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Hands Off the Soviet Union!

The War Provocation on the Chinese Eastern Railway.

By Harry Pollitt.

The events that have taken place on the Chinese Eastern Railway are of decisive importance to the working class of the whole world, because they represent one of the most open and serious attacks on the Soviet Government which have yet taken place.

It will be recalled that the Chinese counter-revolutionary government in order to prove their faithfulness to the world-imperialist policy against the U. S. S. R., have captured all means of communication on that section of the Chinese Eastern Railway over which they have no right of jurisdiction or interference at all. They have dismissed the Soviet director and appointed a new white guardist in his place; they have dissolved all Labour and co-operative organisations in these districts and arrested 40 soviet railway officials, as well as expelled from this terri-

tory 200 leading Soviet officials in Labour and co-operative movements. Further, they have brought Chinese troops and special detachments of white guards right up to the Russian border.

This deliberately provocative act has been replied to in a Note sent on behalf of the Soviet Government by Karakhan. This Note, which is addressed to the Nanking and Mukden governments, points out that the Chinese Government has now violated the agreement made between the Soviet Government and the governments of Peking and Mukden in 1924. It recalls that in this agreement the U. S. S. R. was the first country in the world to treat China as an equal with all other powers, and that in that treaty the U. S. S. R. renounced all extra-territoriality rights for Russian citizens, renounced the Tsarist practice

of using the Chinese Eastern Railway as means of transportation for Russian troops if necessary and declared that the Chinese Eastern Railway was a purely commercial undertaking jointly-administrated on the basis of equal rights by the Soviet and Chinese governments. It abolished all unequal treaties and returned to China all concessions formerly held by the Tsarist government.

The U.S.S.R. Note then draws attention to the whole pacifist policy towards China that has been carried out by the Soviet Government and it demands that the following measures be taken immediately: 1. A conference to be called immediately to settle all outstanding questions; 2. The Chinese Government immediately to restore the status quo of all sections of the Chinese Eastern Railway; 3. The Chinese government immediately to release all arrested citizens.

The working class will readily see in this situation a continuation of the systematic and provocative propaganda that has been carried out in the East against the U.S.S.R. along many fronts. It is impossible to separate events on the Chinese Eastern Railway from those that have taken place in Persia, Afghanistan and the Northwest frontier of India. All the latter countries have witnessed for a long period and in a particular intensified manner acts of provocation instigated by various imperialist governments, notably Great Britain. The counter-revolutionary Chinese Government has shown once again that it is in line with the anti-U.S.S.R. policy in order to prove that it is just as much an anti-Bolshevik government as the rest of the imperialist powers.

There is an acute fight going on amongst various militarist groups in China itself, and there is no doubt that Chiang Kai-shek is trying to prove to the imperialists that he is the spearhead of the fight against the U.S.S.R. and hopes by this to compromise in the eyes of the imperialist powers any other imperialist generals who may not be sympathetic towards the policy pursued by Chiang Kai-shek in relation to the Chinese Eastern Railway events. By these means he hopes to show the imperialist powers that he is against the U.S.S.R.

For a time it has been assumed that the Nanking Government was largely influenced by the policy of America, but the new treaty which has now been signed by Great Britain and China shows that a new orientation has taken place in China towards Great Britain. It is significant to know that this treaty provides for the reorganisation of the Chinese navy by British naval officers and although negotiations for this treaty were begun by the Baldwin Government, the actual signature of the treaty has been the work of the MacDonald government.

One of the dangers which the working class of the world must try to prevent arising out of the present situation is the attempt to change the Chinese Eastern Railway into a so-called international railway, which would mean it would be nothing else but a tool in the hand of the imperialist powers. France particularly will be interested in such an arrangement as it will see in that the possibility of getting back the money it advanced in the form of French loans when the Chinese Eastern Railway was being constructed.

Those workers who sometimes have felt that the Communists have exaggerated the war danger have now received a salutary lesson. At the very moment when social-democratic governments are in power in England and Germany, when America and England are speaking of coming "peace negotiations", when the League of Nations is preparing its usual farce in September, the imperialists show their real hand in what has taken place on the Chinese Railway. In marked contrast to this policy of military provocation, the government of the U.S.S.R. has steadfastly pursued its policy of world peace. The disarmament proposals of the Soviet Government at Geneva in 1927, the proposals made again by the Soviet Government at Geneva this year have demonstrated that the Soviet Government is the only government in the world genuinely and seriously striving for peace.

The Soviet Government, however, cannot allow the events on the Chinese Eastern Railway to pass, not only in regard to making a strong protest, but by using its authority to end once and for all this policy of military provocation, particularly on the part of China. The working class must see that the fullest support is immediately given to the Soviet Government in its negotiations with the Chinese Government. We must intensify our campaign against war and make the demonstrations that are to be held all over the world on August 1st a tremendous

success by stoppages of work at all factories in order to show the capitalists and their puppets, the MacDonald and Mueller governments and others, that under no consideration will the masses be driven into the bloody shambles of war, that neither will the masses stand by passively and see the first Workers Socialist Republic in the world attacked by world imperialism which is now in control in the Chinese Government.

Independent of this the masses must be mobilised at once. Mass meetings and demonstrations must be organised and more than ever the slogan of the workers must be: Hands off Soviet Russia!

POLITICS

Communist Election Victory in Finland.

By A. J. Smolan.

The result of the elections which took place on the 1st and 2nd of July in Finland is not very cheering for the worshippers of the "democratic form of State". In this country, where the social democrats twenty years ago, under Tsarist rule, for the first time, and probably also for the last time in the history of the world, had, in an irreconcilable class struggle and sharpest opposition to the capitalist system, captured the absolute majority of the electors and thereby won 102 out of the 200 seats in Parliament, the social democracy is getting ever farther away from the longed-for aim of "peacefully winning the majority of the population". At this year's elections, when they were able to come forward quite freely as enthusiastic supporters of the existing order and the democratic Republican system, the social democrats received 12 per cent, less votes than they did under Tsarism in 1908, while of the 200 seats in Parliament they secured only 59, that is to say, one less than two years ago, although in the meantime they were able to exercise the whole government power for a year.

On the other hand the movement of the "Socialist Workers and Small Peasants", which is under the influence of the Communist Party and stands on the basis of the irreconcilable class struggle, is able to record considerable gains in spite of the fact that it is exposed to the greatest persecutions on the part of the authorities. This movement had no possibility whatever of organising itself on a nation-wide scale, and as a result had no central election propaganda committee, as well as only the Communist Party but also the Socialist Party, which was founded after the revolution, has been prohibited and dissolved. The revolutionary organisations which nevertheless exist are of a purely local character and are not permitted to have any connections with one another; a circumstance which considerably hampers and renders difficult their propaganda as well as their whole activity.

Right at the commencement of the election campaign the newspapers of this tendency were suppressed for months, the editors and also the candidates were imprisoned, so that the members of this electoral association were limited to personal propaganda and to the distribution of leaflets. There is no least doubt that the reactionary authorities in numerous localities in the open country, where it was difficult to give a check of their actions, simply destroyed the ballot papers of the socialist workers and peasants, just as they did at former elections.

A circumstance which is very remarkable is the fact that less than a half of the electors exercised the right to vote. In the capital town of Helsingfors only 45.8 per cent. of the electors voted; in Tavastehus 51.3 per cent.; in Nyslott not 30 per cent.; in Viborg 43.7 per cent. and in Abo 53.0 per cent.

The votes recorded are as follows:

For the Finnish bourgeois party	440,000
.. .. Swedish People's Party	106,300
.. .. Social democrats	257,700
.. .. Socialist Workers and Peasants	124,477

in the capital town, where the social democrats have the newspapers and the whole apparatus of the co-operatives which are very strong in Finland, in their hands, they received 120,000 votes, the socialist workers and peasants 90,000 votes. In all the former strongholds of the social democracy the "Socialists" have

increased their vote, while the social democratic vote has declined or remained stationary. This is the case in Tavastehus, where the "Socialists" polled 27,000 votes and thereby became the largest party and the social democratic vote declined by nearly a 1000; in Vasa, Tammerfors, Kuopio, Kotka and other localities. The increased poll of the "Socialists" amounts since 1927 in the whole country to 25,000 votes, or 20 per cent.; that of the social democrats to 19,466 or 3.7 per cent. The "Socialists" have captured three new seats and now possess 23 seats in Parliament.

The social democracy is trying to console itself with the thought that it is still the largest party. But the result of the elections shows that in the Republic which they have so tactically defended, and helped to build up, they have passed their highest point and are already on the decline; they have in time received only 40 per cent. of the votes and have therefore gone back very far from what they achieved in the fiercest fight against the bourgeoisie and against Tsarism. They also seem to feel that the talk about being the "largest party" does not of itself carry conviction and are therefore endeavouring to wipe out the impression of the Communist success by stupid and absurd distortions of facts. The central organ of the Swedish social democracy writes "that the ruthless repressive measures of the bourgeois parties have provided the Communists with a cheap halo of martyrdom".

In view of the fact that the social democracy has constantly supported the campaign of oppression of the bourgeoisie, or at least silently tolerated it; that it denounced thousands of class-conscious workers to the police as Communists; that the white terror in Finland has raged more savagely than in any other country; that while the social democratic government was in office numerous workers were imprisoned on account of revolutionary propaganda or alleged membership of the suppressed Communist Party, it is really the height of impudent cynicism and brutality to describe the enormous sacrifices of the revolutionary Finnish proletariat and its heroic fight against the blood-stained fascist regime as a "cheap halo".

In spite of the existence of the social democracy as the strongest party, the result of the elections is as disagreeable for the bourgeoisie as it is for its lackeys. It is doubly inconvenient precisely at the present moment when they are working with combined forces, by means of joint propaganda journeys of the King of Sweden and the social democratic leaders of this country, the setting up of a Scandinavian-Baltic bloc against the Soviet Union and have done everything to destroy the revolutionary class front. In such circumstances it is very depressing, nine months after the great election victory of the Swedish Communists, to have to record a further considerable success of the Communists in one of the most important "democratic" countries bordering on the Soviet Union.

Congress of Polish Emigrants in Warsaw.

Meetings of Working Poles in Moscow, Kiev and Minsk.

By J. R.

Together with Italy and Ireland, Poland is one of the remotest countries supplying cheap labour. Poverty, unemployment and fascist oppression drive the working population of Poland from their home country. Almost fifty per cent. of the Polish workers are compelled to seek a livelihood abroad.

The chief centres to which the emigrant Polish workers go are America, Germany and France. No less than 335,000 workers emigrated from Poland during the "prosperous years" 1927 and 1928. Approximately 50,000 of these emigrants come from Lodz, the Polish Manchester. The Polish workers present a welcome source of labour power for the foreign capitalists because they are prepared to perform the hardest work for the worst possible pay. The Polish seasonal land worker is considered to represent especially cheap labour power.

The fascist government of Poland, whose policy drives the masses of proletarians out of their homeland, does not cease to concern itself with its "citizens" after they have left Polish territory. Innumerable priests and fascist propagandists accompany them and do everything possible to prevent these masses of Polish workers from joining hands with the class-conscious workers abroad. The Polish emigrants abroad were

invited to send representatives to a congress on the 14th July in Warsaw, to "protect" the Polish workers abroad and to make them into "loyal" citizens of fascist Poland.

In connection with this congress the Polish imperialist press writes that Poland needs colonies and that it must lodge its claims for a share in the German colonies and for the granting of colonisation areas in the French possessions abroad. Polish fascism is stretching out its tentacles in particular towards Soviet White-Russia and the Soviet Ukraine. The chief task of the congress was to prepare ideologically and to popularise the idea of a war against the Soviet Union.

Approximately a million Poles are living in the Soviet Union. The industrial centres in the Soviet Union, in the Soviet Ukraine and in the Caucasus are thickly populated by Polish workers.

The Polish government hoped with its emigrant congress to win the Polish emigrants and hoped in particular to make an impression on the Poles in the Soviet Ukraine and in Soviet White-Russia and to win them for the idea of an attack upon the Soviet Union. The Polish government was doomed to bitter disappointment. The Polish emigrants in the capitalist countries reacted but weakly to the alluring call of the fascist charmer. Only the fascist circles and the "national" organisations of Polish emigrants, which are very weak, elected representatives. The fascist committees did not succeed even in one single capitalist country in bringing about any local conferences of Polish emigrants.

The only country in which there was any real reply to the call of the Polish fascists was the Soviet Union, but here the reply was not to the liking of the Polish government!

In all the villages in Soviet White-Russia and in the Soviet Ukraine, in all factories, mines etc., where there are Polish workers in any great number, mass meetings were held and it was decided to hold three great conferences of Polish immigrants: in Moscow for the R.S.F.S.R., in Kiev for the Soviet Ukraine and in Minsk for Soviet White-Russia; the meetings elected their delegates to attend these conferences. We quote a few of the immense number of resolutions etc., adopted by these preliminary meetings.

The Polish village Buda Makarovska in the Soviet Ukraine instructed its delegates to tell the whole truth about the Soviet Union:

"We Polish peasants want no favours at the hands of the Polish gentry. We get along very well without their care. With the support of the Soviets we work side by side with the Ukrainian peasants, and we have our own village communities in which we are able to live our own life. Our children are being taught in Polish in Polish schools. The village poor are provided for, and 35% of the peasant farms are exempted from all taxation. We know also that our brothers in the towns are working hard so that we may have more and more tools and machinery, whilst we are working industriously in order to increase our production. We therefore want peace, whilst the Polish capitalists and landed gentry want war and are preparing war against us because they want to take away our land and factories. We declare through our representatives that the Polish capitalists and landowners are not our brothers but our deadly enemies. Our real brothers, the working masses of Poland, must know that if there is a war against the Soviet Union then we Polish peasants will join the Red Army in order to make the Polish capitalists and gentry wish they had never thought of war."

The peasants of the Polish village of Jeziorzany declared in their resolution:

"The November revolution gave us 800 Hectares of land and we are obtaining good results on our farms. We have also founded a collective large-scale farm. We have a Polish school in which our children are taught in the Polish language and which is maintained at the cost of the State. We are convinced that only a government of the proletarian dictatorship can improve the situation of the Polish workers and peasants."

The district conference in Kiev pointed out that after the November revolution innumerable Polish self-administrations and cultural institutions were formed in the Soviet Ukraine:

"In the Soviet Ukraine the district of Marchlevski, containing 32 Polish village communities, was handed over

to the Polish emigrants. In the Soviet Ukraine there are a total of 153 Polish village communities and 328 Polish schools. In the Kiev district there are 5 Polish village communities and 5 mixed village communities. In the town of Kiev itself and in the Kiev district there are no less than 30 Polish schools including a Polytechnical Institute. There also exist 12 committees for the abolition of illiteracy amongst the Polish masses, a workers club and a series of reading rooms and libraries etc. Further, we have a series of economic and social organisations, a large-scale agricultural collective estate and a number of important agricultural organisations, for instance we have 4 committees for the poor peasantry. The Soviet State places large sums at the disposal of the Polish toilers, grants them credits and subsidies and provides them with agricultural machinery etc."

The Polish delegates to the conference in Minsk declared: "Polish fascism wants us to send priests and Kulaks to Warsaw. When they heard, however, that the elections would be public they got scared and feared that the truth about the fraternal co-operation of the various races in the Soviet Union would become known."

And this was the case. 10 days before the beginning of the congress in Warsaw the organisational committee at whose head was Senator Marshal Szymanski, declared that the delegation from the Soviet Union would not be permitted to attend the congress because its election had taken place according to the soviet system "which excludes considerable portions of the population from the ballot", and because "the Soviet delegates do not recognise the national unity of Poland".

