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# The Second International, What It Was and What It Is.

The Fortieth Anniversary of the Second International.

By J. Lenz (Berlin).

On the 14th July 1889, on the hundredth anniversary of the falling of the Bastille, the Inaugural Congress of the Second International took place in Paris. The Chairmen of the Congress, the Communist leader Vaillant and "the soldier of the revolution", Wilhelm Liebknecht, proudly affirmed their loyalty to the revolutionary traditions of the working class movement, to the Paris Commune and to the work of the International Workingmen's Association, the First International, led by Marx and Engels. 167 delegates from 20 countries were present at the congress. The success of the congress was all the more marked on account

of the fact that the Possibilists, the reformist wing of the French labour movement had called an international counter-conference to take place in Paris also. Vaillant declared in his speech that the congress of the Second International was "one of the greatest events in the history of the peoples", that it was the beginning of "a new era of conscious and systematic efforts to represent the rights of the oppressed, an era of systematic and united action on the part of the international proletariat for socialism", that it was "the guarantee for certain and decisive victory". Wilhelm Liebknecht commenced his speech with the words, "It is

the proudest moment of my life to stand here and see the fulfilment of the ideal expressed in the words, "Workers of the World Unite".

These words expressed the hopes placed in the Second International by the revolutionary workers of all countries, the advance guard of the international proletariat. These hopes have not been fulfilled. At the moment when the decisive test came, at the moment when international proletarian solidarity became a vital necessity for the working class in the uttermost sense of the words, in August 1914, the Second International collapsed shamefully. Why the Second International collapsed and why its collapse was inevitable, are questions which it is the duty of every class-conscious worker to examine and understand.

Two definite periods can be observed in the history of the Second International, the period from 1889 to 1904, when it played a great and positive role in the organisation and the leadership of the working masses in the capitalist countries, and the period from 1904 to 1914, in which the Second International degenerated progressively towards complete opportunism and social imperialism, the developed form of reformism triumphed.

The Amsterdam congress in 1904 was the culminating point and at the same time the turning point in the history of the Second International. The congress met after the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war and became an inspiring demonstration of international proletarian solidarity when Plechanov, the representative of the Russian workers, and Sen Katayama, the representative of the Japanese workers, shook hands publicly on the platform as a sign of the fraternal alliance of the revolutionary workers of the belligerent countries. The congress decisively condemned reformism which expressed itself theoretically in the Revisionism of Bernstein, and practically in the French party in the Ministerialism of Millerand. The granting of credits etc., for the capitalist State and the tendencies to participate in the government under capitalism, were condemned as irreconcilable with the principles of the revolutionary class struggle.

The Russo-Japanese War was followed quickly by the outbreak of the first Russian revolution which opened up a new period in the history of the international working class movement. The comparatively peaceful period in which the working class movement of Europe was limited mainly to parliamentary and trade union methods of struggle, the period in which the great legal mass organisations of the proletariat developed, was at an end. The new imperialist period, the period of wars and revolutions, placed new tasks before the labour organisations. The gigantic example of the Russian revolution spurred on the international proletariat and released a wave of great political mass strikes. On the other hand the revolutionary energy of the masses frightened the bourgeoisie and caused it to consolidate itself into a reactionary block against the working class, and to increase its armaments both against the internal enemy and against external enemies in an imperialist war.

In this new period the labour movement could not continue to exist in its old form. The working class movement was faced with the alternatives of either adopting new forms of revolutionary mass action with a view to overthrowing the bourgeoisie, as demanded by the left-wing, or of utilising the growing voting power of the working class parties and the increasing number of labour deputies in parliament etc., with a view to winning positions within the bourgeois State apparatus and thus going the way of adaptation to the bourgeois social order, as propagated by the Revisionists.

The so-called "Marxist Centre", which was the leading group both in Germany and in the International, wanted to accept neither of the alternatives. It condemned the Revisionists and declared itself in favour of "the old tried and trusted, victorious tactic of the class struggle", at the same time however, it fought against the revolutionary alternative with hands and feet, clinging to the misrepresented and distorted words of Engels which for decades were interpreted as a rejection on principle of the armed struggle of the proletariat for power.

The discussions upon the question of the mass strike revealed the new groupings within the German and the international labour movement and the development of the Centre which theoretically condemned reformism but by rejecting revolutionary methods of struggle practically allied itself more and more closely with the right-wing against the left-wing. In Germany this turning point was sealed by the pact made in 1906

between the Central Committee of the German Social Democratic Party and the reformist trade union bureaucracy which represented no less a practical prohibition of the political mass strike. The trade unions, in which the qualified upper strata of the working class dominated, became the strongest bulwark of reformist tendencies which represented the point of view of the aristocracy of labour which was bribed by imperialism and interested in the maintenance of the capitalist order of society.

The congresses of the Second International in Stuttgart 1907 and in Basle in 1912 still adopted good revolutionary decisions, particularly in the question of the struggle against imperialist war, but even at the congresses it was possible to see the dominance of the opportunist elements in the international labour movement. Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg succeeded in securing the adoption by the Stuttgart congress of the decision making it the duty of all socialist parties to fight by all possible means against war and, should war nevertheless break out, to utilise the resultant crisis for the overthrow of capitalism. However, the Social Democratic Parties, which had no experience in the revolutionary struggle and which were effectually crippled by the presence of reformist elements in their most prominent party positions, proved themselves to be completely incapable of putting the revolutionary decisions into operation.

In August 1914 the Centre went over completely and suddenly into the camp of open reformism. In the tremendous August crisis there was no longer any possibility of manoeuvring between the camps of reformism and revolution. The existence of the bourgeois State was at stake and the alternatives were, either to support the imperialist war or to offer revolutionary resistance to the war with a view to transforming the imperialist war into a civil war for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. The Centrists, who were unable to stomach the revolutionary alternative, sank to the standpoint of the social imperialists who celebrated the "civil peace" proclaimed as a result of the war, as the fulfilment of their efforts for "a peaceful development into socialism".

The Bolsheviks alone, who had separated from the reformists in 1903 and who had built up their organisations in the revolutionary struggle, so that they were able to stand the blows of the military dictatorship, were able to maintain the standards of proletarian internationalism, not only in theory, but in practice of the revolutionary struggle. The Bolsheviks under the leadership of Lenin had already drawn their conclusions in September 1914 from the collapse of the Second International: the necessity of creating a new and really proletarian and revolutionary International.

The Third International, the Communist International, did not only continue the work of the First International, but also the work of the left wing inside the Second International. The Third International represents everything really proletarian and socialist which was in the Second International. However, it removed mercilessly all those rotten elements of opportunist theory and practice which caused the collapse of the Second International: Toleration of opportunism, the diplomatic concealment of fundamental contradictions, the national autonomy of the individual parties, and the acceptance of unity in words instead of unity in deed. The Third International is a united Bolshevik world party which represents the united revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice.

After a short interlude in which the centrist Second International Half-International existed independently, the "Labour and Socialist International" was botched together again in Hamburg 1923. This new International has itself declared that the decisions of the former international have no validity for it. And in fact the Labour and Socialist International has nothing in common with the revolutionary traditions of the international labour movement, it represents the rallying point for all those reformist and nationalist tendencies which led to the miserable collapse of the Second International in 1914.

This international is incapable of any united action in the interests of the proletariat, its unity is based solely upon a community of interests in the struggle against the revolutionary labour movement. This "international", which reflects all the imperialist antagonisms of the capitalist States, is nothing but a branch office of the imperialist League of Nations. Just as the latter strives under the hegemony of the for the moment strongest group of imperialist powers to relegate into the background

ordinate differences in the interests of a joint action against proletarian revolution and its bulwark, the Soviet Union, also the International of Social Imperialists acts as arbiter in the "socialist" lackeys of imperialism to facilitate joint action against the Communist International.

Those decisions of the Labour and Socialist international which are intended to look like international proletarian action, have no significance in practice. Whilst this international adopted Brussels the disarmament resolution, the German social democratic Ministers in Berlin voted for the building of the notorious armoured cruiser. Whilst the Executive Committee of this international issued an appeal for May Day demonstrations, the German social democracy celebrated the 40th anniversary of the First of May with a blood-bath amongst the demonstrating workers in Berlin.

The reformist international is no longer only an instrument for disorganising, confusing and disrupting the labour movement, it is an instrument for the conscious preparation of an imperialist war against the first proletarian State and for the establishment of a social fascist dictatorship against the working class.

What once represented two different tendencies inside the framework of one international organisation, now represents two hostile forces engaged in a life and death struggle. The abolition of this split in the working class movement by the unification of the two organisations which have resulted from it, an absurd illusion still nourished by some "left-wing" social democrats, is as impossible as a reconciliation between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, between world imperialism and world communism.

The shameful and treacherous role of the social imperialist parties is daily driving thousands of workers out of their ranks. Whilst the Communist International is advancing in all countries by winning the majority of the workers. This is the decisive preliminary condition for the overthrow of capitalism and at the same time the final destruction of reformism and the abolition of the split in the international working class movement.

## POLITICS

### The Results of the Elections in Holland.

By A. de Vries (Amsterdam).

The result of the elections has not greatly changed political conditions in general. Social democracy retains its 24 seats, and the Catholic Party its 30 seats, (the Chamber of deputies numbers 100 members).

The Liberals, who have been declining for decades, lost one of their 9 seats. Among the other bourgeois parties there were only minor changes.

The reformists were able to increase their share in the total number of votes cast but not sufficiently in order to win fresh seats. In some parts of the country their influence has increased; in Amsterdam they have gained about 20,000 votes, which is due to the fact that in the last year or so they have not taken part immediately in the town council administration and therefore could make "opposition". On the other hand they have lost ground in the Catholic provinces of the South to the advantage of the Catholic Party. These formerly agrarian districts have of late become rapidly industrialised, but reformism has no power to attract these new cadres of the proletariat.

The Communist Party of Holland is able to record progress in these elections. It must be borne in mind that our Party has been combated in the most ruthless manner, especially by other groups who call themselves "revolutionary" and who speculate on the ignorance of the masses. In 1925 the C. P. of Holland polled 36,770 votes. A so-called revolutionary list put forward under the leadership of the Netherland Workers Secretariat was officially withdrawn but still polled 12,000 votes.

In the year 1927 the Wijnkoop group had formed an independent "Party" which impudently appropriated the name of the Communist Party and took part in the elections to the town councils. At that time it was shown that Wijnkoop, who for many years had been considered as a revolutionary by the

workers, still possessed considerable influence; the Wijnkoop group polled 37,000 votes, the C. P. of Holland not more than 32,000 votes.

In the present elections our Party polled 37,622 votes and the Wijnkoop group only 29,800 votes. This group has greatly lost ground during the last two years, especially in Amsterdam. Here our Party increased its votes from 10,400 in 1927 to 12,919 in 1929, whilst the Wijnkoop group declined from 14,500 to 8,200. Also in Rotterdam the Wijnkoop group lost 2,000 of its former 11,000 votes. The C. P. of Holland, however, can by no means be satisfied with the 2,000 votes it has polled in this important harbour town.

It is significant that the Party has obtained good results in Zaandam and Groningen, where for months past great labour struggles have been fought. In Zaandam, where the social democratic burgomaster has proceeded very brutally against the strikers, the reformists suffered a considerable defeat.

Comrade de Visser has been re-elected as member of Parliament, but also the Wijnkoop group received a sufficient number of votes to obtain a seat.

