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## Persecution of Workers in Jugoslavia.

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## The Disarmament Conference.

By Karl Radek.

During the seven years which have passed since the end of the imperialist world slaughter the great imperialist Powers, after having disarmed Germany, Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria, have been continually engaged in perfecting their own armaments. In open contradiction to the statutes of the League of Nations, which pledges this organisation to take steps in order to reduce armaments down to a level consistent with the security of its members, the armaments of Europe have grown from year to year. Not only in the newly arisen States are new armies being created, but in the old States there is proceeding a feverish work for applying all the experiences of the war for the improvement of war technic. All attempts to reduce armaments have merely remained on paper.

What has induced the governments who are preparing all the horrors of chemical warfare, to convene a Conference for the reduction of armaments? The serious financial situation of all the European States, the impossibility of satisfying the minimum social demands of the working masses, is compelling the governments to flirt with the idea of the reduction of armaments.

Pacifist hypocrisy is the political weapon of all bourgeois governments. In addition to this, none of them would be sorry to see a reduction in the armaments of the others.

In this respect it is the United States of America that have taken up the firmest position. America is the strongest great Power, and therefore her political aim is to reduce the armaments of the European powers. A reduction of European armaments would render America's leading role in world economy more undisputed than ever. In the event of a far-reaching disarmament on the part of all States, America would occupy the most advantageous position. America possesses the most advanced industry, that is to say, she has the basis for mobilising and arming enormous masses of her population. The experiences of the war have shown that it is possible, in a very brief space of time, to mobilise and equip enormous numbers of soldiers. The military predominance of America would be become more evident than ever if the military camorra were to abandon their traditional methods of warfare and conduct the war of the future as a war of industry.

The general efforts of America to reduce armaments is not a mere platonic wish. America possesses a powerful weapon in the pressure she can exert upon other countries owing to their indebtedness to American bankers and their desire for new loans. America planned the convocation of a disarmament Conference. America wished to limit this Conference to the question of armaments on land. The volcanic situation in the Far East renders the revision of the question of naval armaments undesirable for America, for the American fleet might prove necessary for action against Japan or against the Chinese revolution, should the latter, in its efforts to set up a bourgeois State, assume the form of a great peasants' revolt. The negotiations, which have not yet been concluded, for the settlement of the inter-allied debts enable America to exert pressure on England and France. It is for this reason that the League of Nations, on the initiative of these two powers, has taken in hand the convocation of a Conference which shall deal with the question of the reduction of armaments.

This institution which, it was alleged, was set up in order to combat the danger of war, has done nothing for the practical solution of the task for which it was created. But now when the danger is approaching that the United States will exert pressure upon England and France, the League of Nations suddenly becomes active. It has appointed a commission which has drawn up a programme for... a commission which shall prepare the Conference for the reduction of armaments. This Conference is to be held at the end of 1926 or at the beginning of 1927, should the preliminary conference succeed in arriving at agreement regarding the disputed questions.

When it was a question of disarming Germany and Austria, everything was quite simple. The Versailles Peace Treaty laid it down that the German army, which before the war amounted to about 800,000 men, should be reduced to 120,000, that the heavy artillery should be destroyed and the general staff dissolved. Now, however, the preliminary Conference is pondering over the question as to what is to be understood under the term armaments; whether there exists the possibility of limiting the armaments of a country during war time or whether the disarmament shall only relate to peace time; what rules one must follow in comparing the armaments of the various countries; whether there are offensive armaments and defensive armaments etc. The reasons for these philosophical considerations are to be sought in the conflict of interests between England and France.

France is endeavouring to increase her military forces and those of her vassals. France is at present in a miserable financial situation, but her General Staff is thinking of the time when she will succeed in overcoming the financial crisis, and when it will be possible to increase the armaments of France, Poland and Czechoslovakia. France, therefore, would like to avoid a comparison between the strength of the French army and the armies of her allies and the relatively weak land forces of England. It is for this reason that she suggested in the debate that it is impossible to judge the military forces of a country according to the number of soldiers under arms. Translated into practical language, this is as much as to say that, instead of talking about French militarism, England should remember that she is not a peaceful lamb, as in the event of war England could bring an enormous army into the field against France, while in addition she could have the help of Germany who possesses a magnificent chemical and metallurgical industry.

Against this England brings forward her own theory: In judging the military forces of a country one must take into consideration the number of the population, the territory which has to be defended, the extent of the sea and land frontiers etc. In plain language this means: the English Empire extends over the whole world. It must therefore have enormous means at its disposal in order to be secure against attack. If, for instance, France would abandon to use the submarines, England could be satisfied with reduced armaments, for in that event the ocean routes between the Mother Country and the colonies would be secured.

As a means of compromise the League of Nations has placed both standpoints on the agenda of the commission. This agenda reminds one more of a draft for a theoretical dissertation than an agenda for practical work. It provides the possibility of dragging out the Conference indefinitely and concealing the disinclination of the European powers to carry out disarmament.

For the Soviet Union, which has been invited along with Germany and America to the preliminary Conference, the agenda adopted by the commission of the League of Nations is of very great interest. Regarded from the French and also the English standpoint, the Red Army, in view of the enormous territory of the Soviet Union, is the very smallest defensive force. The Red Army requires for its maintenance a smaller portion of the State budget than the army of any other great Power. But in spite of this the Soviet Union, which is not desirous of any conquests, declares itself ready to reduce its armaments still further, in order to save expenditure which can be employed in developing industry, agriculture and cultural institutions. The Soviet Union would be the only State represented at the Conference which would advocate sincerely and free of all hypocrisy the most radical measures for reducing armaments. The powers controlling the League of Nations have therefore brought about a situation which is intended shall render impossible the Soviet Union's participation in the preliminary Conference. Nevertheless the gentlemen in the League of Nations will not succeed in concealing the attitude of the Soviet government regarding the question of disarmament; they will not succeed in hiding the role of the Soviet Union as the only fighter for the emancipation of humanity from the burden of armaments. Even should the Soviet Union's participation in the Conference be rendered impossible, the League of Nations can be certain that not only the Communist International, not only all Communist Parties, but all sincere pacifist elements will contribute towards exposing the deceitful game of the imperialist powers and spreading the truth regarding the desire for peace of the Soviet Union.

## POLITICS

### Letter from Germany.

Economic Crisis — Wholesale Unemployment — The Question of the Government — Fight against the Robber Campaign of the Princes — Left Wing Development in the German Working Class.

By P. R. Dietrich (Berlin).

The so-called stabilising of German capitalism which was introduced with the acceptance of the Dawes Plan, has, at the commencement of the second Dawes year, led to an enormous economic crisis. The visible expression of this economic crisis which in its extent and its effects upon the German working class is only surpassed by the inflation crisis of the year 1923, are three million unemployed, impoverishment of broad sections of the working population and enormous intensification of the class antagonisms between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The tremendous unemployment in Germany is the expression of the incapability of German capitalism, in spite of all credit in spite of restoration measures, to master the anarchy of the economy and to secure an adequate existence to the working masses. It is also the expression of the efforts of the capitalists to transfer the burdens of the Versailles Treaty and of the Dawes Agreement entirely on to the working population and to restore the rate of profit by a so-called rationalising of the German economy as the "reasonable application of all technical and organisatory means, in order to increase to the utmost the output of human labour" (Memorandum of the Federation of German Industries). The rationalising carried out by the capitalists means nothing else than the method, by wholesale closing down of factories, increasing the working hours, intensified exploitation of labour power and increase of the economic and political pressure upon the workers, employees and officials to carry out the programme of German heavy industry.

Owing to the fact that the proletarian masses in Germany have not beforehand set up sufficient resistance to these proceedings of the employers, the capitalists have succeeded, in spite of the market crisis, in achieving a considerable part of their aims, i. e. in consolidating capitalist economy to a certain extent. Should the German bourgeoisie succeed in carrying out its programme entirely, the result will be that the million army of unemployed will become a permanent feature in Germany and for of those factories which are described as unproductive and the industrials, scarcely half of them have yet been closed down

and this apart from the fact that the so-called rationalising is only confined at present to a few groups of industries.

This partially achieved consolidation of capitalist economy in Germany, which has been entirely carried out at the cost of the proletariat, means, in spite of this, no development and increase of the productive forces. The improvement of the methods of production which has been introduced by means of rationalising is leading much rather to a closing down of a considerable portion of the apparatus of production, which on the other hand inevitably results in the impoverishment of broad masses not only of the proletariat, but of the middle classes.

The German social democracy, faced with the enormous effect of this crisis, comforts itself by declaring that this crisis is a necessary "purification" crisis which, when it has worked itself out, will create the pre-conditions for a real "process of recovery". In holding this comforting opinion the social democratic leaders stand quite alone. The social democratic workers have long given up the belief in the benevolent effects of the "Dawes Sun" and are beginning, along with the Communist workers, to close the fighting ranks against those who are benefiting out of the Dawesation of Germany.

The political expression of this economic development is the chronic government crisis in Germany, which only found a temporary solution in the formation of the new Luther government. The new government, which will shortly submit its programme to the Reichstag, has the support of the Right big capitalist wing, of the so-called Centre parties. In domestic and foreign politics it will continue the course which was dictated by the Entente governments as a result of the acceptance of the Dawes Plan and the signing of the Treaty of Locarno. If the Right wing of the German bourgeoisie which is represented by the German Nationalists in the Reichstag is taking up an attitude of opposition to this new government, this opposition is only directed against the foreign political line of the government, especially against the immediate entry into the League of Nations. This opposition, however, is entirely without principle. It is carried out solely with an eye to the nationalist propaganda carried on by the German nationalists among the German petty bourgeoisie. In regard to domestic politics, the German Nationalists will agree to the course of the new Luther government just as they did formerly when the representatives of their party were still in the government.

The Social Democratic Party is prepared to support this government of the big capitalists and heavy industry. The Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party were prepared, after the withdrawal of the German Nationalists from the government, to enter a government of the great coalition. The negotiations which were carried on for months between the parties who came into question in regard to the great coalition, were, however, interrupted by the mass movement of the social democratic workers, who emphatically pronounced themselves to be not only against the Social Democratic Party of Germany participating in a government of the great coalition, but also to a great extent against its supporting a bourgeois government of the Centre parties. Under the pressure of this mass movement, the S. P. G. leaders were compelled to abandon participation in the great coalition. How far they will support the government which has now been formed will depend upon the attitude of the social democratic workers and the power of the Communist Party. The development of events so far leads me to conclude that the social democratic workers will be opposed to their party supporting the government.

A further political expression of the above characterised economic development is the Left orientation and development of the German working class which is becoming more obvious every day. It is a movement of an outspokenly elementary character, which already embraces broad sections of social democratic and non-party workers, as well as great portions of the petty bourgeois and peasant sections. This development in the working class is leading on the one hand to a more or less severe crisis in all the bourgeois parties, particularly among the German nationalists and the Centre, and on the other hand to a revolutionising of the social democratic working masses and, along with this, to a strengthening of the class fighting basis of the entire proletariat.

This development finds its most visible expression in the campaign for the expropriation without compensation of the princes, which was introduced by the C. P. of Germany and which has already brought million of German workers into

movement. At numerous meetings and demonstrations communist, social democratic and non-party workers have recorded their common will to fight against this attempt at robbery on the part of the princes. In addition to this great portions of the middle class and of the small peasant rural population have joined in this fight.

