Soviet soil and freely discuss the problems facing the labour movement of the Pacific.

As will be understood, the agenda the Pacific Congress will have to discuss will be fairly big. It will include the problem of fighting imperialist war, the question of the national-liberation movement, emigration and immigration, female and child labour, matters of organisation, the question of culture and trade union education, a programme of action, and so on, and so forth. Considering the racial, national and cultural differences to be found on the shores of the Pacific, it is hardly to be wondered at that the Congress will have to tackle such a big agenda. There are three outstanding problems of paramount importance for the labour movement of the Pacific. They are: 1. the fighting of all war; 2. the combatting of racial prejudices and antagonisms artificially fostered between one race and another; and 3. the struggle for the open existence of the left trade unions. All three problems will be considered in detail by the Congress.

As far back as the Hankow Conference in 1927 a programme of action was drawn up which included the demand for "equal pay for equal work" irrespective of race or sex. These questions will also have to be gone into by the Vladivostok Congress. The differences in the life standards of the Pacific workers are enormous. Australian workers, for instance, get fifteen to twenty times more than the Chinese workers. Now, since industry is rapidly developing in the orient and the latest modern machinery is being combined with what is practically slave-labour, differences like these are bound to constitute a very real threat indeed to the standard of life of the workers in the old capitalist countries. The proletariat's life standards have a constant tendency to seek one level, and unless we are able, by a stubborn and systematic fight, to lift the life standards of the workers of the colonies and semi-colonies, they will inevitably pull down the standard of living of the workers in the advanced capitalist countries. Axiomatic though this statement is, it is not yet thoroughly grasped by the workers of the capitalist countries.

Not only representatives of the colonial and semi-colonial countries and of those capitalist countries possessing colonies in the Pacific, but also the representatives of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union will assemble at the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Congress. The Congress will thus afford one further opportunity to the representatives of the victorious proletariat of the Soviet Union and the workers of the capitalist, colonial and semi-colonial countries to meet and fraternize.

The coming Vladivostok Congress is of the greatest importance, furthermore, from the viewpoint of the unification of all forces of the world labour movement in the struggle against imperialism. Time was when the labour movement of Europe was the centre for the whole world. Outside Europe there were no working class organisations. But that time has gone for good. The rise in itself of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat bears witness to the fact that in many of the newer countries real working class organisations have taken shape

and grown in stature. The Latin-American Trade Union Congress proved that the overwhelming majority of the trade unions of Latin-America stand on the class position.

If Amsterdam still keeps assuring us that it is the only International in existence, this is merely further proof of the big-headedness of the I.F.T.U. leaders and of their refusal to look facts in the face. After the formation of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat and the rise of the Latin-American Trade Union Confederation, both of which maintain fraternal relations with the R. I. L. U., the Amsterdam International would do better to change its title in accordance with the essence of its organisation and in keeping with its actual numerical strength. The Amsterdam International caters for part of the trade union movement of the European Continent, and it ought to call itself a semi-continental International; though, after the effecting thereof, and the R. I. L. U., the Pan-Pacific Secretariat and the Latin-American Trade Union Confederation will be responsible for organising the majority of the organised workers the world round. These are the facts of the position and "facts are chieftains that winna ding".

True, the I.F.T.U. has had its "successes" to record during the two years of the movement's history we are now considering. Italy has been visited by the President and Secretary of the Amsterdam International and negotiations conducted with those two social-fascists D'Aragona and Rigola with a view to preparing the ground for co-operation with the fascist trade union corporation. Line up by all means, ye Amsterdamers and Fascists! Joining forces will not make you any stronger. For us, we will build up a united front of the revolutionary workers throughout the world; we will unite in brotherly bonds the workers of the R. I. L. U., the Pan-Pacific Secretariat and the Latin-American Trade Union Confederation, and shoulder to shoulder, fight against Imperialism, against Fascism and against their reformist lickspittles.

British Miners and the Labour Government.

By W. Holmes (London).

It is generally agreed that the most thorny domestic problem facing the MacDonal Government is the mining situation. Not only do the district wage agreements concluded after the great lock-out of 1926 terminate this year in the principal coalfields of the country; but the miners are also looking for early fulfilment of what they firmly believe to have been the election pledge of the Labour Party to repeal the Baldwin's Government Eight-Hour Day Act and to introduce the seven-hour day. Actually the Labour Party did not give any specific election pledge to re-introduce the seven-hour day. It spoke vaguely of shortening miners hours and left it significantly at that. All the same it is true that the vast mass of the miners, who voted to a man for the Labour Party, firmly believe that such a pledge was given.

The feelings of the miners themselves are reflected in the resolutions which the various district Unions are proposing at the Annual Conference of the Miners Federation which meets in Blackpool in July. These resolutions demand a national wage agreement (in place of the present district agreements) with a guaranteed individual minimum wage; the securing of a higher standard of life for the miners: the repeal of the Eight-Hour Act and the re-introduction of the seven-hour day; the repeal of the Baldwin's Government anti-trade Union act of 1927, and the early introduction of a bill for the nationalisation of the mines.

On the question of a national wage agreement the coal-owners, speaking through their president Mr. Evan Williams, have already made it clear that under no circumstances will they consider even entering into negotiations for such an agreement. And here the Labour Party and the Miners' Federation leadership, speaking through their respective official organs, the "Miner" and the "Daily Herald" write in expressing the "hope" that the coal-owners will at last admit the unwisdom of District agreements.