The list of the Netherland Workers' Secretariat received about 20,000 votes, as a result of which its candidate Sneevliet has fallen through.

In addition to the consolidation of the position of the C. P. of Holland it is significant that the votes polled by the "revolutionary" lists in general have increased. Although the Wijnkoop or Sneevliet groups do not conduct a revolutionary policy, the workers who voted for their lists did so in the belief that they were thereby supporting revolutionary candidates. The number of these votes, including the Communist votes, amounted in 1925 to 49,000, in 1927 to 74,000 and in 1929 to about 87,000, which fact points to a distinct, even if not yet great, radicalisation of the Dutch workers.

The C. P. of Holland has made a farther step on the path of becoming the recognised leader of all revolutionary Dutch workers. But the goal has not yet been reached and great efforts will be necessary in order to overcome the sectarian groups.

A peculiar feature of the Dutch elections is the great number of parties which participate in it. There were about 35 parties, the great majority of which failed to obtain a single seat. It is the proportional election system which renders possible such a sectarianism.

During the election campaign the C. P. of Holland issued many factory papers for the big factories, such as Philips zu Eindhoven, the artificial silk factories in Fide, in the Amsterdam harbour etc. This work must be extended in the future. In the next few weeks the work of the Party will be concentrated on the organisation of the International Red Day.

It is very improbable that the social democratic party will be a partner in the new government. There only remains therefore the prospect of a bourgeois government. But the antagonisms among the bourgeois parties are very great. The bourgeoisie of the South, where the Catholic party has a great majority, is in favour of a rapprochement to Belgium and the granting of Belgium's demands regarding the cutting of a channel. The representatives of commercial capital from the Dutch coast provinces are opposed to this policy.

The strengthening of catholic influence has given rise to a growing anti-Romanist movement among the protestants; therefore it will not be easy to form a new "coalition" among the Catholic and Protestant parties, which together form a majority of 53 out of 100.

Also in the colonial question there are differences among the bourgeoisie between the "ethicists", who wish to grant some concessions to the native bourgeoisie and intelligentsia, and the reactionaries of the type of a Colijn, who rely on the "strong hand" and seek a support among the native aristocracy.

However sharp the contradictions which Dutch capitalism is encountering at home and abroad may become, the bourgeois parties will be driven to a reactionary policy in the colonies, to increased armaments and attacks upon the standard of life of the proletariat.

The elections have proved that a good soil exists for Communist propaganda; if the C. P. H. proves capable of seizing the revolutionary initiative in all struggles of the proletariat, the prospects for its further growth are very favourable.

## The Change of Government in Japan.

By. Jegeba.

The Right Tanaka cabinet in Japan has resigned. The leader of the Left bourgeois opposition party Minseito, Hamagutschi, who was entrusted with the formation of the new cabinet, has already accomplished this task. Hamagutschi has taken over the office of prime minister, Baron Schidehara the ministry for foreign affairs, and Kenzo Adatschi that of home affairs. No fewer than eight former ministers have places in the cabinet.

What led to the resignation of the Tanaka government, which was supported by a weak majority of the Sejukai party and the Tokonami group? In the first place a number of inner political reasons, as for instance the refusal of the house to sanction Bills which the Sejukai had undertaken in its election promises to have passed, among these, being the bills relating to the handing over of the proceeds of the ground tax to the communities, the aid of peasant owners, etc. In the second place an attempt on the part of the government to pass a law increasing the number of constituencies, by which it hoped to secure itself against defeat in the case of a fresh election, proved a failure. And although the violent persecution of the revolutionary labour movement, and especially of the Communists and Left trade unionists, by the Tanaka government, met with the approval of the bourgeois Left and will doubtlessly be continued by them, still on the whole the antagonisms between the Right and Left bourgeois parties increased steadily in acuteness.

The main causes and the immediate motive of the change of cabinet are, however, to be found in the sphere of foreign politics. When the Kellogg Pact was ratified, the Privy Council permitted the inclusion of the expression "in the name of the people", although this runs counter to the letter of the constitution with reference to the rights of the Mikado in the conclusion of treaties, and hence led to violent disputes. These have, of course, been merely a pretext, since the conflict had nothing to do with the wording of the Kellogg Pact, but with its import. The resignation of the cabinet was also partially due to its share of responsibility for the murder of Chang Tso Lin. The investigation of the bomb attack on the railway train in which the Manchurian dictator was travelling is said to have established the responsibility of several members of the Japanese chief command.

Japan's policy in China led, more than two years ago, to the fall of the Wakatsuki cabinet supported by the Left bourgeois Kenseikai party. The course taken by this cabinet was condemned as too compliant. Since then the Tanaka government has been pursuing a "firm course" in its policy towards China. The Sejukai party, the main support of this cabinet, represents chiefly the interests of the agrarians and of those sections of trade and industrial capital connected with the sale and working up of agricultural products, and with the mining industry. As these elements control a considerable portion of the Japanese capital invested in China, their party has always advocated the most ruthless possible policy towards China.

The Tanaka government did not hesitate to maintain a "firm" policy towards China. Twice it sent troops to occupy the Chinese province of Shantung. It obstinately resisted the recognition of the power of the Nanking government by Manchuria. Endless negotiations were carried on with reference to the trade agreement between Japan and China, and to the building of railways in Manchuria, but failed owing to the stubbornness of the Tanaka government.

China replied to the "firm policy" with a boycott of Japanese goods, and the Nanking government approached more closely the imperialists of the United States, granting these a number of concessions. Japan's share in China's foreign trade fell off in the course of the past year, and British textile capital even succeeded in regaining some of the positions lost during the last few years. The capitalists of the United States have of course advanced even farther, and have been able to obtain many valuable concessions. The latest events in China (defeat of the Kwangsi group and of Feng Yu Hsiang, upon whom the Japanese imperialists had set their hopes) have augmented the danger of the unification of China, under the influence of the United States, against Japan.

The policy of the Tanaka government towards Great Britain and the United States was equally unsuccessful. Although Great

Britain was most anxious for close co-operation with Japan in 1925 to 1927, when the revolution in China reached its maximum point, during the last few years Japan, subjected to ever severer attacks in China, has been more anxious for co-operation than Great Britain.

In connection with these political failures the economic crisis became more and more threatening. Foreign trade has fallen considerably of late years, the trade balance has become increasingly adverse, the rate of exchange of the yen has depreciated, prices have risen; in a word, the "positive policy" of the government has brought no positive results. It has merely intensified the inner antagonisms leading finally to the overthrow of the Tanaka government.

## "The Strong Hand in Egypt"

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

The Egyptian dictator, Mahomed Mahmud, who, thrusting aside all his political opponents and their "demagogic" organs, such as parliament, the press, is doing in Egypt what King Fuad thinks right and what the High Commissioner Lord Lloyd approves of, never forgets to call himself the "saviour of Egypt", "the great reformer", etc., in order to make clear to the dissatisfied Egyptian people and sceptical people abroad how happy they ought to be to know that the fate of the Nile Country is in the hands of so great a man.

Now, after the formation of the MacDonald Cabinet it is necessary to make this seasoning palatable to the new cooks of the British Imperial kitchen. The Labour Party has on several occasions intervened in favour of the reinstatement of a parliamentary regime in Egypt, and on being questioned by members of parliament have referred scornfully to the "dictatorship" as a machination of the British High Commissioner — how is the Egyptian gentleman now to be presented to the world without causing revulsion. Nothing is simpler. As a result of the recent signing of the Anglo-Egyptian Nile Treaty which the Egyptian Government surrendered to the English, their rights to the Sudan and their control of the Nile (to the good and profit of the British cotton planters), Mahomed Mahmud was given an honorary title of doctor of the Oxford University.

The result of the general election was hardly made known before Mahomed Mahmud set out hurriedly for London in order to receive this honorary title personally. For the special occasion he will make at the ceremony he has taken with him a brochure bearing the title "The Strong Hand in Egypt". This work contains a collection of speeches made by the dictator so nicely arranged and introduced that there can be no doubt at all about the progressive character and the liberating value of the Mahmud dictatorship.

It appears that the Egyptians were slaves in their own country, ruled by a brutal and corrupt clique, kept in ignorance of all innovations and progress, delivered up to arbitrariness and demagoguery — until Mahomed Mahmud took pity on them and with a "strong hand" created a new Golden Age. With this plunder, parliament, immoral press, demagogic speeches — The dictatorship of Mahmud — so says the brochure — based on the interests of the people and, in particular, it secures the economic renaissance of the Egyptian nation and has regard for the poor classes: the workers and peasants. Who makes laws for the protection of the worker? Mahmud. Who gives land to the peasants? Mahmud. Who provides the villages with drinking water? Again Mahmud, and so forth. Even the abolition of the constitution, of parliament, of the freedom of the press is not meant in any bad sense. These are only temporary measures for the purpose of securing the immense social reforms.

Naturally, the man with the strong hand presumes that his statements will not be put to any test. If they were, it would be seen immediately that the strong hand, which was frequently brought into play during the abolition of the immoral insti-

ans, such as parliament, press, constitution, is not so conspicuous during the execution of the social reforms. The repeatedly promised and announced law for the protection of the worker is still in the committee stage, which was appointed a year ago, and just recently it was again postponed for a few months. The workers' dwellings are still in the land of mirage. The distribution of land is making no headway (it now transpires that all there is for distribution is a strip of land in the Province of Fayum; Mahomed Mahmud himself is in his private possession two or three times as much land as he proposes to "give" to all the peasants); for the rich estates of ground, which are to be put at their disposal, the peasants are being nicely fleeced; they have to pay fifty years' interest for them. As to the water supplies for villages, even the plans are not yet ready.

In spite of all this Mahomed Mahmud and his British friend Lloyd look forward to good success from the advertising prospectus of the dictatorship. To judge from the quiet, which Mr. Henderson, chairman of the II. International and present Foreign Secretary of His British Majesty, gave the Dictator-Pasha — the "strong hand in Egypt" has already made a conquest.

This attempt on the part of Mahmud to renew with Henderson the alliance he made with Chamberlain, is naturally causing the Wafd no little worry. It follows the steps of the sovereign with malicious remarks and expresses its assurance that the Bourgeois Government would not condone a violation of parliamentarism in Egypt. But in spite of all these gestures of opposition, the Wafd is really also to blame for the Mahmud dictatorship. For its empty opposition cries, its terror of mass movements, its lack of understanding for social demands and its accompanying, constant whining readiness to come to an understanding with the English — make of it a Party of National Betrayal, whose competition with the Mahmud Cabinet has no better aim than the gaining of a few seats in the Cabinet. The greater the fermentation among the masses, who are anything but happy under the "strong hand" of Mahmud, the greater the fear felt by the Wafd leaders, who represent the Egyptian bourgeoisie, of permitting any revolutionary steps.

It is not the Wafd — and not the completely passive on-lookers, the "extreme" Watani Party — but only the "strong hand" of a proletarian party, supported by the fellahin, will be capable of sweeping away the bombastic Mahmud and his imperialist protectors.

## The Situation in Persia.

By I. F.

The events in Afghanistan which led to the victory of the revolution and to the complete disintegration of Afghanistan as a State, contain so many lessons that one must devote the most serious attention to the present happenings in Persia. The insurrections in the Southern part of Persia have extended still further. In Teheran, various prominent dignitaries have been arrested: the Minister for Finance, the leader of the demeritocracy, the governor general of the province of Fars, i. e. the province which is at present in a state of revolt. Among those arrested there are also numerous other officials occupying high positions.