In the course of the campaign carried out by the C. P. of Germany, unity committees have already been formed in many localities, in which social democratic and communist workers, along with representatives of almost every proletarian organisation, have taken counsel together not only regarding the organising and carrying out of the fight against the robber campaign of the princes, but have also adopted a common standpoint regarding the most urgent and vital questions of the German working class.

The pressure of this mass action has already become so great that the Executive Committee of the S. P. G. which has hitherto scorned and ridiculed this action which was introduced by the Communists, has been compelled to deal seriously with the question of the fight against the demands of the princes and of the German bourgeoisie which stands behind these demands. The result has been that the National Council and the Executive Committee of the S. P. G. have appropriated the demands of the Communists for the expropriation of the royal houses without compensation, and have appealed to the German General Federation of Trade Unions (A. D. G. B.) to institute negotiations between the C. P. of Germany and the S. P. G.

This decision of the National Council of the S. P. G. opens up the possibility of extending the first beginnings of the united front within the German working class, and thereby to free and to develop the enormous forces slumbering in the German proletariat.

The Communist Party of Germany which has the lead in the formation of the proletarian united front, and whose whole political work consists in welding together the proletarian forces in the fight against the bourgeoisie, will devote all its forces to the service of this movement within the German working class. It will continue to rally the broad masses of the German working class and thereby create the pre-requisite for a successful repulse of the offensive of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat.

The proletarian united front is on the march. It must and will be achieved.

## Recent Developments in China.

By Tang Shin She.

I.

### The Present Relation of Forces in China.

The efforts of the Chinese people to set up real democratic politics have for years been frustrated by the military rulers. In 1924 after the defeat of General Wu Pei Fu and in 1925 after the defeat of Chang Tso Lin, when there was a favourable opportunity of introducing a democratic policy, new military rulers appeared on the scene, who at first dabbled with pacific plans. The fact that Chang Tso Lin could not be completely defeated last year is of course to be attributed chiefly to the help of the Japanese; but no small share of the blame falls on General Feng Yu Hsiang whose hesitating attitude and over-cautious policy spoilt things. It is to be ascribed to his influence that, in spite of the great longing of the people for a Kuo Min Tang Government, in spite of the violent protests against Tuan She Sui, the President of the Peking Government and the demand for his removal, this Tuan She Sui, the worst reactionary, the tool of Japan, is still at the helm.

What reasons have induced Feng to declare once more as he did in 1924, that he will leave the country?

The open support of Chang Tso Lin by the Japanese led to a rapid defeat of Kuo Sung Lin with the result that an attitude hostile to Feng Yu Hsiang developed in the North. Further, after the port of Tientsin, which had long been coveted by Feng, was taken, the Chili Governor Li Chin Li withdrew along the Tientsin-Pukow railway as far as Shantung, in order to join forces with the Governor of that province. Under the slogan "Against the Reds!" the two of them concluded an alliance with Wu Pei Fu. The worst feature for Feng Yu Hsiang is that a dispute with regard to the appointment of a governor for

Tientsin has broken out within his three armies — the first led by himself, the second by the Governor of Honan, Yu Wei Tsun, and the third by General Sun Yo.

Secondly, the political situation is unfavourable for him. Feng prided himself most on the fact that he alone, among the military rulers, was backed by the people. He lost their confidence by his own folly, when they saw that, in spite of his power in Peking and in spite of the protests and demonstrations of the people against Tuan She Sui, he did not drive him away but even agreed to his proposal with regard to the formation of a Cabinet. The leaders of the 2nd and 3rd armies on the contrary, back the people's demands.

In order to extricate himself from his difficult position, and to regain the favour of the people, he now declares his intention of retiring from public life and going abroad, even to Moscow.

On the lower Yangtse, Sun Chuan Fang, the military ruler who has formed an independent government in Nanking and is working hand in hand with the Chinese bourgeoisie, has come into power. Although he was originally an adherent of Wu Pei Fu, he has turned against him since his last victory. The five provinces Fukien, Kiangsu, Chekiang, Nanhui and Kiangsi, are under his rule. He maintains a friendly attitude towards Feng Yu Hsiang and the Canton Government, but systematically opposes the Labour movement and those who fight for freedom. The independent government is working in the interests of England and America.

After the defection of Kuo Sung Lin and before the Japanese had made up their minds whom they could best use for their purposes — Chang Tso Lin or Kuo Sung Lin — only two alternatives remained for Chang Tso Lin, either to flee to Dalni, to the Japanese, or to withdraw to North Manchuria in order to reorganise his troops. With the help of the Japanese militarists who distrusted Kuo Sung Lin on account of his somewhat democratic attitude, Chang Tso Lin was able to win back his rule over the whole of Manchuria. According to the latest reports, he has now, exactly as he did after his defeat in 1922, declared Manchuria to be independent of the Peking Government.

By its victory on the East front against Chen Shui Min and on the South front against Deng Bin Ying, the Canton Government has freed the whole of the province of Kwangtung from counter-revolutionary rulers. The imperialists were also thoroughly defeated in South China, so much so that the proud English had to capitulate and send out humble petitions from Hongkong. The governors and generals of the provinces adjoining Kwangtung declared their faith in Sun Yat Sen's doctrine. This all means that the Canton Government has become a more important and stronger factor. At all demonstrations and meetings, the population of North and Middle China expresses its appreciation of and sympathy with the Canton Government. In this way Sun Chuan Fang, the new ruler of the lower Yangtse district, was compelled, when questioned by the Kuo Min Tang Government, to declare that he entirely agreed with its policy.

To sum up, the relations of forces in China are as follows: the Japanese tool, the reactionary military ruler Chang Tso Lin, remains in Manchuria. Sun Chuan Fang, the tool of England and America, who is working hand in hand with the Chinese bourgeoisie, has set up his camp in the lower Yangtse district. The revolutionary power, i. e. the Canton Government and the national armies, have established themselves in Chukiang and Huangho districts. In the South West and in the upper Yangtse district, i. e. the districts less well supplied with means of communication and transport, a few minor military rulers are carrying on a policy of their own, which however attracts no attention in China.

## II.

### Japan Provoking a War in Manchuria.

As a result of the advance of the proletarian revolution in all countries on the one hand, and the recently concluded Locarno Pact on the other, a situation has been created in which a Japanese-Chinese war in the Pacific Ocean, which has long been regarded as inevitable, will probably develop into a war against the Soviet Union, against the only proletarian State in the world and the head-quarters of the world revolution, and

which war will be fought on the soil of awakening China. The instigator of this war is Japan, who has sent Chang-Tso-Lin in advance as her outpost. It was hoped to provoke the Soviet Union by the occupation by Japan of Mukden, and thereby to cause the Soviet Union to support General Feng-Yu-Hsiang. This plan did not succeed. Resort is now being had to more brutal means: the arrest of comrade Ivanov, the director of the East-Chinese railway, and preventing the remaining Soviet Russian employees on the railway from carrying out their duties.

What means is Chang-Tso-Lin adopting in order to kindle a conflict with the Soviet Union? He continually had his soldiers transported by the Eastern Chinese railway without paying for them. As the railway naturally incurred a great loss as a result, the Soviet Russian director refused to transport any further troops unless payment was forthcoming. Thereupon Chang-Tso-Lin resorted to retaliatory measures. Is that not a provocation of the Soviet Union?

Since the beginning of the Chinese struggles for freedom on the 30th May last year, Japan has been ready at any moment to enter on a war against the Soviet Union. In June last, when it already came to a conflict between Chang-Tso-Lin and the Soviet Union, because the latter, in accordance with the Chinese Russian Treaty, demanded the discharge from the service of the East-Chinese railway of all Russians who did not recognise the Soviet State, Japan immediately spread reports that the Soviet troops were mobilised on the Manchurian frontier. Japan repeated this manoeuvre when the Soviet Union protested against the construction of the Fengtien-Kirin railway line. Before the occupation of Mukden by Japan, when the war had broken out between Feng-Yu-Hsiang and Chang-Tso-Lin, Japan carried on similar incitement against the Soviet State by spreading reports to the effect that Soviet Russia was supporting Feng-Yu-Hsiang and that the Red Armies were mobilising on the Manchurian frontier. Thus Japan wishes to spread the belief that the Soviet Union is the constant disturber of peace.

In addition to keeping an unlimited number of warships off the coast of Manchuria and at the naval base of Port Arthur, Japan usually has two divisions of land armies, numerous troops for the protection of the railways and gendarmes in South Manchuria. She sent almost two complete divisions for the occupation of Mukden. These troops, according to Japanese reports, are to be withdrawn, but nobody can be sure whether they will still be retained in Manchuria. Four Japanese divisions are therefore standing ready to attack the Soviet Union. It is a fact that, in support of Chang-Tso-Lin, Japanese troops in Chinese uniform fought against Kuo-Sung-Lin and thereby brought about the latter's defeat. It is therefore quite possible that Japanese troops in Chinese uniform will likewise be sent against the Soviet Union; for Chang-Tso-Lin's troops themselves could not achieve much, because his troops were under the lead of Kuo Sung Lin and have been completely annihilated.

To what extent is Japan acting along with the other imperialist States against the Soviet Union? When Japanese troops took possession of Mukden, the entire imperialist press declared that Japan had been given a mandate to defend foreigners in Manchuria. This means that the imperialists agree to Japan's occupation of Manchuria; they agree that more and more Japanese troops shall be sent to this town. As a result of the latest incident the imperialist press has again commenced a furious campaign. The English press even calls upon its government to give at least moral support to Chang-Tso-Lin. In other words, it is demanding moral support for Japan. In this way the imperialists are preparing a war against the Soviet Union.

Why should that tool of Japan, Chang-Tso-Lin, wish to act as the advance-guard of the international imperialists? Because the whole of the Chinese people which is engaged in a struggle for freedom, is turning against him and he wishes, in spite of everything, to obtain power over the whole of China. After the bloody revolt of Shanghai, Chang-Tso-Lin, on the 22nd of August, had an interview with a representative of the American Telegraph Agency, the United Press, at which he declared:

"Exterritoriality and customs autonomy are not particularly important questions for China. The most important question for China at present is: How can Bolshevism be averted? It could not yet penetrate into my territory, into Manchuria; for my very good and faithful troops would at once destroy it root and branch. My troops could drive Bolshevism out of the whole of China, but the foreign States must give me moral and economic support."

It is in this way that Chang-Tso-Lin seeks to court the favour of the imperialists. In the middle of December the Chinese press reported that a Chino-Japanese Anti-Bolshevik Congress was shortly to take place in Kirin. Why in Kirin of all places? Because the governor of this town (a follower of Chang-Tso-Lin) is the commander of the troops guarding the Eastern Chinese railway. The arrest of the Soviet director of the Eastern Chinese railway is, of course, to be attributed to this anti-Bolshevik Congress.

Chang-Tso-Lin has now allowed his Japanese masters to penetrate into Northern Manchuria, which is not occupied by foreign powers. He will not only deliver the local population again into the clutches of the imperialists, but will convert the country into a seat of war of the international imperialists against the Soviet Union. It is the most important and necessary task of the world proletariat to do everything to prevent this.

### The British Labour Party and India.

By M. N. Roy.