Undoubtedly it is also in the futile "hope" of "persuading" the recalcitrant coal-owners — side by side with that "persuading"

to refrain from struggle — that MacDonald has appointed **Ben Turner**, a notorious "industrial peace" protagonist, as Minister of Mines. Turner was Chairman of the **Trades Union Congress General Council** when that body conceived its "Conferences" with **Lord Melchett (Mond)** — usually called the "Melchett-Turner" conferences.

On the question of the seven-hour day a significant attempt to hush up all public discussion of this issue has been embarked on by the reformist leaders of the **Miners Federation**. The Executive of the Federation met in London some days ago and surrounded its deliberations with a more than usually thick shroud of secrecy. It became known unofficially that the Executive had decided to send a deputation to the Government to ask for early consideration of the hours problem; but the Executive, thus compelled to issue an official statement, was at great pains to emphasise that the deputation proposed to "discuss" mining problems — specific mention of hours was avoided.

The significance of this deliberate vagueness has been emphasised in further statements by Miners Federation leaders. **Herbert Smith** (President) hopes "that the miners will give due consideration to the Labour Government but that sooner or later we shall get back to where we were in 1926", i. e. to the seven-hour day and a national agreement.

A. J. Cook, as is the wont of renegades, is even more explicit in his compromising and defeatism. In a speech at **Hinckley**, in the Notts. coalfield, on June 16th, while verbally agreeing that our first claim is to repeal the pernicious **Eight-Hour Act** he stressed that the proposed meeting of the **Miners Federation** leaders with the Government was "not to threaten or coerce them but to discuss the whole situation".

"We must understand the task confronting our comrades in Parliament. We must not sacrifice the ultimate for some immediate objective. The **Miners Federation** have no desire to harass the Labour Government. We wish more particularly to prevent a crisis at the end of this year", (i. e. when the agreements terminate), **Cook** added.

Cook also outlined a programme of State-aided rationalisation in the mines when he said:

"Waste and inefficiency, either in production or distribution and cut-throat competition must be eliminated. The coal-owners will not voluntarily face this task. The Government must tackle it."

He concluded by declaring that

"every step we take will be carefully thought out and examined in the light of the national economic and international position."

The last point is likely to be of special importance since international negotiations may be used by the Labour Government as a means of delaying any action of the mining question in Britain. Here comes the significance of the resolutions adopted by the **Executive of the Miners' International** which met in London some days ago.

The **Miners' International** with the full concurrence of the British representatives, called for a) an international coal agreement, b) the establishment of an international committee of coal representing coal-owners, miners and the Governments of coal-producing countries, c) — and this is particularly significant — the calling, by the **International Labour Office**, of an international conference to discuss the international "unification" of miners' hours and general conditions.

Meanwhile, the coal-owners have given yet another striking illustration of their ruthless war on the miners. A lock-out is threatened in the **Warwickshire** coalfields where the owners have given notice to close down the collieries because an arbitration award restored to the miners a temporary wage cut that had been agreed upon. The cut consisted in a reduction of the minimum wage percentage from 43 to 32 per cent. on the basis rates. The arbitrators declared that the 43 per cent. must now be restored since the pits were making a profit. Promptly the owners shamelessly flouted the award and announced that they would close down their collieries stating that they would only re-open them on condition that the miners get the 32 per cent.

FIGHT AGAINST THE RIGHT DANGER

The Executive Bureau of the R. I. L. U. on the Second Plenum of the C. C. of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union.

The central point on the agenda of the R. I. L. U. Executive Bureau meetings of June 11th was the report delivered by **Comrade Losovsky** "on the Second Plenum of the C. C. T. U.", acting on the instructions of the C. C. T. U. Presidium and on the request of the Executive Bureau members.

Comrade Losovsky set forth in brief the most outstanding questions gone into by the Plenum, dwelling in particular detail on the question of the participation of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union in carrying into effect the five-year plan for the development of the national economy of the Soviet Union and on other decisions of the Plenum. In concluding his report, **Comrade Losovsky** explained the position that had come about in the trade union movement of the Soviet Union owing to the fact that a group of leading trade union officials had turned out to be among the number of "Right deviationists" and had endeavoured to build up a basis out of the Trade Union of the Soviet Union for their struggle against the general line of the Party. These Right-Wing sentiments had received a sharp rebuff both from the rank and file of the trade union membership and all active trade unionists, which bore witness to the fact that the principles of the Comintern and the R. I. L. U. had thrust down deep roots in the entire mass of the membership of the Trade Union Movement of the Soviet Union.

Comrade Losovsky emphasised that in the case of these comrades the Right deviation had revealed itself not only in regard to inner-Party, but also trade union questions, and in particular in questions concerning the international trade union movement, finding its expression at the Fourth R. I. L. U. Congress at which certain of the leading trade union officials evidenced their solidarity both ideologically and organisationally with the policy of the German Right-Wingers now outside the Comintern and R. I. L. U., thus creating abnormal relations between the Red International of Labour Unions and the Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union.

Discussion on **Comrade Losovsky's** report was taken part in by **Comrades Witkowski, Germanetto, Yuzefovich** and **Gay**, members of the Executive Bureau, who dwelt on the decisions of the C. C. T. U. Plenum, drew notice to the concrete appearance of the Right deviation of the line of a certain group of trade unionists in policy and practice, and expressed their approval of all the decisions of the C. C. T. U. The comrades in question described the line of the policy of the Right "deviations" as an appearance in its way of "trade-unionistic" tendencies in the trade union movement of the Soviet Union pointing out that the Right "deviations" had resisted the findings of the Sixth Comintern Congress and the Fourth R. I. L. U. Congress.