This refusal to recognise the Polish representatives from the Soviet Union received a correct answer from the Polish delegates who met in Minsk:

"The conference in Minsk declares that the delegation elected by thousands of working Poles is the only representative of the Polish population in White-Russia who have expressed their will in innumerable resolutions and memorandums. The election of the delegates took place upon the broadest possible democratic basis. Only 1,357 votes or 2% of the total votes polled were declared invalid, and 555 of these were exploiters of labour power, 68 white-guardists, 145 former policemen and gendarmes, 126 speculators and 57 priests."

The Polish delegation from the Soviet Union was given no place at the Warsaw congress. But the fascist press in Poland, which made such a campaign in connection with the congress of Polish emigrants, has now modified its tone, for the three conferences of the Polish emigrants in the Soviet Union developed into a great demonstration of the fraternal solidarity of the workers of all nationalities. The Poles in the Soviet Union placed themselves side by side with their proletarian Fatherland, the Soviet Union, which they are prepared to defend if necessary with arms in their hands.

The Situation in Afghanistan.

By W. P.

Although there is still no conclusive news concerning the situation in Afghanistan, it is now possible to draw a few conclusions concerning the reactionary insurrection. Eight months of reactionary anarchy were sufficient to smash the State apparatus which had not been able to consolidate itself; to destroy the first beginnings of a constitutional regime; to restore the hegemony of the Mahomedan priesthood as it existed at the time of the Afghan Emirs, the vassals of Great Britain; to restore the special privileges of the priests and of the tribal leaders; to destroy the national economic system; to force the country back to a system of natural primitive economy and to conjure up the danger of total collapse.

In Afghanistan at the moment there are two main belligerent groups, led by Baqui Sacho and Nadir Khan respectively. In both of these groups there are obvious elements of separatism and decay. Baqui Sacho occupies that part of Afghanistan which is inhabited mostly by non-Afghan peoples (Uzbekians, Turkmenians etc.) whilst Nadir Khan occupies for the most part the Southern and Eastern provinces of Afghanistan, which have a purely Afghan population. It must be pointed out here that a number of the provinces which

overthrew Aman Ullah, are now only nominally subordinate to the Kabul government. The province of Herat pursues a policy of its own completely independent of Kabul; the province of Farah recognises neither Herat nor Kabul and maintains neutrality, whilst the province of Masar is being ruled by a coalition government composed of representatives of the various tribes. The extensive area of Hasara occupies a special position. The warlike tribes which inhabit this area have played an important role in the Afghan turmoil. Up to the last they supported Aman Ullah, and they now support Nadir Khan.

With regard to the area under the rule of Baqui Sacho information to hand shows that the situation there is strained in consequence of the tremendous military burden imposed upon the population. Baqui's government has been compelled to increase considerably the emission of paper money.

The standstill in home and foreign trade caused by the break up of Afghanistan into numerous districts independent of each other, plus a serious financial crisis and the economic backwardness of the country have completely ruined Afghan economic life. Afghan trade, which commenced to develop strongly under Aman Ullah's rule, is suffering from a severe depression. The loans for industry and commerce granted by Aman Ullah are now being withdrawn and violence is being used in order to secure the return of those monies already loaned. Such an economic policy must inevitably accelerate the final economic collapse.

The situation of the peasants is particularly difficult. The taxation has not been reduced, as originally promised. On the contrary, the constant requisitions make the burdens upon the peasantry far more pressing than they were under Aman Ullah. In Kubistan and Kuhdamen, which were promised freedom from all taxation for a period of five years by Baqui Sacho, the land tax has already been collected for many years in advance. The customs and excise policy has also not been changed. When one remembers also that the able-bodied members of the population are being forced into military service, then the dissatisfaction of the peasantry becomes very understandable. Only the fear that their fields would be laid waste, prevented the population of these two districts from deserting Baqui Sacho. That the peasantry is in a ferment is proved by the continual peasant unrest in the last few months in the Baud, Panjir and Tahoa districts.

A further factor in the strained situation is the antagonism between the Afghans and the Kubistans in the land question. As is generally known, a policy of colonisation for the benefit of the Afghan tribes was carried out during the last few decades. The nomad tribes were settled upon land in the northern provinces. To-day this process has not only come to a standstill but it is even retrogressing, for instance in the valley of the river Logar. In many districts the Afghan tribes who were driven down under Aman Ullah are being squeezed out by the original population which is in the majority. The fact that the government in Kabul has granted lands and other privileges to the original population in Kubistan and Kuhdamen, where the Afghan population is in a minority, has caused an even sharper sharpening of the situation between the Afghan and the Kubistan tribes. The Uzbekians and the Turkmenians have unsatisfied demands with regard to the distribution of land. In short, all the internal antagonisms which have existed have intensified gradually, particularly in the last few months, must in the end to a prolonged civil war. This war has already taken on the form of a nationalist struggle, i. e. a form particularly dangerous for the existence of Afghanistan.

Whilst the peasantry and the traders are suffering considerably and have experienced a worsening of their position, the priesthood have forced through all their reactionary demands and now play a decisive role in political matters. They have recovered the privileges taken away from them under Aman Ullah, and they hold the legislation, the courts, the people's education in their hands. They also have the upper hand in the so-called Organisational Committee which task it is to lay down the legislation standards for the country and to determine the structure of the State system. It is a remarkable thing that even the clerical reaction is compelled to fall back upon the legislation of Aman Ullah as a basis, whilst adapting it to the requirements of Mahomedan conservatism, a sign of how deep and lasting were in reality the reforms introduced by Aman Ullah. However, the priest-

ave so strengthened their power and have consolidated their positions to such an extent that anyone who attempted to continue the policy of reforms would have to reckon seriously with the priesthood.

Very little is known about the situation in the Southern and Eastern provinces which are the territory of the Afghan tribes. All that is known is that the meetings of the tribes called by Nadir Khan in the middle of June ended with a complete breach between Nadir Khan and Baqui Sacho. The reconcilable attitude of Nadir Khan shows that he feels himself strong enough to play an independent role and that he has succeeded in uniting the tribes behind him. One must not, however, leave out of consideration the English propaganda, which aims at separating the Southern and Eastern provinces of Afghanistan from the main territory and uniting them with the so-called "independent States" in the North West India. The latest news shows that hostilities have again commenced between Baqui Sacho and Nadir Khan. In such a complicated situation where external factors play a great role, it is of course very difficult to make any prophecies, particularly as little more is known about Nadir Khan's position at home and foreign policy than that he is a supporter of the moderate wing of the Afghan nationalists.

The important role played in Afghan affairs by the "external factors" is illustrated by the fact that the pro-English *Echo de Paris* declared a little while ago, referring to Afghanistan: "The heads of the British Intelligence Service could tell a thing or two about how carefully the insurrection was planned." That this is true is shown by the weapons in the hands of the insurgents, by the fact that the insurrection broke out in the zone bordering on Indian territory, and that the headquarters of the reactionary movement were situated here. It is a well-known fact that the Shinwari tribe, which countered the offensive of Ali-Achmed, acted under the orders of the British Consul in Jellalabad. It is also a fact that the Suleiman-ell tribe, which brought Aman Ullah's offensive in the Ghazi district to a standstill, and the movement of the tribes under Achmed-Said which prevented the attack of Nadir Khan in the Logar Valley, were both "inspired" from external sources. The soviet press has also pointed to the feverish activity of the British agents in the East and South East of Afghanistan with a view to splitting these provinces away from the rest of Afghanistan.

One of the tasks of British diplomacy is to weaken Afghanistan and to "correct", by violence if necessary, the existing Afghan-Indian frontier in the interests of British imperialism. The preparatory stage of a larger programme has already been carried out; Afghanistan has been weakened, the independence and territorial unity of a progressive Mahomedan state at the doors of India are now in a state of collapse.

Another task of British diplomacy has also been partly carried out, i. e. the creation of an area for the deployment of British troops for an incursion into soviet Central Asia. Here, however, the British have reckoned without their host. Any such attempt will be beaten back just as the attempt of a raiding tribe to cross the frontier was beaten back recently. The Soviet Union will defend the peaceful socialist constructive work in Soviet Central Asia at all costs. It would be an error to regard the temporary successes of British intrigues as at all permanent. Nothing can stop the historic process of the emancipation of the eastern peoples from the yoke of imperialism.

HANDS OFF THE SOVIET UNION

The Verdict in the Orlov Process.

Orlov and Sumarokov Sentenced to 4 Months Each and Released.

By A. Norden (Berlin).

In the evening of the 11th July the verdict was announced in the process against the forgers Orlov and Sumarokov alias Avlonovski, accused of forgery and fraud. Both of them were granted the benefit of extenuating circumstances and received sentences of 4 months imprisonment, the sentences to count as served by the time spent in prison whilst awaiting trial. Both Orlov and Sumarokov were immediately released. In its attempts to shield the accused the court went so far as to des-

cribe the first complete confession of the two made in the Police Presidium as inaccurate, and based its extremely mild sentences upon the unavoidable charge of forgery and the attempt to obtain money by fraud from the American journalist Knickerbocker in payment for the forged Borah documents.

Forgery and espionage belong to the weapons of bourgeois society, which is not squeamish about its methods in the struggle against the working class. Forgery and espionage are two weapons which the bourgeoisie cannot do without. No matter what page of working class history one may open at random one finds everywhere, in North America and in Tsarist Russia, in Germany, in Austria, in France, the agents-provocateurs and spies of the authorities at work to destroy the organisations of the working class.

The Orlov process therefore reveals nothing new. All that was new and interesting was the possibility the trial offered of observing the war carried on in the dark by the white guardist emigrants against the Soviet Union. For over ten years these living corpses, these ghosts of the past, the Tsarist officers and former high officials etc., have been at work in the capitalist countries against the Soviet Union, the first Workers and Peasants State in the world. Forged documents, murderous attempts upon the lives of Soviet representatives, acts of sabotage, espionage and undermining work in the Soviet Union itself are their weapons.

Without support these remnants of Tsarism would be powerless. They are only dangerous when powerful interests are behind them. And here lies the chief significance of the Orlov process. This trial provided the world with irrefutable proof of the accusation made again and again in the communist press that the authorities of Republican Germany, chiefly under the leadership of the social democrats, are the protectors and financiers of the counter-revolutionary organisations which aim at restoring the monarchy in Russia.

"As far as the espionage system is concerned, no one dreamt of the great ramifications of the utilisation of spies, or imagined that the authorities used such spies."

Thus spoke the political chief of the Public Prosecutors Office in his speech. He was only astounded at the extent of the espionage apparatus and annoyed at the poor quality of the spies used. He did not deny the necessity of an espionage apparatus. The social democrats Grzesinski and Zoergiebel confirmed the necessity of this apparatus when they forbade their officials to give evidence freely concerning their relations with the forgers.

It is no accident that it is precisely social democratic leaders who are responsible for concealing the truth about the white guardist spy cloaca. The social democrats are at the head of the all-capitalist struggle against the Soviet Union, and it is only logical that in their hatred of the great proletarian State in the East they should ally themselves with Tsarist spies and agents-provocateurs. The social democrats represent the strongest fractions in the coalition governments of Prussia and the German Reich, and they are responsible for turning the Orlov trial, which would have completely revealed the espionage nests and exposed the powers behind them, into a comedy.

The preliminary examinations were delayed and sabotaged, even turned into a farce by instructing the same men who had previously been the masters of Orlov and Sumarokov to prosecute the enquiries against them. This circumstance was crowned by the domineering attitude of the court which deliberately suppressed all political references in the trial without which the whole forgery case became totally unintelligible. And the verdict, which is practically an acquittal, represents the warm thanks of the German social democracy and the bourgeoisie for the valuable services rendered by Orlov and Sumarokov in the struggle of capitalism against bolshevism. The verdict represents a carte blanche for all the other numerous degenerate white guardist blackguards who are also in the pay of the authorities to do the same as the two in the dock have done.

If ever a political trial was a part of the preparations for war against the Soviet Union, then this trial was. The same court which carefully concealed all the connections between the accused criminals and high German officials and which deliberately refrained from examining the chief forgeries of Orlov, permitted the accused, the defence, the witnesses and the so-called experts to indulge in the most shameful excesses against the government of the Soviet Union. The bourgeois and social democratic press did not omit to exploit these at-

tacks for a general campaign of incitement against the Soviet Union, which represented nothing more than an ideological contribution to the preparations of the capitalist governments for war against the Soviet Union.

The forger Orlov may now be no longer usable for the ruling class, but one thing is certain, the Orlov system will remain, even if the forgers bear other names. The whole white-guardist crew of forgers and rascallions will continue to serve the bourgeoisie in the struggle against the working class movement in general and the country of the victorious workers and peasants in particular. The words of Franz Mehring, written shortly before the outbreak of the world war, are truer today than ever they were:

"It is the fate of the fighting proletariat to be accompanied at every step by the slanders of its deadly enemies; and these slanders will increase in foulness and intensity the more the working class raises itself above its enemies by the purity of its aims and methods."

BEFORE THE FIRST OF AUGUST

Swiss "Democracy" Prohibits the 1st August Demonstrations.

By M. Bodemann (Basle).

The International Day of Struggle against imperialist war has become a matter of the deepest interest for the Swiss bourgeoisie. The class enemy reacts to the preparatory work of the Communist Party in a manner not to be misunderstood. This attitude of the enemies of the working class is calculated to expose the real nature of bourgeois democracy and to assist in destroying those democratic illusions which are still deeply rooted in the working masses.

As elsewhere, the social democratic leaders, and in particular the so-called "left-wingers", the renegades from communism, are giving the bourgeoisie their cues. Just as in connection with the anti-fascist demonstration on the 24th March, they are to-day writing of the "Putschism of the Communist Party" which allegedly seeks to drive the workers into the fire of the machine guns etc. Nothing is more obvious than that the bourgeoisie gratefully adopts these slogans of the social democrats and uses them against the Communist Party. In the discussion concerning the 1st August the bourgeoisie recognises with pleasure the "reasonable" attitude of the social democratic leaders. The Swiss bourgeoisie knows what is to be expected from a real social democrat. It demands not only that the social democrats should support the bourgeoisie in practice, but it also demands that they should abandon their demagogic and radical phraseology and declare plainly and unambiguously that the social democracy stands upon the basis of the constitution. There is no doubt that the social democratic leaders will fulfil this demand of the bourgeoisie as it has fulfilled so many others.

The bourgeoisie attempts to justify its reactionary measures against the revolutionary working class, and in particular the prohibition of the anti-war demonstration on the 1st August, by declaring that this demonstration represents "a provocation of all patriotic citizens", because the 1st August is a Swiss national holiday. The Communist Party has declared both in speeches and in writing that exactly this bourgeois national holiday is the best and most suitable opportunity to connect the struggle against imperialist war with the struggle against the Swiss bourgeoisie. The government reference to the national holiday is of course nothing but an attempt to make the suppression of the workers demonstrations more popular with the petty-bourgeoisie etc. It is sufficient to point out that in recent years meetings and demonstrations of the workers have always taken place on the 1st August as a protest against the hypocrisy of the nationalist demonstrations on the same day. Previously these workers counter-demonstrations have never been prohibited.

Numerous incidents lately have shown that the ruling class intends to mobilise the whole State and police apparatus in order to crush the proletariat. The class contradictions have so intensified that the normal democratic forms of the struggle against the working class are now no longer sufficient and the bourgeoisie is adopting the fascist methods of the dictatorship

of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. For this reason the Swiss bourgeois press is now conducting a violent campaign of incitement against the Communist Party in connection with the 1st August. The aim of this campaign is to prepare the ground for the repressive measures of the Swiss authorities.

The following quotations from a number of leading bourgeois newspapers show how the matter stands with regard to "our democracy": The "Thurgauer Zeitung", the mouthpiece of the Swiss Minister of Justice, writes:

"We shall finally have to abandon our good-natured tolerance and take measures against the revolutionary incitement. People in general are beginning to ask how longer Welti and Brigolf (two communist deputies) are to be allowed to preach civil war in parliament with impunity, and how much longer the great majority of the Swiss people must put up with the insolent challenges of the communist mob and its protectors."