While the MacDonald Government made it clear that the official attitude of the British Labour Party towards India differed very little from that of the bourgeoisie, the Left Wing position has been rather ambiguous. The Left Wing leaders from time to time protested against extraordinary repression and generally criticized Imperialism. They also expressed their sympathy with the Indian nationalists. But it has always remained doubtful how far the Left Wing leaders of the British Labour Party would go in the way of practically supporting India's demand for freedom. There have been instances indicating that the Left Wing did not stand for the programme of giving India full and unconditional right of self-determination. One of such instances was the severe condemnation by Col. Wedgwood of the Gandhi movement of non-cooperation, not owing to its reactionary social outlook, but because of its mass composition and revolutionary potentialities. Another instance has been Lansbury's frank and persistent declaration in favour of retaining India inside the British Empire, instead of having her break away from it. On many other occasions Left Wing leaders have condemned any revolutionary tendency in the Indian Nationalist Movement.

At last the veil has been lifted. The Left Wing leaders have made it clearly known how far their sympathy for India's aspiration will go. Their proposal is contained in a draft bill brought before the British Parliament by Lansbury, Wedgwood, Bromley, and several others. This bill has been framed on the basis of the so-called Commonwealth of India Bill which was last year presented to the British Labour Party by Mrs. Besant. In drafting the Commonwealth of India Bill, Mrs. Besant was supported by a comparatively small section (loyalist) of the Indian bourgeoisie. In the beginning, the left nationalist groups (Swarajists, Non-cooperators, revolutionary nationalists) refused to subscribe to Mrs. Besant's draft bill. Eventually the Swarajists through C. R. Das and Gandhi, expressed their desire to subscribe to the bill, if its passage in the British Parliament was guaranteed.

The sum and substance of Mrs. Besant's bill was that India should be granted the status of a self-governing dominion (inside the British Empire like Canada, Australia, South Africa, etc.) by an Act of the British Parliament. The bill prepared by the Left Wing leaders of the British Labour Party does not go even so far. Formally it grants the status of a self-governing dominion, but, in reality, the political rights granted by the bill leave India entirely under imperialist domination.

The main features of the bill are 1. The British Viceroy appointed by the English King will still retain the absolute power; 2. the Viceroy will appoint and dismiss his ministers; 3. he will have the right to dissolve the parliament elected by the people; 4. in addition to the autocratic pro-consul there will be other check upon the rights of the parliament: it will be a State representing the landed aristocracy, big capitalists and other bureaucrats; 5. all the provincial governors will be appointed by the Viceroy.

These are the "measures of freedom" that would be permitted to the Indian people even by the Left leaders of the British Labour Party. If credence is to be given to rumours, the majority of the Party led by MacDonald will not support the bill. They evidently consider the bill to be too strong a dose of freedom

to suit the Indian stomach. The majority of the party led by MacDonald might still prove themselves sturdier defenders of the Empire than the Tories. Because there is hardly anything in this bill which is essentially more than the British bourgeoisie are prepared to grant. As a matter of fact, the Left Wing leaders have given concrete expression to their support and sympathy for India's aspirations fully in conformity with the programme of British Imperialism. There is no doubt about it that the post-war crisis of capitalism has imposed upon Imperialism a somewhat reconstructed colonial policy. The underlying principle of this policy is to win over a larger section of the Indian bourgeoisie by economic concessions and political reforms. Many economic concessions have already been made in order to convince the Indian bourgeoisie that capitalist development of India could proceed (even with unexpected rapidity) with the co-operation and under the hegemony of Imperialism. Consequently the Indian bourgeoisie have reduced their political demands to extreme moderation. Of late, Imperialism has been manoeuvring to find a way of granting this moderate demand of the Indian bourgeoisie without losing prestige. This moderate demand was incorporated in the Commonwealth of India Bill brought to England by Mrs. Besant. The Bill of the Left Wing leaders of the Labour Party contains a still more moderate version of that demand. The Left Wing leaders have acted in a statesmanlike way. They have not acted prematurely. They have brought forward a concrete proposal of reforms in India just at the moment when the bourgeoisie are also in favour of some reform; and they have formulated the reforms on the lines that are known to be more or less acceptable to the British bourgeoisie.

It is hardly necessary to analyse the bill to expose its worthlessness. It does not give the Indian people any political right. The economic aspect of the question is totally left out. How can India govern herself and be governed by British Imperialism through the Viceroy at the same time? The bill does not answer this question. The parliament granted by the bill will have no more power than the present one, even if the electorate is enlarged. (I am not informed whether the bill touches the Franchise Question at all). If the parliament will be based upon a larger electorate, then by the fact that the Viceroy is given the right to dissolve it, makes the Viceroy a more powerful autocrat than he hitherto has been. The result will be an apparent increase of the element of self-government, but an essential increase of British absolutism in the Government of India. As a matter of fact, in essentials, this bill is hardly an improvement upon the Reforms granted in 1919, notwithstanding the term Dominion status.

Owing to their lamentable timidity and deep-rooted imperialist prejudice, the Left Wing leaders have produced a plan of Indian reform which fails to go anywhere near the very minimum demand of the Indian people. This plan might secure the approval of the most loyalist section of the Indian bourgeoisie; but will certainly be rejected by the majority of the people.

### The Franc Forgery Pact of Hungarian Social Democracy

Letter from Budapest.

By Molnár.

The franc forgery scandal is extending in an ever wider circle. The foul swamp of corruption already reaches to the hips of some of the members of the government (Rakovsky, Minister of the Interior, Klebelsberg, Minister for Education, Csáky, Minister for Defence etc.) and has not even stopped at the Prime Minister Bethlen. That Horthy is one of the originators of the Franc forgery no one, even in Hungary, doubts for a moment; but no one ventures to say so openly.

It has transpired that Bethlen not only backed the Franc forgers by the "energetic investigation", but he knew beforehand of the planned Franc forgeries; it follows therefore, that his conduct was determined not only by political, but also by the dirtiest personal motives.

There recently appeared in the foreign press a report regarding a letter that Bethlen had written with his own hand, dated December 1925, in which he requested his friend Baron Perényi, the President of the fascist "League of Social Unions",

to postpone the „action“. It was further reported that Bethlen had admitted the existence of this letter to Vázsonyi, a democratic-monarchist member of parliament.

This exposure had the effect of a bombshell. Not as if any really intelligent person, even within the bourgeoisie, could have doubted for a moment the culpability of the government and of count Bethlen! It was not however expected that such an important piece of evidence would be found so quickly and so easily. The position of Bethlen appeared to be shattered. Like a drowning man he clutched desperately at a straw. At this moment, true to his traditions, social democracy, and the bourgeois opposition allied to it, hastened to his aid and prolonged the life of the government.

Already in the first days of the scandal the social democracy defended the government and emphasised, just as did the government that the franc forgery affair is a purely „criminal“ not a political matter. Under the pressure of the indignam and embittered working masses however, the social democratic leaders were compelled to adopt a fighting attitude, which of course was not seriously intended, but was only meant to appease the Party membership. They therefore issued various fighting slogans such as: „fresh elections“, „substitution of the office of Horthy by a State Council“ (a legitimist-monarchist slogan), „resignation of the government“, „formation of a new government, the only function of which will be to pass a bill for universal suffrage and to dissolve parliament“, etc.

The masses however took these slogans seriously and demanded a fight. This fighting mood of the masses was expressed in an increased activity of the new „Socialist Labour Party“ which was formed a year ago out of the revolutionary oppositional elements of the social democracy. This Party called upon the social democratic party leaders and the workers organised in the social democracy to conduct the fight for the above-mentioned demands not only in parliament, but also outside parliament. It demanded the convening of a meeting of factory councillors which should decide on the measures to be adopted in the fight. The social democratic party leaders rejected these demands and declared that they can only think of employing „legal“ means.

The social democracy, on the one hand, became afraid of this ferment even among its own party members; on the other hand it made use of the threat of Bethlen, that in the event of his overthrow there would only result a fascist dictatorship, as an excuse for their betrayal. They therefore again hastened to the assistance of the Bethlen government. They clung to the idea, put forward by Vázsonyi, of a „parliamentary Committee of Investigation“. For Bethlen, who was in a very awkward situation owing to the exposure of his connection with the forgery affair, this proposal came at a very opportune moment (it is even possible that it was put forward by Bethlen himself). He declared himself prepared for a „compromise“ in this direction, for a „compromise“ that even according to the opinion of the bourgeois press constitutes a complete victory for Bethlen and a capitulation on the part of the opposition. And this is certainly the case when one takes into consideration that this „Compromise“ was arrived at when Bethlen was in an extremely embarrassing situation and that the Committee of Investigation serves not to clear the matter but to smother it up, and further, that it constitutes not only a protection for Bethlen as against foreign public opinion but, what is much worse, against the Hungarian working class.

The import of the compromise confirms still further this assertion. According to this compromise the field of activity of the Committee of Investigation renders the whole business a mere farce. The Committee is not an institution with authority over the investigating officials, but its work depends upon the good will of these officials. It can only examine those documents which the investigating officials voluntarily place at its disposal. The government itself characterised the „authority“ of this Committee quite rightly by promising it the „greatest possible facilities“ and not, perchance promising to be bound by its decisions.

The social democracy has entered into this ridiculous comedy and is extolling it as a „victory won by struggles“. In return for it it renounces public discussion of the matter in the Plenary Sitting of Parliament and every serious political fight.

We do not know at present whether the Pact between the social democracy and Bethlen relates only to this point, or whether, perhaps, there is concealed behind it a secret pact according to the model of the notorious Pact of 1921. But the

fact alone that the social democracy renounces its freedom of movement in the Franc forgery affair — in spite of all assurances to the contrary — and has saved the greatly-shaken position of Bethlen, renders this Franc forgery Pact just as shameful, if not more shameful, than the Pact of 1921, by which the social democracy renounced the right of combination of the railway workers and the agricultural labourers. In both cases it is a question of directly saving the shattered reactionary system. For this reason the new Pact is more shameful than the old, as the social democracy cannot this time point to those sham concessions on the part of Bethlen by which they sought to excuse their participation in the Pact of 1921. The new Pact is not even formally a two-sided act, but constitutes a free gift to the government, which is the result of the fear of the growing activity of the working class. The social democratic leaders themselves confess in private conversation that a revolutionary movement of the working class would have been bound to result finally in the dictatorship of the proletariat — then however „we prefer to stick to Bethlen“.

The tremendous bitterness and desperation of the Hungarian working class, the unexampled political and economic suppression of the working population, is leading to an ever-increasing fighting mood among these elements. This ferment shows that the Bethlen system, should it succeed this time saving its life through the Franc forgery Pact, cannot reckon upon surviving much longer.

## The Fight for the Fellaheen in Egypt.

By J. B.

The revolutionary progress of the years 1918 to 1924 in Egypt was due to the fact that the radicalisation of the Egyptian Fellaah (peasant) took place in that period. The chief power of the Zaghulist Wafd consisted in the fact that Zaghul Pasha understood how to rouse the rural population, which had for decades been indifferent to politics and that, immediately after the end of the war, a direct conflict between the Egyptian peasants and the English occurred for the first time, giving expression to an antagonism which Lord Cromer in his day had known how to bridge over by a wise policy with regard to the peasants.