These arrests have greatly excited Persian public opinion. The other hand they are regarded in official circles as proof of a conspiracy against the government. The decision of the Persian government to proceed with the most drastic means against the revolt in the South appears perfectly natural having regard to the tense situation in the interior and the persons who have been arrested. The strained situation is due to the discontent prevailing among all sections of the population. The compromise upon which the present regime is based, is bitter not only the broad masses of peasants and of the urban bourgeoisie, but also the clerical and feudal groups who have been deprived of their former political privileges. The latter are endeavouring to influence the new monarchy in the interests of reaction. They are not content with having

their representatives (as the former Finance Minister Firus) in the government. They want a thorough change in home and foreign policy. The government, on its part, which made various concessions to them, especially to the clergy, and for whose sake it abandoned comprehensive social reforms, is being pushed from behind. In its fight against the masses it is endeavouring to get the support of the Right groups, without, however, completely fulfilling the latter's demands, and at the same time to carry out some reforms in order to satisfy the Left tendency. Objectively, however, the expedient and firm centralisation policy of the government, which means the driving out of the feudal lords and the elders of the tribes, has as an accompanying phenomenon encroachments on the part of the central administration. The population do not see any immediate positive results for themselves as a result of centralisation. The final result is a movement of the masses against the government, a movement which the reactionary groups are endeavouring to make use of in their own interests. Reliable evidence that those arrested in Teheran have or have not taken part in the insurrectionary movement is not at present to hand. That the arrested dignitaries, however, are among those persons who are extremely hostile towards the present regime and could, in the event of a further development of the events, take over the leadership of the movement against the government, there is no doubt.

Prominent among the arrested is the Minister for Finance Firus, who is closely connected with England through his former activity as statesman and is loyally devoted to the Kadshara dynasty. Firus is the best hated man in Persia. It was he who, in 1919, together with Wosuk ed Dowle and Sarem ed Dowle, bargained away Persia to England by concluding a shameful treaty which was annulled in 1921 under the government of Said Sia ed Dina. The English, in revenge for the rebuff they suffered, are now demanding the recognition as a State debt to England of the 160,000 pound sterling paid out to the above named persons as a "reward" for the conclusion of the Treaty of 1919. Firus, who had joined himself to Riza Shah before the overthrow of the Kadshara dynasty, became Finance Minister. But even in his new capacity he maintained the former connections with the English mission. He helped himself from the State treasury and continued his policy of blackmail and corruption, as well as his special policy towards the tribes in Southern Persia. His undermining work against the new regime was obvious. Riza Shah, who was quite aware of the activity of his Finance Minister, did not throw him overboard, as he valued the support of the groups led by Firus. What this support was worth is shown by the revolt in the Southern provinces of Persia.

The government is just as much responsible for the situation in Persia as is the clique of Firus and his consorts hitherto favoured by the government. It is possible that the court wishes, by the arrests which have been carried out, to allay the discontent in the country and win the confidence of the Left public opinion. It is also possible that the new monarchy is attempting to rally all the progressive forces in the country by holding up the spectre of a restoration of the old dynasty. Should however the government confine itself to making arrests, no one will believe in the seriousness of its intentions finally to settle accounts with the clerical and feudal groups. The discontent can be allayed only by social reforms in the interests of the peasants and of the urban bourgeoisie. The Persian public must receive the right to discuss State affairs freely. Supported by public opinion the government must take up a real fight against corruption and in general against all excesses in the State organism of Persia. If the government decides on this course, then it will render difficult the work of the English agents who are preparing for Persia the same fate as Afghanistan. If it should not make this decision, it will thereby facilitate this work of the English agents.

Reaction is raising its head in Persia. Just as in Afghanistan the clergy are endeavouring to gain the leadership of the movement. They have already appealed to the population to overthrow the government and to revert to the old laws. It is the duty of advanced circles of Persia to prevent the reactionary groups from seizing the leadership of the movement.

## The "Pravda" on Anglo-Russian Relation.

Moscow, 5th July 1929.

In a leading article upon the king's speech, the "Pravda" declares itself in agreement with the remark of Wallhead that the passage referring to the relations between Great Britain and the Soviet Union must be described as extremely vague:

"We must declare with all energy and clarity that the talk about conditions represents a deliberate deception of the British working masses who placed their confidence in the Labour Party. The Labour Party's attitude in this question can only be intended to sabotage its own electoral promises."

The "Pravda" declares that mutual non-interference in internal affairs is the natural preliminary for all diplomatic relations, and proceeds:

The Soviet Government naturally recognises this elementary principle and any negotiations concerning this question are absolutely superfluous. All suggestions about the necessity of special conditions and special undertakings are only intended to sabotage the re-establishment of diplomatic relations."

The "Pravda" points out that MacDonald answered a question of Baldwin in the affirmative as to whether in the question of the re-opening of relations with the Soviet Union, he, MacDonald, had maintained the principle contained in his note in connection with the so-called Zinoviev Letter, and continues:

"Thus the head of the British labour government commences his diplomatic activity upon the field of Anglo-Russian relations by referring to the note sent in connection with the Zinoviev Letter. It must be remembered that at the time MacDonald himself declared that the letter was a forgery, a piece of political trickery which for cool calculations and deliberation was unparalleled in the political history of England. If the government which terms itself a Labour Government, considers it desirable to set up conditions upon the basis of the scandalous Zinoviev Letter, then the Soviet Government will rightly put forward counter-conditions. One of these conditions would be a guarantee by the British Government that it would not take part in any anti-Soviet intervention, another that it would refrain from raiding the trade missions of the Soviet Union, refrain from breaking open Soviet safes and refrain from mal-treating Soviet employees. The Soviet Government can demand that the criminal anti-Soviet activities of British diplomatic agents abroad, which represent a serious threat to the cause of peace, should cease. The Soviet Government is not playing any game, it formulates the situation clearly and unambiguously and it is in favour of the re-establishment of diplomatic relations. However, the Soviet Government is not prepared to accept condescension from any one. It fully realises that the provocative breaking off of diplomatic relations caused economic disadvantage to both countries and threatened the maintenance of peace, and it recognises also that the re-establishment of diplomatic relations would favour the cause of peace and encourage trade between Great Britain and the Soviet Union."

The "Pravda" points out that the Labour Party in its official electoral programme formulated the question of the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries in exactly the same fashion and declares that the question of increased trade still stands where it did at the time of Piatakov's declaration to the delegation of British industrialists. Unless firm and permanent mutual political relations were established, the orders referred to in the electoral programme of the Labour Party, would have to be placed in other countries. The Soviet Union was experiencing a period of rapid industrialisation, and the Five Year Plan provided for the building of new industrial undertakings to a very great extent. The workers of the Soviet Union had every reason to watch in perfect calmness the comedy being played around the question of Anglo-Russian relations in British governing circles. This, however, did not mean that they were prepared to remain silent observers of the card sharpening being tried on by the so-called Labour Government of MacDonald in

this question. It was impermissible to deceive the British workers in this question.

"We declare emphatically that we are opposed to shilly-shallying with conditions and we are opposed to the machinations behind the scenes. We are in favour of complete clarity with regard to Anglo-Russian relations. Our attitude is not only dictated by the interests of the Soviet Union, but also by the interests of the British working class."

## THE WHITE TERROR

### The Savage Sentences in the Monster Trial in Lemberg.

By G. S. (Lemberg).

The Pilsudski government is reverting to the methods of the old Tsarist Ochrana in order to persecute the revolutionary labour movement. Proof of this is furnished by a trial of revolutionary workers, peasants and intellectuals from West-Ukrainia which has just come to an end in Lemberg. The proceedings lasted for 16 days, during which time the prosecutor sought to prove that the accused were still carrying on the prohibited Communist Party of West-Ukrainia and were guilty of high treason.

What, however, has the trial actually shown? Nothing else than that the revolutionary workers in the dock had been engaged in perfectly legal activity; in trade union actions, such as elections to the insurance co-operatives, or in work for the Red Aid. But even this is forbidden, for the Red Aid, according to the opinion of the Lemberg Public Prosecutor, is only an appendage of the criminal III. International!

Against the III. International all means are permissible in order to aim a blow at it, spies and provocateurs were out in Poland in order to bring into the dock everyone suspected of communism. Such mass trials are continually being tried up by government agents. This was done in Lemberg by an agent passing under the name of Sanacja and who is now in Warsaw in order to carry out fresh dastardly actions. He hired smuggled incriminating material into a house in Lemberg and then caused it to be confiscated by the police. He arranged a conference and then had it raided by the police.

In spite of the fact that this conference was only held for the purpose of preparing for the elections to the insurance co-operatives (at which the Communists received 80% of the votes) the police agents represented it as being a secret Communist conference aimed against the State. The State prosecutor Gürtler got busy and drew up the indictment, which, however, was so feeble and unconvincing that he was unable to bring even one of the 21 accused within the provisions of the law. Paragraphs relating to high treason, which provide for a minimum penalty of ten years imprisonment. According to the verdict of the jury nine of the accused had to be acquitted, the others received terms of imprisonment ranging from ten months to four years.

These shameful sentences are, of course, devoid of any justification. They are the result of the furious incitement of the Public Prosecutor against the accused.

During the proceedings four of the accused and six defenders in brilliant speeches tore to pieces the fairy tale of the Public Prosecutor regarding Soviet Russia. Kaufman, a student, declared that if he were condemned he would continue to serve the Polish working class. The delegate Dr. Sahajkevics, vice-marshal of the Sejm, and a member of the bourgeois Ukrainia democratic League, designated the Communist trial as a frame-up on the part of spies. Communism, he declared, is not a crime but a scientifically founded world view. It is therefore not a specific product of Moscow but has its foundation in the bad economic conditions in Poland.

## AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

### Greece's Preparations for War.

By D. Prynós (Athens).

At a Conference held on 27th May, participated in by the Greek prime minister, the minister for the marine, 29 officers of high rank, and the chairman of the English military commission, it was resolved to give orders for two new torpedo boats, and to settle the matter of the cruiser "Salamis" as speedily as possible, that is, to take over the cruiser.

One of the leading governmental newspapers comments on its decision as follows:

"It would be desirable to come to a sensible agreement with Turkey, in order that the mutual naval armaments may be reduced to the minimum necessary. But so long as Angora proceeds in the contrary direction and carries out an extensive fleet programme, Greece must omit no measure in the sphere of national security."

The prime minister declared: "The defensive character of our policy consists of our maintenance of Greece's supremacy in the Aegean Sea."

At the same time the "strong impression" produced in England by the Turkish orders to Italian shipyards (two torpedo destroyers, two submarines, and several torpedo boats) is reported on.

Greece, one of the first countries to ratify the Kellogg Pact, and with its representative temporarily occupying the post of President of the Disarmament Commission of the League of Nations, is arming with feverish intensity. The reports on armaments in Turkey are merely a pretext in order to justify its own measures in the eyes of the population.

Greece is strengthening not only its war fleet. Preparations for war have long been carried on in every sphere. Since 1923 Greece has expended two to two and a half milliard drachms (about 25 per cent of its budget) for military purposes. The new military law, too, is worthy of notice, envisaging: reorganisation of mobilisation, establishment of a permanent corps of five non-commissioned officers (in place of the volunteers hitherto employed, but proving unsuitable for technical and political reasons), shortened term of military service, thereby releasing large means for military purchases, and various other measures serving the ends of Greece's preparations for war (road building at points of military importance, reorganisation of medical service, intensification of terror, issue of emergency laws).