In the speeches and discussion the policy of the Right "deviationists" was unanimously condemned and the great importance of the decisions of the last C. C. T. U. Plenum emphasised both for the Soviet and the entire international trade union movement. Those who spoke to the report expressed their confidence that the new Secretariat and Presidium of the C. C. T. U. as a whole would render close co-operation on a fraternal basis possible between the biggest section of the R. I. L. U. — the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union — and the revolutionary trade unions of the whole world.

The Executive Bureau passed a resolution approving all the decisions of the C. C. T. U. Plenum, as well as the freeing from their duties as members of the C. C. T. U. Presidium of **Comrades Tomsky, Ugarov, Udarov, Mihailov, Ginsburg, Korostolev, Yaglom** and **Perfiliev**, as well as the induction into membership of the Presidium of the C. C. T. U. of **Comrades Shvernik Alexeev, Strievsky**, and **Semagin**.

A Commission under the chairmanship of **Comrade Germanetto** was appointed to draft the resolution.

The Executive Bureau decided to free **Comrade Yaglom** from his duties as member of the Secretariat of the R. I. L. U.

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

Ways and Means of Furthering Agriculture and the Spread of Co-operation in the Village.

Resolution Passed by the V. Soviet Congress of the Soviet Union.

The V. Soviet Congress of the Soviet Union, after taking cognisance of and discussing Comrade Kalinin's report on the methods of promoting agriculture and the spread of co-operation in the village resolves as follows:

1. As result of the October Revolution the land belonging to the large estates, merchants, kulaks, monasteries, churches, and government, passed free of charge into the hands of the poor and middle peasantry. The amount of land possessed by the decisive masses of the peasantry was thereby greatly increased. The agriculture thus taken over by the peasantry was however agriculturally and technically backward in general, and reduced to an utterly wretched condition by the imperialist and civil wars. It was under these difficult conditions that the proletariat and the peasantry set to work on the accomplishment of their economic tasks: the restoration of agriculture and the furtherance of large-scale state industry, and the utilisation of this latter for raising agriculture too to a higher level of technics and agronomics, and for re-organising it on a socialist basis.

2. At the present juncture the general period of agricultural restoration has been completed. Compared with pre-war figures, the total area cultivated has reached 96.6 per cent., technical plants 158.5 per cent., grain 90.1 per cent., livestock breeding 102.4 per cent.

The restoration of agriculture has been accompanied by a great advancement in technics and land cultivation. The com-massed territory comprises one third and one fifth respectively (inter-village and inner-village territory) of the land cultivated. The area under multiple-field cultivation is in round figures 10 per cent. Spring sowings have reached 30 per cent., winter sowings 35 per cent. Approximately 10 per cent of the whole grain growing area is sown with seed of superior quality. The use of artificial manures exceeds that of before the war, and increases from year to year. The supply of agricultural machinery is two and a quarter times that of before the war. At the present time about 40,000 tractors are in use, whilst before the revolution tractors were entirely unknown to the peasant farm.

3. As result of the restoration period, the middle peasant has firmly established his position as central figure of the village, in spite of the shiftings taking place in the village. This social result has been brought about by the increasing provisioning of the poor and middle peasantry with the means of production, by the raising of their agricultural level, and by the restrictions placed on the expansion of the large peasant farms.

At the same time the socialist elements of agriculture have been powerfully developed. The number of collective farms increased by 140.6 per cent. last year. The old Soviet estates are growing and new ones springing up. This year the area cultivated by the Soviet estates is 1.5 million hectares. The amounts invested in the industries working up agricultural products increase from year to year.

4. Whilst agriculture in general has undergone a process of restoration, there are some branches of agriculture, especially grain growing, which fall considerably behind the general tempo of development. This retardation of tempo makes itself extremely felt at the present moment, for just now there is a rapid increase in the demand for agricultural products and raw materials, both from consumers and manufacturers, as immediate consequence of the successful progress of industrialisation and the growing requirements of the population. The cause of the slow tempo of agricultural development, and of the small amount of marketable commodities produced, lies in the scattered nature of peasant farming, the natural character of its economy, and the low level of agricultural technics and culture. Scattered small peasant farming offers no possibility of the complete removal of the tension between the development of

agriculture and of industry, inasmuch as during the restoration period the limited possibilities of developing small farming, and especially of increasing its marketable products, so long as its extent and productive methods remain the same, became clearly evident.

This implies the urgent necessity of a persevering and systematic re-organisation of the whole of agriculture on a co-operative basis, in order to create a system of large-scale farming capable of utilising the technics of today, of applying every achievement of agronomic science, and of raising the material and cultural level of the main mass of the peasantry to a height hitherto unattained. It is only by means of a socialist agriculture that these tasks can be fulfilled.

5. All this does not exclude, but rather preassumes, first both at the present time and in future measures must be taken for ensuring the advancement and development of the individual small and middle peasant farms, since the possibilities of these are by no means exhausted. This task is of the greater importance that the individual small and middle peasant farms will continue to be, for some time to come, the main suppliers of foodstuffs and raw materials to the agricultural markets. The actual advancement and development of the small and middle farms, on any large scale, is however not otherwise imaginable than by means of systematic mass co-operation among the leading branches of agricultural production.