Zaghul Pasha's fall in November 1924 was rather due to a clever surprise attack on the peasantry, which is still backward, than to the destruction of the Zaghulist influence in the village. The elections of 1925, when the rural population restored the majority to the Wafd in spite of all the measures of Terror of the Ziwari Government, best prove how deeply rooted was the national movement in the villages. Since the Ziwari Government of bankers, under pressure from the English is doing all in its power to win back or at least neutralise the Fellaah. The new laws, the measures of force which the Ziwari Government uses, the new franchise regulations — all this is aimed at turning the rural population against Zaghul Pasha. Zaghul on his part is making every endeavour to maintain his influence over the Fellaah.

Zaghul is supported by the great discontent which he has taken hold of the Fellaah just in the course of the last year. The Government has neglected everything which would protect the Fellaah against the worst forms of exploitation which constantly increasing in extent.

An investigation committee, which was appointed by the Government itself under pressure from the opposition Press and which now publishes the result of its enquiries, produces a number of facts as to the exploitation of the Fellaheen by the cotton speculators.

The Fellaah is systematically cheated out of the result of his harvest. The cotton dealers profit by the ignorance of the Fellaah (in spite of several universities there are still illiterate persons in Egypt), not only by buying the cotton offers for sale at a ridiculously low and fraudulent price but also by an incorrect statement of the weight, stealing whole sacks of cotton etc. The report shows that in one district alone in Damahour, the losses of the Fellaheen through these manipulations, in which as a rule Government officials are involved amount to about a quarter of a million pounds, and in other districts are still higher. In some cases, the buyers get in touch with the elder of the village (usually the only educated person) and buy his agreement to the exploitation of the peasant with hush money. The Government report concludes with

number of proposals for the abolition of these abuses and the protection of the Fellaah.

This report and the proposals of the commission, should they even be accepted, are far from being a solution of the peasant problem. Above all the measures are only directed against small rogues, whilst the real exploiters, the banks and limited companies are of course untouched by them; indeed they are directly supported by the Government in that it uses the money raised by the taxation of the Fellaheen for investing in the cotton market, ostensibly to raise the price of cotton, in reality chiefly to enrich the banks.

The appearance of the report and the threat of severe measures just now, when the writs have been issued for the Parliamentary elections, is characteristic of the efforts made by the Ziwari Government to gain the confidence of the Fellaheen. Not only the pro-Government Press, which is largely advertising Ziwari's friendly attitude towards the peasants, is moving in this direction — „help for the poor Fellaheen“ —; no less a person than the Chief Commissioner of His British Majesty, Lord Lloyd, called the attention of the Egyptian Government to the distress of the Fellaheen and declared that the Fellaah question was the most important of all Egyptian problems.

It is indeed doubtful whether the love for the Fellaheen which has suddenly seized on Ziwari will be returned as he would desire. The trial of the 41 burgomasters of the rural district of Tala — who, in accordance with the boycott resolution of the Wafd, refused to obey the Ziwari Government, when it called upon them to make preparations for the election — proves that the Fellaheen are not so easily caught. The result of this trial (in consequence of the threatening attitude of the peasants, the pronouncement of the verdict had at first to be postponed for a week and then to be one of acquittal) further shows how weak is the authority of the Ziwari Government in the rural districts and how little prospect it has of winning the fight for the Fellaheen which will be decisive for the immediate future of Egypt.

## THE BALKANS

### The Persecution of Workers in Yugoslavia.

By S. S. (Belgrade).

The capitalist offensive in Yugoslavia has recently assumed the sharpest forms.

The bourgeoisie has gradually succeeded in completely abolishing the eight hour day, which at one time was firmly established by law, and introducing in its place the twelve hour, and even the fourteen hour working day.

Along with the lengthening of the working day real wages have continually fallen, so that to-day it is only the most highly skilled workers whose wages equal one half of the real pre-war wages, while the greater part of the workers receive wages which are far less than half the pre-war wages.

Unemployment is steadily increasing. There are no official statistics in Yugoslavia as to unemployment, as neither the State nor municipalities provide unemployment benefit. The number of the unemployed was estimated some months ago at about 200,000, but to-day it far exceeds this figure. It sounds like a piece of mockery when the Yugoslavian State Budget for the year 1926, which amounts to more than 13 milliard Dinar, contains an item of 150,000 Dinar „for support for the unemployed“. This means that every unemployed worker would receive an annual unemployed dole of less than one Dinar; that is to say, about one halfpenny.

The working class is not sufficiently organised in order to conduct a successful struggle against the offensive of Capital, as on the one hand the organising of the workers in trade unions is hindered by the police by the most brutal measures, and on the other hand all the efforts of the working class to establish trade union unity are frustrated by the reformist trade union bureaucrats, who are everywhere supported by the bourgeoisie and the police.

The struggle of the independent trade unions for the realisation of trade union unity nevertheless met with an enthusiastic response among the workers, even among that portion of the workers organised in the reformist trade unions. The working class has given clear expression to its will to realise unity, even over the heads of its leaders.

The Congress of the Independent Trade Unions, which was to have been held from the 24th to 26th January, and to which representatives of the International Federation of Trade Unions in Amsterdam, the Red International of Labour Unions in Moscow and the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee were invited, was to have prepared the soil upon which could be built up the united trade union movement of Yugoslavia, in order to oppose the whole united working class against the capitalist offensive.

The bourgeoisie, however, did not permit the Congress to be held. A week before the Congress it delivered a brutal blow at the labour movement. It again „discovered“, as it had already done several times in the last few years, a „Communist conspiracy“, „bolshevik agents and emissaries“, who, it is alleged, were on the point of preparing a revolution in Yugoslavia and in the Balkans, and which the Yugoslavian government frustrated at the very last moment, thereby again proving itself to be the saviour of the country.

By means of these rotten pretexts, which nobody took seriously as it is perfectly obvious that the whole thing is a frame-up, the persecutions were instituted. In Belgrade over two hundred persons were arrested in the course of two days, among them being all the members of the independent trade union Central and all prominent labour functionaries. In the provinces there were about 250 workers arrested, the greater part of them functionaries of the Independent Trade Unions. Judging from the hints in the government press, further wholesale arrests are meditated.

The arrested are being subjected to a brutal mediaeval inquisition-regime. They are being tortured and mishandled in the most bestial manner. The most cruel method of torture of the Belgrade police — squeezing of the genital organs until they are crushed and mutilated — has been converted into a system in order to extract the statements desired by the police. Some of the prisoners had their limbs actually broken because they refused to make a „confession“. The torturings are more horrible than the notorious brutalities practised in 1921 during the examinations which were conducted in connection with the attempt upon the life of King Alexander. The former Communist member of parliament, Kosta Novakovic, was tortured until he became unconscious in order to extract confessions from him. The arrested are absolutely cut off from all communications with the outer world; they are not permitted to see either their relatives or their defenders. Even bourgeois journalists are not permitted to enter that part of the police premises where the arrested are confined, in order that they shall not hear the groans and cries of anguish of the tortured prisoners.

The examination is being conducted by a high General Staff officer, as the police, in order to provide a foundation for the monster communist trial which they have prepared, declare that they have discovered „evidence“ which goes to prove that anti-militarist propaganda was being conducted in the army. This evidence is probably just as authentic as the „Agreement of Stephan Raditch“ (today a member of the government!) with the Communist International.

The government has succeeded by means of these brutal measures in preventing the holding of the Congress of the Independent Trade Unions. As the most prominent functionaries are in prison the Congress has had to be postponed for an indefinite period.

By this blow against the labour movement and by stigmatising the struggle of the working class against further wage cuts and lengthening of the working time as a „communist conspiracy“, the Raditch Party, which is now participating in the government, wishes to prove that it, along with its leader, has finally broken with its past and intends to stick to the arch-reactionary „Radical Party“ through thick and thin, and that it is a reliable lackey of the Serbian monarchist reaction.

This blow on the part of the united Yugoslavian reaction will, however, not destroy the will to unity and the fighting spirit of the Yugoslavian working class, but will weld it more firmly together in order to take up the fight against reaction and for its vital interests.

It is the duty of the international working class to support the Yugoslavian proletariat in its severe struggle against reaction, which is making use of the most abominable methods of mediaeval torture, and to raise its voice in powerful protest against the furious White Terror of the brutal Balkan bourgeoisie.

## Change of Government in Bulgaria.

To the Workers and Peasants of all Countries!

Two and a half years ago the Bulgarian big bourgeoisie, with the aid of the military clique and the remnants of the white-guardist army which had fled from Russia, overthrew the peasant government of Stambouliski. The greatest masses of the workers and peasants were opposed to this overthrow, but they were lacking the necessary solidarity to prevent this fascist putch.

The most cruel dictatorship of the clique of bankers and generals and an untold terror were introduced into Bulgaria. Thousands of the best representatives of the workers and peasants were shot, hung or tortured to death. Thousands of others were flung into prison or compelled to flee abroad. In spite of the fury of the bloody terror, which, as a matter of fact, was supported by all opposition parties of the bourgeoisie and the Bulgarian Mensheviks, the workers and peasants have remained irreconcilable enemies of the Zankov government. Under Zankov's leadership the bourgeoisie has not only not solved the most serious economic and foreign political problems, but the position of the country has become worse in every respect, and the Bulgarian people has on more than one occasion been exposed to the danger of being drawn into a new military adventure. At the same time the Zankov regime has roused a tremendous storm of indignation not only among the working masses of the whole world, but among all honest representatives of the intellectuals of all countries. As a result of these facts there has set in a process of disintegration in the camp of the bourgeois-fascist clique which had gained a temporary victory, and which has led to the overthrow of Zankov.

In order to placate the working masses who are becoming continually more hostile, and in order to restore its prestige abroad, which has greatly fallen, the Bulgarian bourgeoisie decided to remove Zankov but maintain all the "achievements" of his regime, that is to say, complete lack of all rights for the workers and peasants and unlimited right of exploitation for the capitalists and profiteers. The only "concession" which the Bulgarian bourgeoisie is prepared to grant to the mass of the people is that, after the bloody "purging" carried out by Zankov, it no longer regards it necessary to shoot its class enemies without a trial. Thus, in the future, "conspirators" are to be hung and thrown into prison in a perfectly "legal" manner.

Zankov has been removed, but the remaining chief hangmen have remained. The terror still continues. The workers and peasants' organisations still remain illegal. Thousands of workers and peasants continue to pine in the prisons or have to remain in emigration.

We therefore call upon to the workers and peasants and the honest intellectuals of the whole world to come to the aid of the suffering Bulgarian people, to fight for the complete abolition of the terror in Bulgaria, both legal and illegal, for the restoration of the rights of the working and peasant masses and for a complete political amnesty for the victims of the Zankov regime.

The Bulgarian bourgeoisie will endeavour to obtain a loan from the English or American bankers in order to continue its reign of terror. All honest people in the whole world, before all in England and America, must actively oppose the granting of such a loan so long as the hangmen remain in power, so long as freedom is not restored to the working people.

The Bulgarian bourgeoisie will endeavour to assure public opinion in Europe and America that it is introducing "legality". All really democratic elements in Europe and America must emphatically reply to the Bulgarian bourgeoisie: Without an amnesty for the political prisoners and for the emigrant victims of the white terror, without unlimited freedom for the working class and the peasantry to organise, hold meetings, and liberty of the press, without the abolition of the exceptional laws, everything remains as it was under Zankov.

Workers and peasants! Do not forget that the terror in Bulgaria still continues, that thousands of workers and peasants are languishing in the Bulgarian prisons, that thousands of Bulgarian fighters remain in emigration.