The before mentioned naval orders are a factor vividly demonstrating the increase of Greek armaments, and rendering the danger of war increasingly acute.

Greece, which lost almost the last of its reserves of war material after the collapse of the campaign in Asia Minor, and which has only recently gradually begun to take up armaments again, has hitherto concentrated its foreign policy solely upon defending itself against the attacks of its neighbouring states. Serbia demanded the harbour of Saloniki, while Bulgaria put a claim for an outlet to the Mediterranean on Greek territory.

Servia arrived at an agreement with Greece in a treaty immediately connected with the Anglo-French rapprochement. This agreement, laying the actual foundation stone of an anti-Soviet Balkan bloc, gives to Servia the right of duty-free and uncontrolled import via the port of Saloniki. Servia is thus enabled to receive war material by sea, without hindrance, since the Servian ports are subject solely to the control of the health authorities of Greece. With regard to Bulgaria, Greece has again been forced, by the pressure of Anglo-French imperialism, to make concessions in the question of compensation to the Bulgarian refugees, although Bulgaria has ceased reparation payments. Hence for the time being the main contentious question between Greece on the one hand, and Bulgaria and Servia on the other, have been removed, and Greece can devote itself anew to the offensive against Turkey.

It must be pointed out that efforts are being made, from English and French quarters, to include Turkey in the bloc against the Soviet Union. Here Greece is employed as a means of exercising pressure. A difficulty in the way of gaining Turkey to the anti-Soviet front is however, the circumstance that

Turkey, under the influence of Italy, still takes an interest in the unsettled conflicts with Servia.

During the visit of the Servian fleet to Kerkyra (Greek island), clear expression was given to the Greco-Servian friendly relations, directed against Italy. The Servian admiral declared: "We owe it to the dead of the great war that we take an oath to fight to the last man, if our Fatherland is insulted, or the freedom of Servia is attacked". These words were directed exclusively to Mussolini.

Mussolini, anxious to demonstrate to Greece its "unfaithfulness" to the recently concluded Greco-Italian friendship agreement, organised a counter-demonstration by sending the Italian King to the Dodekassian Islands (off the coast of Asia Minor), thereby demonstrating the intention of Fascism to take over finally into Italian possession the islands which had been temporarily occupied.

As stated above, Greece is making its preparation for war not only against Turkey, but against the Soviet Union. Venizelos' demagogic utterance during the last election campaign: "He who wants war must not vote for my party", need not awaken any illusions on this point.

It is a well known fact that the capitalist states, the more they talk of peace, the more energetically they prepare for war. In reality Venizelos is doing everything to stir up war fever among the masses. When the refugees demanded from the Greek state the fulfilment of the obligation, undertaken in the Lausanne treaty, of complete compensation for the property left behind in Turkey, he replied: "Complete compensation can only be granted if Turkey pays". This is one of the means used to induce the masses of the refugees to favour the idea of a war against Turkey.

But as Venizelos is well aware of the disinclination for war among the working population of Greece, he is proceeding, on the instructions of England and France, to carry out a systematic intensification of the White Terror. He causes emergency laws to be passed, aiming at the prohibition of the Communist Party, of the revolutionary trade unions, and of the other revolutionary mass organisations of the proletariat and peasantry. The Greek bourgeoisie is striving to prove to Anglo-French imperialism what a reliable tool it is for the war against the Soviet Union.

It is therefore the duty of the Balkan proletariat to join hands with the international proletariat in the common fight against imperialist war, against the Balkan bourgeoisie which is in the service of imperialism, and for the defence of the Soviet Union, for a Balkan Federation of Workers' and Peasants' Republics.

## BEFORE THE FIRST OF AUGUST

### Preparations for the 1st of August in Latvia.

By Valentin Olberg.

The Latvian working class is commencing, under difficult conditions, to prepare for the first of August. The State apparatus, supported by the social democracy, is preventing working class propaganda against war. The revolutionary workers are employing simultaneously legal and illegal methods. In the leaflets and other illegal publications of the Communist Party the workers are called upon to demonstrate on the first of August. The new weekly journal of the workers' and peasants' fraction of the Diet, "Strahdnieks und Zemnieks", is calling the attention of the masses to the danger of war. The campaign for the first of August is being closely linked up with foreign political events. The centre-point of general interest is at present occupied by the trade union Congress and the strike of the boot and shoe workers.

The recently concluded foundation Congress of the Left trade unions has great importance for the Latvian labour movement. It shows that the workers are not to be intimidated by any repression. In July last year the revolutionary trade unions were prohibited; and already thirteen organisations, with a total membership of 4,500 have arisen again. The task of organising and convening the Congress was no easy one. The white terror prevented the work of organisation. In spite of this the newly-

founded organisations succeeded in the shortest space of time in attaining a membership equal to and in some cases even surpassing that of the old trade unions. Thus for example in Windau, where formerly the trade unions embraced 1000 workers, the number of members now amounts to 1200. In Libau, the membership has doubled. This is the best proof that the social democrats and fascists are losing influence.

The foundation Congress has meant the bringing together in one organisation of all class-conscious workers. The Congress met with a lively response throughout the country. It demonstrated the vital contact between the workers' and peasants' fraction and the toiling masses. The Congress, which felt that it had the backing and sympathy of the workers and peasants, also served to reveal the weak sides of the work, mainly in propaganda and agitation.

The second big event in the political life of the Latvian working class is the strike of the boot and shoe workers. Revolutionary workers were elected onto the strike committee. 31 employers broke the collective agreements. The Left wing strike committee conducted a ruthless fight and broke the resistance of 22 capitalists. The rest of the capitalists will soon be compelled to give way to the demands of the workers.

It was a hard struggle. The capitalists had the Minister of the Interior and the police on their side. The meetings of the striking workers were prohibited. The police carried out several searches in the houses of the strike leaders. When the police were informed of a meeting of the workers, they demanded that all the passports be shown, and compelled the workers to give the names of the firms at which they are employed.

The firm of Popjansky put through a wage cut of 30 per cent. During the strike the firm approached the social democratic trade unions with the proposal to conclude a collective agreement. This, however, did not come about. The firm was compelled to give way. For the rest, however, the social democrats conducted a campaign against the strike. Already before the outbreak of the strike the central organ of the social democratic party, "Socialdemocrat", declared that the Left elements have no regard for the interests of the workers and are only acting on the instructions of Russian Communists. They linked up the question of the strike with the question whether the Lefts would cease their fight against the social democracy. The Central Organ published very little news regarding the strike and even refused to publish an appeal issued by the strike committee.

The victory of the boot and shoe workers made a great impression in Latvia. The workers are recognising more and more that they constitute a powerful force and that only the workers can prevent war.

The inclusion of Latvia, under reactionary leadership, in the anti-Soviet front is a fact. It is the task of the Communists in Latvia to drive home this fact to the masses. Demonstrations of the Communists are strictly forbidden. It is quite certain, however, that the workers will appear on the streets on the first of August and proclaim their will to peace.

## Summons of the Anti-Fascist Committee to the Fight against Fascism and War Danger.

Workers and Peasants!

Revolutionary Intellectuals!

Oppressed Peoples of the Colonies and of the National Minorities!

Reaction is obviously becoming more intensified in all capitalist countries and in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. The so-called "democratic" States are becoming converted into open strongholds of reaction; the ruling classes are everywhere creating armed fascist civil-war troops with a view to destroying the organisations of the proletariat, of letting loose open terror against the working people and depriving them of all the achievements won in spite of the ruling class in decades of struggle.

In the capital of Germany, the traditional demonstration of the working class on the 1st of May, the world festival day of Labour, was choked in blood. The press of the revolutionary working class is throttled, its defensive organs against

fascism are prohibited and dissolved, while at the same time the building up, the military training and arming of fascist organisations is promoted in every possible way. In Switzerland the government mobilises the whole armed power of the State, police gendarmerie and army, in order to suppress the force of arms the demonstration of the anti-fascist working class against the ever more insolent advances of Italian and of Swiss fascism. In Austria it has been proved that the Heerwehr fascists are being equipped from the State arsenal with machine-guns and gas-bombs and are being trained in an expert manner by officers for civil war. The same things may be seen in Czechoslovakia, in France and in all other countries of "democracy".

The leaders of international reformism — this must be said quite openly — are responsible for and are even directly participating in this development. Responsible, because they everywhere sabotage the fight against fascism and weaken the international anti-fascist front. This was plainly shown on the occasion of the Berlin International anti-fascist Congress, in which they wished to keep away the social democratic workers with the promise that they would hold their own anti-fascist Congress of the II. International in June 1929; a Congress which of course was only meant as a promise. This is also shown by their efforts systematically to destroy the spirit of the class struggle in the class organisations of the workers and to align them by means of false catchwords of "democracy" to the State and economy, in the apparatus of the capitalist State. They deprive the organisations of the working class of their vital striking forces and thereby open wide the door to fascist action and fascism.

They are, however, directly participating in strengthening the reaction and fascism. Their ministers have seats in the capitalist governments and supply the ruling classes with the willing police presidents and administrative officials.

They are actively participating in the insane war preparations. The French social democrat Paul Boncour is the father of the law which mobilises the entire population, women, children and old folk, in the event of war. In Germany the government of the social democrat Hermann Müller is building armoured cruisers.

They are conducting the fight not against the fascists but against the increased exploitation of workers, but against the revolutionary anti-fascists and against the proletariat conducting the class struggle. It is the social democratic police president who is responsible for the bloody May days in Berlin. And it is the social democrat MacDonald who prohibits picketing by the Indian textile workers of Bombay, who are on strike against inhuman exploitation, and at the same time adds that he will carry his prohibition into force "with all the means of the State".

The intensification and the spread of reaction and fascism are a sign of the threatening war danger. For reaction and fascism are an all-important factor in the feverishly conducted preparations for new imperialist wars: in the first place the war against the only country in which, thanks to the victorious proletarian revolution, fascism has not nor can it appear in any place, against the country which has taken the decisive step towards abolishing exploitation of man by man and working with tremendous energy in building up the socialist order of society — against the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

For the war against the Soviet Union has two inseparably connected fronts: the front along the borders of the Soviet Union and the front within every capitalist country against the own proletariat; against its "own" peasantry; against its own intelligentsia, whose fate is bound up for life and death with that of the proletariat; against its "own" middle classes, who have only to gain by the abolition of capitalist exploitation; against the oppressed national minorities, whose national emancipation can only proceed hand in hand with its social emancipation; in a word: the front against the entire working population.

In order to break the resistance of this working population against the imperialist war, in order to make it a passive object, cannon fodder for the new war, the ruling classes are arming for civil war, are strengthening the reaction and are arming their fascist civil-war troops. Imperialist war abroad and civil war of the ruling classes against the "enemy at home" against their own working people, are two sides of one and the same medal.

This war of the ruling classes against the "enemy at home" is already in full swing! The most courageous revolutionary fighters, who are most devoted to the cause of the proletariat and the emancipation of humanity, are being arrested and murdered before our eyes. Thousands and thousands of anti-fascist, militant comrades are pining and dying under the most fearful tortures in the fascist prisons. In all the capitalist countries the reaction is throwing thousands of workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals into prison. The militarist-fascist dictatorship in Yugoslavia has already issued the slogan, which was so well-known in the war: "No, prisoners will be taken!" That means revolutionaries who fall into the hands of the police are murdered straight-away.

To fight against fascism and all forms of reaction means to fight against imperialist war. And vice-versa: a successful fight against the threatening imperialist war, which will far surpass in horror and devastation all previous wars, presumes the most determined fight against fascism and against all forms of reaction.