The leading organ of the Tradesmen and Peasants Party the "Neue Berner Zeitung" demands the suppression of the Communist Party, and writes:

"One one occasion (24th March, the anti-fascist demonstration Ed.) the communists have already been shown with armed power that limits can be put to the freedom of meeting which is guaranteed nowhere for the enemies of the State; if they continue their dangerous game, the question of the total prohibition of their organisation must be raised seriously. The question has been raised more than once outside our frontiers, and before very long it may have to be raised here also. Should it become necessary, measures will be found."

As can be seen, the Swiss bourgeoisie is prepared to take its cue from Mussolini as well as from Severing, Wels and Zoergibel.

The leading organ of the Bankers and Industrialists, the "Neue Zuercher Zeitung" which occupies itself in particular with the anti-war demonstrations of the workers under the leadership of the communists on the 1st August, not only howls for the concentration of police and military forces, but it openly propagates fascism. In an article it writes that the workers should not wait for police and military action. They should themselves go onto the streets to see about the matter.

In the Swiss parliament the Minister of Justice, reacting to an advance by a reactionary deputy from the "League against the Third International", declared that the government would prohibit the working class demonstrations on the 1st August. Should the communists not respect the prohibition then much sharper measures would be adopted against them than was the case on the 24th March in connection with the prohibited anti-fascist demonstration. This Minister called upon the Cantonal governments to take preparatory measures against the demonstrations. Should the Cantonal authorities show themselves sufficiently energetic here and there, then the federal government would undertake to see that order was maintained at all points in question.

The first result of this request to the Cantonal authorities is already in hand. The government of the Canton of Freiburg has issued the following ordinance at the request of the police:

"1. All demonstrations of an insurrectionary character are hereby prohibited on the streets and in the open squares throughout the Canton.

"2. The exhibition of red flags is prohibited throughout the Canton.

"3. All leaflets and publications containing seditious matter will be confiscated and their sale and or distribution throughout the Canton is hereby prohibited."

The penalties for violating this ordinance are then enumerated.

Despite the threatened prohibition of the anti-war demonstrations on the 1st August, despite the violent campaign of incitement against the communists, the Communist Party will under no circumstances abandon the demonstrations against imperialist war on the 1st August. After the happenings recorded above the Central Committee of the Communist Party issued a further appeal to the workers calling upon them to work more determinedly than ever to organise and carry out the demonstrations against war. In this situation the Party itself will strengthen both its organisational preparations for the demonstrations and its ideological campaign.

August First and the International Red Aid.

Fight against Imperialist War and White Terror.

By Anton.

The vanguard of the class-conscious proletariat of all countries is preparing for August 1st.

While the imperialist antagonisms and the acute conflict of the whole of imperialism against the Soviet Union are constantly becoming noticeably sharper, while the diplomatic, economic, military, technical and ideological preparations for war are feverishly being brought up to the highest intensity, while White Terror and the tendency to the creation of Fascist dictatorship on an international scale is growing, August 1st, will be the day of military review for the million masses of the workers and oppressed peasants, of the imperialist-ridden colonial slaves of the whole world, who have proclaimed war upon imperialist war and have set up the class front in preparation for this fight.

On the fifteenth of the outbreak of the world war of 1914, on the tenth anniversary of the "peace" of Versailles, the world is fully charged with dynamite, which is only awaiting the spark to blow everything into the air.

10,000,000 killed, about 30,000,000 wounded had to be added to the petty-expense account in the balance-sheet of the world slaughter of 1914/18. Still, the bourgeoisie of the various countries believe that they again have enough cannon fodder on hand, and the danger of a new, more terrible and more cruel massacre is more menacing than ever.

What is the aspect of the present state of "peace"?

While the managers of the "League of Nations and the allegedly pacifist international" are making speeches about settling conflicts by arbitration, disarmament and bringing peace to Europe and the world, more and more acute conflicts are brewing, while new armoured cruisers are being built, and new poison gases being tested, the new murder of the people is being prepared. The antagonisms between the imperialist States are being just as little settled (as the social pacifists of 1914 try to persuade the workers), as they cannot by any means be settled within the confines of the capitalist economic order. These antagonisms are immanent in capitalism — just as war is the continuation by different means of the capitalist policy, the attempt to settle conflicts which are inevitable on the basis of capitalism.

In the epoch of imperialism, of bitter fights for the command of territory for capital export purposes, for the redistribution of the already distributed world for the purpose of colonial exploitation, competition is becoming keener, armaments are increasing and the tendency towards armed conflicts between the various imperialist States and groupings is becoming more pronounced. In addition to the predominant conflict between America and England, the imperialists of Japan, France, Italy, Germany, etc., confront one another in intricate combinations of various kinds and — prepare for war. The war fanfares in South-East Europe, in the Balkans, are becoming more menacing. The critical phase in the Czechoslovak-Hungarian frontier conflict, the massacre on the Bulgarian-Yugoslavian frontier, speak very significantly. . . . The whole of Europe, the whole of the world is Balkanised and — is preparing for war.

In the era of rebellion of the brutally exploited masses of the colonial and semi-colonial countries against imperialism, imperialism is trying more and more vehemently and ruthlessly to subdue with the help of mass shootings, aeroplane attacks and gas attacks its slaves who are struggling for their freedom and to keep them in subjection — or by annihilating campaigns to clear the ground and secure it for itself. In the midst of "peace" the war of the imperialists against the awaking and heroically fighting colonial slaves is being enacted on the fronts of China, the Dutch Indies, Syria, North Africa and Latin America, in which whole tribes of natives are being annihilated. If the war fails to bring about "peace and order".

In the era of proletarian world revolution, of socialist development in the Soviet Union — the bulwark of the oppressed of the whole world, the breach in the capitalist system and the iron in the flesh of world imperialism — imperialism is concentrating the whole of its hatred upon the workers' and peasants' State. Loser and closer the ring of the anti-Soviet front is being drawn, further and further the preparations for armed attack

are being advanced, more and more mines are being laid for the destruction of the Soviet State. The Holy Alliance of Imperialism does not believe in the possibility of a peaceable coexistence of two opposing and antagonistic world systems, that of exploitation and that of socialism. It desires, through the suppression of the workers' and peasants' State, to open up the market for capital export and White Terror and at the same time to deliver a shattering blow to the world proletariat and the rebellious masses of the colonial countries. "The barbed-wire entanglements against Bolshevism", of which Tiger Clemenceau spoke ten years ago in Versailles, when the Polish frontier was fixed, is now, under the leadership of England, supported by all the leash dogs of imperialism, to be extended eastward as the Eastern frontier of Siberia. The provocations to the U.S.S.R. are becoming more and more impudent, and the signal to attack may be given very soon. The first shot may be fired at any moment.

The workers of all countries, who are gathering for the fight against imperialist war, must carry on this fight as class against class. The menacing danger of imperialist war can be removed only through the abolition of imperialism, through the overthrow of the dominion of the bourgeoisie.

The workers observe at the same time how the social-fascist leaders and the trade-union bureaucrats in all countries are actively supporting the war preparations of their bourgeoisie. They are particularly active and prominent in the anti-Soviet agitation, as in every kind of war-like preparation against the Soviet Union. For this reason the masses of the proletariat must fight the more resolutely.

The front of the imperialists must and will be opposed by the broadest, firmest, well-disciplined marching front of the toilers, and the International Red Aid, too, which fights day after day for the persecuted, imprisoned victims of democratic and Fascist class justice, of the White Terror of Mussolini and Zörgiebel will not be missing from the international review of the proletarian forces on August 1st. It will call upon its members to form one of the columns of the army of the world revolution under the slogans: **Class war against imperialist war!**

Fight against Fascism and White Terror!

What is the aspect of the permanent war in "peace"?

In conjunction with the war preparations of the imperialists and with the growing class activity of the proletariat and the resistance of the proletariat to these war preparations, the raging of White Terror is becoming more violent in all countries. The persecution of the Labour movement, the mass arrests and scandalous judgments of class justice, the maltreatment, torture, deportations and executions also represent a part of the war preparations: the bourgeoisie cannot start a war as long as the revolutionary Labour movement in its own country is not beaten to the ground.

Hence the increasing brutality of the White Terror in all countries, which is trying by ever more bestial methods to nip in the bud the movement of the oppressed and exploited masses. A survey of class justice in all countries gives a horrible picture of inhuman persecution of the class-conscious workers. New waves of Terror everywhere!

As a reaction to the enhanced Terror, increased activity of the persecuted is, however, everywhere observable. For this reason the bourgeoisie causes "Fascism" to march up in support of its obedient class justice. Here, again, it is seen that the social-fascists are proceeding with all their force against the revolutionary workers in particular and trying to nip their fight in the bud. The bloody days in Berlin-Wedding and in Neukölln, the repeated murders of Communists by P. S. people in Poland have again shown what may be expected from the "democracy" of the social-fascists. And the bullets of the Zörgiebel police were only a prelude to further attacks from Fascism, which Wels, Severing and Grzesinski now announce. The masks are now removed. . . .

The lives of thousands of proletarian prisoners, who are languishing in the prisons of the bourgeoisie, are in constant danger. The whole of the working class is confronted by the acute danger of imperialist war against the Soviet Union and of the advance of Fascism. This situation makes the firm solidarity of all proletarian forces, of all the oppressed, an urgent need of the moment.

The International Red Aid, which has been fighting for years against Fascism and has immediate knowledge of the horrors of White Terror, being in constant touch with the victims of

democratic and Fascist class justice, calls upon the working class and all the exploited to turn out on August 1st.

Intensified class war! Against bourgeois class justice! Against the sham amnesties! For the release of all proletarian prisoners from the claws of class justice! For the right of asylum! Against all varieties of Fascism! Against imperialist war! For the defence of the Soviet Union! For the liberation of the working class and of the oppressed nations! For the revolution!

Prevent the Threatening War! Protect the Soviet Union!

Appeal of the C. C. of the Workers' International Relief for First of August.

Fifteen years have passed since the outbreak of the world war, ten since the conclusion of the great massacre of the people, and already a new, even more terrible war is threatening humanity; all over the world is heard again the rattling of sabres.

The temporary stabilisation of capitalism is menaced by new upheavals. Rationalisation is creating daily fresh armies of unemployed. The feverish increase of production faced on the other side by a shrinkage of the markets. The fights for the sales and labour markets are becoming more acute every day and increase the political tensions between the imperialist States, which can suddenly become the powder magazines of a new war.

But numerous as the conflicts of the imperialists may be, on one point they are all united: in the desire to hamper the socialist construction of the Soviet Union. In the papers of the imperialist groups, of the big bank concerns and of heavy industry, more and more plainly and more frequently is the idea propagated of proceeding against the Soviet Union, not only diplomatically and by withholding credits, but also by means of armed force. The armaments of the individual States and of their vassals show more and more plainly that they are directed in the first place against the Soviet Union. In numerous imperialist military circles the view is promulgated that a war against the Soviet Union is necessary at the earliest convenience.

Hence the increased armaments of all the imperialist States in spite of all assurances of peace. Hence the development of the war industries.

To a much greater extent than before, the future war will affect the whole civilian population and threaten the women and children with poison gas and bombs. And not only in a new world war, even the war preparations with their increased expenditure on armaments are resulting in a constant decrease of expenditure for social and cultural purposes, and hence in a further deterioration of the toiling masses.

In this serious hour of immediately threatening fresh world-wars, in particular, however, against the preparations directed against the Soviet Union, the undersigned women and men raise their flaming protest.

We appeal to the hand and brain workers, to all toilers in town and country, to set up a united front which will be strong enough to frustrate every new war adventure. We call upon all toilers to demonstrate on the 1st of August, the 15th anniversary of the world war, against imperialist war. Enough of the war crimes! Enough of the horrible slaughters of the people!

No more imperialist wars!

No more wars against the oppressed peoples!

We will not tolerate that the construction work of the young State which has commenced with so much promise be disturbed by new robber wars. In all towns and villages, all women and men, regardless of party and world conception, must unite who are determined by the exertion of all their forces to prevent new wars, new military attacks upon the Soviet Union.

Hands off the Soviet Union!

For the support of the First Workers' and Peasants' Republic!

Central Committee of the Workers' International Relief.

Prof. Albert Einstein, Henri Barbusse, Bishop Wm. M. Brown.
(There follow over 200 further signatures.)

FASCISM

Against Fascist Reaction in Mexico.

Appeal of the C. I. to the Workers and Peasants of Mexico and to the Whole World!

Comrades,

The assassination of our two heroic comrades Rodriguez and Gomez, who fell under the fire of the executioner, and the most shameful and cynical terror launched against the Mexican workers and peasants, together with the dissolution of the Communist Party, the prohibition of the workers' and peasants' revolutionary press, and the arrest of the best militants active in the consistent struggle against imperialism completely masked the self-styled "revolutionary" government of Portes Gil, Calles and company, showing the whole world that the Mexican Government has become an openly fascist government and an agent of North American imperialism.

The coup d'etat of the self-styled revolutionary government of Mexico was prepared for some time ago by its capitulation before the demands of Yankee imperialism, when articles 27, and 123 of the Constitution of 1927 stipulating the confiscation and nationalisation of the mining and oil wealth of Mexico, and providing the basis for labour legislation, were revised; by its capitulation in the struggle at the Havana Conference under the threats of Kellogg and Coolidge, and by its betrayal in the heroic struggle of Sandino in Nicaragua and in the struggle of the Cuban revolutionists against the tyrant Machado. To-day the government of Portes Gil has completely sold the independence of Mexico to North American imperialism.

In developing its fascist policy as agent of North American imperialism, the Mexican Government is driving the workers from all the positions that they had conquered during the past years. The strike movements of the Mexican workers against foreign employers are persecuted. With the aid of the so-called fascist Morones, the Mexican Government is working to break up the organisations of the revolutionary workers.

Furthermore, the few gains made by the peasants during the revolution have been destroyed. The big landed proprietors and capitalist agriculturists are taking back what little land they were forced to give over to the peasants. After the "freedom-fighters" Calles and Gil — at the order of Yankee imperialism — got down on their knees before the Pope in order to guarantee "social peace" in the districts of American silver exploitation which were recently the scene of civil war, we find the Mexican clergy managing somehow to get back its former position and regain the landed property that was taken from it by armed force. Already government troops are disarming the peasants and dissolving the guerilla battalions, or transforming them into fascist organs of struggle. Deprived of their arms, the peasants will find it impossible to defend their gains and their rights.

The petty-bourgeois elements, the intellectuals, the "liberal" landed proprietors, and the elements of the young national bourgeoisie which has become degenerate and extortionist — these groups, which form the social basis of the Portes Gil Government, have cowed before the rising wave of the revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants, and under the pressure of North American imperialism, have betrayed the cause of the national independence of Mexico; they have betrayed the interests of the workers and peasants of Mexico for the benefit of exploiting Yankee imperialism — they have betrayed the common cause of the peoples of Latin America, and have passed into the camp of the most rabid enemies of the working masses of Mexico. Yankee imperialism has gained another "victory" in its campaign of expansion.

This "victory" is piling up new explosive material in the world and constitutes a new step ahead by the United States on the road of preparation for imperialist war.

The lesson of these events is that there is but a single force left in Mexico which can and will consistently and energetically lead the struggle against imperialism: this is the Communist Party of Mexico.

The Mexican masses have grown more class conscious through experience and do not hide their sympathy for the Communist Party. During the past years the Communist Party of Mexico has gained very great political influence, and is being

ransformed more and more into a rallying point and centre for political leadership of the movement of the workers, while it organises around the Mexican proletariat, the peasants, the poor Indians, and the anti-imperialist movement of Mexico in the struggle for the conquest of land and for national independence.