The only answer to the whole swindle of legality must be the tenfold increase of your aid for your Bulgarian brothers.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

## FOR THE UNITY OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

### Finnish Social Democrats Preparing to Split the Trade Unions.

By A. Lozovsky.

In spite of the throttling of the revolution, of the incredible Terror and the illegality of the Communist Party, Finland has a firmly welded, militant and united trade union movement. And, notwithstanding their full support of all the White Guard governments, the influence of the social democrats in the trade unions is not very great, for which reason they have begun a planned campaign aimed at splitting the unions by accusing the Left Wing leadership of submitting to the communists (this in Finland being equal to an order for arrest), and of systematically humiliating the feelings and lowering the dignity of the social democratic workers. As the next Finnish T. U. congress is due to be held shortly, the social democrats have bestirred themselves and begun to elaborate a platform for the split. On December 30th there was held in Helsingfors a meeting of social democrats, mostly politicians and not trade unionists, who discussed the question of what was further to be done. The said meeting decided to present the forthcoming T. U. C. with the following unconditional demands:

1) All connections with the Red International of Labour Unions to be broken off, and a break made with the policy of the R. I. L. U.;

2) The all-Finnish T. U. Federation shall affiliate organisationally to the Amsterdam International;

3) Joint work with the Labour Office of the League of Nations;

4) The T. U. C. must elect the whole of the Central Committee and disallow the representation of the individual industrial unions on the directing body;

5) For the purpose of directing the T. U. Federation, the Congress shall elect such persons as do not lend an ear to the Communists;

6) In the event of the Congress not accepting these demands, the social democratic members of the trade unions shall consider the question of forming a new Federation of the Finnish trade unions.

Such are the six points of the ultimatum which an insignificant minority standing on the platform of democracy presents to a majority of the organised working class. These "democrats" desire to introduce the rule that the majority should submit to the minority, and to bring this about they publicly charge the Finnish T. U. Federation with belonging to the R. I. L. U., knowing that in Finland any organisational connections with the R. I. L. U. constitute a crime in law. The Finnish T. U. Federation is not affiliated to the R. I. L. U. This the social democrats know. But they demand that a break be made with the policy of the R. I. L. U. as well. Now, this is altogether a much broader conception. The social democrats are demanding that the Federation repudiate all support of the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee, repudiate the struggle for unity, repudiate any class policy, and in order that the change of policy should be quite clear, they there and then set up Amsterdam and the Labour Office of the League of Nations as against the Red International of Labour Unions.

The social-democratic press and social-democratic propaganda and agitation had been working up feeling beforehand for the reception of this ultimatum, and we find the Finnish "Social Democrat" in its issue of December 12th., coming out with an article under the proud title of "Enough of Such Humiliation!" There we read:

"The social democratic workers are going to be inevitably confronted with the question of founding their own federation of trade unions independent of the Communists. The Finnish social democracy must bring forward its own trade union organisation, at the head of which must be placed our own social-democratic responsible persons. Two single independent trade union federations would be able, in the form of a united front, under present conditions to present to the employer and Capital stronger and more

categorical demands than such a trade union organisation, the impotence of which is to be found precisely in the fact that the social democratic worker element are 'swept off the political board' of the Finnish T. U. Federation by reason of the intolerable Communist dictatorship. The activities of the Communists grew in the Federation with a rapidity equal to the passivity of the social democrats. In consequence of the development of such a tendency complete bankruptcy awaits the social democrats. For some time past, we have been politically sick in the trade union movement as well. Today, this 'infirmity of passivity' has gone to such lengths that only a bold operation can save independent social democratic trade union activities from death. And such an operation must therefore be performed as speedily as possible. We must present the Trade Union Congress with such demands as will secure for the social democracy, the biggest political party in the country, its corresponding influence in the trade union movement. And that without any indefinite compromises. Should this not be done, the social democratic workers must immediately leave the Communist Federation and found one of their own, which would enter the Amsterdam International and would at once receive from it both moral and material support."

We have quoted this lengthy extract from this most impudent and shameless article in order to show these supporters of Amsterdam in their true light. The six above-mentioned demands are entirely in accord with the tone of this provocateur's article, and any comments thereon would only detract from the pristine charm of such social democratic cynicism. What do they care what the majority of the Finnish proletariat think on the matter? They want to have their own trade union federation, and to do this they are prepared to split a firmly welded organisation and thereby weaken the Finnish working class' powers of resistance. And all this for the glory of Democracy, Amsterdam and the League of Nations!

On the eve of the previous Finnish T. U. Congress, some eighteen months ago, the social democrats made an attempt to split the congress, but their attack was beaten back, with great losses for social democracy. Today, having apparently come to an understanding with the Government, a new attack is being begun which may lead to the secession of part of the workers from the national proletarian organisation of the trade unions. We say: "may lead" to that — if the supporters of unity in Finland, and they form the overwhelming majority, do not frustrate the sinister plans of the Finnish Amsterdammers.

From the example of Finland a good idea may be gained of the Amsterdammers' tactics. Many of the Left friends of unity in Britain think at times that the Communists are to blame for the disruption of the trade unions. The facts of the case show the very reverse. The Communist International and the R. I. L. U. assess a strong minority in all Amsterdam organisations, yet they have never called for disruption, and whenever voices have been raised in favour of disruption they have been at once ruthlessly and severely put in their right places. It is quite different with the Second and Amsterdam Internationals. The Finnish social democrats are promising the workers the moral and material assistance of the Amsterdam International. Now, has this been done without any preliminary negotiations? Can it be that the opponents of unity heading the Amsterdam International know nothing about this matter? If they know anything about it, how is it that the Finnish social democrats promise not only moral, but also material support from Amsterdam?

If the Amsterdam leaders were not sympathetic to this split, would they have published the note that appeared in their bulletin of January 5th, regarding the crisis in the Finnish T. U. movement which concludes with the most remarkable (in the sense of disruption) words: "The possibility is not excluded that the disorganising activities of the Communists in the trade unions will finally lead to the disruption of the Trade Union Federation?"

The Finnish social democracy hopes to succeed in Balkanising the Finnish labour movement, i. e., with the assistance of the police, the bourgeois courts, and the passing of sentences of hard labour, to do the same thing that the Social Democrats have done in Yugoslavia, Roumania, and Bulgaria — suppress the revolutionary trade unions and set up their own social democratic 'independent' trade union organisation. The

Finnish social democrats, however, have reckoned without their host, in this case the Finnish proletariat; and the Finnish proletariat is so strongly organised and so class conscious that it will be fully able to repel this fresh attack on the part of the Finnish social-provocateurs.

## The Red International of Labour Unions to the Congress of Independent Trade Unions of Yugoslavia.

Moscow, 18th January 1926.

The Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions has sent the following message to the Congress of the Independent Trade Unions of Yugoslavia:

"The Executive Bureau of the R. I. L. U. sends through your Congress its brotherly greetings to the working class of Yugoslavia and greatly regrets that it is unable to send an official delegation in order to present the standpoint of the R. I. L. U. as to how the unity of the trade union movement, both nationally and internationally, can be achieved. We have not applied for a visa to enter your country as we know how the Yugoslavian government treats representatives of the revolutionary trade union movement.

We have repeatedly put forward the standpoint of the R. I. L. U. regarding unity. We are striving for the amalgamation of parallel organisations in every country on the basis of democratic centralism and the submission of the minority to the majority. We supported the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee which is composed of two organisations belonging to two different Internationals, as a practical proof of the possibility of joint actions, and therefore of the possibility of organisatory unity. We are endeavouring to bring about the convocation of an International Unity Congress at which all trade union organisations, including those belonging to the R. I. L. U. or to the Amsterdam International, as well as those standing outside these Internationals, will be represented according to the size of their membership. We are striving to set up a united fighting International for the fight against fascism, against reaction and against the attacks of capitalism.

The Executive Bureau of the R. I. L. U. is firmly convinced that your Congress will adopt every measure in order to establish a united, firmly-welded trade union organisations in Yugoslavia and that it will do everything in its power in order, along with the workers of other countries, to establish the unity of the International Trade Union Movement.

Long live the working class of Yugoslavia!

Long live the united, firmly knit trade union movement of Yugoslavia!

Long live the united fighting International of the trade unions!"

## THE CHILDREN'S MOVEMENT

### Appeal to the Workers' Children of the Whole World.

In all countries in which capitalism still prevails the workers have to endure great hardships, hunger and misery. But the greatest sacrifices in these days are those which the Bulgarian workers' and peasants' children have to make for the cause of the emancipation of the proletariat and its children.

The workers and peasants in Bulgaria have already several times attempted to free themselves from their oppressors. But they have been repeatedly defeated. In the revolt to which the Bulgarian revolutionaries were driven in September 1923, the capitalists were victorious. In the struggles which have been conducted for over three years, 20,000 revolutionary workers and peasants have had to lay down their lives for the revolution. Many workers' and peasants' children have also been ruthlessly murdered by the Bulgarian reactionaries.

At present there are still in Bulgaria over 4000 workers and peasants in prison. The children of the murdered and imprisoned fathers and mothers are compelled to live a terrible life of misery and of the greatest hardships. They are left entirely to their fate.

The Bulgarian capitalists wish to exterminate completely the entire young generation of the Bulgarian revolutionary working class. They are therefore forbidding anybody to help these children. And whoever ventures to do so in spite of the prohibition, is likewise regarded as a revolutionary and is therefore added to the 4000 already in prison. The result is that nobody cares for these children. They are all living in the greatest misery and many of them are starving.

If workers' and peasants' children are living in great need and in indescribable misery, then their brothers and sisters in the whole world must fight for them. You must now exert all your young forces in order to hasten to the aid of the brave Bulgarian children and to compel the Bulgarian torturers to cease murdering these children. You must work as if your own brothers and sisters were starving and suffering misery.

Do not permit that the revolutionary offspring of the workers and peasants of Bulgaria be so ruthlessly trodden down. Demand that the fathers and mothers of these children shall be immediately released from prison.

Demand that the orphan children of the foully murdered fathers and mothers shall be fed and clothed by the State.

Demand that all children without fathers and mothers may be supported by other people, without the latter having to fear being cast into prison as a result.

Demand that these children shall be allowed to be sent to children's homes.

Take an active part in the collections which are being organized by the "International Red Aid"!

Try to win many workers' and peasants' children for this struggle!

Give the suppressed Bulgarian children a living proof that you are their true friends!

Be ever ready!

The Executive Committee of the Young Communist International.

International Children's Bureau  
of the Executive Committee of the Y. C. I.

## UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

### The Anniversary of Lenin's Death in Moscow.

Moscow, 21st January 1926.

Today, on the anniversary of the death of Lenin, Moscow is in deep mourning. At ten minutes to seven in the evening flags were hoisted half mast.

Great crowds of people are gathered in the Red Square waiting for admission into the Mausoleum. Since it was first opened the Mausoleum has been visited by more than 1,600,000 people. In the factories, offices and barracks memorial meetings have been held today which were devoted to the life and work of Lenin and the fundamental principles of Leninism.

### Moscow in the Midst of Reconstruction.

By E. Baum (Moscow).

II.