The International anti-fascist Congress in Berlin was an imposing review of the anti-fascist forces of the whole world. It was a proof that ever broader strata of the working people, of the peasantry, of the revolutionary intellectuals and of the oppressed peoples are rallying in firm ranks round the proletariat in order to conduct a systematic fight against fascism. This fight, if it is to be crowned with success, can only be the revolutionary fight of the toiling masses.

In view of the threatening war danger and of the reaction which is becoming more acute every day, it is our duty to strengthen the fight against the war danger and fascist reaction along the whole line and with all the means at our disposal, before it is too late.

Workers and peasants!  
Revolutionary intellectuals!  
Oppressed peoples!  
Fascism and war are the deadly enemies of the working people!

Down with fascism and reaction!  
Down with imperialist war!  
Force the granting of an amnesty for all political prisoners of reaction!

Fight for the immediate abolition of exceptional laws, the special courts and military tribunals of fascism!

Secure by mass action the right of asylum for emigrants from the countries of fascism and white terror.

Unite all forces in the fight against the war danger! Take part in masses in International demonstrations against war on the 1st of August!

Long live the revolutionary united front of the workers, the peasants, the progressive intellectuals and of the oppressed peoples in the fight against fascism and against war!

The International Anti-Fascist Committee:  
Henri Barbusse.

H. Bittner (Poland), F. Heckert (Germany), M. Károlyi (Hungary), G. Miglioli (Italy), Fan Noli (Albania), K. Hermann (Austria), Lanžova-Stychova (Czechoslovakia), Willy Münzenberg (Germany), Folli (Youth), Jewreinov (Soviet Union), Martell (Peasant Leagues), A. Paquet (Germany), J. Snook (England), H. Stassova (Soviet Union).

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

### Recent Developments in the Textile Strike of Southern U. S. A.

By C. Paransky.

During the last few weeks the struggle in the textile industry in the Southern States (U. S. A.) has intensified. The new industrialised dark South has awakened.

When the millowners moved their mills from the North because labour in the South could be obtained for less than half of its price in the North, and where there were no working class organisations, they did not expect to have any trouble. In the South, the citadel of the Ku Klux Klan, the American Legion and other 100% American Fascist organisations, they imagined

that no one would dare to come even to try to organise the workers. Whenever such attempts were previously made, they were met with "tar and feather" or the infamous lynching parties. The white workers of the South were native American born, and it was assumed on that account that "loyalty" to their "own" bourgeoisie would prevent them from revolting against evil conditions. Strikes were in fact unknown amongst them up to that time; whereas among the immigrant workers of the North they were frequent. The Negro and white workers were kept deliberately divided, and the Negroes receiving even less than whites for the same work.

But events disappointed the calculations of the capitalists. Fifty revolutionary organisers were sent to the South by the National Textile Workers Union, to arouse and organise the mills of Loray, Gastonia, Elizabethtown etc.

The American bourgeoisie is particularly interested in Elizabethtown, where artificial silk is produced by a chemical process. This industry is being encouraged by the imperialist government of the United States because it can be turned into a war industry over night, for the production of war chemicals, particularly poison gases and liquid fire which proved so deadly effective in the last world war.

The Elizabethtown workers (6000) came out in March in protest against the inhuman working conditions (low wages, long hours, speed up etc.).

In the early stage of the fight, the American Federation of Labour entered the field and succeeded in tricking the Elizabethtown strikers back to work. The workers speedily discovered, however, that they had been betrayed. Conditions were not better; the bosses broke the new agreements which were in themselves a very slight improvement upon previous conditions. A system of discrimination was instituted against the "undesirables" (those active in the strike, in picketing, or who had been arrested) who were barred from work. Consequently, 4,500 of the workers came out on strike again, and a local of the National Textile Workers' Union was formed in Elizabethtown to continue the fight. They were, followed by the workers of many other towns (Gastonia, N. C., Greenville S. C., Whitmire, Lexington etc.). McGrady (A. F. of L. representative) boasted of the 100,000 dollars spent by the A. F. of L. in attempting to smash the furriers strike in New York; and offered his assistance to the bosses and the business men's committee of Elizabethtown, to get rid of the Communists.

The Women's Trade Union League (an organisation financed and led by wealthy middle-class women) has also done its best to assist the capitalists in this struggle. At its convention, held in Washington on May 11, it refused to accept the delegation of striking men, women and children, who came from Gastonia (N. C.), to tell them the causes and history of the strikes, the starvation, disease and misery accompanying evictions etc. On their arrival the meeting was hurriedly finished, and they were told to get out as "the floor had to be cleaned" for a dance. Some of these well fed women angrily condemned the strike and threatened one of the women of the delegation with "a slap in the face".

From week to week the fight has sharpened. The militia was called out, mass pickets were attacked, many workers being injured and arrested, relief stations were smashed and strikers were evicted from company houses. Police broke up meetings of strikers and destroyed the camp in which they were compelled to live after they had been evicted, shooting into the camps where women and children were. In the fight the chief of police was shot, and three other policemen wounded. The chairman of the left Textile Union of Patterson was also wounded. In connection with the killing of the police chief sixty-five strikers are arrested. Twenty of them are accused of murder; amongst them the leaders of the strike, Vera Bush and Fred Beal. The millowners and their friends are demanding that these two revolutionary workers meet the same fate as Sacco and Vanzetti.

The workers, far from being intimidated, are standing firmer than ever. Although most of the militant organisers have been arrested, the workers are awakened, the mill committees are functioning, locals of the revolutionary trade union are organised. The struggle has even aroused the sympathy and won the support of numbers of the poor white farmers, who are helping the strikers by contributing food from their farms.

In many parts of the United States mass demonstrations have taken place: at Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland and elsewhere. men, women and children have demonstrated their solidarity

with the workers of the South, and their indignation against the violence used upon them.

Out of the great struggles of recent months in America there is growing up a new leadership that will replace the old reactionary leadership, and lead the masses forward to revolutionary struggles.

## TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

### Fresh Disruptive Measures of the Swedish Amsterdamites.

Breach with the Miners' Union of the Soviet Union.

By A. J. Smolan.

The Extraordinary Conference of the Swedish miners' unions, being held in Stockholm at the present time, has decided, by 31 votes against 28, to dissolve immediately the friendship agreement with the Russian miners' union. This decision is not only a proof of the splitting activities of the reformists; it shows at the same time the moral degeneracy and depravity of the social democratic leaders, and of the workers' functionaries influenced by them. It must be remembered that in the autumn of 1927 the committee of the miners' union, composed mainly of social democrats, entered into the agreement with the Russian brother organisation for the purpose of ensuring itself adequate financial aid in the then inevitable conflict with the powerful mining company. This conflict broke out at the beginning of 1928, and lasted more than six months, during which time the locked-out and striking miners received over one million marks from the Russian miners' union.

The committee of the trade union federation, which has now forced the Extraordinary Union Conference to "settle the Russian question", looked on quietly enough whilst the "Moscow rouble rolled" at that time; indeed, the social democratic press waxed very indignant when the money arrived a few days late on one occasion. At that time neither the social democratic party nor the Amsterdam International issued any orders for a split, although in their eyes it must have been utterly reprehensible to accept money "from the blood-stained hands of the Bolshevik rulers". But no; these leaders, possessed by an irreconcilable hatred of the Bolshevik system and of the Russian people, could not prevent the strike of the Swedish miners, and were therefore glad to accept Moscow roubles to finance this strike, in order that they might save their funds for the election propaganda of the Social Democratic Party. It was not till the struggle was over that the committee of the union was presented, under pressure from the Amsterdam International, with an ultimatum: either break with the Russian workers or be expelled from the trade union federation and from the splendid miners' international. That Amsterdam was able to present this ultimatum is a proof of the insolence and baseness of the reformist leaders; all that the great miners' international had contrived to raise in the course of six months, in support of its 4000 striking Swedish members, was 18,000 marks.

During the election of the delegates to the Union Conference the social democratic press carried on the wildest agitation against the Soviet Union and against the communists. That they only gained a majority of three votes in spite of this is a proof of the strong sympathy felt by the Swedish miners for the Soviet Union. The majority of the union members are undoubtedly in favour of the maintenance of the agreement with the Russian union; and the decision was only made possible by the fact that some of the social democratic delegates, against the instructions of their local groups, executed the orders of the social democratic fraction. The leader of this fraction at the Union Conference was no less a personage than the General Secretary of the Trade Union Federation, Edward Johanson. A motion for a ballot of the members was rejected, but this will not help the social democratic tricksters much, for the statutes prescribe that a ballot of the members must be made as soon as 200 members demand it. It is therefore quite possible that the decision of the social democratic fraction will be quashed by the members of the Union.

The representative of the Russian union, Comrade Schwarz, delivered a farewell speech completely settling accounts with the

social democratic destroyers of the trade unions. He emphasised that last year's strike aid was not sent, as asserted by the social democrats and bourgeois, by the Soviet State, but was collected by poor Russian miners, who were anxious to show in this way their solidarity with their Swedish fellow workers. They were ready to make the same sacrifices again should the struggle break out once more, and would not permit themselves to be influenced thereby by the attitude adopted by the capitalist lackeys in the ranks of the organised workers. The General Secretary of the Swedish Trade Union Federation was so indignant at this speech that he informed the union committee that he could not sit at the same table as the Russian representative at the intended banquet for the delegates.

### Tasks of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Congress.

By Hajama.

When the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Congress opens in Vladivostok on August 15, the representatives of 15,000,000 organised workers in the Pacific countries will have gathered to discuss all the vital matters affecting the labour movement in the Pacific.

All T. U. organisations affiliated to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat (P. P. T. U. S.), namely, the Australian Council of Trade Unions, the All-China Federation of Labour, the Japanese Council of Hyogikai Unions, the Korean Labour Federation, Indonesian Trade Union Federation, Philippine Labour Congress, Peasant Federation of the Philippines, the South C. C. T. U., British Minority Movement, Unitary Federation of Labour of France and the Trade Union Educational League of the U. S. A., will all take part in the work of this international gathering. The Congress will also be attended by representatives from the Revolutionary Unions of India which, only recently organised, have not yet been able to affiliate to the P. P. T. U. S.

The Pan-Pacific Trade Union Congress will have to take up several important problems. It will have to sum up the results of the two years' work of the Pan Pacific Secretariat, draw up concrete instructions regarding the tasks and methods to be followed by the revolutionary unions in the various countries and discuss several issues affecting the labour movement in all the Pacific countries.

There is no doubt at all that at this gathering chief attention will be given to the struggle against the new war danger. The Pacific is the storm-centre to-day. Here as nowhere else the interests of the great imperialist powers — the U. S. A., England and Japan — clash. Japanese and American rivalry, and especially the growing competition between American and British Imperialism in China may bring about a military collision at any moment, which may well prove the starting point for a new world wide imperialist war. Hence, one of the most important tasks confronting the present Pan-Pacific Congress is to focus the attention of the broad working masses on the question of the new war danger, and, in this connection, the necessity of defending Soviet Russia against the imperialist powers.

Another vital issue is the question of the role of the trade unions in the emancipatory movement in the colonies. This Congress must carefully scrutinise the experience of the Chinese Revolution, so that in the coming struggles to emancipate the colonies from the oppression and exploitation of imperialism, the working class may from the very outset take up a firm place in the leadership of the emancipatory movement. This gathering must give special attention to the role the working class and the trade unions must play in India, which now stands on the eve of a tremendous development of the national-revolutionary movement.