The unrest, discontent and combative spirit of broad masses of Mexican workers and peasants, is rising from day to day. The working masses of Mexico are reacting with increasing force against the treachery of the self-styled "anti-imperialist evolutionists" and the reaction which they have launched. The workers and peasants of Mexico are faced with the question: either meet the Fascist battalions of Portes Gil under the banner of the Workers' and Peasants' Government — or allow themselves to be crushed and subjected to the worst conditions of slavery and oppression under the yoke of Yankee imperialism.

There is no possible hesitation before this alternative.

Comrades, workers and peasants of Mexico:

Guadeloupe Rodriguez and Gomez, who died heroically with the cry of "Long live the Communist Party!", by their sacrifice, call upon the Mexican workers to rally around the Communist Party of Mexico, the guide of the revolution.

Mexican workers! Rally around your Communist Party! build up your revolutionary trade unions!

Mexican peasants! Do not give back your arms to your exploiters who will use them to crush you! Rally around the proletariat, organise yourselves in your Peasant League, cleansing it of all traitors, prepare to carry on a great struggle under the valiant leadership of the Communist Party, to get the land from the big proprietors! Down with imperialism and its accomplices. Long live national independence!

Comrades, workers and peasants of Latin America!

Protest with vigour against the threat coming from the fascist government of Mexico, which, if it is not warded off, will affect the entire anti-imperialist workers' and peasants' communist movement of Latin America.

Comrades, workers and peasants of all countries!

Your duty is to take a vigorous stand against Mexican fascism! Not a single Communist Party, not a single workers' organisation, not a single truly anti-imperialist organisation must fail to raise its voice of protest against the fascist government of Mexico.

Merciless struggle against the traitors, against the assassins, and against the Mexican adventurers.

All to the aid of the workers and peasants of Mexico!

Long live the Communist Party of Mexico.

Long live the common struggle of the workers and peasants of Latin America against imperialism!

Long live the Federation of Workers and Peasants' Republics of Latin America.

Executive Committee
of the Communist International.

Wrest the Victims of Fascism from their Jailers!

Frightful Mortality in the Italian Prisons.

By S. (Rome).

The news regarding the fate of the proletarian prisoners in Italy becomes more alarming every day. The government is making use of the very serious state of health and the physical weakness of our imprisoned comrades in order to exert by means of their agents an exceedingly strong pressure so as to make them petition for a pardon. A similar pressure is being exerted upon the families of the prisoners, who are living in the greatest misery and are greatly concerned regarding the fate of their imprisoned relatives. This new method of torture has just as little prospect of success as the former attempts. It will not be capable of breaking the resistance of the proletarian advance-guard against fascism.

The workers, however, must not look on idly in face of the sacrifices which are being imposed upon our imprisoned comrades and the danger of death by which they are threatened. The fascist prisons have already claimed the lives of Mironcelli, Arrighi, Poli, Fieschie, Andrei, Torquato Maestrelli, Gianneschi, Sabri, Provera, Bucciarelli and others. The same prison regime has brought Monticone, Lombardi, Morosini, Domenico Garuglieri, Cambi, Andreoni, Ricci and Boldrini nigh unto

death. It is threatening the lives of dozen of comrades and is ruining the health of the most robust. Yesterday it was the young Guido Sola who had to be conveyed from the Santo Stefano prison to the prison hospital for tuberculosis cases in Pianosa. Umberto Terracini has been removed from Santo Stefano to a prison hospital in Florence, because his state of health was desperate. The same thing has happened to Antonio Gramsci, who became ill in Turin, and many others.

Today Mario Franceschini, former editor of the Communist daily "Unita" is dying in the prison of Saluzzo owing to lack of medical care and nourishment. In Pesaro Léonido Tarozzi, former editor of the "Unita" and of the "l'Ordine Nuovo", lies prostrate with consumption. The same fate is shared by Giuseppe Amoretti, a former editor of the "Unita" and of the "L'Ordine Nuovo", who is only 27 years of age. Another journalist, the former editor of the "Unita", Enrico Tulli, is lying seriously ill in the prison hospital, where he lacks the necessary nourishment and medicines.

While such cases are becoming more frequent and the hatred of the population against the exceptional laws and the extraordinary tribunal is increasing, this court, by its uninterrupted activity, is filling the prisons with fresh proletarians. In spite of the irrefutable testimony regarding the responsibility of the fascists for the "Milan bomb outrage" of 20th April 1928, the police are still sticking to their charge of conspiracy. The conscience of the international proletariat must be aroused and alarmed against this manoeuvre. The resumption of this trial must call the workers of all countries into action. It was only thanks to their energetic intervention that the criminal plan of fascism after the bomb explosion in Milan was thwarted. A confirmation of the sinister designs which the fascist government is pursuing with the resumption of this trial is the circumstance that the Italian press, acting on the orders of the higher authorities, has without exception refrained from informing the public of the resumption of the trial.

It is necessary that the international action of the proletariat against fascism be strengthened in order to tear its victims from its clutches and in order to frustrate the new plans of fascism by which it intends to supply the special court with fresh victims.

TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

Far Eastern Trade Union Conference Answers Reformist Attempt to Split Organised Asiatic Workers.

A historic Trade Union conference took place at Shanghai on June 12th and 13th. At the request of the All-China Federation of Labour the P. P. T. U. S. called the Philippine, Japanese and Chinese trade union leaders together to discuss two items: The disruptive tactics of European reformists in Asia and the raids on Soviet Consulates in Manchuria. The first occupied the greatest attention, although it was decided the two questions could hardly be separated.

The speakers pointed out that the reformists had failed to obtain any great influence in the colonial countries and especially in Asia, and therefore attempts were now being made to build up an "Asiatic Labour" centre against the Pan-Pacific trade union movement. The disrupters had made very small progress and had postponed their conference for one year, but were now conspiring at the Geneva I. L. O. Conference to draw the so-called Asiatic labour representatives into a plot to destroy the militant Asiatic trade unions, and attempting to disrupt the growing Pan-Pacific trade union unity by isolating the organised Asiatic workers in a pro-imperialist organisation controlled by treacherous allies of the Amsterdam International.

Besides splitting and destroying the workers' organisations, the whole scheme was regarded as a political manoeuvre: 1) to prevent the Asiatic workers and peasants obtaining a higher standard of living, 2) to hinder the workers and peasants from obtaining the leadership of the struggle for complete independence and thereby maintaining imperialist domination in India and other colonial countries, while deepening the process of colonisation in semi-colonial countries, and 3) to retard the development of the fight against imperialist war preparation.

and to weaken the workers' struggle to defend the U.S.S.R. against constant imperialist attacks.

The reactionary character of the reformist plan was emphasised by many quotations from Albert Thomas' report given before the governing body of the I.L.O. regarding his anti-working class mission to the Far East. It was pointed out that he even regarded the Kuomintang "trade unions" as too left wing. "The communist movement inspired them (organised Chinese workers) with its excessively simple formulas, which even today (1929) after the rupture between nationalism and communism... sometimes, though unconsciously, still inspire attitudes and acts. The National Party (Kuomintang) however, realises the danger... and intends during the period of 'tutelage' to lead the workers itself. It is said there are still executions every week in Canton".

The delegates at the Conference took due note of these remarks and regarded them as an unqualified guarantee of support by the reformists of the policy of torture and murder conducted by the Kuomintang and their imperialist pay-masters. It was said they condone the torture and execution of militant trade unionists, not only in Canton, but in every important city in China, and are an indication of what can be expected in India and other colonies from Ramsay MacDonald's Labour Government.

The recent raids on Soviet Consulates in Manchuria are not unconnected with a series of overt acts and assassinations of Soviet officials serving the Workers' State in foreign countries. All are part of one general conspiracy and indirectly affect the whole international working class movement, and especially the colonial workers and peasants. It was noted how quickly the British press supported the raid and hoped the fake evidence would produce a serious crisis between the U.S.S.R. and Japan and the U.S.A. which they hoped would enable their Kuomintang militarist agents to seize the Chinese Eastern Railway and thus menace the Soviet communication with their Far Eastern port of Vladivostok.

The workers of Asia will not misunderstand the Soviet Treaty which resulted in relinquishing 50% of the control of the C.E.R. to China and which provides for final rendition. Contrast such a friendly act with acts committed by the imperialist powers who are forever tightening their grip on the throats of the Chinese. But it was also said the U.S.S.R. cannot be expected to tolerate attacks forever, although her friendship for colonial peoples is so deep-rooted as to cause her to agree finally to give up such vital communications as the C.E.R. As is well-known, these assaults against the Soviet Union are designed to produce one day actual war hostilities, hence the conference linked up the question of these raids with the anti-war campaign which is to commence on August 1st.

Appeal of the Far Eastern Trade Union Conference Regarding the Raid on the Soviet Consulates in Harbin.

Workers! Peasants! and Toilers in City and Village!

The raid upon the Soviet Consulates in Harbin is a danger signal to all the oppressed peoples and the toiling masses of the Pacific. Apparently the raid was conducted by a Chinese militarist, the worthy son of an infamous agent of Japanese imperialism, the super-bandit Chang Tso-lin. In reality behind this willing agent there stand the imperialists of Japan, England and America.

The imperialists and their agents, the Chinese militarists and the Kuomintang, wish by this raid to strike a blow against the Soviet Union, against the first Labour and Peasant Government. This raid on the Consulate, this campaign of lies and slanders against the Soviet Union, are links in the chain of systematic provocations on an international scale against the Soviet Union in order to prepare for the imperialist war upon the first Workers' and Peasants' Republic. Under the leadership of the notorious English agent, Colonel Lawrence, Afghanistan bandits make systematic raids into the territory of the Soviet Union. The Polish Fascist Government and the German capitalists with their Social-Democratic agents, who have just shot down dozens of proletarians in Berlin, protest against the alleged intrigues of the Soviet Union just as the Manchurian militarist does in response to the orders of the Imperialist Po-

wers. Thus it is clear that the raid on the Harbin Consulate is another link in the chain of war preparations against the Soviet Union, a war in which the toiling masses will be cannon-fodder for the imperialists and the militarists.

The Japanese, English and American imperialists who have made the life of the workers and peasants a living hell and have split up China by financing the militarist wars, are also the deadly enemies of the first Workers' and Peasants' Republic, which has destroyed exploitation and fights for the freedom of all oppressed peoples.

Toiling masses of city and village! Those who pay starvation wages, who work you unendurably long hours, who exploit the women and children to their very last drop of blood, who rob the peasants in every possible way by a tortionate rents and taxes — in short, these, your deadliest enemies — they are also the deadly enemies of the Soviet Union.

Toiling masses of the countries of the Pacific! Do not allow your oppressors to wage war on the Soviet Union! Protest in the factories, mines mills, offices, etc. and in the villages! Fight the imperialists who want to use you as cannon-fodder!

We greet with our whole-hearted support the anti-Imperialist Congress to meet in Frankfort on Main in July at which representatives of the oppressed peoples will consult together to devise united measures against the imperialists. Support the Congress and form organisations for the fight against the imperialist oppressors and war-makers.

Down with our suppressors; the mortal enemies of the Soviet Union!

Long live the united struggle of the suppressed peoples and of the toiling masses of the Pacific against their exploiters!

Signed: Proletarian Labour Congress of the Philippines

All China Labour Federation.

National Council of Japanese Trade Unions.

The Pan-Pacific Trade Union Congress and the Indian Trade Union Movement.

By H. Eidus.

There is still a large gap in the work of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat (P.P.T.U.S.) which must be remedied at all cost. We refer to the fact that no P.P.T.U.S. Section has yet taken definite shape or form in the T.U. movement of India. The absence of organisational contact with the Indian T.U. Movement has been due, on the one hand, to the obstacles set up by the Anglo-Indian authorities, and on the other, to the reformist leaders of the Indian T.U. Congress, who have blocked every attempt at getting the Indian T.U. Movement to co-operate with the Revolutionary Centre of the T.U. Movement in the Pacific Countries.

Yet in 1927 the Indian Trade Union Congress decided to send two delegates representing the Left Wing of the Indian T.U. movement to the Pan-Pacific T.U. Conference in Hankow. But they were not permitted to leave India, and were therefore unable to attend. At the beginning of 1928 a P.P.T.U.S. representative went to India to set up connections with the Indian Trade Union Congress, but he was not allowed to land. Comrade Ryan, an Australian comrade, a P.P.T.U.S. representative, had better luck. He managed to attend the last Indian Trade Union Congress held in December 1928 in Jaria, where on behalf of the P.P.T.U.S. he greeted the Indian Trade Union Movement. This was the first time since the P.P.T.U.S. was founded that a representative got into direct touch with the Indian T.U. Movement and laid the aims and objects of the P.P.T.U.S. before a Congress of Indian Trade Unions. At this gathering, the Left Wing elements in the Indian Labour Movement urged the Indian Trade Union Congress to affiliate to the P.P.T.U.S. However, a decision was carried by an insignificant majority to postpone a discussion on this question until the next Congress.

Thus, the next Indian Trade Union Congress to be held at the end of this year is to decide the question of affiliating to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat. It would be of interest, therefore, to size up the strength of P.P.T.U.S. supporters in India at the present time and the forces of their opponents — the Indian reformists. A brief account of the present position of the Indian T.U. Movement will make the position clear.

Approximately down to 1927 the Indian labour movement is entirely in the hands of reformist leaders — all representatives of the bourgeois intelligentsia. They spared no effort to foster a spirit of class collaboration (with the Indian bourgeoisie) in the Indian labour movement, while half-heartedly pursuing a policy of compromise with British Imperialism.

But far-reaching changes have occurred during the last two years. The heavily-charged political atmosphere in connection with the work of the **Simon Commission** and the drive of the Anglo-Indian bourgeoisie against the proletariat, now more vivid than ever, gave rise to a widespread movement among Indian workers — a movement that has put an end to the lull served in the Indian labour world for several years past.

That the workers are now active as never they were before is seen, first of all, in a widespread desire to get organised in unions, especially in the Left wing organisations, and in the numerous strikes involving hundreds of thousands of Indian workers, resulting, in the loss of millions of working days. **Girni Kamgar**, the Left Wing Textile Workers' Union in Bombay, founded in the middle of 1928, increased its membership to 100,000 during the space of a few months. Thirty-one million working days were lost through strikes in 1928 alone, and the strikes are becoming more bitter and protracted than ever. The recent Bombay textile workers' strike called at the end of last year was renewed within a few months involving 130,000 workers.

The workers of India are not only struggling heroically for their economic demands, but are taking active part in the national revolutionary movement — a movement in which the workers are becoming more and more independent of the bourgeoisie. No longer are the workers an auxiliary force (as was the case some years ago) to be used by the Indian bourgeoisie to further their plans against British imperialism. To-day, the Indian workers are making a stand as an independent political factor. Whereas the Indian bourgeoisie is in full retreat before British imperialism, the workers are carrying forward the struggle for complete independence, emblazoning on their banner the slogan **"All Power to the Soviets"**.

It is now abundantly clear that the working masses of India can have no use for a reformist leadership of the T.U. movement. In the process of the struggle new leaders are rising up able to give the workers a revolutionary lead. They are already to-day replacing the reformist leaders in guiding and leading the economic struggles of the workers. They are not only out to capture the leadership of the old reformist unions of the Indian Trade Union Congress, but are building up new revolutionary mass organisations (**Girni Kamgar** being a case in point).

Of course, neither the British Imperialists nor the Anglo-Indian bourgeoisie can remain indifferent to the present remarkable movement among the workers at large. A series of repressive measures have been directed against the revolutionary T.U. movement, and although obviously reactionary and anti-working class laws have been enacted, the authorities are still unsatisfied. Mass arrests of revolutionary leaders have now been instituted in an effort to sap the strength of the Left Wing T.U. Movement. But this will prove of no avail, for new leaders are now being put forward by the workers themselves to lead the struggle to take the place of their arrested comrades. The present general strike of the textile workers of Bombay commenced after many of the revolutionary leaders had been arrested. We see that the movement has not been crippled, since new militant leaders were put forward by the masses to take their place).