#### V. Housing Construction and Municipal Undertakings.

One of the most burning questions round which interest centres, and without the solution of which most of the measures of the Board of Health remain ineffectual, is the housing problem. In Moscow it has reached catastrophic proportions. Even in 1912, before the war, the lack of housing accommodation was very serious, for at that time there were only 17.7 sq. sashas (1 sasha is about 2.10 metres) per head of the population numbering 1,600,000. When, in 1923, the number of inhabitants of Moscow amounted to 1,700,000, the norm had fallen to 13.5 sq. sashas, and in 1924 there were only 11.7 per head; in 1925 every inhabitant of Moscow had, on an average, to be satisfied with rather less than 10.5 sq. sashas. For the provision of the necessary housing, 96 million roubles would be necessary. The Moscow Soviet however has only been able to allocate the sum

of 52 millions. The expenses for building construction are increasing at a rapid pace. In 1923 3 millions were spent, in 1924 as much as 25 millions and in 1926, as has already been said, 52 million roubles are to be spent for building purposes. Whereas during the last two years, the work undertaken has mostly been that of repairs, the coming year is to be distinguished by new construction.

The electrification of the working class suburbs of Moscow is making progress. By the end of 1925, electric lighting will have been installed in about 3000 new houses. Electric plants are being constructed in villages also and "Hjitsch lamps", as the peasants call the electric light, is penetrating the darkness of the most remote hamlets.

The upward movement of municipal undertakings (trams, waterworks, gas-works etc.) is best reflected in the fact that their budget has increased fourfold in the three years 1922-1925. The expenses have increased from 19.8 million roubles in the financial year 1922/23 to 84 million roubles in the current financial year.

The traffic of the tramways, reckoned by the number of cars running, will, this year, slightly exceed that of 1913. As regards the length of the lines, about 70 km. have been newly constructed chiefly with the object of connecting the working-class suburbs, which, before the war were in every respect neglected by the bourgeois chief administration, with the centre of the city. As however the tramways are seriously overburdened, (the number of passengers carried amounted to 393.7 million in 1924/25 against 257.4 million in 1913), the development of new means of transport is an urgent necessity. In this respect also, great progress has been made. Ten motor-bus lines are already running. It is planned to build an underground railway which should be working by 1930. Progress in the means of transport of the city is all the more important in Moscow because in 1925 the passenger traffic in the tramways had almost entirely ceased.

The pipes of the water-works and sewage are much increased since the war, the working class quarters especially having been joined on to the network of the water supply and drainage. The length of the network of water-pipes was 537.3 km. in 1913 and 677.1 km. in 1924/25. The length of the drainage-pipes was 445.6 km. in 1913, and 568.4 km. in 1924/25. The development of the water supply and drainage is being continued; thus, during this year, about 6000 dwellings are to be joined on to the water-supply and sewage systems.

As a result of the improvement of the standard of living since the war, the consumption of meat is steadily increasing. An extension of the municipal slaughter houses is therefore planned. For this purpose, 10 million roubles have been set aside. Altogether, the greater part of the outlay of the municipal undertakings is being used for building construction. In the current year, 45% of its expenses are to be used for building purposes.

It was not until after the October revolution that the working class suburbs were incorporated in the municipal administration. Up to then, as has already been said, nothing was done for them. Now, extensive works are being undertaken for laying out streets in them and supplying them with gas, water, electricity etc.

A further domain in which the municipal administration of Moscow can boast of success, is the laying out of parks and public gardens, which is particularly important from the point of view of public health. In each of the past two years, about 9 hectares of new public gardens have been laid out. Thus, an unmistakable upward movement is expressing itself in all spheres of public life, a movement which cannot be checked because it is not called into being by artificial means, but is the work of the forces of the working population in the service of the community. In all sections of the Moscow Soviet, 30,000 workers are engaged in this work. In the province, 30,000 peasants, men and women, are helping in the work of reconstruction. In this work the Soviet organisations of the province of Moscow are increasingly employing women. Whilst their number in 1922 was only 8% of the whole, it increased in 1925 to 13%. The number of non-party women, which in 1922 was only 8%, has, in 1925, already reached 26%. This active participation in all the administrative work and social functions is a guarantee for a permanent rise in the socialist economic system of Moscow.

## General Regulation and Growth of Wages of Russian Railwaymen.

From the October Revolution until August 1922 there was almost no regulation of wages.

It stands to reason that amid the stress of revolution it was impossible to devote proper attention to the question of wage regulation, while the march of the events caused the annulment of the old currency of the Czarist government and Kerensky, and the introduction of Soviet currency. Under such circumstances it was impossible to run a rigid State Budget.

The situation was further aggravated by the fact that the whole country was on the defence against the white guard hordes who were determined on crushing the revolution and on reestablishing the monarchy. Those were the days when everyone who valued the revolution rushed to the front to defend it.

Then came the great famine, the failure of the crops, in the very midst of the civil war. Then again every effort had to be put towards warding off the famine and saving the conquests of the revolution.

These were the two facts which reigned uppermost, to the exclusion of everything else. Every worker in the country had his thoughts concentrated not on money, but on saving and defending the revolution and warding off the famine.

Finally, the iron will and the rigid discipline of the Russian workers triumphed over all obstacles, and the revolution was saved. The time came for peaceful work and economic reconstruction.

A third call was given, for the concentration of all efforts on the restoration of the transport, the principal nerve in the economic life of the country.

Again, without taking a respite from the strenuous battles of the civil war, the workers went to work, wielding the hammers and straining their muscles, and each month and each year saw decided improvement in the transport and industry of the country. It was only then, under the revival of industry, and particularly under the restoration of the transport, that it was possible to draw up a firm State Budget, and take up the question of regulating the wages of workers and employees.

The Railwaymen's Union, free from the cares and worries of the civil war, could now fully take up the question of regulating the wages of the workers and employees, and of establishing the proper control over the disbursement of the wage funds. This was done in August 1922.

The question of wage regulation, as understood by the Union, comprises the following: the division of the workers into categories according to the schedule of qualifications; the drawing up of a wage scale, with relations between the different categories; the fixing of the modes of payment jointly with the administrative organs, such as time payment, mixed payment (time and piece work), piece work, bonuses, etc.

The basis for the fixing of the budget of wages was founded on the living minimum of the married worker, and for this purpose a calculation was made of the cost of a supply of 24 articles of food and prime necessities. The cost of such articles was calculated month by month, so as to correspond to the fluctuating market prices. On the other hand, the general economic situation of the country was taken into consideration in fixing the standard of wages.

At the same time the Railwaymen's Union consistently urged the maximum demands for the improvement in the living conditions of the workers.

Thus, during the last 3 operative years, viz from October 1922 to September 1925 inclusive (the operating year in U. S. S. R. begins on October 1st) the following amounts were spent in wages for the regular staffs of workers and employees on the railways of U. S. S. R. (exclusive of casual workers, season labourers and the like):

Operative years	Numbers of workers of regular staff, in thousands	Money paid in wages, in 1000 roubles	Average wage of 1 worker, in roubles	% as compared with 1st quarter of 1922/23 taken as 100 %	Remarks
1922/23					
1st quarter	718,9	14.191	20	100	In addition to money wages, provisions were distributed in kind, at the existing rations
2nd "	719,8	25.725	36	180	
3rd "	719,4	25.877	36	180	
4th "	719,5	29.312	41	205	
1923/24					
1st quarter	666,6	49.594	74	370	Food rations were abolished
2nd "	665,7	56.869	85	425	
3rd "	665,2	59.827	90	450	
4th "	666,9	69.052	104	520	
1924/25					
1st quarter	668,1	76.923	115	575	Do.
2nd "	656,1	78.633	120	600	
3rd "	622,1	84.355	136	680	
4th "	622,1	90.821	146	730	

At the same time the index of prices of prime necessities did not grow at the same rate as the wages.

The advantage of Russian wages over European and even American wages consists in the fact that its increase outgrows the increase in the cost of living, whereas the opposite is the case in Europe and in America.

The rate of increase in wages in regard to the index of prices is shown in the following table:

Quarters	Budget index of Labour statistics relative to 1913 taken as 100	% relative to 1st quarter of 1922/23 taken as 100	% relative to 1st quarter of 1923/24 taken as 100
1922/23			
1st quarter	146.1	100	
2nd "	129.9	88.9	
3rd "	135.4	92.7	
4th "	172.9	118.3	
Average for the year	146.1		
1923/24			
1st quarter	168.9	115.6	100
2nd "	201.0	137.6	119.0
3rd "	207.6	142.1	122.9
4th "	205.2	140.4	121.5
Average for the year	195.7		
1924/25			
1st quarter	195.6	133.9	115.8
2nd "	202.1	138.3	119.7
3rd "	215.9	147.8	127.8
4th "	194.5	133.1	115.2
Average for the year	202.0		

Hence it may be seen that the lowest wages existed at the very beginning of the general revival in the industry of the country, and particularly of the restoration of the railway transport, but they were substantially supplemented by the rations in kind that were distributed.

As soon as the need for rations in kind was gone, the level of wages went up by leaps and bounds, regardless of the deficit incurred by the transport during the first years of peaceful reconstruction. At the present time the railway transport carries no deficit.

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### Our American Communist Daily.

By J. Louis Engdahl (Chicago).

Celebration in the United States of the Second Anniversary of the *Daily Worker* the official organ of the Workers (Communist) Party, brings to the fore the unique position of the American working class press in the land of the most powerful imperialism.

This Communist daily holds the distinction of being the only English-language Communist daily in the world. While in the United States it may be said to be the only English language daily of the whole working class.

In other countries the Communist press is face to face with a powerful daily press of the social democratic and trade union bureaucracy. In the United States the socialist and trade union dailies lived their day and disappeared.

#### The Two Socialist Dailies.

There have been two socialist dailies, the Chicago Daily Socialist and the New York Call, later the "Leader". Both succumbed for lack of support. A desperate effort was made to keep the "Leader" (New York) alive with trade union funds furnished by the bureaucracy. Bourgeois methods were applied in an effort to popularize its contents. But after huge sums had been spent, the support of the workers was still lacking, and when the flow of gold ceased the "Leader" died.

There is another daily which claims to be socialist, published in Milwaukee, Wisc., and edited by Victor L. Berger, the lone socialist congressman. But it leads a purely localized existence, never entering into the struggles of the workers, thus winning the financial aid of the biggest advertisers and managing to continue its mongrel existence at a profit. It does not even possess a social-democratic outlook. In 1924 it supported Robert M. LaFollette, the republican, for president, on a "progressive" ticket.

#### The Two Labour Dailies.

There have also been two labour dailies, the Seattle Union Record, on the Pacific Coast, and the Minnesota Star, published at Minneapolis, a center of discontent in the days following the war.

These two publications, while actually sponsored by individuals as if they were their own private property, nevertheless, maintained the camouflage of being the expression of the trade unions in their respective localities. In the struggle between the bureaucracy and the rank and file, however their real face was unmasked, support dropped away, but instead of being permitted to die and pass into oblivion to be forgotten, these publications were surrendered to private interests, losing entirely any labour character they had ever possessed.

#### Alone in the Field.

The Communist "Daily Worker", may, therefore, be said to be alone in the English-language working class newspaper field in the United States, with its 20,000,000 of industrial workers out of a population of 110,000,000. Everywhere the labour bureaucracy breathes its anathemas against it. But they have no dailies of their own, neither the socialist officialdom in some of the so-called radical "needle trades" unions, nor the ultra-conservative heads of the more reactionary trade unions. They have foreign language dailies, but the tenacity of the Communists in establishing, maintaining and building their English-language daily, heralds the building of a strong left wing even in the unions that pride themselves on the highest percentage of "Americanism".