A programme of demands for the workers in the Pacific countries will have to be drawn up at this Congress. The position of the workers in Japan, China, India, Indonesia and other Eastern countries recalls to-day the position of the workers at the beginning of the Nineteenth Century in England. For in these countries we see the same miserable wage obtaining, a 14—16 hour day, inhuman exploitation of female and child labour, indescribable housing conditions, no labour pro-

ective measures or social insurance for that matter. The mobilisation of the workers around a definite programme of demands should prove a powerful factor in furthering the struggle of the workers of the Pacific to improve their conditions.

In the various countries on the Asiatic littoral of the Pacific the revolutionary T.U. movement is fighting against great odds to-day.

In China the trade unions have to contend against a white error regime and must conduct their activities illegally. Combining fascist and reformist methods, the Kuomintang is now making a bid to get control of the labour movement in China. There are large numbers of workers lined up in the reformist unions organised under the patronage of the Kuomintang organisation. The revolutionary militant elements in the Chinese labour movement must not only strengthen the revolutionary illegal organisations, but work actively inside the reformist unions to expose the corrupt leaders and urge the masses to take up the revolutionary class struggle.

Alarmed at the growth of the revolutionary T.U. movement, the Japanese Government disbanded the Hyogikai Left Wing Centre a year ago. The Left Wing unions not only have to fight the Government, the bourgeoisie and the fascists, but also a strongly entrenched reformist movement. The marked leftward drift on the part of the Japanese working masses is now strengthening the hands of the Left Wing movement. The Pan-Pacific Congress must now aid the Left Wing unions of Japan to reinforce their influence over the masses organisationally.

In India the labour movement is now forging ahead. We see that in localities where two years ago the reformists were in complete control, where not a single Left Wing organisation was to be seen, large mass revolutionary T.U. organisations, some having scores of thousands of members ("Girni Kamgar", the Bombay Textile Workers' Union having 65,000 members) have now been organised. The leadership of the large strikes of the Indian workers is passing out of the hands of the reformists and being taken over by revolutionary leaders. Government repressions have been unable to stay the militant and widespread movement of the Indian workers. The Pan-Pacific Congress must link up the revolutionary wing of the Indian movement with the P.P.T.U.S. and help it to build up a strong revolutionary T.U. movement in India.

It is clear that reformists throughout the world, as evinced by the Amsterdam International and the International Labour Office and the reformists of the Far East, are seriously alarmed at the activities of the Pan-Pacific Secretariat. The sympathy the P.P.T.U.S. enjoys among the broad masses of revolutionary workers of the Pacific has prompted the reformists, especially those in Japan, headed by Bunzi Suzuki, the now famous Japanese Gompers, to counter the P.P.T.U.S. by establishing their own reformist T.U. centre in the Pacific. For several years past Suzuki has been full of the idea of creating just such a centre, finding support in the Amsterdam International and especially in the International Labour Office with which the Japanese reformists maintain close contact. However, the Revolution in China frustrated these plans. But since the defeat of the Chinese Revolution, they were broached again. At the last Geneva Conference of the International Labour Office, the Japanese reformists arranged with the representatives of the Indian reformist unions to convene a Pan-Asiatic Conference of Reformist Unions in April, 1929. The Kuomintang unions were also invited to attend.

But, the Pan-Asiatic Conference will not be meeting this year. The serious decline of reformist influence in the Indian T.U. movement coupled with the rapid growth of P.P.T.U.S. adherents in this country and the difficulties the Kuomintang is experiencing with the new civil war in China, compelled the reformists in the Pacific to put off their Pan-Asiatic Conference until next year. The fact that the reformists have been forced to postpone their conference whereas the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Congress, convened by the P.P.T.U.S., is to be held on time, shows, as nothing else could, how the reformists have lost out in the Far East, how the P.P.T.U.S. has retained its hold on the positions it won, despite the persecution and repressions of the capitalist Governments, the bourgeoisie, the fascists and the reformists!

## FASCISM

### Growing Proletarian Resistance in Italy.

From the Italo-Swiss Frontier.

The spirit of rebellion still lives in the factories and in the villages of Italy. For the poor peasants and workers in Italy the economic conditions are growing worse from day to day. The news which comes to us from various parts of Italy tells of continued reductions of wages and of tremendous worsening of the conditions of work.

Let us choose a few examples at random. The landowners association of the province of Mantua have decided, in agreement with the leaders of the fascist "trade unions", to reduce the wages of the landworkers by 10 per cent. A week's wages will therefore now amount to 13,60 Lira for a ten-hour day. A very severe wage cut has been forced upon the bricklayers and the bricklayer's labourers in the province of Como: the most highly skilled bricklayers have had their wages reduced from 3.80 to 3 Lira per hour, while the wages of the labourers have been reduced from 2.60 to 2 Lire. In the district of Appiano the labourers' wages have been fixed at 1.70 Lire. This explains why the bricklayers and the labourers in the frontier district are so eager to get work in the Swiss Canton of Ticino, and are prepared to accept any conditions, which in turn tends to depress wages on Swiss territory, as was shown in the recent strike of the building workers in Lausanne, where, with the approval of the authorities, Italian strike-breakers were imported wholesale. In certain districts the bricklayers earn only 10 Lire per day. In the year 1926 a bricklayer in the district of Como still earned 550 Lire a month, while today he earns only about 400.

The situation of the poor peasants is also very bad. In the whole province of Bologna the landed proprietors have forced an agreement upon their tenants according to which the tenant must cultivate the whole area let to him entirely at his own cost and must then pay the landowner two-thirds of the entire yield.

The appalling misery of the industrial and agricultural workers continually drives the masses to rebellion. The workers and small peasants give expression to their hatred of fascism in every possible manner. On the first of May a huge red flag was hoisted on a big new building in the Via Carcano in Milan. On the old city walls of Milan inscriptions were written hailing the 1st of May and the Communist Party; they were immediately obliterated by the police and militia. Similar inscriptions were chalked up in the neighbourhood of numerous factories and workshops. Thereupon the workers were subjected to a strict examination in order to ascertain who were guilty, but without success. Similar incidents are reported to us from nearly all the towns of Italy.

On May 15, the fascist trade unions of Monza, in the neighbourhood of Milan, compelled all workers to attend a meeting. The fascist provincial leader, the deputy Bagnotti, made a great speech which was listened to with stoical calm by all present. At the conclusion of his speech Bagnotti called upon the workers to join in the cry of "Long live the Duce!". Not a single voice responded to his summons. Bagnotti afterwards gave a report of this incident to a meeting of fascist functionaries.

But the workers are beginning to rebel in another manner. Very serious incidents have occurred in some engineering works in Turin, and particularly in the Fiat-Lingott, one of the biggest undertakings in Europe, employing when in full work about 15,000 workers. The fascist trade unions in the metal industry had recently concluded a new agreement which considerably reduced the already miserable wages. The workers thereupon replied with acts of sabotage; they put emery powder in the ball-bearings of the machine tools. The management, which found itself in a very difficult situation, was compelled to quieten the indignation of the workers by postponing the time when the new agreement should come into operation. But the indignation and excitement of the workers still continued; and on the 1st of May,

for example, a great part of the works had to lie idle because it was impossible to set the machines going.

These occurrences compelled the fascists to refrain from applying the new agreements also in Lombardy.

A further serious incident occurred in Andria, in Apulia. In this district the misery of the landworkers is simply terrible. The closing of a public soup kitchen at which soup was to be had at a low price led to fierce tumults. The town hall and the headquarters of the fascists were plundered by the crowd, which then took possession of the surrounding streets until the militia intervened.

A few weeks ago the fascist trade unions of Milan organised a sort of "plebiscite" in the most important works and factories. With a list of all workers in their hands, the fascist agents went the round of the factories and called upon the workers who were not yet enrolled in the fascist trade unions to write a "yes" or a "no" after their name on the list, signifying their willingness or unwillingness to join the fascist trade union. In spite of the threat of immediate dismissal the overwhelming majority refused to join the Mussolini "trade union".

In this situation the "Confederation of Labour" (the old trade union federation which has been suppressed but is continuing to work illegally), in spite of the fact that it is compelled to work illegally, issued the slogan of agitation for a twenty per cent. wage increase.

Discontent, the spirit of revolt, is general among the whole of the working population both in town and country. The fight of the Confederation of Labour can organise this discontent and the militant spirit of the masses and give it a concrete aim. This is the first step in the task of mobilising the masses; it is the most difficult, but at the same time the deciding step.

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### The Revulsion from Trotzkyism.

Trotzky's conduct abroad has accelerated the decline of the Trotzkyist opposition in the Soviet Union. The ranks of those former adherents of the opposition who have now turned their backs on Trotzkyism and have found their way back to the Party have now been added by Comrades Drobnis and Serebryakov. They have applied to the C. C. and the C. C. C. of the C. P. S. U. for re-admittance to the Party, and set forth their attitude towards Trotzky and Trotzkyism in the following communications:

Dear Comrades,

I think it necessary to make the following declaration:

In 1927 I differed in opinion from the Party in the assessment of the political situation and in the political line, and this brought me into the same camp as the then opposition. But even at that time I was not in agreement with the methods of political struggle which the opposition had adopted. I raised objections to the illegal fractional work and active anti-party demonstrations, such as street meetings, etc. I maintained this standpoint during the period that followed.

The course of events and the Party line, the correctness of which was proved by incontestable political facts, showed me that I had erred in 1927 in my estimate of the situation and of the Party line. The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is not approaching any Thermidor, nor has it experienced one. The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is the World Commune opposing the World Versailles. The C. P. S. U. is not a Party in which Thermidor tendencies develop; it is the vanguard of the working class which is striving forward on the path of Leninism. The Party is not prepared to enter any alliance with the kulaks, or to make concessions to the kulaks. Its course is directed towards close political contact with the small peasantry, and toward that alliance with the middle peasantry of which Lenin taught us. The Party is carrying on an energetic struggle against the right deviation, against the ideologists and leaders of the Right opposition. It is not retiring from its international proletarian positions, but is maintaining its place in the front ranks

of the fighting international proletariat. It is exerting every effort for the industrialisation of the country and for the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Soviet Union is passing through considerable economic difficulties, which are an inevitable accompanying phenomenon of the growing resistance of the residue of the bourgeois class at home and of the obstacles laid in our path by the international bourgeoisie, as a result of the intensified struggle for industrialisation and socialism. Under such conditions, in such circumstances, it is the duty of every sincere proletarian revolutionary to aid this struggle, and not to stand on one side or another. This last is the fate of my former comrades of the opposition. The breach with them became inevitable for me, since one can take only one side or another, it is equally inevitable that I combat those who will not or cannot find their way back to the Party. The fight is inevitable against those who consider illegal fractional work and active demonstrations against the Party necessary, and who deem it possible to carry their disputes with the Party into the columns of the bourgeois press.

I have hesitated to make the present declaration, thinking more to the purpose to join the largest possible number of my former comrades of the opposition in common effort for the liquidation of the political errors. Experience has, however, shown that these waiting tactics only lead to purposeless procrastination, and render it more difficult for numerous comrades to decide upon a political step which is already mature, and absolutely necessary. Therefore I declare as follows:

1. I have broken with the opposition, and beg that I no longer be regarded as belonging to it.

2. I endorse the political estimate and the political line of the C. P. S. U., as expressed in the decisions of the Congresses and Conferences, and regard my participation in fractional work as an error.