Seeing that their agents — the social-reformists, headed by **Prabhu** — are losing their hold on the labour movement, the Indian bourgeoisie are now endeavouring to make use of other agents, somewhat different from the former. Efforts are now being made to get a footing in the labour movement through the "Left" nationalists, who are simply misleading the masses with their "Left" phraseology. Having capitulated to British imperialism by renouncing the demand for political independence, the Indian bourgeoisie now seeks to get control of the labour movement by means of the "Independence League" organised by a small, but, it is alleged, radical group, of the Indian bourgeoisie with the permission and approval of big capital in India. This is merely a new move to dupe the workers and peasants who are utterly disgusted with the Indian bourgeoisie's capitulation to British Imperialism. While the National

Congress, the organ of the Indian bourgeoisie, headed by **Nehru Senior**, renounces independence for India, **Nehru junior** is busy organising an "Independence League" urging complete independence for India! These "Left" nationalists or National-Reformists have now been definitely instructed by the Indian bourgeoisie to get control of the labour movement — to take the place of the social-reformists who have lost out with the workers.

All the new developments in the Indian labour movement found due reflection in the last Indian Trade Union Congress held in December, 1928. The old reformist leaders, the agents of British Imperialism, who zealously urged affiliation to the Amsterdam International, were no longer the predominant factor at this Congress. Their proposal to affiliate to Amsterdam was rejected. However, although the Left Wing elements made a good showing, they were not yet strong enough to get all their resolutions carried. Supported by the Social-Reformists, the "Left" nationalists, led by the younger **Nehru**, utilised the situation and got control of the Congress proceedings. He was elected chairman of the Trade Union Congress for the term of the present year.

There is no doubt at all that the new national-reformist agents of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the working class will be exposed by the workers themselves just as thoroughly as the social-reformists were. So intensified has the class struggle become in India to-day, that nothing can stay the growth of the revolutionary movement among the Indian workers. The heroic struggle of the Bombay textile workers bears witness to the growth of the class-consciousness of Indian workers; it bears witness to their determination to fight to improve their conditions. The persecution and repressions directed against the revolutionary workers, seen especially of late, will only brace them for the struggle, will only strengthen their hands, for they are winning the sympathy of the working masses. The present marked Leftward drift on the part of the Indian Workers will only consolidate the position of the revolutionary wing in the T.U. movement of India. Thus we see that a basis is being prepared which will enable the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat to press forward its activities in India.

The P.P.T.U.S. must continue to urge the entire T.U. movement of India to affiliate. This must be its policy. But the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Congress, which will be attended by representatives from the revolutionary unions of India, must first of all help to form and strengthen the left wing in the Indian T.U. movement, for only a well-organised, strong Left Wing will compel the Indian Trade Union Congress to affiliate and become a section of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat.

THE BALKANS

Against the Exceptional Law in Greece.

To the Workers and Peasants of the Balkans and of the Whole World!

Comrades,

The "democratic" dictator of Greece, **Venizelos**, the classical representative of the Greek bourgeoisie, who has always been the tool of British and French imperialism, has forged new chains for the toiling masses. By means of a docile parliament he has succeeded in **introducing an Exceptional Law** which aims at suppressing not only the Communist Party but all revolutionary organisations of the proletariat and of the peasantry in general.

After the bloody regime of a **Zankoff** and of a **Liaptcheff** in Bulgaria, after the setting up of a military-fascist dictatorship in Yugoslavia, after the dissolution of the revolutionary trade unions and of the workers' and peasants' bloc in Roumania, "democratic" Greece is now also definitely taking its place in the ranks of the reactionary and fascist countries.

The secret purpose of this fascist attack is easily discerned. Its purpose is to prepare for war against the Soviet Union. The Balkan bourgeoisie, having converted the Balkan countries into semi-colonies of Franco-British imperialism, is now proceeding under the leadership of the latter to prepare for war against the Soviet Union, the homeland of the international proletariat.

It is introducing the most savage terror against the working masses in order to disarm them in their fight against the threatening war. Therefore, the white terror and fascism in the Balkans means before all things War! And the introduction of extraordinary measures in Greece constitutes a step towards war.

At the same time as the Exceptional Law was decided upon the Greek bourgeoisie, continuing its policy of armaments, ordered **three new warships**, and proclaimed through the mouth of its war minister the threatening danger of war with Turkey. It will not be long before it will openly speak of an intervention on the part of Greece, under the leadership of Franco-British imperialism, against the Soviet Union.

The Greek bourgeoisie wants by means of Exceptional Laws to stabilise and consolidate its own rule, the foundations of which are beginning to get very shaky.

The bourgeoisie has transferred all burdens involved in the stabilisation onto the shoulders of the toiling masses. Wages are as low as 40 per cent. below the pre-war level, which was already very low. The average working day is from 10 to 12 hours. The taxation of the peasants exceeds 40 per cent. of their gross income. The exploited masses, who are collapsing under these heavy burdens, are beginning to resist capitalist exploitation. Ever fresh sections of the proletariat and of the working peasants are taking up the fight with exemplary energy and self-sacrifice. The Greek bourgeoisie now finds itself compelled to resort to extraordinary measures in order to break the resistance of the workers and to check the revolutionisation of the masses, which leads to the seizure of power and the abolition of capitalist exploitation.

With the intensification of the class struggle the bourgeoisie is rallying its forces against the proletariat, the poor peasantry and the nationally oppressed Macedonian and Thracian population. All the bourgeois parties were in agreement in resorting to these extraordinary measures. The Greek social-fascists and liquidators are the most eager confederates of Venizelos in this sphere.

The Greek proletariat is fighting heroically shoulder to shoulder with the working peasants under the leadership of the Communist Party for the defence of its rights, for its vital demands, against the threatening fascism and the imperialist war which is being prepared, for the defence of the Soviet Union, against national oppression in Macedonia and Thrace, for a workers' and peasants' government and for the Balkan Federation of Workers' and Peasants' Republics. In order to cripple this fight Venizelos is endeavouring to crush the advance-guard and leader of the Greek proletariat — the Communist Party —, politically to disarm the proletarians, the working peasants and the nationally oppressed masses and to deprive them of their leaders. **The Exceptional Law against the Communist Party is a blow against the whole of the working people, against the whole revolutionary population of Greece; it is a link in the chain of war preparations against the Soviet Union; it is a law for the purpose of waging war both at home and abroad.**

The fight of the Greek proletariat against the fascist and bellicose campaign of Venizelos is a fight of the proletariat in the Balkans and in the whole world.

The Balkan Communist Federation is in full and complete sympathy with this fight and considers it its duty to support it in every way. It calls upon the Greek proletarians and working peasants to reinforce and carry on even more determinedly their fight for the defence of their Party, their organisations, their interests and rights, against fascism and the war danger; to drive from their midst all traitors, social-fascists, liquidators and capitulators, and in spite of everything to prepare for International Anti-War Day on August 1.

The Balkan Communist Federation call to the proletariat, the working peasantry and the nationally oppressed population of the Balkans: Reply to the Terror and the war preparations of the Greek and of the whole Balkan bourgeoisie with large-scale preparations for International Red Day!

Demonstrate on August 1st that you are determined to smash fascism and to reply to an imperialist war against the Soviet Union with civil war against your own bourgeoisie! Defend at every step your advance-guard the Communist Party!

Down with fascism!

Down with war against the homeland of the workers of the whole world!

Long live the Soviet Union, our fatherland!

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

Long live the Communist Party of Greece!

Long live the Balkan Communist Federation and the Communist International!

July, 1929.

The Executive Bureau of the Balkan Communist Federation

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

Assist the Fighting Bulgarian Workers!

An Appeal to the International Proletariat!

Comrades!

The workers of Bulgaria have been engaged for 46 days in an open struggle with the capitalists. The difficult nature of conditions in Bulgaria and the protracted extent of the struggle have exhausted the financial means of the trade unions. Their finances not only of our members but also of our supporters are exhausted.

Comrades! From our information since the 9th June we know in what a situation the working class is under the fascist regime. You know also that under such circumstances our organisations cannot possibly have any large fighting funds at their disposal.

At the moment 10,000 workers of various branches of industry are still on strike. The strike of the tobacco workers in Plovdiv (Philippopolis), Haskovo, Kardhalis and Egri-Dzhe is at an end, but the strike of the tobacco workers in Rakovisanimaka and Ustovo is being continued. In Varna the workers of a number of workshops have gone on strike. In Sofia the strike of the textile, tobacco, leather and metal workers is being continued. In Stara Zagora the leather workers are striking, in Jambol the workers of the Petrov mills are on strike. In Russe there is a strike of the bakers. In all towns and in all branches of industry the workers are in a ferment. New strikes are brewing.

The fascist government is giving the employers all possible support. The arrests are continuing without cease. Moral terrorism is being practiced on a mass scale. The whole campaign of the exploiters is at the disposal of the employers, whilst being the hungry workers exhausted by the long strike stand before the proletariat and the working peasantry. We repeat, comrades, our means are exhausted. The workers have sacrificed all their strength in order to continue the long struggle from the 9th June to the present. Despite the fact that the wages of the workers are very low, they are still making sacrifices. However, the material sacrifices of the workers are not sufficient for the prosecution of the struggle to a successful conclusion.

This circumstance causes us to appeal once again to the international proletariat for speedy material assistance.

Comrades! You know yourselves that the workers are compelled to strike by bitter need. This is the case everywhere and also in Bulgaria. We are carrying on a class struggle against our class enemies, the capitalists. The success of our struggle will depend to a great extent upon the material support afforded to our struggle by the international proletariat.

We await your speedy material assistance and send you our fraternal greetings.

Long live international proletarian solidarity!

Long live the Struggle of the Working Class for Bread and Freedom!

Long live the fighting Independent Trade Unions of Bulgarian Workers!

The Central Committee of the Independent Trade Unions

Sofia, 2nd July 1929.

Address to which financial support should be sent: "Edinstvo", Ul Zar Samuil 50, Sofia.

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

Collective Farms and Five-Year Plan of Socialist Development.

In the Speech of the President of the Council of People's Commissaries of the R. S. F. S. R., Comrade S. I. Syrzov, to the National Conference of the Big Collective Farms on July 3rd, 1929.

The collective farms form one of the most important parts of our progressing socialist economy. The production and the plan of the collective farming system is an inseparable and very important link of our general national economic plan. The question of the development of collective farming may, therefore, by no means be isolated and considered apart from the total plan of socialist development.

At the same time it is necessary to take the general plan in conjunction with an absolute mastery of the concrete facts and details. It is only by this means that the Party and the Soviet Government will create the possibility of converting the objects into practical measures.

Comrades, from the experience you have gained in your own section you will probably be aware that in the realisation of our plans annoying disturbances often occur, though these are to some extent a natural and inevitable phenomenon.

The contradictions in the plans reflect the disproportion in the economy, which can only be overcome in the process of development — and not so soon. An, unfortunately, important part of the errors, of the false calculations arises, however, from insufficient preparation, the lack of ability to organise, of timidity, of incapacity, shortsightedness — in a word, various "old" characteristics, which still cling to us.

It is true that we must not permit ourselves to be confused by the rebuff. The working class of the Soviet Union is still in the first decade of its power. From its mistakes it is learning how the State must be administered and economy developed.

The fact that we are unprepared and also the tremendous amount of the tasks confronting us foster among our enemies the hope that we shall fail in the development of our economy.

Just recently, one of our enemies, the Menshevik Jugov, published abroad a brochure under the title "The National Economy of Soviet Russia and its Problems". The author is not sparing in regard to prophecies and writes, inter alia, as follows:

"The rapid advance of industry in the Soviet Union has so far taken place exclusively through the restoration of the standing capital of the industry of the time previous to the Soviets. When the reserves of the old inheritance are exhausted, the old factories are overburdened to the extreme and uninterrupted work is introduced as far as possible, the rate in the development of industry will rapidly fall off." (Page 254.)

In contradiction to this may be stated that in the current year numerous industrial enterprises newly established under the Soviet Government have commenced operations. They are the signs of the reconstruction of our economy. It is true that they form only a small part, their share in the total mass of our production being relatively slight. It is, however, no longer a matter of preparation for reconstruction but a real reconstruction which has already begun. Furthermore, there is no imminent danger that disturbing features will become noticeable in regard to the rate of development of our industry. On the contrary, we have at present a very different phenomenon: our plans for the development of industry are set so low that in many branches they will be systematically surpassed. We are obliged to make corrections, in most cases not in the sense of a reduction of the plans but in their extension.

Our enemies have, however, one more "trump" in reserve. We have several achievements to our credit in the reconstruction of industry, they devote their attention to agricultural economy and maintain that we are not capable of dealing with such a task as the reorganising of farming. For instance, the Menshevik Jugov already mentioned declares in another part of his brochure:

"In the decisive section of the economy of the Soviet Union, agriculture, there are no preliminary conditions for systematic organisation. The world of the many million of peasants lives, produces, sells and consumes apart from

the directives of the State Planning Commission; it adjusts itself to the laws of the market which are valid for the whole of the capitalist world." (Page 230.)

According to the laws of the circulation of goods and to the prophecies of our enemies as also of the too shortsighted friends, whose nerves cannot stand the test of strain, this year there should everywhere be a reduction of the area under cultivation and a non-fulfilment of the tasks prescribed by the planned economy organs and confirmed by the leading Soviet executives, the congresses of Soviets and the sessions of the Central Executive Committee. The gloomy prophecies have not been fulfilled. In spite of the difficulties in the plan-economy organising of agriculture the areas under cultivation have this year increased considerably. The increase corresponds in general with the planned economy directives. In regard to the harvest per unit of land, naturally, no definite judgment can be given for the time being. It is nevertheless certain, and we have substantial proofs thereof, that our planned economy in the village has not been without successes, in spite of many mistakes and deficiencies.

The Production Alliance already shows results.

The current year is in the highest degree remarkable as regards a fixation of Planned economy principles in agriculture. Just as in the sphere of industry, in several sections of economy our assumptions have been surpassed in practice.

Figures and facts on hand show a tremendous growth of collective farms, which at present have at their disposal an area under cultivation of more than four million hectares and embrace four million participants in the socialist development of agriculture. In the approaching grain supply campaign the collective farms and Soviet estates will deliver over one hundred million poods of their own socialist grain. It will therefore be seen that we have entered a new phase of the planned economic organising of agriculture, we have surmounted further barriers.

In spite of the difficulties confronting a planned economic assimilation of the individual peasant holdings, in spite of the momentarily difficult grain situation (which will work itself out within a certain period, as we are in a period of years of transition, in which the disproportion in the process of growth is apparent), we may perhaps be able this year, particularly under the impression of the lessons of the difficult situation, to record that certain elements of planned economy have gained a firm foothold in the village, in the individual peasant holdings. It is not a process that goes on without friction. The State, proletarian planned economy encounters the stubborn resistance of the capitalist elements and their endeavour to seek support in the backwardness, in the prejudices of certain classes of the peasants. The planned economy also finally collides with the still inadequate organisational assimilation of the agricultural labourer, of the small and lesser peasant masses as a result of an insufficient knowledge, of mistrust, which the village still harbours in regard to the plans of the proletariat. The support which the organised proletarian and semi-proletarian strata of the village have this year given to the State planned economy principle, nevertheless, shows the ways by which success may be achieved for the planned economy, so to say, in the sea of individual farms.