#### Progress of "The Daily" Assured.

The progress of the "Daily Worker", during its first two years, was somewhat retarded by the internal struggle within the Workers (Communist) Party, especially over the question of the Labour Party and the building of the left wing in the trade union movement. These policies have now been definitely established, in line with the Communist International, and the future is full of promise for our American daily as it enters upon its third year, joining the Party in turning its face exclusively toward the masses.

The *Daily Worker's* second anniversary saw the American Party well on the road to complete reorganisation on a shop-nucleus basis. This means that the Party and its daily go hand in hand into the mills, the mines and factories, both establishing contacts with increasingly broader masses of the working class. The Party and its daily certainly were not able to achieve this end under the social-democratic form of organisation that it inherited from their socialist predecessors.

#### Mobilise 1,000 Worker Correspondents.

Worker Correspondents had been unheard of in the United States until the *Daily Worker* began mobilising them. So great were the obstacles that had to be overcome, especially the fact that most revolutionary workers are foreign-born and can neither read nor write the English language, that substantial progress was not made until very recently. The *Daily Worker* now celebrates its second anniversary with more than 200 very active Worker Correspondents and raising the slogan of "1,000 Worker Correspondents by 1927!" when it will celebrate its third anniversary.

With Party and paper immeasurably strengthened by the bolshevisation process through which they have passed, and which of course has not yet been completed, it is assured that the standards of Leninism, in the days ahead, will be carried with more sturdy challenge than ever against the mighty fortress of entrenched and arrogant American imperialism.

## IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

### Some Remarks on the 20th Conference of the Polish Socialist Party (P. P. S.)

By Orski (Warsaw).

"This Party Conference was, in the true sense of the word, splendidly organised, politically ripe, and reflects great credit both on the membership and also on the Party whose true features were clearly revealed in the discussion and in the decisions."

It is in these words that the chief of the Central organ of the Party, Dr. Felix Perl, characterises the 20th Party Conference of the Polish Socialist Party.

And this in fact was the case. At no Party Congress hitherto of this Party, upon whose banners there are written the thousand-times-betrayed slogan, "Long live socialism", has its true countenance, its close connection with the capitalist Order been so clearly revealed.

If one reads the Party Conference report carefully then one again arrives at the conclusion that, at bottom, the counter-revolutionary standpoint of the Party arises from its petty bourgeois ideology. Just as the fear of the proletarian dictatorship and the fear of the regime of the workers and peasants determined the political line of the P. P. S. in the years 1919 and 1920, so the fear of the development of the revolutionary forces in Poland caused the P. P. S. to enter the coalition government in the year 1925.

In order to justify their entry into the coalition in the eyes of the working masses, the P. P. S. people constantly point to the danger of a putch from the Right, which, it is alleged, would mean the end of Democracy. None of the supporters of the coalition however undertook to come forward with proofs that "democracy was in danger". The arguments of Bartlicki and Prager were intended for the consumption of very simple people. Even the very peaceful and timorous opposition of Zaremba, Szczerkowski and Uziemblo and similar sham radicals were not caught by these words.

In his reply to Bartlicki, Zaremba was obliged to declare:

"It is not true when it is asserted that the Constitution was in danger. There threatens much more the danger of a movement resulting from hunger and misery, which would compel the possessing classes, in their anxiety, to seek an alliance with us. The P. P. S. is used by the bourgeoisie as a shield against any accusations."

What they mean by the term "catastrophe", which they repeatedly employ as a bogey, the P. P. S. leaders failed to express openly at the Party Conference. Nevertheless it was clear that they meant the revolution, the revolutionary movement of the

workers and peasants, which could endanger the stabilising of the bourgeois Order.

The reconstruction of the bourgeois economy — that is the aim of the Socialist Party. That was the essence of the report of Zulavski on the economic situation, as well as the speech of the Minister for Labour, Ziemienski, and a number of other leaders of the P. P. S. Even the "oppositional" Stanczyk admitted that the reconstruction of capitalist economy constituted the chief task of the P. P. S.

Thus the policy pursued hitherto by the P. P. S. of strike-breaking, of voting against communist proposals introduced in the Sejm on behalf of the unemployed, of bargaining with the factory directors etc. is crowned with the theory of the reconstruction of capitalist economy. This is the conception the P. P. S. people have of the class struggle.

The P. P. S. knows perfectly well that for Poland there are only two ways open: the way of revolution, of the seizure of power in the State by the town and village proletariat, the transference of the burdens of economic reconstruction on to the shoulders of the possessing classes, or the way of delivering Poland over to foreign capital, of obtaining foreign loans for the reconstruction of capitalism by pledging the natural resources and transferring all the burdens connected with the loans on to the working class. At the Party Conference Daszynski actually said:

"We are seeking foreign loans. Will the foreign countries grant us loans when with us the windows are being broken and the hungry crowds are plundering the shops? Nobody under these circumstances would grant us a loan."

The P. P. S. people are hostile to everything that runs counter to their main task — the stabilising of capitalist economy. This is the reason for their hostile attitude to the struggle of the landless peasantry for land, as well as to the struggle for emancipation of the White Russians and Ukrainians.

Javorovski, a member of parliament, openly opposed the "phrases" of the alliance of the workers and peasants and "warped" the working class of the egoism of the peasants. Zulavski recommended, in place of the alliance of the workers and peasants, the alliance of all "parties who represent the towns", that is to say, the alliance of the treacherous labour leaders with the factory owners and bankers.

In place of the solidarity of the Polish workers and peasants with the suppressed nationalities, the P. P. S. recommended the formation of a "purely Polish majority" in the shape of the coalition government. The P. P. S. Congress which, in its cynical hypocrisy, pronounced itself in favour of the "right of self-determination of all nationalities", actually placed itself in the same ranks with Polish nationalism, which employs the most ruthless policy of suppression towards the Ukrainian and White Russian population of the Eastern districts.

The decisions of the Congress in regard to agrarian reform have the same import. Even Uziemblo, one of its own members, was compelled to describe the agrarian law approved by the P. P. S. as an out and out colonising law. The Party Conference applied to Uziemblo by adopting a resolution which described the colonising law as "an important achievement of the proletariat".

The opposition which was represented at the Party Conference was characterised by timidity, vacillation and inconsistency. The opposition did not even attack the principle of coalition with the bourgeois parties, but considered it would suffice in the present situation to support the bourgeois government without placing the Party in an unfavourable position in the eyes of the masses by an open coalition. These people who, to quote Aaszynski — "quietly looked on for six months while the P. P. S., along with the National Democrats, supported the rabaski government", who along with Daszynski and Perl bear the responsibility for the opportunist and treacherous policy of the P. P. S., proved to be incapable of adopting a real oppositional attitude towards the leaders.

The Party Conference decisions approving the entry of the P. P. S. in the coalition government, as well as the speeches of the P. P. S. leaders, were hailed with enthusiasm in the reactionary bourgeois press.

The reaction will make a skilful use of the temporary weakening of the working class through the treachery of the P. P. S. There is already commencing, in spite of the presence of the P. P. S. people in the government, an attack on the part of the right press on the existing election system. The attack upon the

social legislation has also been commenced. The motion of the Right fractions to abolish the eight hour day and the laws regarding holidays has already been introduced into the Sejm. The main attack will take place at the moment of the slightest improvement in the industrial situation.

The 20th Party Conference of the P. P. S. is again an object lesson as to the scandalous treachery of the social opportunists. It proves once more that in the fight against reaction and nationalism, in the fight for freedom, the workers and peasants can only rely upon themselves. The only lesson to be drawn from the miserable spectacle provided by this Party Conference is the following: The workers and peasants must close their ranks more firmly together, establish the powerful united front of the working class, establish the fraternal alliance of the workers and peasants, while the workers in town and country must rally round the fighting flag of the Communist Party of Poland.

## THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

### Executive Session of the International Co-operative Alliance.

By W. Hanka.

On January 31st, the International Co-operative Alliance Executive will meet in Session at the Hague for the first time after the Session of the Central Committee in Paris (October 1925).

The Alliance is important for the International Labour movement not only because of its numerical strength, but above all because this large international federation of workers' consumers' organisations has gone through all post-war crises of the Labour movement undivided. It could act to-day on behalf of 100,000 organisations with 50,000,000 members spread over 32 countries (including 25,000 consumers co-operatives with 10,000,000 members in the Soviet Republics).

But the fact is that at present the Alliance is far from playing the role and fulfilling the tasks expected from such an important united international centre of workers' organisations. The predominating influence of the traditionally Conservative representatives of the British Co-operative movement and especially the terrorism of the "Central Federation of German Consumers' Co-operative Societies" in Hamburg which is continually threatening with severance and split, reduce the Alliance literally to a make-believe existence. All the efforts of the proletarian co-operative opposition to make the Alliance follow a policy which takes into account the interests of the working class rank and file co-operators and which is based on the principle of international working class solidarity have not met with any appreciable success hitherto. In those cases when pressure was brought to bear leading to certain decisions being made the Alliance Executive managed to sabotage the carrying out of such decisions. Thus for instance it was decided at the World Congress in Ghent (September 1924) that in all important questions the Alliance was to act jointly with the two Trade Union Internationals, but the decision in what concrete cases this was to take place was entrusted to the narrower Central Committee which meets in Session only once a year. The Executive in which — according to very peculiar democratic arithmetic — the ten million co-operators of Soviet Russia have only one representative (of 11) make such decisions quite nugatory.

Throughout the world the workers find themselves in the midst of serious crises and class struggles. The co-operative organisations themselves, are faced everywhere with great unsolved problems; nay even their existence is at stake. The taxations screw applied to them by the capitalist governments on the one hand, and competition with the powerful capitalist concerns and trusts organisationally and financially so superior to them on the other make it more and more difficult for consumers' organisations to obtain benefits and advantages for their clients by "peaceful and purely co-operative" trade methods. Armaments, protective tariffs, agrarian usury and organisations of speculators which dominate the market raise prices in an appalling manner which reduces considerably real wages and the standard of living of working class consumers. To this must be added the capitalist direct frontal attacks on labour — reduction of wages, a longer working day, strikes and lockouts and to crown the capitalist offensive — fascist terror of the

most brutal kind. In such a situation a big International Alliance with 50,000,000 working class and peasant members does nothing and looks on self-complacently. It cannot make up its mind to act because it is not yet quite clear about its policy.

The important question of international co-operative policy has been on its agenda for over a year. But all the executive sessions (Ghent — September 1924, Frankfurt — January 1925, Stockholm — June 1925 and Paris — October 1925) could do nothing but postpone this question time after time. Already since June 1925 there is in the Alliance a Memorandum of the Soviet Co-operatives containing concrete proposals for a real Alliance policy based on working class solidarity, accompanied by an open declaration of war against the capitalist economic system. But as long as rank and file consumers allow their international organisation to remain in the hands of these inactive petty-bourgeois elements and of social reformists in the service of big capital, even if it were to come to a decision on this question now at the Hague — one cannot expect any other result but the reiteration of the old "no politics" lines.

However, the Alliance has after all played a certain part in the international labour movement quite recently. An article in the Norwegian "Arbeiderbladet" in Oslo of November 20th reports that the Amsterdam Trade Union International points out in a confidential circular letter the calamities accruing to the Alliance through collaboration with the Russians, using these as a "warning example" and as an argument against the establishment of international trade union unity.