6. The creation of agricultural large-scale production as a certain method of overcoming the backwardness of agriculture can be accomplished by the organisation of either capitalist or socialist large-scale agricultural undertakings (Soviet estates, collective farms, production co-operatives on the simplest basis). The capitalist development of the village signifies, as the history of the capitalist countries shows, the rise of a mighty capitalist class (kulaks), who concentrate in their hands, by means of pillage, ruthless destruction, and the brutal exploitation of millions of small and middle peasant farms, the main mass of the means of production and of the resultant agricultural products. The socialist development of the village signifies, on the contrary, a socialised large-scale production completely abolishing the absorption, destruction, extermination, and ruin of the poor and middle farms.

The socialist system of development will be attained by voluntary collaboration, by collectivisation, enabling the small and middle peasant farms to be re-organised by means of the aid given them in production, and to be guided by the Soviet power towards socialised farming on a higher technical and agricultural level. The socialist method is the sole possible means of securing the poor and middle peasants from ruin and misery. At the same time this socialisation means not only a restriction on the growth of the capitalist elements, but finally their complete supplanting by a socialised large-scale agriculture.

7. The successes gained by the Soviet government during the present stage of socialist construction have been inevitably accompanied by acuter class struggles in the country itself. The practical realisation of socialist methods of development in agriculture collides with the stubborn and increasing resistance of the capitalist elements in the village. The conflict between the socialist and capitalist lines of development in agriculture has given rise to certain waverings among some strata of the peasantry, and even of the workers, and these are intensified by the present difficulties of our work of building up socialism. In this connection attempts are being made to hamper and stop development in the direction of socialism. A political course renouncing the systematic and consistent re-organisation of agriculture on the basis of socialised large-scale production (collective farms, Soviet estates, co-operatives) is in actual practice going over to the party of the kulak, and its pursuance means victory for the capitalist system.

These tendencies must be opposed by even more determined socialist activities in town and country, and by an energetic struggle against the vacillations in the ranks of the peasants and workers.

8. Whilst the period of restoration in agriculture, now closed in all essentials, has shown us the limited possibilities of further progress for the small and middle peasant farms as such, at the same time the resources of the Soviet state have increased both quantitatively and qualitatively. They enable the re-organisation of agriculture to be carried forward at an accelerated speed, and secure rapid advancement on the basis of the

new machine technics and of collective work. At the same time we observe eager strivings on the part of the middle and small peasantry towards co-operation and collectivisation in agriculture.

Here the factors of decisive importance are: the rapid development of industry and especially of agricultural machine building, guaranteeing that the development of agriculture keeps step with the rapid growth of industrialisation; the nationalisation of land, which has given the peasants the possibility of employing the means formerly applied to the purchase of land to the purchase of means of agricultural production; the expansion of the credit system and of the state budget, enabling extensive sums to be utilised for the uplift and development of agriculture; the improvement of the existing Soviet estates and organisation of new ones, not only as large model farms, but for the active re-organisation of agriculture on a socialist basis by means of comprehensive production aid and organisational support given to the small and middle peasants; extension of the cultivated area, development of the hiring centres for tractors and agricultural machines and of the tractor gangs, ensuring a system of immediate and effectual co-operation, on the voluntary system, for the middle and small peasantry.

The Fifth Soviet Congress of the Soviet Union, taking all this into consideration, resolves:

1. The Congress approves:

a) the law passed by the Fourth Session of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union, in the fourth period of legislation, on the general principles of land utilisation and co-massation;

b) the decision of the Fourth Session of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union, passed in the fourth period of legislation, on the measures to be taken for increasing the yield of the soil by 35 per cent. by the end of the five-year period;

c) the decision on the single agricultural tax confirmed in 1929; this decision, besides granting complete exemption from taxation to 35 per cent. of all peasant farms and alleviating the taxation of the collective farms, ensures the necessary tax remissions for the middle peasant farms, securing the extension of the area sown and the growth of livestock breeding; the Congress also approves all measures for the firmer establishment of the revolutionary laws.

2. The Congress approves the decisions and practical measures of the Soviet government for the organisation of new Soviet farms and the improvement of the old. The Congress commissions the government of the Soviet Union to ascertain what free tracts of land are suitable for the organisation of Soviet grain-growing undertakings, in order that 10 to 20 million hectares of land be secured for the Grain Trust during the next five years, serving as reserve for the further development of Soviet estates.

3. The Congress approves all the measures taken by the government for the material and financial support of the collective-farming movement and the promotion from below of the co-operative system in the village. All measures are to be secured for the wider provisioning of the collective farms and production co-operatives with complicated machinery and especially with tractors. The initiative shown towards the transition of whole villages to the collective forms of work must be supported, and the resistance of the kulaks against the development of the collective forms of agricultural production overcome by every available means. For this purpose conditions must be created making it to the interest of the poor and middle peasant masses to participate in the transition to the collective forms of economy. This purpose is served by the mass seed supply service, which must become more and more of a productive nature, and by the machine and tractor stations and tractor gangs meeting the requirements of several villages.

4. The Congress resolves to accord every support to the advancing process of the expansion of the existing collective farms, by means of inducing new members to join and by combining small collective undertakings, as also by the organisation of large associations of collective farms. It further resolves to ensure support and aid for those great collective undertakings which are able to produce maximum amounts of grain for the market, and to raise their methods to the level of up-to-date technics and agronomic science. Further to establish more securely the systematic and operative guidance of the collective-farming movement by the collective-farming unions.