3. The opponents of the Party, from the "Right" and from the "Left", are my opponents too. I express the hope that my step will contribute, if only to a certain degree, to induce the other former adherents of the opposition, already on the way to the Party, to accelerate the liquidation of the political errors committed by us and to return more speedily to active party work in the ranks of the revolutionary proletariat of the Soviet Union.

From the above it naturally follows that I regard the form and other documents of the opposition as errors, and directed against the C. P. S. U.

I submit the above declaration in support of my request to the C. C. C. for re-admission to the C. P. S. U., of which I was a member since 1907.

With communist greeting,

(Signed) J. N. Drobnis.

Comrade Serebryakov to the C. C. and the C. C. C. of the C. P. S. U.

At the beginning of 1928 I turned my back on the opposition and broke off all connection with it. I was, however, prevented by various circumstances from formulating my request for re-admission to the Party. During the time of my separation from the Party, I have arrived at the conviction that between me and the Party there exist no differences of opinion on political matters. Today I clearly recognise my former errors, especially my entirely inexcusable participation in the intensification of the fractional struggle. I see equally clearly that the attitude taken by Trotzky, and by the remnants of the opposition led by him, are in complete and hostile contradiction to our Party and to the Soviets. For this reason I withdraw my signature from all fractional documents, which have been rightly condemned by the Party, and beg the C. C. C. of the C. P. S. U. to reinstate me in the rights of a member of the C. P. S. U. I need not state that I consider all decisions of the Party as binding on me.

(Signed) L. Serebryakov.

former member of the Party since 1905.

## UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

### The Bread Supply and the Socialisation of Agriculture.

(The following has been already sent out to the Press.)

At the last Plenary Session of the Moscow Committee of the C. P. of the Soviet Union, the People's Commissar for Agriculture, Comrade Mikoyan, made a great speech dealing with the most important questions of the feeding of the urban population. We publish here the following extracts from his speech dealing with the bread problem.

Ed.

#### The Causes of the Grain Difficulties.

The chief cause of the difficulties is that the development of agriculture lags behind the growing demands of the towns. The basis of this phenomenon is the excessive individualism of the peasant farms and the low level of agricultural commodity production. Apart from these general causes, the present grain difficulties are a result of two elementary catastrophes: The destruction of the autumn sowings of last year over an area of 10 million hectares in the Ukraine and in the North Caucasus, and a drought immediately prior to the last harvest which considerably reduced the results of the spring sowings. These two natural catastrophes had a considerable effect upon the course of this year's grain purchase campaign. The prospects for the bread supply in the coming year will depend upon the result of this year's harvest, which will on its part depend upon the extent of the area under seed and upon climatic conditions.

#### The Prospects of the new Harvest.

The control figures for the present year provided for an increase of the area under grain by seven per cent. The autumn and spring sowings will, in all probability, show an increase from five to six per cent, i. e. they will almost be up to standard, despite the pessimistic prophesies of the right-wingers and of the theory about "the decline of agriculture".

In this year also certain damage was done to the autumn sowings in the Ukraine. This referred to certain sorts of wheat. The extent of the damage is, however, incomparably less than was last year. On the whole the autumn sowings have suffered very little damage. Climatic conditions in the spring and at the beginning of summer were favourable to the harvest. According to the latest report, the prospects are good. This is to be seen not only from the information of the Statistical Bureau and of the experimental stations of the Agricultural Commissariat but also from the situation of the grain market. In consequence of the good prospects, the grain prices have begun to fall rapidly in all districts recently. Unless the harvest prospects become less favourable, the new harvest will be considerably larger than that of last year and will considerably lighten the bread supply.

#### The Success of the Organised Bread Distribution.

The favourable influence of the system of bread purchase cards upon the bread supplies must be especially mentioned. Before the introduction of the bread cards and although at that time there was more bread on the market than at present, we had large queues before the bakers shops. Speculators set various provocative rumours in circulation and the proletarian consumers fell into the trap. In consequence of these rumours they hoarded unnecessarily large supplies. The system of bread cards represents a guarantee that the working population will under all circumstances obtain the necessary amount of bread. Before the introduction of the new system, it was possible to argue whether it was necessary and desirable, but to-day the positive results of the introduction of the bread card system are that we have been able to effect considerable savings in the consumption of bread and we have abolished the queues. The opinion of the broad masses of the workers is that the system is absolutely necessary and correct. It must be pointed that not all the owners of bread cards use them to the full, and every day there remain about from 131 to 148 tons of bread over from the supplies set aside for sale upon the bread cards. These

successes have determined us to maintain the system of bread cards for the coming period, and we intend to improve the quality of the bread after the new harvest.

#### The Objective Role of the Difficulties is to Speed up the Socialisation of Agriculture.

If we analyse the grain and other food difficulties, we come to the conclusion that the pressure of these difficulties of the food supply, raises the necessity of creating a stable socialist basis for agricultural production. I fear that my statement may be interpreted as heresy, but I am convinced that if there had been no grain difficulties, we would never have raised the question of powerful collective agricultural undertakings, Soviet farms and machinery and tractor stations to the same extent as we do to-day. Of course, in time we would have arrived at this task anyhow, but not so quickly. If we had had bread in plenty, we would never have raised so energetically the question of creating collective and Soviet agricultural undertakings. The powerful growth of our industry makes it possible for us to approach the solution of the gigantic tasks of the socialisation of agriculture.

The food supply difficulties were caused by the resistance of the capitalist elements in the village and by the excessive backwardness of agriculture as compared with industry. These difficulties, however, were only intensified when the growth of industry had already created the preliminary basis for tackling the socialisation of our individualised agriculture.

We often tend to underestimate the forces at the disposal of our working class. Take what questions you like, it always turns out that when we set to work with Bolshevik energy and determination, we can always accomplish more than the wildest optimists imagine possible. Remember, for instance, that at the 15th Party Conference we all declared that an annual growth of industrial production from 30 to 35% was only possible because we were in the period of the reconstruction of our existing industries and that, afterwards the growth would be approximately from 6 to 8% annually. We pointed out that the growth of production in the United States was only from 3 to 4% annually.

We are now three years away from the close of the period of reconstruction, and the growth of our production is still over 20% annually. The hidden internal reserves of our socialist system are opening up ever new possibilities of development for us.

At the end of the five year period, the Soviet agricultural undertakings alone will supply from 6 to 6½ million tons of commodity grain, i. e. just about the amount we require this year in order to supply all our industrial centres with bread. When we consider that the area filled by the new Soviet undertakings of the grain trust will be from 11 to 12 million hectares by the end of the five year period and that the old Soviet farms will work an area of 7½ million hectares, and when we remember that the newly formed cattle breeding association "Skotovod" will use about 4 to 5 million hectares of land for cattle breeding purposes, then we see that our state agricultural sector (not including the numerous collective agricultural undertakings and other co-operative forms of agricultural production) alone will work 20 million hectares, the half of which will be under seed. For the moment, whilst we are about to carry out this magnificent programme of the socialist organisation of grain production, we are in a period of grain difficulties. When we have carried out only one half of our programme, then we need not fear any difficulties.

## SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

### The Improvement of the Soviet Apparatus.

The Exemplary Reorganisation of the Finance Apparatus of the R. S. F. S. R.

By M. Schlenin (Moscow).

The finance apparatus of the R. S. F. S. R. has given an excellent example in the difficult and arduous process of simplifying and improving the apparatus of Soviet administration.

Prior to the re-organisation the Finance Commissariat was organised in the usual bureaucratic fashion. It was composed of over a hundred departments, sub-departments and administrative branches. Under cover of this complicated apparatus bureaucracy and irresponsibility spread like weeds and stifled the initiative of the most capable officials. The numerous structural divisions in the apparatus raised impenetrable walls between the leading officials of the finance commissariat and the subordinate officials. The re-organisation did away with this clumsy bureaucratic structure. In its place came an apparatus of responsible co-operators. Now each official is charged with quite definite work and is personally responsible for the exact and prompt carrying out of his tasks. The re-organisation of the finance commissariat has shown that the work of the commissariat can now be more efficiently carried out with 19,000 employees as previously with 43,000. In the finance apparatus of the R. S. F. S. R. there were therefore 24,000 superfluous employees who caused confusion and muddle and estranged the finance apparatus from the masses of the population.

The reduction of the staff permitted the finance commissariat to curtail its administrative expenses by 12 million roubles annually. There are, however, other advantages of the re-organisation. In consequence of the simplification of the treasury, the gold reserves of the State Bank have risen by almost 50 million roubles. Previously this sum lay idle in the safes of numerous branches of the State Bank, for the simple reason that the book-keeping was extremely complicated and cumbrous. The book-keeping has now been so simplified that monies coming in can be returned to circulation on the very same day. The re-organisation is therefore of great significance for the economic system. Written communication between the various departments of the finance apparatus has been reduced to 15% of its former dimensions. The book-keeping and statistical departments have had their methods of work revolutionised by simplification and mechanisation.

These are the most important results of the simplification of the finance apparatus. From the standpoint of the highly developed labour technique in Europe and America, much of this reform would be regarded as a matter of course, but from our point of view and having regard to the heavy weight of bureaucracy inherited from Tsarism, the results which have been obtained are really splendid. One very important result of the re-organisation was that the 54% reduction in staff enabled the financial authorities to improve the social composition of their staff and to raise the average level of capacity of the employees.

## WORKERS' SPORT

### International Workers' Sport Festival in Berlin.

By Franz Dahlem.

The district festival held in Berlin on 29th and 30th June by the opposition (the expelled) of the 1st district of the Workers Gymnastic and Sport Federation possesses a political importance extending far beyond Berlin and Germany. The Worker's sport movement in Berlin has never yet witnessed such a mass participation, 20,000 took part in the sports themselves, and 70,000 of the working people of Berlin hastened to the Stadion as spectators. 2,000 worker sportsmen came from different parts of Germany. Foreign sport delegations were present from Finland, Norway, Sweden, Austria, France, Switzerland, England, Czechoslovakia. Permission to enter the country was refused to the Russian delegation.

As soon as the participants in the sports began to assemble in the different quarters of Berlin, they were greeted enthusiastically, especially the foreign delegations, by the population of Berlin. This enthusiasm culminated in thunderous ovations from the masses, proclaiming international solidarity and class unity, when the many red flags were borne into the Stadion, and the banners of the foreign sport comrades appeared.

The stormy applause for the Soviet Union, called forth by an enormous flag carried by Berlin sport comrades, and bearing the inscription: "Visas refused the Russians!"; proved the firmness of the bond between the Soviet Union and the masses of the Berlin proletariat. The whole demonstration: the feeling present in the masses, the appeals, the speaking choirs, the standards and placards, were eloquent recognition of the revolutionary class struggle, the red class sport, the C. P. G. as the workers' party; a challenge thrown down to the imperialist war makers; an oath of allegiance to the Soviet Union. The whole festival served to strike a powerful preliminary note to the war Day of the Berlin proletariat on 1st August.

The masses gathered together in the great Post Stadion although tens of thousands of them had to stand closely crowded together, stayed right to the last minute, so fascinated were they by the games, competitions, and performances on the playing ground. For many spectators this was their first opportunity of realising the revolutionary energy and power inherent in this art of red sportsmen, when it marches on the class line. The Berlin proletariat has taken the red sport comrades to its heart precisely as it has taken the battalions of the Red Front Fighting League which the police imagine they have prohibited.