Without going into details let us touch upon several measures, for instance, the sowing contracts, which, in spite of several failures, have on the whole exceeded our expectations, also the success of the planned economy principle in grain supply, the increasing socialisation of farming, etc. From these facts it is clearly seen that the influence of the market, upon which our enemies base so much hope and to which our nervous friends capitulate — that the market relations undergo a certain modification under the Soviet conditions of the period in question. The proletariat finds further levers in the production alliance with the village, and these will be of help to us, in spite of all the difficulties, in strengthening still further the bond between town and country.

The Party has also had to combat in its own ranks a certain disbelief in the reality of the collective farms and of the Soviet estates. But the disbelief was still greater in important strata of the village. It was only gradually and with difficulty that our ideas made their way into these circles. It will only be gradually that the iron logic of facts will change the conservative mentality of the peasantry.

I will not dwell upon the fact that we can realise the new methods of farming only by overcoming the stiffest resistance on the part of the capitalist elements in the village, the Kulaks. Their resistance is natural and inevitable. Perishing classes have never given up their positions without a fight, no matter how hopeless their positions may have been when viewed from the historic standpoint. Taking into consideration that under the present economic circumstances of the Soviet Union capitalism still has a relatively favourable soil, the desperate resistance, which has met with temporary partial success in several places, is quite comprehensive.

The mere enumeration of various economic facts of recent times justifies us in concluding that achievements have been made in socialist development. We are, however, confronted by a great danger: the relatively big successes may tempt us to be conceited. We must openly declare that alongside the great achievements there are still many blemishes, to which we must direct our attention in order to do away with them and become immune to the fits of arrogance, against which Comrade Lenin used constantly to warn us. Then it is also necessary that we should subject to severe criticism and overhauling all the forms of our economic activity and all our practical work. We must approach all phenomena critically, but not with malevolent criticism tinged by the influence of petty-bourgeois elements, who take up an attitude of antagonism or nagging scepticism in regard to all the proposals of the class-conscious proletariat. But a proletarian self-criticism for the prevention of inertia and stiffness in the work.

The tasks facing us are as much as we can manage. We must exert ourselves to the utmost in order to master them. If we approach our planned economic activity from this standpoint, we shall find many deficiencies in every direction. As already mentioned we can this year record the extraordinary fact that we have paved the way of access to the village. The slogan, "We must carry the plan into the village", and, namely, not only as regards the supply of grain but also in the matter of production, of the sowing campaign, which is considerably more difficult, has recently become a household-word. That the plan is good, is certain. Unfortunately it is occasionally carried out in a distorted form. In North Caucasia the production conferences in the village and the election of agronomic representatives have made very good progress. In several cases, however, there has been noticeable among these representatives the tendency to carry out by official measures of compulsion the plans which they make. The more critical and attentive we are in regard to such mistakes, the more thoroughly and quickly we shall eliminate them.

Practical Realisation of the Plans as a Means to Win the Confidence of the Broad Peasant Masses.

I have already mentioned our successes in North Caucasia and in various other districts in the arranging of production conferences and election of expert representatives. But that is not sufficient. It is necessary that the plan should be made comprehensible and accessible to the masses of the small and lesser peasants, so that the peasants may get a clear idea of the important part they have to play. This can only be done by practice and experience. We cannot get along with theoretic explanations alone, and the use of compulsion is still less desirable. It is true that we cannot dispense entirely with measures of compulsion, but we must not limit ourselves merely to official regulations in dealing with the peasants. In the matter of collective farming, too, we have not a few such examples.

The collective farms and Soviet estates are absolutely new organisations. They are big farms which bring into our economic activity changes of considerable magnitude and new in principle. But on these farms we employ the same methods of administration as the peasant uses of his small farm. A big farm must be managed scientifically and rationally in order that its advantages over the small farm may be brought out. The managers of the big farms and Soviet estates renounce with difficulty the experience and habits they bring with them from the peasant farms.

The quality of the work on the collective farms and also on the big collective farms is often poorer than that on the peasant farms. The new incentive to produce is but slowly and gradually taking the place of private farming interest. For this reason we have to meet great difficulties. The non-fulfilment of certain requirements threatens our planned economy direc-

tives with partial failure. In setting up these directives we proceed from certain assumptions. For instance, in regard to tractors, we count upon the tractors being fully exploited and a certain production effect accruing. If, however, the quality of the work and the degree of exploitation of the tractors are short of expectations, our objective is not reached, i. e. the plan is frustrated and our hopes and calculations are in some measure destroyed.

The thousands of tractors which we have at our disposal are nothing to our actual needs, so we must fight all the more energetically against their lying idle. The same applies to agricultural machinery. Whereas in the United States of America there is agricultural machinery to a value of 39 roubles to every hectare under cultivation, in our country there is only 7 roubles' worth. Our poverty makes it necessary for us to exert all our forces to ensure complete exploitation of the agricultural machinery we possess.

(Conclusion follows)

The Karic Expedition of 1929.

By Otto Heller.

The indubitably greatest nautical enterprise of recent years will set out within the next few weeks under the flag of the Soviet Union. The Karic expedition of the Soviet mercantile marine will again this year as last year leave from the port of Hamburg. Over twenty Russian, German and English merchant ships will start on the northern sea route to Siberia. On July 28th the fleet will set sail under the Soviet captain Rekstin, who has seen much service in Arctic waters, as commandore. On July 9th, the strongest ice-breaker in the world, the famous "Krassin", is sailing from Leningrad and will bunker in Norway. From there the "Krassin" will set out for the Arctic Ocean to seek, with the help of aeroplanes, the best course for the ships to take.

The purpose of the Karic expedition, which, since 1900 has been repeated each year in the months of July to October is to establish the sea route between Central Siberia and the European and American seaports. The first attempt via the northern sea route around Scandinavia through Barents Sea, the Kara Straits and the Kara Sea to reach the estuaries of the Ob and of the Yenisei was made three hundred years ago. The thought is quite natural: instead of the endless and expensive overland route through the whole of Russia to Siberia, to take the sea route, which is cheaper and, in spite of the railway, more convenient for cargo. The Tsarist Government, which was under the thumb of the Moscow, Novgorod and Petersburg merchants, who were interested in the caravan route and later on in the Trans-Siberian Railway, sabotaged for decades the exploration of the northern passage and its development.

Finally, the Petersburg Government recognised the advantages which would accrue to it through the use of the Kara Sea route. As the export of valuable Siberian goods constantly increased, the mighty ones on the Neva became aware that the significance of Siberia greatly surpassed that of a mere penal colony. Tariff reductions were allowed on goods exported from, or imported to, Siberia by sea. The expeditions were, however, attended by considerable loss. There was a lack of good ice pilots, and the meteorological stations of today were not then in existence. Between 1874 and 1923, of 253 ships which started out on the northern sea passage 58 were the part of them being wrecked and part ice-bound. For the period from 1923 to 1928 this figure has sunk almost to nil. In the last two years, all the ships which left Hamburg returned undamaged.

The economic value of the expeditions even at the time when there was no question of an industrialisation of Siberia, of systematic development of the water ways, of regular exploitation of the tremendous natural resources of Siberia, may be seen from the following example: a bale of tea from Hankau, which is carried in four months by way of London, Hamburg, around Scandinavia, through the Kara Sea, up the Yenisei to Krasnojarsk, on the Trans-Siberian Railway, is from 15 to 18 roubles cheaper than a bale of tea, which is transported via the overland route through Mongolia, which is much shorter as far as a mileage is concerned. Moreover, the "longer" way takes only a fifth of the time!

But now Siberia has an exact plan of industrialisation. The tural traffic ways should not be longer left unused. The wiet Government also used the experiences of the Tsarist riod and also of the civil war, during which use was made the northern sea passage to support the Siberian revolutionaries in their fight against Koltchak. The Karic expedition s become a regular, important commercial-naval enterprise, th a permanent office in Novosibirsk and a representation in rlin and Hamburg, from where the ships have sailed since 27. after London had, for purely political reasons, proved suitable.

The principle of the expedition is, as before: to carry goods m Europe and America by sea to Siberia, and to bring /berian and Mongolian products by sea back to the western untries. The contents of the hold is merely exchanged. Full rgoes are carried in both directions. The ships transfer their oods at present about 300 kilometres up the Ob or the Yenesei e cargoes are appropriately distributed on the ships when aded in Hamburg, so that a portion of the fleet can go to e Ob and the other portion to the Yenisei) to a special river et which has recently been supplemented with new motor ips and which will be still further increased. The river fleet is out from Krasnojarsk on the Yenisei, or from Tjumen on e Ob at about the same time as the sea-going fleet leaves amburg. The ships must take everything with them, for at e ports, which are far from being properly developed, there e no regular dwellings or victualling stations. The water ere is free from ice for scarcely three months in the year! ne two fleets meet by arrangement at the end of August. Dis- arge and transhipment takes twenty days. The voyage up eam takes the river ships one month. At the end of October e goods reach the Trans-Siberian Railway and Europe, re- ctively.

The "Karic", as it is known for short in the Soviet Union, of tremendous significance to Siberia. It brings machines, etals, cloth, dyes, chemicals, whole hospital equipments, ongen laboratories, factory materials. Cargoes in the other irection are composed of: wool, tobacco, timber, graphite, al, gold, hides, tanning materials, flax, agricultural products.

For commercial reasons the figures for 1929 have not yet een published. However, an idea of the development of iberian economy can be gained when on the basis of the ollowing figures it is shown that the figures for this year re greatly in excess of those for 1927 and 1928 as regards ports, imports and tonnage.

Imports to Siberia amounted in 1927 to about 13,000 tons f an aggregate value of £ 700,000. In 1928 about 11,000 tons ere imported to an aggregate value of about £ 800,000. Last ear the chief imports were agricultural machinery, metals, and edicaments. Exports for 1927 amounted to over 4000 tons of oods, of timber 2500 tons. Exports amounted to 11,000 tons. is year timber exports will increase, as will also exports f the products of the fisheries. A saw mill has been started n the estuary of the Yenisei and a big fish-working plant has nce spring been exploiting with modern equipment the catches ken in the immensely rich fishing grounds.

The joint stock company called "the Committee of the orthern Sea Route" has this year made extensive technical and onomic preparations. The economic office of the expedition i Berlin is loaded up with work and the office in Hamburg so has its hands full. As already explained, the fleet which is this year leaving Hamburg is the largest of its kind which as yet set out on the Kara Sea voyage.

The numerous radio stations on Novaya Semlya and on e coast of North Siberia, the new harbour buildings at Novij ort on the Ob and Usty Yenisei, the new ships, the com- issioning of the "Krassin", which is also carrying an aero- lane, guarantee the success of this voyage. The lowering of e insurance rate on cargo and tonnage proves that the nor- ern sea passage will become a regular navigable water way.

Right from the beginning socialist development has given pecial attention to the problem of communications. The opening p of Central Asia by the Soviets will be promoted in an ex- traordinary degree through the Karic expedition. A notion of the ture possibilities of Siberia can be gained from the fact that e two West-Siberian rivers reached by the expedition drain a rritory of 5,500,000 square kilometres, part of which has not et been fully explored. Together with its tributaries, the Ob as a navigable length of 16,000 kilometres, the Yenisei of 000 kilometres. When the rapids of the Yenisei to the south f Bijsk have been circumvented, on which project work is now

being done, it will be possible for steamers to travel from Hamburg to the Mongolian frontier! Hunting, fishing, farming, gold washing, ore mining, coal mining, graphite and asbestos production; there is hardly a natural treasure lacking in the basins of the Ob and Yenisei. In its five-year plan the Soviet Government has projected the exploitation of these treasures. The Karic expedition of this year constitutes an important step forward in the direction of the opening up of Siberia.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Fight against the Right Danger in the C. P. of Poland.

Decision of the Plenary Session of the C. C. of the C. P. of Poland.

The recently held Plenum of the C. C. of the C. P. of Poland has adopted decisions which are of the greatest importance for the carrying out of the decisions of the VI. World Congress in Poland.

The Plenum made a special declaration of war on the Right views which are represented in the C. C., and to this fight devoted a special portion of the resolution, which we print below. All the resolutions were unanimously adopted; Comrades Stefanski and Kostrzeva submitted declarations which the Plenum characterised in the following manner: "Comrade Kostrzeva, while formally approving of the resolution, in fact maintains her wrong standpoint which has been condemned by the Plenum", and that "the declaration of Comrade Stefanski does not provide a sufficient guarantee that he has overcome his mistakes in regard to the P. P. S." The Plenum emphasised that the determined and consistent criticism of the mistakes of Comrades Kostrzeva and Stefanski is an unconditional precondition for the consolidation of the Party on the line of the Comintern.

In connection with the growing crisis of the fascist dictatorship the main factor of the Right danger consists in those mistakes which arise from the underestimation of the decay and the inner contradictions of capitalist stabilisation, as well as of the revolutionising process of the masses, and at the same time proceed from an underestimation of the counter-revolutionary role of the reformist parties and foster illusions regarding an alleged struggle between them and fascism.

The VI Congress of the Communist International, in characterising the role of social democracy in its fight against the revolutionary movement, emphasised its merging with the capitalist State apparatus and its growing into social fascism and pointed out that the Left social democracy, which makes use of radical-oppositional phrases when dealing with the masses, is the most dangerous. The Open letter of the E. C. C. I. to our Party likewise points out that the "oppositional" leaders of the P. P. S. "are more dangerous to the working class than the open adherents of fascism, the blackshirts of Yavorovski", and that the "squabbles between Zulavski and Yavorovski can hardly be regarded as a serious fight".

The revival of the democratic-parliamentary illusions in the masses of the petty bourgeoisie, which is suffering from the economic crisis, the pressure of taxation and the increased prices — illusions, which are strengthened by the P. P. S. (constitutional projects, land reform, territorial autonomie etc.) — exert a strong pressure upon broad sections of the working class. The radical-democratic and the anti-fascist phraseology of the social-fascists enables them — along with the insufficient activity of our Party — partly to exploit the revolutionary mood and to divert the masses from the fight against the fascist dictatorship. From this there arises (as the April resolution of the C. C. correctly emphasised) the greatest danger for the revolutionary movement, especially owing to the fact that "certain links of our Party even yield to the pressure of the illusions of the masses regarding an alleged turn to the Left of the P. P. S. and an alleged fight between the latter and fascism". This is revealed by a number of attempts to establish a united front with the social fascists, which made their appearance in our

organisations and which were subjected to criticism by the national secretariat of the C. C.

The theoretical expression of the illusions regarding the P. P. S. is provided by the articles of Comrade Stefanski in the "Czerwony Sztandar" (Central organ of the Party) and in the "Nowy Przegląd" (theoretical review) regarding the split in the P. P. S.

In contradiction to the decisions of the VI. World Congress and the Open Letter of the E. C. C. I. Comrade Stefanski represented reformism as the actual third democratic force which is standing exposed to the double fire of communism and fascism.

Comrade Stefanski, in his article in the "Nowy Przegląd", actually adopts the standpoint that there exists a fundamental antagonism between fascism and the reformist parties in the ideological, political and organisational sphere. According to him there is taking place a liquidation of the whole role and ideology of those parties "whose main activities and programmes have arisen out of and are based on bourgeois democracy": a liquidation of the P. P. S. as a "remnant and residue of another system, of other methods, another grouping of the class forces": a liquidation which goes so far that fascism, "precisely in regard to the P. P. S., has to reach to the foundations of its petty-bourgeois ideology and at the same time does not leave one stone standing on another". In this way there is "growing and developing upon the ruins (of the old parties) a fascist party which is allegedly embracing all classes".

According to the opinion of Comrade Stefanski "fascism, in liquidating Parliamentary democracy, dissolved just what was the most essential, the programmatic foundation" of the P. P. S. In this manner, according to Comrade Stefanski the most essential feature of the P. P. S. is not the fact that it is stifling the struggles of the proletariat, imbuing the working class with the elements of fascist ideology, that it spreads hatred against the Soviet Union and draws the masses into the orbit of the imperialist policy of Polish fascism, but the protection of Parliamentary democracy.