5. The agricultural co-operative, representing as it does the simplest and most accessible form of combination of the peasant masses, affords wide possibilities of lending agricultural and technical support to the individual poor and middle peasant farm. At the same time the agricultural co-operative ensures the consistent and systematic gathering together in co-operatives of the leading branches of agricultural production, and prepares, facilitates, and accelerates therewith the advancement of the collective cultivation of the ground. Therefore the system of the main measures to be taken for the uplift and socialist re-organisation of agriculture places an extremely responsible rôle in the hands of the agricultural co-operative, raising this to a position of peculiar importance at the moment.

The V. Soviet Congress recognises that the work performed by the agricultural co-operatives — both with regard to the comprising of production in co-operatives and with regard to the organisation of an extensive collective agricultural system, as also in point of agricultural and technical help for the individual poor and middle peasant farms — has been inadequate. Therefore the Soviet Congress resolves to ensure, within the next five-year period, the inclusion of at least 85 per cent. of the peasant farms in production co-operatives, and the unceasing development of the co-operative and primary production associations into great collective undertakings.

It is resolved that for this purpose the network of machine and tractor stations designed to meet the needs of several village is to be extended; the development and expansion of the agricultural and production aid given the poor and middle peasants by the Soviet farms is to be promoted, special effort being devoted to converting these last into powerful levers for the co-operative re-organisation of the village. The Congress resolves to extend contraction to an extent enabling, by the end of the five-year period, the whole of the marketable technical plants produced, at least 70 per cent. of the grain reaching the market, and at least 50 per cent. of the marketable livestock, to be comprised. The network of tractor gangs will be extended. The machine-lending centres will be reorganised, and converted into machinery stations serving on a co-operative basis the needs of the poor and middle peasantry organised around them; in this work the peculiarities of the national republics and regions are to be accorded suitable attention.

6. In order to ensure the certain advancement of agriculture and its successful re-organisation on a co-operative basis, it is resolved to extend agricultural machine building, in order that in the coming five-year period machines to the value of at least 2.5 milliard roubles can be supplied to the village. It is resolved to tractorise agriculture. For this purpose an ample supply of tractors from abroad must be ensured, and besides this 88,000 tractors must be manufactured by our own industry.

The industrialisation of agriculture will be extended, and for this purpose 1500 million roubles will be invested, during the next five years, in the building of undertakings working up agricultural products. The production of chemical fertilisers will be increased, and will reach at least 8 million tons by the end of the five-year period. The amelioration of the soil by the addition of lime will be carried out on at least 7 million hectares of land in the next five years. Measures are to be taken ensuring that the work of co-massation is completed over the whole territory of the Soviet Union by the close of the five-year period. During this time at least 7 million hectares of land will be taken into fresh cultivation, and 1.3 million persons will settle on this land. It is resolved to undertake amelioration work on at least 2 million hectares of land, irrigation work on at least 1.5 million hectares. The development of livestock breeding will be forced, and the number of horses (working and riding horses) increased by at least 19 per cent., that of the cows by at least 21 per cent.

It is resolved to devote great attention to the development of vegetable growing. The production of technical plants will be promoted, and by the end of the five-year period the quantity of cotton reaching the market will be increased by at least 179 per cent., the gross production of flax by at least 120 per cent. The production of media for combating insects and other pests will have developed to such an extent, within the next two or three years, that the requirements of our agriculture will be amply covered, and the pests can be attacked upon a mass scale. In the course of the present year the Plan will work out practical measures of combating drought by means of irrigation, afforestation, etc., whereby the self-activity of the peasant masses will be furthered to the utmost.

7. In order to ensure the successful and timely fulfilment of the new tasks confronting agriculture, the number of agricultural specialists must be tripled, and the agronomics of the collective farms and co-operatives developed. With this end in view, the whole system of agricultural organs must be adapted to: a) the expansion of systematic economic work for the firm establishment of the materially technical and scientifically agronomic basis; b) the combination and development of the scientific research institutions and the popularisation of the results of agricultural science; c) the re-organisation of the agricultural organs on such lines that these become the actual organisers of the revolution of agriculture, drawing millions of poor and middle peasant farms into participation in this revolution, and placing in the service of cultural revolution every agronomist and specialist.

In order to promote the popularisation of the results of scientific agricultural research, and to place the agronomic sciences in the service of the speedy advancement of agriculture and its socialist reconstruction, the institutions of scientific research, projected by the Five-Year Plan for Development within the Lenin Academy, must be enabled to intensify their work. A network of scientific research institutions must be formed for the various districts, collaborating with the departments of the Agricultural Lenin Academy.

Among the tasks incumbent on the Agricultural Academy and its departments, the Soviet Congress lays special stress on the study and popularisation of the experience won in the collective-farming movement and in the production co-operatives. In order to extend this work, and to bring the masses of the poor and middle peasantry into closer contact with it, such departments must be formed in connection with all experimental stations.

8. In view of the fact that hitherto questions referring to the increased productivity of agriculture have received very little attention in the work of the local Soviet organs, the V. Soviet Congress resolves:

a) To impose on the local Soviets the duty of immediately extending the work in aid of the productive activity of the village. The success of the work of the Executive Committees and Soviets, in their efforts in the interests of the masses of the poor and middle peasants, and for the protection of these from the exploitive kulaks and all other capitalist elements in the village, depends on the extent to which these bodies are capable of becoming the leaders of the advance of agriculture, the organisers of a great socialised agriculture, and helpers in furthering the production of the individual poor and middle peasant farms;