It would also seem that with respect to methods of "struggle" against the havoc wrought in the Italian workers' organisations by the Fascists the Alliance is once more looked upon as an example by the Amsterdam International. In the Bulletin of the Transport Workers' International in December, Edo Fimmen wrote with bitter irony that the Amsterdamers reacted on the Fascist terror by a protest to the Labour Bureau of the League of Nations (!), proposing also — what a heroic act — to place this question on the agenda of their congress in 1927 (!). But probably the "intervention" of the Alliance will have a greater effect on Mussolini than these "measures" of Amsterdam. The Alliance which has been making plans against Mussolini for the last two years and has already been dished more than once by the Fascist representatives, has now wired directly to the great Caesar begging him not to take "civil" liberties away from the co-operatives, which are as inoffensive as lambs and certainly do not conspire against the existing regime.

What a different effect would joint mass action by trade union members and co-operators of all countries have, as was proposed to the Alliance by the Red Trade Union International in Moscow (a proposal which received the support of the Soviet Co-operatives at the forthcoming session at the Hague).

With the present composition of the Executive there is not much prospect that this proposal will be accepted and carried out. The fate of the proposal will probably be — that it will be shelved in the arsenal of International Reformism as an example "of the troublesomeness of the wicked Moscowites".

Nevertheless the revolutionary minded class conscious rank and file co-operators of all countries must preserve the precious possession — unity of the International Co-operative Movement, making the best possible use of it. In the co-operative organisations of the biggest countries a growing realisation of the class struggle tasks of the co-operatives is becoming apparent. In Great Britain rank and file members are compelling the "neutral" leaders to take up an energetic attitude towards governmental policy and towards collaboration with the trade unions in the preparation of big economic struggles against the employing cliques. In Germany attempts are being made to make the rebellious consumers' societies amenable to discipline by denunciations to the police and by threats of expulsion. In Austria the Social Democratic Consumers' Societies turned their face towards Russia. In Switzerland rebellion against the bourgeois-neutral co-operative executive is spreading. Even in the dollar country America a proletarian consumers' co-operative movement is gradually developing.

In the International Co-operative movement too the Left Wing must and will develop. Nolens volens the Co-operative International will have to give way to the pressure of the masses and tread the historically ordained path leading to the United International Proletarian fighting front of Trade Unions and Co-operatives.

## The Tasks of the Co-operatives in the Struggle for International Trade Union Unity.

By Otto Schröder (Berlin).

Trade union unity is of eminent importance for the Workers' Co-operatives as it is for the whole working class. The Workers' Co-operatives share with the whole working class in the harvests which can be obtained as a result of the increase of the fighting power of the proletariat. There are increased possibilities of parrying the political and economic attack of reaction against the Workers' Co-operatives. How far the bourgeoisie has already dared to advance in its attacks against the Workers' Co-operatives, is shown by the dissolution of the Bulgarian Workers' Co-operative "Oswobodjenje" by the Zankoff bandits, and the confiscation of the whole of its property, is shown by the dissolution of the Italian Reformist Co-operative Union "Lega Nazionale" by the Mussolini Government which also robbed these Co-operatives of their property.

In other countries, for the time being, the bourgeoisie is employing other means for oppressing and annoying the Workers' Co-operatives. Where they do not employ political chicanery, they make use of economic attacks in order to burden the Co-operatives with fresh taxation and other measures and further to reduce their capability of work and their fighting power. Through the increase of the fighting power of the proletariat, the prospect is offered to the Workers' Co-operatives of increasing their turnover, disposing of more shares, in brief of developing in a great measure their total capability of work and fighting capacity.

There is therefore no need to justify the point of view that, in the coming year it will be one of the most essential duties of the Workers' Co-operatives to support and further, with all the means at their disposal, the struggle for the restoration of international trade union unity. There is every opportunity of doing so. The Co-operative International is the only proletarian world organisation of any considerable dimensions which maintained its unity in spite of all attempts to exclude the Russian Co-operatives. The International Co-operative Alliance, which thus includes the greater part of the members both of the present Amsterdam and of the Moscow Trade Union Internationals, must in the future be an important factor in the fight for trade union unity and must, above all, undertake the part of mediator between the Amsterdam and the Moscow Trade Union Internationals.

As early as in January 1924, the Russian Co-operative proposed to the International Co-operative Alliance that it should take an active part in the fight for the establishment of trade union unity and in the Unity Congress. The leaders of the Co-operative Alliance put off this resolution from meeting to meeting and not until October 1925 was it brought up for discussion at the meeting of the Central Committee of the Alliance in Paris. Like the rest of the motions of the Russian Co-operatives, it was rejected, with only 12 assenting votes. By this action, the co-operative bureaucracy showed that it sabotages the struggle for the establishment of trade union unity.

At the Co-operative Congress of the Central Federation of German Consumers Co-operatives at Stettin in June 1925 also the opposition intended to bring forward a motion demanding that the fight for trade union unity be supported; but permission was not even granted to discuss it. In other countries no very great efforts have been made up to the present to include the Co-operatives in the fight for trade union unity. No systematic campaign has yet been carried out for mobilising the proletarian members of Co-operatives in order to enforce the fulfilment of the demands. It is therefore necessary to make up for lost time in many respects. The co-operative bureaucracy must be forced to take concrete measures for the establishment of trade union unity by rousing the members of the individual Consumers' co-operatives to greater activity and by extending the propaganda for trade union unity in the Co-operatives.

1. The International Co-operative Alliance must enter into relations with the Amsterdam and Moscow trade union Internationals. Even now the proceedings of the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee should be welcomed and furthered in every

way by the Co-operative Alliance. The Co-operative Alliance should take part in the conference which it is planned to hold in the immediate future. At the same time, the proletarian members of Co-operatives in all countries should be mobilised by the Co-operative Alliance in order to realise trade union unity and to break down the sabotage of the trade union bureaucrats.

2. The national Co-operative Associations must take a share in the movement in their own countries as necessity demands and, in essentials, carry out the tasks of the Co-operative Alliance amongst their own people.

3. No insignificant part is allotted to the local Workers' Co-operatives in the establishment of trade union unity. They must, from below, produce the pressure which will force the central co-operative bureaucracy to carry out the tasks demanded. Where a re-alliance of local trade unions is necessary, they must intervene and begin with the creation of trade union unity within local limits.

The co-operative bureaucracy will only carry out these proletarian demands if it is forced to do so by a broad mass movement of the proletarian members of Consumers' co-operatives in all countries. The communist co-operative members should therefore convert the other working class members in the Consumers' co-operatives to their slogans by steady, intensive propaganda in all the meetings of the managing boards, of the general meetings and meetings of representatives and in the meetings of the distribution centres, in the meetings of the co-operative council, women's meetings, film and lantern shows, etc. Above all, the necessity of our demands should be regularly discussed with the proletarian women in the distributing centres of the Workers' Co-operatives.

At the same time however, in all gatherings of the trade unions, the demand must be made that the Co-operatives join in the fight for trade union unity. The proletarian members of the Co-operatives will be reminded of their duties by concrete motions and demands in this respect and will thus all the more quickly free themselves from the tutelage of the co-operative bureaucracy and help to carry out the demands.

The Co-operatives, by participating in the fight for international trade union unity, make it possible to establish the necessary fighting alliance between the trade unions and the Co-operatives and further to create close relations in the nature of a cartel between all the proletarian fighting organisations.

## OUR MARTYRS

### The Red International of Labour Unions on the Murder of Li Hai.

The Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions has issued the following obituary statement devoted to the memory of the leader of the trade unions of Shanghai, Comrade Li Hai:

The Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions expresses its sincerest condolence and brotherly sympathy with the proletariat of China in the fresh loss it has suffered, the loss of one of the leaders of the trade unions in Shanghai, Comrade Li Hai.

Comrade Li Hai who has been killed by the Chinese counter-revolution on the instigation of English imperialism, was one of the most active leaders of the heroic struggle of the Shanghai proletariat against foreign imperialism. This in fact was the reason for his being foully murdered.

The Chinese proletariat has made great sacrifices in the fight for its emancipation. Every Chinese proletarian should know and remember that the revolutionary workers of all countries are entirely and unreservedly on the side of the Chinese proletariat.

Li Hai has died for the cause of the workers of China, for the Chinese revolution. The Chinese revolution and the struggle of the workers of China however, cannot perish.

Honour to the memory of the leader of the trade unions of Shanghai, Comrade Li Hai!

Long live the fight of the workers of China for their complete social and national emancipation!

## ORGANISATION

### The Instructor Apparatus of the A.U.C.P.

(All-Union Communist Party\*.)

By I. Miller.

The Party structure of the Western Communist Parties has of late brought still more into prominence the necessity for forming a cadre of instructors attached to the Party committees in order to provide a definite and flexible leadership for general Party life.

The formation of a body of instructors in the Communist Parties does not receive everywhere the attention it deserves. Therefore it will not be without interest to record the introduction of the system of instructors in the A.U.C.P. which has justified itself so fully in practice, although the Party also was not able to realise at once the importance of forming such a cadre of professional Party workers in the form of instructors. The history of the formation of this cadre is as follows:

The A.U.C.P., commencing from the X. Party Congress, swung around its course towards a real strengthening of the structure of Party leadership and contacts — the system of instructions. In the resolution of the conference of secretaries of provincial, regional and district committees, the Central Committee of the A.U.C.P. (Dec. 1921), in examining the form of leadership of the lower organisations and the question of live contact between the Party committees, deemed it opportune to establish the system of instructor-organisers. This resolution received endorsement in the decisions of the XIth Party Congress.

The XI Congress of the A.U.C.P., in alluding to three fundamental methods of leadership and contact — instructors, tours to the lower organisations by members of Party committees, reports of secretaries at meetings of higher Party committees — brought the instructor method to the forefront.

The institution of instructors attached to the Central Committee of the A.U.C.P. has existed since 1921.

The significance and object of this institution are as follows:

The instructor continually visits the organisations in his district, looks after the life, work and needs of the local organisations and links up the central committee of the Party with all the local Party organs.

In the rules concerning instructors it was stated that "the instructor, being a link that joins up the Central Committee with the localities, investigates, instructs and directs the work of the Party committees, helps them to carry out firmly and unwaveringly the instructions of the Central Party organs. Being the representative of the Central Committee, the instructor nevertheless is not empowered with active administrative rights".

Thus the instructors assist the Party organisations in their work on the one hand, while on the other hand they investigate the condition and activities of the local organisations, in addition they establish a firm contact between the Central Committee and the localities.

How does the instructor work?

The instructor is attached to a definite district.

Before going to any organisation in his district, the instructor previously studies in detail all information appertaining to the given organisation and receives from the secretary and chiefs of the departments definite tasks and indications.

On arriving in the locality, the instructor investigates all fields of work of the organisation, gets acquainted with the apparatus and the Party workers. Such an investigation is not merely limited to provincial committees or provincial towns, the instructor investigates the country and district organisations also, visits the nuclei and studies their conditions and work.

Having become acquainted with the organisation and its work, the instructor on the very spot, at the meetings of the Party committees, and jointly with their members, draws up measures for removing the defects that have been noted, and also draws up a concrete plan for future work. Although the rules with regard to instructors envisage cases where the Party committee might not agree with the opinion or proposal of the

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