The alleged fundamental antagonism between the ideology of the P. P. S. and fascism has the effect that its socialist-democratic phrases on the one hand strike at the foundations of the fascist dictatorship, and with the growth of the revolutionary ferment "will show more clearly its double-edgedness", which in turn leads to the conclusion that the radical phraseology is in this respect playing an objective revolutionary role. The P. P. S. is thus coming forward as a power which fights on two fronts: against Communism and against fascism. Its activity on the first front is obviously not sufficient, as "fascism has to exert an intensive pressure upon the P. P. S. leaders in such questions as war and the fight against communism connected with it". Hence the lack of understanding for the fact that the "pacifism" of the social-fascist and the anti-Soviet war agitation of the fascists are not antagonistic but complementary methods.

According to Comrade Stefanski, the P. P. S. offers fierce resistance to fascism and defends its independence against it, and where this resistance "has not been broken by means of pressure, fascism has not hesitated to shatter the P. P. S. and to split off from it that portion which is already ripe for collaboration with fascism". But also after the split the P. P. S. is not giving up the fight.... "The P. P. S. is offering and will also in the future offer stubborn resistance in defending its unity, its organisational independence and its monopoly of the trade union movement." It follows from this that the P. P. S. leaders are not yet-ripe for collaboration with fascism, but that they are even capable of offering stubborn resistance to fascism.

The view of Comrade Stefanski directly leads to an over-estimation of the disputes between social-fascism and fascism and to raising them to the level of a real fight between different ideologies and organisational systems. The view of Comrade Stefanski is the further development of Comrade Kostrzeva's views which found expression in the article on the "Three main divisions of the fascist camp", according to which "Polish fascism has liquidated the programme of the democratic development of reformism and is now "shattering and dragging along with it all parties"; that it is liquidating the reformist parties by forming its own monopolist party, standing above the classes, "as a life-belt for the drowning bourgeoisie". Comrade Kostrzeva in this picture represents the reformists as dying at the hand of fascism like the gladiators of ancient Rome.

It was not a mere chance that Comrade Kostrzeva put forward this view regarding the liquidation by fascism of the reformist parties as bearers of democratic traditions. There exists

undoubtedly an inner connection between this view and the view not yet got rid of by Comrade Kostrzeva regarding the independent role of the petty bourgeoisie, which, it is alleged before the fascist upheaval attempted to realise its "programme of democratic development".

Our IV. Party Congress rejected this view of Comrade Kostrzeva and pointed out that to emphasise the "independence" of the petty bourgeoisie means in practice to overestimate as a result of which there can arise wrong tactical conclusions.

Comrades Kostrzeva and Stefanski's view underestimates the special shakiness, the rottenness and tremendous intensification of the inner contradictions of capitalist stabilisation and of a class struggle, especially the process of the revolutionising of the masses in Poland, which is increased by the immediate neighbourhood of the Soviet Union, as factors hampering the efforts of fascism to establish a monopolist mass party. The basis of this view constitutes Comrades Kostrzeva's and Brand's view, which has not yet been finally got rid of, regarding stabilisation as being a plan of "golden rain of loans"; a plan for the "recovery" of Polish capitalism, as well as the "pacifying of the Polish workers and peasant masses by means of bribing the upper sections", by means of "rights for national minorities", and "compulsory measures against a certain portion of the big landowners". Pilsudski was supposed to liquidate the chaos caused by the bourgeoisie itself as a result of its incapability to work itself out of the complicated economic and political situation". (Theses of Comrades Kostrzeva and Brand of 27th June 1926.)

This view was subjected to criticism by the Open Letter of the E. C. C. I. of August 1926. In spite of this, the brochure of Comrade Brand, written a year later, overestimated the stabilisation possibilities of Polish fascism, especially the possibility of the extension of the home market, and underestimated the expansion of Polish imperialism towards the East as a fundamental factor in the war against the Soviet Union. The view that Polish capitalism is restricting itself to the home market led to the denial of the imperialist tendencies of Polish capitalism as "realities of today".

In contradiction to the views of Comrades Kostrzeva and Stefanski the January Plenum of the C. C. pointed, even if not adequately, to those factors which are hindering the formation of a monopolist party of fascism; emphasised the process of the organisational merging of the P. P. S. with fascism and the growing of the pseudo-socialist ideology of the P. P. S. with fascist ideology, and explained the inner disputes in the fascist camp as a quarrel over the best fighting methods against the revolutionary movement, as a competitive struggle for influence over and places in the government and in the administration etc.

Comrade Kostrzeva, in her article "The struggle against the Right Danger" in the last number of "Nowy Przegląd", not only keeps silent regarding the most important ideological mistakes committed in connection with the P. P. S. but also reveals ignorance of the actual role of the P. P. S. in the fascist system.

Comrades Kostrzeva's and Stefanski's view furnished by ideological substantiation of the opportunist views regarding the P. P. S.; it led in practice to great Right mistakes which arise from the underestimation of the counter-revolutionary role of the P. P. S. and the danger of its radical-democratic phraseology, mistakes which represent the most actual and most important features of the Right danger in our Party.

The present period of the growing crisis of fascism, of the intensification of the class struggle and of the increased manoeuvres of social fascism requires from our Party a clear tactical line. A thorough criticism of the mistakes is an indispensable precondition for the carrying out of this line.

The Plenum emphasises the connection between the new and old mistakes of the Party, wherein lies its special danger. Comrades Kostrzeva's, Stefanski's and Brand's views, which have not yet been overcome, are today leading to an obliteration of the revolutionary perspectives, to a disregard of the growing class struggles and to a lagging behind the events. These views are contrary to the line of the VI. World Congress and render it difficult for the active Party members to elaborate a clear Leninist standpoint regarding the character of the "third period" and the role of social democracy in fascist Poland.

The Plenum declares that three comrades of the Pol-Bureau have paralysed the criticism of the views of Comrades Kostrzeva, Brand and Stefanski (rejection of criticism in the draft

the April Resolution and in the articles of Comrades Lenski, Słowicki and Manujski). In spite of the unanimously adopted decisions of the C.C. these comrades adopted a conciliatory attitude to the fractional activity and hampered the struggle of the national secretariat against the Right danger and the fractional attacks.

They adopted the same standpoint in regard to the criticism made of the mistakes and deviations of the past: during the campaign of the Tenth Anniversary of the International and the Party (the question of Trotzkyism in 1923 etc.).

At the VI. Plenum Comrades Stefanski and Kostrzeva not only betrayed a complete lack of self-criticism but even increased their mistakes and showed a deviation from the Bolshevik line of the Party. Comrade Kostrzeva developed the Right view of the three factors in the revolution, of which the first is the proletariat, the second the peasantry and the suppressed nationalities and the third the inner disputes in the camp of the bourgeoisie. According to this view the inner disputes of the bourgeoisie grow until they become a fundamental driving force of the revolution. In this way there is again revived Comrade Kostrzeva's old view regarding the petty bourgeoisie (and in his case the middle classes) as an independent factor of the evolution and the realizer of the democratic bourgeois programme. The same view which has been developed by Comrade Stefanski regarding the P.P.S. and which has been declared to be wrong by the Party, has been generalised by Comrade Kostrzeva by extending it to all disputes in the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois camp. If Comrade Stefanski's article has created the basis for illusions in regard to the P.P.S., Comrade Kostrzeva's views are creating the basis for illusions regarding the petty bourgeois parties in general.

Comrade Stefanski's declarations, and especially his views on the land reform of 1925, were of the same kind. Comrade Stefanski considered the land reform the attempt of the bourgeoisie to save themselves at the cost of the big landowners, which means an open opportunist mistake contradictory to the view of the Party.

This view had already formerly been expressed in an article by Comrade Stefanski in "Czerwony Sztandar", in which Comrade Stefanski compared the land reform of 1925 with the present agrarian policy of fascism. This reform has allegedly been "formally and actually buried" by fascism in order not to disturb "the sleep of the big landowners", whereas in fact the fascist government is realising it by increasing the number of the rich peasants, according to the model of the Tsarist-Stolypin land reform, as a barrier against the struggle of the revolutionary peasant for land" (decision of the IV. Conference of the C.P.P.), and at the same time fosters the illusions among the masses of the village poor.

In this way Comrades Stefanski and Kostrzeva came forward in opposition to the correct line of the Central Committee based upon the decisions of the VI. World Congress.

The Plenum, by approving the line and activity of the national secretariat, considers it wrong that the provisional secretariat of the Polbureau held back the decisions of the national secretariat regarding the struggle against the Right danger and the fractional fight, and confirms them.

The Plenum emphasises that Comrade W.'s systematic abstention from voting in the Party secretariat, especially on such important questions as the present activity of the Warsaw organisation, the voting against the resolution on the so-called double-edgedness and against the resolution on the spreading of fraction documents — is signalling an opposition to the correct line of the national secretariat and intensifying the fractional struggle in this sphere.

The fraction struggle has assumed the sharpest forms in the Warsaw organisation and in the Young Communist League, where the fractional advances bore the character of an attack upon the leading bodies (Warsaw Party Committee and Central Committee of the Y.C.L.), whereby they assumed in the Y.C.L. the character of a platform struggle (platform of the opposition of the Y.C.L.) and of an organised Right opposition. This happens at a time when both the C.C. of the Party and of the Y.C.L. are in general correctly carrying out the line of the Party in the direction towards its consolidation.

In drawing the attention of all comrades to these threatening features of the fraction struggle, the Plenum calls upon all Party organisations to offer determined resistance to all attempts at distorting the Party line and of undermining Party unity. The Plenum likewise emphasises the necessity of uproot-

ing all remnants of fraction struggle, especially the fractional attitude towards the estimation of the work and the achievements of the individual organisations. Such an attitude was, for instance, revealed by Comrade Stasiak in connection with the Lodz strike, who pointed to the enormous fighting capacity of the Lodz organisation, which was emphasised in the unanimously adopted decisions of the C.C.

The Plenum calls upon the whole Party to mobilise the masses round the Communist Sejm fraction for the unconditional support of its unrelenting struggle against fascism. The Plenum warns against all attempts to undermine the authority of the Sejm fraction, which under extremely difficult conditions is correctly carrying out the line of the Party.

With regard to the C.P. of Western Ukraine and the C.P. of Western White Russia the Plenum emphasises the necessity of being specially vigilant against mistakes in the direction of national opportunism as well as of the underestimation of the national emancipation movement. Such an underestimation was revealed in the declarations of two comrades of the C.P. of Western Ukraine which bear the character of a fraction platform and of fractional exaggeration of some mistakes. The Plenum calls upon all members to carry out the correct line of the C.C. of the C.P. of Western Ukraine and C.P. of Western White Russia.

The Plenum reminds all Party members of the instructions of the Open Letter regarding the unconditional condemnation of every fractional activity up to expulsion from the Party ranks. The Plenum considers it as indispensable to increase the fight against fractionism and to defend the Party organisations from disorganisers and incorrigible fractionists.

The Plenum emphasises that only by overcoming the above characterised opportunist views of Comrades Kostrzeva, Brand and Stefanski throughout the whole Party can the Party be spared a repetition of them under changed conditions and in a changed form. The Plenum recommends the editors of "Nowy Przegląd" to subject these views to a thorough criticism.

The Plenum considers it likewise indispensable to subject to a thorough and consistent criticism the Brochure by Comrade Fiedler which put forward a wrong view regarding the economic basis of fascism as representative of the interests of the big landowners and of heavy industry as opposed to those of manufacturing industry. The resulting erroneous assertions on the "bankruptcy of the industrial bourgeoisie", on the ruin of the manufacturing industry, on Poland becoming a colony of foreign capital, led to a minimising of the basis possessed by Polish imperialism itself. Comrade Fiedler never published a criticism of his brochure and even defended it at the VI. Plenum against the standpoint of the C.C. as being perfectly correct.

The Plenum calls upon the Party to exercise immediately an open criticism of the errors committed both in the Press and in the Party nuclei.

Only a thorough overcoming by the whole Party of all mistakes and deviations, especially the Right deviations as the most dangerous in the present period, only a clear tactical line, the iron discipline towards the leading organs of the Party will enable the Party to fulfil the tremendous tasks by which it is confronted as a result of the growing revolutionary wave and the crisis of the fascist dictatorship in Poland.

A "Vorwärts" Lie Nailed.

Declaration by Comrade Clara Zetkin.

Under the not very original heading "Social-fascist Clara Zetkin", the "Vorwärts" of 4th of July published on its front page a notice regarding me. In order to render it plausible it is served up as being a reprint of the alleged contents of an alleged secret circular of the Central Committee of the C.P. of Germany, "giving the secretaries in the different districts special instructions as to dealing with the case of Clara Zetkin". I should have preferred to pass over this notice in silence like other news regarding me which the "Vorwärts" and the "Social Democratic Press Service", in touching soul-unity with the white-guardist "Rul", busily circulate. But the notice in question compels me to depart from my usual practice. It is palpably obvious that its object is to calumniate the Communist International, to create mistrust regarding the political conditions in the Soviet Union, to stir up differences of opinion and

to incite conflicts. I therefore make the following declaration in refutation of the "Vorwärts" report:

There was no "fierce dispute between me and the present leaders of the Comintern before my departure from Moscow or in the months previous thereto".

I have never been called upon "to sign a declaration" undertaking "to refrain from having any connection in Germany with the expelled Brandler group and to subordinate myself to Comrade Thälmann when carrying on any political activity". So far as I have been able to take part in the sittings and decisions of the leadership of the Comintern, no one has ever hindered me from proclaiming by speech and vote my opinion and attitude regarding events within the C. P. of Germany and many other questions — an opinion and attitude which was and is perfectly independent. My activity in the E. C. C. I. was restricted by only one thing, which also now restricts my political activity: the worsening of my physical condition.

Needless to say I have never dreamed of threatening "in the event of any difficulties to avail myself of the services of the German Consul in Moscow". I encountered not the slightest difficulties in making my departure from Moscow; on the contrary, my journey to Germany was, in view of my bad state of health, facilitated in every way by brotherly care and attention.

As regards the rest of the contents of the "Vorwärts" notice, I leave those who have followed my activity in word and writing during the last two years of increasing sickness to judge whether I am "a senile person without any will".

The assertion that I have "landed with Brandler among the social fascists" is — I am convinced that Brandler will not deny this — to express it in plain language, so damnably stupid that it collapses of itself.

The talk about "my relapse into social-democratic ideology having been concealed for years past" could only originate among gossips who have as little knowledge of Communist ideology as of social democratic ideology; gossips who are quite ignorant of my life work and my career, which at all times was and is directed plainly and unswervingly to one aim: the social world revolution as the work of the world proletariat.

I am separated from social democracy not only by the broad stream of blood of the workers of the belligerent countries which flowed from 1914 till 1918, that stream which was further swelled by the blood of the revolutionary fighters which the social democracy caused to be shed in order to maintain and consolidate the class rule of the bourgeoisie. Between me and the social democracy there stands the wall, which mounts higher every day, of crimes of civil peace and coalition policy, which represents the impudent forgery of words and conceptions as the practice of revolutionary Marxism. I am firmly convinced that the day is approaching on which the majority of the workers who are today still social democrats, will tear down this wall in order to march side by side with their revolutionary brothers and sisters in the C. P. of Germany, under the banner of the Communist International, against the class enemy and its reformist protectors.

Berlin, 7th July 1929.

Clara Zetkin.

AGAINST TROTZKYISM

Declaration of Radek, Preobrazhensky, Smilga and Others.

(The following has been already communicated to the Press.)

Moscow, 12th July 1929.