b) the local Soviets must promote the work for intensifying the public initiative of the masses of the poor and middle peasants for the rapid increase in the yield of the soil, and must themselves take the initiative in the extension of the sown area, the development of technical plant cultivation and livestock breeding, the combating of insect pests, drought, etc. The masses must also be supported in their initiative towards the re-organisation of agriculture on the basis of extensive socialised production. The local organs must develop on a large scale the socialist competition among the collective farms, the Soviet estates, the production co-operatives, the tractor gangs, the machine and tractor stations serving several villages, the seed-lending and grain-cleaning stations, and among the individual farms, villages, districts, and larger regional divisions;

c) the separate districts already working on the mass co-operative-production and collective system are to be accorded special attention, enabling them to develop during the next few years into really model districts exemplifying extensive socialist and highly cultivated agriculture;

d) the expenditure of the means provided by the Soviet power for the development of agriculture is to be organised under public control;

e) the work of the agricultural commissions (sections of the village Soviets, district and regional committees) is to be extended; they are to be participated in by the members of the collective farms, the workers on the Soviet estates, and by the individual poor and middle peasants cultivating their own farms, and the work of the agricultural sections is to be organised according to the system of production consultations in the industrial undertakings.

9. The V. Soviet Congress of the Soviet Union fully approves the measures of the government for the organisation of the poor peasantry and the gathering together of the agricultural labourers, and recommends that the local Soviet organisations

promote the work of organising the poor peasantry and agricultural workers more than hitherto, by means of every measure calculated to establish their alliance with the middle peasantry. The Soviet Congress is of the opinion that the accomplishment of the tasks which it sets is only possible on the basis of the activation of agricultural labour and of the masses of the poor and middle peasantry, the peasantry being led by the proletariat, and the whole mass of the agricultural workers, and of the poor and middle peasantry, gathered together and organised for the work of uplifting and socialistically re-organising agriculture on the basis of an even firmer establishment of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry.

10. The V. Soviet Congress of the Soviet Union calls upon all workers in town and country, all specialists and scientists in the sphere of agriculture, to exert their utmost powers for the complete execution of these measures.

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

The Success of the Spring Seed Campaign.

The Practical Carrying out of the Uninterrupted Labour Year — The Miners and the Socialist Competitive Scheme.

By L. F. Vinov.

Up to the present there is no final statistical information to hand concerning the numerical results of the spring sowing, but the results which have already been made known show clearly that the campaign has been a success. In all important districts the area of land under seed shows a considerable growth. The tremendous political importance of the campaign consists in the fact that it affords proof of the correctness of the village policy of the Party and for the correctness of the policy of accelerated socialisation of agriculture.

The Soviet farms have more than carried out their sowing program. Together with the soviet farms, the collective undertakings worked for the carrying out of the sowing program. The socialist competitive scheme played a very great rôle. The two greatest Siberian agricultural communes, "International" and "The Young Farmer", which competed against each other, carried out the spring sowing program on an area 39% and 60% respectively greater than in the original program. The "International" was set the task of sowing 5,300 Hectares, and the result was 7,230! The plan for the supply of the villages with sorted seed was carried out 114%. The "Red Putilov Worker" supplied 630 new tractors instead of 452. Sowing contracts embraced more than twice the area originally planned. During this campaign alone about 9,000 new collective undertakings were formed.

The participation of the peasant farms in the campaign showed the usual double-sided picture in accordance with the intensification of the class struggle in the country. The broad masses of the poor and middle peasantry extended their area of land under seed joined enthusiastically in the agronomic measures for increasing the productivity of the soil. The kulaks on the other hand strived to break the campaign and to prevent the success of the agronomic measures for the increase of productivity. For this reason the masses of the poor and middle peasantry had to defend their immediate economic interests in a class struggle against the kulaks. The tremendous productive assistance afforded by the proletarian State, as also the fraternal assistance given by the working class during the campaign by workers brigades, patronage societies etc., strengthened the alliance of the workers and peasants. This is expressed numerically in the extension of the area under seed reported from the various governments and districts.

* * *

It is hardly more than a few weeks ago that the idea of the uninterrupted labour year was raised in a speech in the discussion at the last Soviet Congress of the Union, and already the idea is in the practical stage of being but into operation. Not only has the first important order been issued by the

Supreme Economic Council, not only is the question being discussed with great interest in all factories all over the Soviet Union, but there are already factories which in a few weeks have carried the complicated transformation to uninterrupted production into practice.

Amongst the large-scale factories, the Leningrad engineering works "Co-operator" was the first to adopt the new form of labour organisation. In the near future numerous other factories and workshops will follow its example. Numerous building undertakings are now also being worked the whole week through. The following are the most important amongst the reports which have arrived up to the present concerning the introduction of the new order: Next year 20% of the peat industry will work the new order, in 1931 30% and in 1932 50% of all works will replace the Sunday rest by rest distributed over all the days of the week. In the Caucasus the textile industry will be the first to adopt the new system.

The new system is now being put through on a Union scale particularly in the mining and engineering industries. The main significance of the reform lies in the fact that although rich workers work only 300 days a year, now as before, nevertheless, industry can, by employing a great number of unemployed and by distributing the rest period over all the days of the week, work 60 days a year longer and produce 10% more than usual without any further capital investment. The order of the Supreme Economic Council mentioned above instructed the subordinate departments of the Council to find out the measures necessary for the re-organisation and to work them out inside a period of three days!

An important army, the 180,000 miners of the Donetz basin, has now entered into the socialist competitive scheme. The miners and the technical workers of the Lugansk, Artemovsk, Stalin and Shakty districts have concluded a socialist class agreement undertaking to:

1. carry out the production plan for 1928/29 with an increase of 10%;
2. increase the productive of labour by 17% at the end of the present economic year and increase the productivity of the coal-cutting machinery by 30%;
3. reduce the cost of production by 7% and improve the quality of the coal; and
4. wipe out all laziness and abolish all bureaucratic and administrative deficiencies which represent a hindrance to production.