A special political importance was imparted to the Festival by the fact that it was the first great trial of strength of the revolutionary opposition in the Workers Gymnastic and Sport Federation. A year ago the federal conference of the Workers Gymnastic and Sport Federation passed a decision expelling the old Berlin Sport Cartel from the Federation; this expulsion was accomplished by the social democrats for the reason that an overwhelming majority of the associations belonging to the Cartel refused to support the policy of coalition with the bourgeoisie. The social democrats have made the split, but the masses of the members have remained true to the old Cartel and to the red flag. Today the Berlin opposition is backed up by 35,000 organised sport comrades, whilst the reformists, filling up the ranks with S. P. G. and Reichsbanner members, have reduced to about 13,000 to 15,000. This development has been possible in spite of the fact that the social democrats of Berlin's municipal authorities have joined the bourgeoisie in a campaign for excluding the old Cartel from the use of the schools, halls, playgrounds; have withdrawn all municipal financial aid; and have even contrived, with the help of their friends in the apparatus, to induce the minister for "public welfare" to issue an enactment declaring the oppositional associations in Berlin hostile to the state, and therefore not entitled to any reduction of fares or other advantages usually granted to sport associations.

The S. P. G. sport leaders in Germany, in accordance with the rest of their policy, are endeavouring to draw the masses of worker sportsmen (1,500,000) in the wake of their coalition and war policy, and to join hands with the nationalist German Gymnastic Association. A working copartnership exists already. Severing declared a few months ago, at the federal festival of the German Gymnastic Association: "Germany's future rests on your shoulders". In order to attain this object, they are anxious to make the workers' sport movement a branch of the S. P. G. and to eliminate all class-conscious elements from it. This savage campaign against the Soviet Union is being carried out more and more openly. The social democratic committee of the workers rifle association even adds a by-law laying down the following condition for membership:

"Abstention from any description of propaganda in opposition in favour of the Soviet Union of Russia."

The nationalist and anti-international spirit of the social democrats is even more clearly expressed in an action brought by the federal committee of the workers' cycling club "Solidarity" against a Berlin local oppositional group. Among the reasons here adduced in support of the expulsion of the Berlin Sport Cartel we find the following:

"As already stated, the object of this decision is to safeguard German culture, and especially the physical training of the German people, from outside and internationally tending strivings. The accused (the Neukölln cycling group), in declaring its adherence to the old Cartel, therefore places itself not only outside of the "Solidarity" association but at the same time outside of every German (!) sport movement."

The opposition in the German workers' sport movement is fighting against this endeavour to transform workers' sport into a weapon of class betrayal and imperialist war agitation. The Red Party Congress of the C.P.G. has imposed upon all party organisations the duty of giving energetic support to the opposition here. The opposition, under the leadership of the exiled groups in Berlin, Halle, and Rhineland, has gathered together loosely in an organisation reaching all over the country, the "Mutual Interest Society for the Restoration of Unity", of unity on the basis of the class struggle.

The Berlin District Festival was the first test of strength. It has brought a complete victory for the revolutionary idea and a decisive defeat for the social democratic policy of split and of merging in the bourgeoisie. It has proved that the masses of the proletariat gather around the old red flag of class war when this is carried forward boldly and energetically.

This great event, the remembrance of which the foreign delegations take home with them from the Berlin mass rally — and to which they too added the expression of their enthusiasm — signifies that this red front will spread far beyond the groups in Germany, and will carry far and wide the idea of the revolutionary red Sport International.

## PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

### How the Polish Bourgeoisie is Training the Women for War.

By G. G. L. Alexander.

There is not the least doubt that the bourgeoisie has clearly and definitely adopted the policy of recruiting and training the female sex for military purposes, in spite of its grandfatherly catchword that "woman's place is in the home". There is also no doubt that the bourgeoisie has thoroughly revised this obsolete ideology. This is shown not only by the mobilisation laws of a number of bourgeois states, which include the women and allot them definite functions in the event of war; most of the bourgeois women's organisations are making preparations for the mobilisation of women in case of war.

In some countries there is already contemplated a co-operation of both factors: In America there has been attached to the War Ministry the wife of a General as chief of the department for maintaining connection with the women's organisations. Also in the Polish War Ministry there is a special "reporter for the military training of women". In no country, however, is the practical militarisation, the military training and preparation of women so strongly organised and so openly carried out directly by the State as in Poland.

It is true, the other border States, and particularly Finland possess outspokenly militarist women's organisations, but these are not openly conducted by the State. But in Poland there exists a system of military education, conducted and controlled entirely by the State, which trains women right from the school. In this country there are in the higher grade schools so-called training corps for women. They are affiliated to the "Women's Organisation for National Defence".

The "Women's Organisation for National Defence" embraces the women right throughout the whole country. The actual military training is carried out mainly in three periods, during which the women reside in barracks and have to perform military drill. Every woman must undergo these three courses if she wishes to qualify for military service. The first period provides for physical training. Every woman who undergoes this course receives a sport-badge issued by the State. The second period includes the so-called general military training. It consists in educational work and the imparting of general military knowledge, including defence against gas and air attacks. In this period the women are also instructed in the use of all weapons. In the third, the most important period, there is undertaken the special training of women in the various branches of military service. During this period various courses are held, such as, for example, medical and

telegraph courses. These courses are participated in by those women who have signed on for special service in the army in the event of war.

It is significant that Poland, which is playing the most prominent role in the war-mongering policy of the imperialists, especially against the Soviet Union, has most openly prepared and realised the practical mobilisation of women. What has been here accomplished only serves to show the way which the other capitalist States will follow.

The proletarian-revolutionary mobilisation of women is being realised in Soviet Russia with the enthusiastic participation of the working and peasant women in the fight for the overthrow of the old and the building up of a new society. Today, when this great work is threatened on all sides by the imperialist enemies, when it is necessary to mobilise all the working women for the defence of the workers' State, for the only bulwark of socialism against the threatening imperialist war, the Communist Parties in all countries must paralyse, throttle and render impossible all forms and attempts of bourgeois mobilisation of women for war by the revolutionary mobilisation and organisation of the working women, by drawing them into the class front and into the class organisations of the revolutionary world proletariat.

### The International Trade Union Committee of Working Women on the Preparations for Red Day.

The wave of strikes that has swept the whole world is palpable proof of the greatly increased activity of the proletarians on the basis of a remarkable growth of their class consciousness. We must not only utilise and consolidate this activity and revolutionisation of the broad masses of working women, but further increase them by means of anti-war propaganda.

It will be possible to deal an effective blow to the war agitation and war propaganda, which is assuming ever larger proportions and being taken up by all bourgeois and reformist cultural and educational organisations, only when we win numerous cadres of class-conscious and convinced opponents of war among the proletarian women.

1. The first thing which we consider necessary to point out is that all efforts must be directed in order to ensure that all means of the press, of the spoken word, as well as the mass meeting of the workers, workshop meetings, conferences etc., are made use of for the purpose of making it clear that without the proletarian woman, without the industrial and agricultural working woman, without the wives and daughters of the workers, without the unemployed women, the women homeworkers etc., there can be no thought of a real resistance to the threatening war.

We must keep firmly in mind that it is precisely the categories of women just mentioned, who are oppressed and exploited much more than the men, who have to suffer much more than the working men from the effects of capitalist rationalisation, from starvation wages, from the hard working, living and social conditions, that precisely they, who as married women, mothers, sisters, daughters etc., who were so hard hit by the devastating consequences of the robber war of 1914, who are most accessible and susceptible to the propaganda of the slogan "war against war".

It is of the highest importance to devote special attention to the women workers employed in such branches of industry as the chemical industry, the metal industry, the production of artificial silk etc., with which the armament industry is immediately connected. We must not forget, however, that modern capitalist industry of the whole world is technically and economically adapted with a view to the whole production being switched onto war production within the shortest possible time. In all branches of production, in place of the workers who are being sent off to the front, there will be engaged millions of fresh hands, three-quarters of whom will consist of women.

As in this the overwhelming majority of the working women will be the sole breadwinners of their families, they will find themselves compelled, under the undoubtedly increasing pressure of the capitalists on the standard of living of the proletariat, to take an active part in the economic struggles, which will under the conditions of the military dictatorship acquire an ever more sharply pronounced political character. This circumstance must be taken most seriously into account so that cadres of working women are formed in good time.

2. The whole agitation and propaganda among women against war pursues two aims: in the first place it shall contribute to freeing the very important masses of proletarian women from the poisonous and demoralising influence of the bourgeois, reformist, catholic, christian and other reactionary unions and associations. Secondly, the agitation must aim at inducing the largest possible number of proletarian women to participate in the forthcoming demonstrations, processions, meetings, strikes in all countries of the world on the 1st of August.

3. In view of the political backwardness of the women workers and their insufficient organisation in trade unions it is necessary:

a) that the revolutionary trade union opposition immediately get down to the task of drawing up clear and concrete plans; of oral and written propaganda and agitation among the women in the factories, at the same time taking into consideration the conditions in the country in question. This agitation and propaganda shall make clear the importance of drawing the working women into the fight against the approaching imperialist war and into the preparation and organising of Red Day.

b) The whole of the agitation and propaganda is to be carried out not only in meetings of workers, at conferences etc., but also in meetings and conferences of working women convened for this purpose, to which the wives of workers, unemployed and others are invited. The agitation must not by any means be confined to a single factory (although this forms its most important basis) but shall extend beyond the confines of the factory and penetrate the working class quarters, the workers' homes etc.

4. At these meetings and conferences (which must be carefully prepared and which must not last longer than three to four hours), in addition to the responsible leaders of the red unions and of the trade union opposition, the working women themselves, and best of all such women who have already had to suffer as a result of war, as for example the wives and mothers of war cripples and invalids, shall speak.

It is absolutely necessary that the short speeches contain data regarding the total number employed in war industry in the

whole world in general and in each individual country in particular, regarding the most important causes of the war of 1914, as well as the causes which are determining the outbreak of fresh wars. It must be pointed out in the speeches wherein consists the role of the working woman and of the woman proletarian in preventing and combating war, and what constitutes the tactics and policy of transforming imperialist war into civil war, and finally, why all the attacks of the bourgeoisie are directed against the Soviet Union and why it is the duty of the world proletariat in general and the working women in particular to repel these attempts. The speeches shall, by means of concrete facts, expose the attitude of the reformist leadership in your country during the last war.

In addition artistic performances to be held on Sundays and holidays are to be recommended.

5. In addition to mouth to mouth agitation in the factory and house to house canvassing in the workers' dwellings, written propaganda and agitation is to be commenced now by the fractions of the factory councils, by the red unions and the trade union opposition.

All press organs without exception (labour newspapers, factory and wall newspapers, as well as special women's papers and magazines) are to be provided with anti-war material, which must be written in the most popular and simple manner in a language which can be understood by the broadest strata of working women and housewives. It is expedient that the press publishes small feuilleton articles, reminiscences of the imperialist war.

Where it is financially possible special placards and suitable posters should be issued.

6. All the tasks indicated here can be carried out successfully only if the revolutionary, active women trade union cadre and the rank and file women factory workers are induced to take part in all the organs, committees and commissions which have taken over the carrying out of street processions, demonstrations, meetings etc. Where the leading organs of the revolutionary trade union movement find it necessary, special women's columns can be organised which will march at the head of the procession. These columns shall as far as possible include in their ranks war crippled workers, victims of the imperialist war.

These are the most important directions which we can give for all countries. Of course, the various measures in each country are to be employed not only according to the general political situation, but also according to the position of the revolutionary trade union elements.

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