Radek, Preobrazhensky and Smilga, former members of the opposition, have presented a statement to the Central Control Commission of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union according to which they have now broken completely with the opposition and are in agreement with the present policy of the party. The statement contains, inter alia, the following:

We consider the policy of the industrialisation of the Soviet Union as expressed in the Five-Year Plan to be a programme of socialist construction making for the consolidation of the class positions of the proletariat. The carrying out of the Five-Year Plan will solve the fundamental task of the revolution in the present period. We support the struggle against the rich peasants, welcome the policy of the extension of the soviet farms

and collective undertakings, approve of all the measures of the Party aiming at the independent organisation of the village poor, support the fight against bureaucracy in the State apparatus and in the party apparatus, and support the struggle against the right-wingers who reflect objectively the dissatisfaction of the capitalist elements and of the petty-bourgeois elements with the policy of the socialist offensive.

We support the policy of the Communist International, which is carrying on a tireless struggle against the social democracy and consider the energetic struggle against the reformist union movement to be correct, as also the new tactics applied with regard to the trade union movement in Western Europe. Together with the Party and the sixth world congress of the C. I. we regard the right-wing danger as the chief danger for the communist movement. We have broken ideologically and organisationally with Trotzky and with his supporters in the Centre of the Bolsheviks-Leninists in the Soviet Union).

We regard Leninism as the ideological basis for communist revolution as presented by Trotzky. The development of the Russian and of the Chinese revolutions have proved the uselessness of this theory. We reject decisively the estimate presented by Trotzky concerning the class nature of the State power and of the leadership of the Party. We regard the State power as the dictatorship of the proletariat, despite the bureaucratic excesses of the Soviet apparatus and despite the existing elements of degeneration.

Whilst our differences of opinion with the Party have dwindled, and our return to the Party has become an absolute necessity, Trotzky and his supporters have developed farther and farther away from the Party in consequence of their falsification of the relations of class forces and in consequence of the fact that they have abandoned a number of the fundamental theses of Leninism. This is the only explanation of Trotzky's appearance in the bourgeois press (an action which we should condemn) and of the formation of the "Centre of the Bolsheviks-Leninists in the Soviet Union", which represents a first step towards the formation of a new party.

"This group, which is not in a position to place a positive programme of action of its own against the general policy of the Party and against the five-year Plan, and which concentrates all its activities upon the criticism of the Party policy, is inevitably doomed to degenerate into an organisation of confused and dissatisfied individuals having no serious basis amongst the masses of the class-conscious workers and able only to exploit the margin which exists between the demands of the working class and the possibility of the fulfilment of these demands in the present period of crises in the socialist constructive work."

In reviewing our differences of opinion with the Party during the last few years, we are compelled to state that our attitude towards the Central Committee of the C. P. of the Soviet Union was incorrect. And for this reason the formation of a special fractional organisation whose activity was unparalleled for ruthlessness in the history of the Party (see printing shops, 7th November etc.) was wrong.

"The logic of the fractional struggle caused us to exaggerate our differences of opinion with the Central Committee at the time of the transition from the period of reconstruction to the construction in the questions of the speed of industrialisation, the struggle against the rich peasants and in the questions of the C. I. The policy of the Central Committee was and is Leninist. For this reason the XV Party Congress was right when it rejected our platform as non-Leninist. Upon the basis of what has been said above, we withdraw our signatures from all fractional documents and declare ourselves in complete solidarity with the general policy of the party and request the party to re-admit us to its membership. We appeal to those members of the opposition who sympathise with us to follow our example. They must grasp finally that those differences of opinion which still exist do not justify their special organisational existence as an opposition, and certainly do not justify the struggle against the Party. We can only fight for the victory of the world revolution and of communism together with the party and upon the basis of a Leninist policy."

This declaration was also signed by numerous other former members of the opposition, including Comrade Dreizer, about whose alleged death the Trotzkyists spread rumours, and who was even treated to an obituary notice in "Contre le Courant", the organ of the French Trotzkyists.

PROLETARIAN DEFENCE

Congress of the Austrian Workers' Defence Corps.

By G. Z., Vienna.

On July 6th and 7th there was held in Vienna the leaders' congress of the Austrian Workers' Defence Corps and the Red Youth Defence Corps. In view of the increasing danger from Fascism in Austria and of the more energetic defence on the part of Labour, great significance attaches to this congress. Its particular function was to accomplish practical work in the preparations for August 1st.

The congress was attended by nearly 200 delegates from Vienna and the provinces, a third of whom were non-party and Social Democrats, the remainder being Communists. The hidden Red Front Fighters League of Germany were also represented by a delegation.

At the ceremonial opening session Comrade Stalin and comrades Thälmann and Leow of the R. F. B., as also the leading R. F. B. and C. P. G. groups. In the telegram to be solved to send four telegrams of greeting, namely, to the Executive Committee of the Comintern, to the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union, to the Red Army and to the leading R. F. B. and C. P. G. groups. In the telegram to the C. C. I., the Social-Democratic and Communist delegates pledge themselves to join with all their strength and to bring to success the action to take place on August 1st against the danger of war and against reformist treachery. In the telegram to the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union, the delegates greeted the only proletarian State, which, in spite of the tremendous difficulties, of the war preparations of the Imperialists and of the treachery of the reformists is steadily approaching Socialism. The congress pledged itself to do everything to protect the Soviet Union against every attack.

The congress was then greeted by the representatives of the C. P. of Austria, of the Young Communist League and of the Communist Women.

The session of the second day was devoted to discussion of the political and organisatory tasks of the A. W. D. C. and the R. Y. D. C. in combating Fascism and the danger of war. In the speeches and in the debate reference was made not only to the progress of fascism in the factories but also to the connection this has with the significance of Austria in the approaching imperialist war. The Government's increasing of armaments, as also the National Defence Corps (Heimwehr), clearly show that the Austrian bourgeoisie will, through the building of big cadre armies, take a most active part in the coming war and that Fascism is preparing this war.

In the fight against these dangers, the A. W. D. C., as also the R. Y. D. C., will, in the first place, effect an increase in their work in the factories. The congress made it one of its objectives to create A. W. D. C. and R. Y. D. C. factory groups against factory Fascism.

As regards the rest of the programme of activity of the A. W. D. C., mention should be made of the campaign of enlightenment among the members of the Social-Democratic Republican Defence League concerning the real reactionary role of that organisation. To this must, of course, be added the work in the other proletarian mass organisations, and particularly in the sport associations.

The campaign for August 1st will be carried on in connection with the campaign against the proposed march of 3,000 Fascists in Vienna on September 17.

The A. W. D. C. and the R. Y. D. C. will participate in the preparation of the anti-war committees, in regard to which the C. P. and the Anti-Fascist Committee have issued appeals. As the Anti-War Day is also to be a demonstration for the defence of the Soviet Union, the executive of the federation will organise in exchange of letters between the A. W. D. C. and members of the Red Army. The resolution to carry on an intensified campaign in the Austrian barracks in regard to August 1st is also of great significance.

The determined fighting spirit of this congress is a firm guarantee that the organisations will proceed resolutely with the fulfilment of their tasks.

PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

Working Women in Australia.

By Lily White (Sydney).

With the development and rapid growth of Australian industry and the intensification of the class struggle in that country, the problem of the position of women in industry, assumes special importance.

We know from experience in every other capitalist country that female labour is looked upon and utilised by the employers as a favoured subject of exploitation. This applies equally to Australia, where the trade union movement still consists of hundreds of craft unions, trained and steeped in the principles and policies of reformism and class-collaboration and compulsory arbitration, and which in the matter of organising juvenile and female labour display most reactionary tendencies. To this must be added the fact that the Australian Labour Party, has consistently for over a quarter of a century, sown and developed an ideology totally foreign to the class struggle and to proletarian class-consciousness.

In regard to women, and woman's place in the labour movement, a frightful morass of petty-bourgeois outlook has been created. This is reflected in Australia in many ways. For instance, there has been developed a definite prejudice against women being employed in industry, particularly against married women. However the iron laws of capitalist economics and of the development of the class struggle, are rapidly sweeping aside prejudices of all kinds — no matter how deep-rooted. Out of a total of 467,000 workers employed in 1926 in the Australian manufacturing industry, there were already 118,000 women (26%).

In New South Wales, the most important industrial state, the ratio of women to men employed in factories was:

1886 = 1 to 7; 1903 = 1 to 4; Now = 1 to 3. In Victoria, the second important industrial region, the present ratio of men to women in industry is 1 to 2.

Women are rapidly monopolising such industries as Food, Clothing, Textile, Bookbinding, etc. For the whole of Australia the percentage of annual increase in industry for the years 1922—1926 was:

Males = 2.63%
Females 6.05%

Why the capitalists are deeply interested in displacing male workers by female workers may be seen from the following simple but glaring fact:

While the average wage for male workers in Australian industry amounted in 1926 to £ 235 (official government statistics), the average wage for female workers in the same year was £ 106. From the same official source we learn that the average hourly wage was in December 1927 2.2d. for male workers and 1.2d. for female workers. In the awards of the State Arbitration Tribunals, the basic wage for male workers was £ 4:5:0, and for female workers £ 2:6:0.

These figures apply, of course, only to those industries in which the workers are fairly well organised. In industries where women workers are unorganised, as for example, in the large department stores, exploitation is on a level with that prevailing in German, French and American department stores. Cases are known where young women are compelled to work in these stores for fifteen shillings a week, which under Australian conditions means prostitution wages.

Now let us look at the state of organisation of women in industry. The number of workers (over 20 years) employed in industry generally is 1,267,636. Of this number, 300,000 are women. The number of male workers organised in any of the existing trade unions is about 790,000 (62%) whereas the number of organised women is about 118,000 (or 39%). Juniors under 20 are 367,000 in number (235,000 male and 132,000 female), who are totally unorganised.

It is interesting to note that at congresses of the Australian Council of Trade Unions, not a single woman delegate is to be seen. Even in the N. S. W. Labour Council, affiliated to the R. I. L. U., there was until quite recently no woman delegate.

But the keen sharpening of the class struggle in Australia, the general capitalist offensive against wages and hours, and against the trade unions as such have not failed to have an

effect on the women workers and on the proletarian woman in general. The unprecedented mass unemployment which has assumed a chronic character in Australia (over 200,000 unemployed) has also made the lot of the proletarian housewife harder.

The growing activity of the working women in Australia can be felt both on the industrial and political fields. In the coal fields, where the miners have suffered the hardest from the rationalisation schemes of the employers, where unemployment and part-time are chronic, and where real European poverty and misery have made their appearance, the militancy of the women (miners' wives) has found organisational expression in their active participation in the Militant Women's Groups which were formed in the coal districts of N. S. W. on the initiative and under the leadership of the C. P. The first of such groups was formed at Cessnock (which has the largest population of any inland town in N. S. W. — 40,000). The work of these groups goes beyond purely women's agitation and often assumes a broad working class character. Thus, the Cessnock M. W. Group has taken an active part in the unemployed movement; they have called together delegate meetings of miners' lodges; deputations, with women elected on them, have been sent to the centre to protest against unemployment, the ban on working class literature, poverty and undernourishment of school children, etc. Further, it was on the initiative of this Group, that a Council of Action was formed in Cessnock, against the capitalist offensive (Crimes Act, Anti-T. U. Law, attack on wages, etc.).

In Melbourne (capital of Victoria) and Brisbane (capital of Queensland) there also exist Militant Women's Groups, which distinguished themselves particularly during the waterside workers' strike (1928) when good work was done in organising and getting relief for the strikers. Meetings of workers' wives were called. This was their first experience in actual struggles of the workers.

The leading group of Militant Women is in Sydney, where the M. W. Movement originated about two years ago. A truly brilliant chapter in the activities of the M. W. Movement in Sydney and Melbourne were their activities during the recent Timber Workers' Strike. In Melbourne, the Militant Women's Group called meetings of wives of Timber workers; organised relief; joined the men in picketing the timber yards, six of the women being fined for this. During the whole time of the strike the M. W. had the Timber Workers' Union offices at their disposal, and worked in complete harmony and close contact with the Strike Committee.

The only other working class body of women is the one connected with the Australian Labour Party, called the Women's Central Organising Committee of the A. L. P. The W. C. O. C. never functions on lines of the class struggle; its main function is to help to get A. L. P. candidates elected into parliament. These women are steeped in constitutionalism and nationalism and class collaboration preached by the A. L. P. In the Timber Workers' Dispute, which was one of the bitterest for a long while in Australia, they for a long while sabotaged the relief and organisational efforts of the Militant Women's Groups both in Sydney and in Melbourne.

Characteristic of the A. L. P. Women's organisation, is a resolution which the Victorian A. L. P. Women's Conference adopted recently — to the effect that in view of the unemployment of Australian workers, all "Southern European" workers should be sent out of the country.

Industrial Peace and the Women: — As the capitalist offensive develops and becomes more intense, the bourgeoisie very cynically preaches "industrial peace," and in practice adopts the methods used by the British capitalist class. An Australian "Mond-Turner" Conference was arranged and begun towards the end of 1928, in which the reformist trade union leaders

met and discussed "peace in industry" with the same owners, timber bosses and coal barons who were rubbing beating down the workers at that time.

The "British Economic Mission", consisting of 4 representatives of British capitalism and imperialism ("The Big Four" who came to Australia to promote schemes for lowering wages and lengthening hours, helped to organise the Industrial Peace Conference which was opened in Melbourne in December 1928. After this preliminary conference, a public farewell meeting was arranged in Melbourne "in honour" of the departing British businessmen. None other than Mr. Duggan, the president of the Australian T. U. Council, was there to thank and congratulate the "Big Four" on the eve of their departure for England. It was at this public meeting that the Militant Women of Melbourne exposed Dr. Duggan before the workers who gathered there. Nine of the women were forcefully ejected from the meeting by the police.

And when, in the beginning of this year, this annual Industrial Peace Conference was reconvened in the State Town Hall, at a time when the Timber Strike was at its bitterest, the M. W., together with the wives of the strikers, timber workers, railed the closed meeting of the industrial peace heroes and demanded the immediate withdrawal of the trade union delegates from this shameful "peace" conference. The police were called in to eject the women.

A particularly important feature in the "industrial peace" propaganda of the bourgeoisie and its agents, is the creation of such propaganda among the women. In the coal fields where the families of the miners have suffered most, and recently in industrial centres like Sydney, the paid agents of the bosses have called special meetings of the workers' wives and women workers, and have distributed special leaflets, pamphlets, posters, etc. calling upon the women to prevent their husbands from striking, picturing the possible results of such action: starvation and misery. In Cessnock and in Sydney such meetings and propaganda activities were carried out by the open agent of the bosses, Mrs. Walsh, a one time militant who is now acting as the open agent of the bosses. She has opened on the coast of Sydney bearing the name: "Industrial Peace Union."

Special leaflets for women are distributed, in which the Militant Women, Communists and Soviet Russia are most prominently attacked, and an appeal made against strikes and for industrial peace. Several such meetings were broken up in Cessnock in Sydney by the Militant Women and more recently in Melbourne by the wives of the Timber workers.

There are many tasks and problems confronting the Militant Women in Australia. The first of these is to get contact with the women employed in industry. Attempts are now being made to reach the many women employed in the rubber and electrical industries. The chief obstacle are the reactionary trade union officials who are opposed "in principle" to women workers in industry. Some unions actually refuse to accept women workers as members. Thus the women in the electrical and electrical trades and in the moulding trades are not organised and are refused admission into the unions. While the women in the textile and printing trades are fairly well organised, this "industrial peace" organisation is confined to holding tickets and paying dues, but do not take any active part at all in union life or in industrial struggles.

Efforts are being made to get the N. S. W. Labour Council to co-operate in holding factory gate meetings in order to bring the working women into active trade union life and industrial struggles.

The medium of propaganda of the M. W. Movement is a monthly bulletin, which was started about five months ago and which has already reached a paid circulation of about 1,000. The wireless station of the N. S. W. Labour Council is being used to broadcast speeches, articles, etc.