If this agreement is actually carried out, and previous experience in connection with the socialist competitive plan has shown that the workers usually accomplish even more than they promise, then the plan of production for the most important power-producing industry in the Soviet Union will be increased by 10%, and this will be of tremendous importance for the whole development of the economic system of the Soviet Union.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

The Congress of the Socialist Party of France.

By J. Berlioz (Paris).

The French Section of the Second International held its National Congress from the 9th to the 12th June in Nancy. The congress took place amidst the greatest possible lack of interest on the part of the French proletariat. Even bourgeois politicians were disappointed at the emptiness of this congress which brought no new contribution to the situation, which was held amidst general confusion, and which closed without any definite decisions having been adopted and without any definite political line having been laid down. The congress made the impression of the greatest embarrassment which the leaders of the French Socialist Party tried to cover up with fruitless speeches: The maintenance of the inner-balance of this social-bourgeois party with the phraseology about the traditional principles of the party which its leaders do not dare to throw overboard, on the one hand, and on the other hand the actual co-operation with imperialism which these same leaders do not yet dare to defend theoretically, is becoming more and more difficult.

"Le Temps" writes:

"Nowadays socialist congresses have developed into a sort of sophisticated academy where the members meditate upon ideas, perhaps because so few are left to them, and talk about action, perhaps in order not to be compelled to act."

Not one of those questions which are so important for the French working class at the present time was to be found on the agenda of this congress. The situation and the future of French industry and commerce, which after a rapid two years advance now finds the future barred, were not discussed at all. Not a word was said about the preparations of the bourgeoisie for war (preparations in which the Socialist leaders are playing their part), or about the persecutions of the working class (which are not directed against them or their party), or about the extent of the developing struggles of the workers and the terrible consequences of the rationalisation.

The central question under discussion was the attitude of the S. P. in the school question. Beautiful speeches concerning the emancipation of the human mind by a noble education within the framework of the existing regime were held. But behind these academic phrases real anxiety was concealed. The leaders wanted to renew the old anti-clerical platform, which the Radical Party had defended, and to place the "defence of the non-clerical masses" in the foreground of the socialist struggle. This struggle is intended to replace the class struggle and to maintain the fiction of the dividing line between the parties of the left and of the right, thus facilitating the struggle for the masses of the petty bourgeoisie and of the peasantry who regard the Church with the deepest suspicion. The peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie represent the prize for which the Radicals and the Socialists are fighting.

However, in this question certain difficulties arise. The Socialist Party contains not only people like Paul-Boncour and Fiancette who voted for the re-admission of the religious orders, but also so-called "Christian Socialists". The embarrassing situation was saved by tirades about religion being a private matter, on the one hand, and on the other hand, about the "determination of the anti-clericals". Whereupon a delegate stood up and declared that now such "guarantees" had been given for the anti-clerical attitude, the party might co-operate with M. Briand.

Interesting declarations which form a whole and show clearly the line of the party, can be found in the discussion upon the various parts of the report of the executive. It was unanimously recorded that the finest socialist success for a long time was the purchase of an old renaissance chateau in good condition in which the officers of the party leadership are now situated. The report upon the situation of "Populaire", the official organ of the party, was not so favourable, as the total circulation for the whole of France was 40,000. It was suggested that even members of the party preferred to read "l'Humanité", the official organ of the Communist Party, owing to the fact that "Populaire" was too far removed from the actual life of the workers. The anti-Bolshevist and anti-Soviet campaigns were recognised as the highest services of the "Populaire".

The report of the delegation in the International offered an opportunity for the usual attacks upon the Soviet Union and permitted the adoption of a protest resolution against the "terror in Russia" and against the alleged disruptive work of the trade unions of the Soviet Union.

In his report upon the work of the party in parliament Léon Blum made an important statement about the debt question. He solemnly reiterated the claims of the French bourgeoisie to demand the full reparations payment from the German workers, just as he recognised the right of the American finance barons to squeeze money out of the French workers to pay the debts incurred by the French bourgeoisie in connection with the prosecution of the war. With this the Socialists openly demonstrated their agreement with the policy of French imperialism and played it into Poincaré's hand.

The question of "socialist discipline" was also dealt with. One socialist deputy was expelled because his relations with the bourgeoisie had become all too open, whilst 50 others were whitewashed who were just as "innocent" as the scapegoat. The

re-admission of Varenne, the former Governor of Indo-China, into the party was postponed, in order to accomplish the re-admission more quietly later on. In order to show the congress was also interested in the fate of the workers, the new social insurance law was discussed. This law is passed, but not yet in force. The delegates came to the conclusion that the law represented great social progress, although in reality it deprives the workers of 10% of their wages for minimal advantages and hands over their money to be administered by the bourgeoisie. Not a word was said about the constant increase in the cost of living, about the increase in rents and about the 48 milliards of the net budget year etc.

The congress had other business. The proposals for the alteration of the statutes of the party, showed the fundamental tendency of the Social Democracy most clearly. Up to the present the leadership of the party was in the hands of an "Administrative Commission" whose election was carried out in a most peculiar fashion and which consisted of Paris officials. The congress decided that such a state of affairs must end because the members thus elected were too doctrinaire and often feared to wound the revolutionary temperament of the working masses of Paris. Renaudel declared:

"They (the Paris officials) have not the same ideas and troubles as the district officials in the provinces."

He also reproached them for sometimes opposing the parliamentary fraction. In other words they still cling to a minimum of principles and still hesitate to share the joys of "participation". The second leading body of the party is the "National Council" consisting of the district delegates elected according to the number of the district membership, but there are difficulties in the way of this body meeting. Renaudel and his supporters therefore proposed alterations, but halted half way. The Administrative Commission is to continue to exist, but with reduced competences, and the National Council is to consist of one delegate from each district in order to remove the difficulties of it meeting when a quick decision is necessary.

The Socialists are hungry for power. They have given the bourgeoisie sufficient proof of their capacity to administer capitalist society. They are waiting for the first opportunity to defeat the ministry and to cause the formation of a ministry in which they can participate, this ministry to have a majority shifted a little towards the "left", perhaps under the slogan of "Republican Concentration". On the whole they are in agreement with what Paul-Boncour said on the 1st May in Carmaux:

"Workers, you feel yourselves ready to take power into your hands, either in full or in part. You are not afraid of the experiment. You want to make an end of the systematic exclusion of the workers which hinders the formation of a government of action and which permits the reactionaries to return again and again to power. One cannot defend the citadel from outside".

That in short is the significance of the S. P. Congress in Nancy. The idea of forming a government has won more ground in the S. P., than would appear from the protocol of the congress alone. A resolution which was unanimously adopted declares:

"It is desirable to demand for the socialist deputies who take part in the parliamentary commissions etc., the post of chairman, vice-chairman or reporter".

That is the first step in the direction of participating in the government. The confusion which was deliberately maintained at Nancy was intended to leave the party under the leadership of the parliamentary fraction with room to manoeuvre for the future.

It must be pointed out that complete unanimity was achieved in almost all questions and that the "struggles" between the "rights" and the "lefts" have considerably decreased. One can say therefore that the unity of the party crystallised around a deliberately ambiguous provisorium which will be brought to an end by the triumph of the participation of the party in the government. On our part we will do everything possible to destroy the wobbling balance of the hypocritical pseudo-marxist phrases on the one hand and actual co-operation with the bourgeoisie on the other, by broader and broader struggles of the working masses under our leadership.

FASCISM

For the Amnesty of the Anti-Fascist Prisoners.

Appeal of the Italian Section of the I. R. A.

The Italian proletariat has been put in irons. For the sake of the peace of the rich, Mussolini has put it in the bloody chains of Fascist oppression.

To-day workmen in Italy have to work as long as the employer thinks fit, and in the country the mayor imposed on the village can fix as he wishes the number of working men which have to be put in for nothing. While starving peasants who have migrated to the town in the hope of finding work are driven away again, Fascism is renewing the traditional celebrations in honour of the king and the princes and presenting the Pope with millions.

Fascism has arranged a "plebiscite" which clearly shows a good understanding between the industrialists, the well-to-do and the Fascists; between the Pope, Fascism and the monarchy. At the same time, however, it was a striking manifestation of the oppression and political slavery of the workers and peasant masses.

Three million electors were struck off the list of voters; those peasants and workers, who are not deprived of the right to vote, were completely prevented from making free use of it, for they were dragged to the ballot box where they had to deposit their voting papers, which were easily recognised by the armed Fascists surrounding them. Behind the ballot box the shadow of the Special Court brandished menacingly the terrible class judgements.

6000 prisoners in the jails, many hundreds of political exiles, three million workers robbed of their right to vote, the menacing Special Court, unemployment, persecutions, acts of violence, sticks loaded with lead... such is the freedom which is granted to the Italian proletariat.

But the resistance to Fascism, the fight for bread, the tendencies to reorganise the ranks of the working class are growing: The Italian workers have fought heroically against oppression.

The Fascist regime, with its militia, its spies and prisons, is torturing and murdering. The rage of the reactionaries does not spare even the women, the heroic women, who are fighting for their bread, the wives, mothers and sisters of the prisoners, who are being supported through the solidarity of the workers; they are beaten, arrested and dragged before the Special Court.

Hundreds of anti-Fascists have been transported to islands or to malarial districts, and the Special Court fills the jails quicker, than the tuberculosis among the prisoners empties them. In 1927, 207 accused were sentenced to 1242 years imprisonment; in 1928, 643 were condemned to 3517 years. During the first four months of 1929, 117 accused were sentenced to an aggregate of 461 years imprisonment. Since the Special Court began its activity, it has condemned 697 Communists to 5221 years of imprisonment.

In addition to them, there are a further 6000 political prisoners in the Fascist jails, and the life, which they have lead there, is so terrible that many of them succumb. Political prisoners are just as badly treated, if not worse treated than criminals; the relatives of the political are forbidden to send in money or foodstuffs. The political prisoners are kept in solitary confinement, their cells are not heated, and the cold which is served to them adds hunger to their other tribulations. Fascism has murdered hundreds of its opponents, hundreds more are to-day dying a slow death in prison and in concentration camps, while their families are tormented and scattered.

These thousands of prisoners must be rescued. An end must be put to the inhuman sufferings. The Italian Section of the International Red Aid appeals to the solidarity of the workers of all countries to protest against Italian Fascism and against the murderous prison regime, to insist upon an amnesty for all political prisoners. In face of the international unity of the workers and of the international unity of the fight against Fascism, the Emergency Law must be abolished and the Special Court done away with. Let us compel Fascism to grant a general amnesty!

The Italian Section of the International Red Aid