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## The English General Strike and the Tasks of the International Working Class.

By A. Enderle (Berlin).

The struggle of the 1,200,000 English miners and the general strike of the whole English working class resulting from it, has placed on the order of the day the **general and unavoidable struggle between Capital and Labour in all capitalist countries**. In England we are experiencing for the first time in history a general strike of the whole working class of a country for the attainment of purely **economic**, that is to say, trade union demands, whilst previously all general strikes in various countries were only partly for economic demands and for the greater part for political demands.  
 The struggle in England imposes on the workers and trade unions of the other capitalist countries not only obligations of solidarity (prevention of transport of coal and goods to England and to the English markets). The questions round which the struggle is raging in England are precisely the same, in fact much more urgent, in the remaining capitalist countries. In

Germany, France, Italy, Poland, Czechoslovakia etc. capital has been conducting for years the same fight against the workers as the English bourgeoisie is now conducting. Capitalist economy can no longer fulfil its social task; it can no longer feed and maintain the whole population; it finds itself in a chronic and ever-sharpening crisis. Capital must overcome this crisis, must stabilise itself, if it wishes to continue its rule. This stabilisation can only be accomplished by means of increasing the misery of the working class. It means in practice lowering the standard of living of the working class, closing down of "superfluous" factories, throwing many millions of proletarians on the street, reduction of wages and lengthening of working time of the workers remaining in the factories.

On the European Continent, before all in Germany, Czechoslovakia and Poland, Capital, with the help of the reformist trade union leaders, has for years been able to carry out this

"stabilisation". In this respect capital has gone from success to success, while the working class has lost one position after another. If the reformist trade union tactics had been continued, capital would have had the prospect of continuing its "stabilisation" for some considerable time, while at the same time the working class would have been plunged into ever increasing misery.

The English bourgeoisie, as the leader of European capitalism, as the European victor in the world war, had much longer than the less powerful Continental capital the possibility of paying its working class relatively high wages. Now, however, English capital also is faced with the necessity of carrying out the sanitation and rationalisation of its economy at the cost of the English working class. In England, capital is now faced with the issue: now or never. And all attempts to evade the struggle are in vain; the position of capital compels it to take up the struggle.

But whilst in Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia etc. the reformist trade union leaders, in the same situation, evaded the struggle, and in fact, under the slogan of restoring production, supported the capitalist efforts at stabilisation, agreed to the abolition of the eight hour day, to reductions of wages, the closing down of factories and the deprivation of the workers of their rights and even beat down the opposition on the part of the workers who were fighting against this, in England the proletarian resistance against the efforts of capital has gained the upper hand. The reformist trade union leaders were, for the greater part, removed from the leadership of the trade unions and replaced by Left Wing leaders. This revolutionising of the English trade union movement has as a result that now the trade unions no longer evade the struggle with the employers, but take it up with all its consequences. Not "salvage of economy", which means in practice salvage of capitalism, but salvage and assurance of the existence of the working class is the slogan of the English trade unions. The realisation of this slogan renders necessary measures by which a defeat of various isolated fighting groups of workers is prevented and by which every attack on the part of capital on one section of the workers can be determinedly repelled by the entire working class. Hence, there was set up the fighting alliance of the most important industrial groups, the miners, railway workers, metal workers and transport workers. As a result of these tactics the attack upon the miners could only be answered with a general strike.

What are the tasks arising out of this for the proletarians and the trade unions of the other capitalist countries?

The first task is, of course, **absolute solidarity with the fighting English proletariat**, i. e., prevention of any export of goods to England and to the English markets by the employers in the other countries. In addition to this, there is necessary: strict control of shipping and railway transport in all the continental industrial centres, no dock worker, no seaman, no railway worker and transport worker in the whole of Europe shall handle coal destined for England or to the English markets. Everywhere there must be set up control committees by the trade unions, which shall keep a sharp eye on all transport activity.

All overtime work must be **immediately stopped** in the Continental mining areas, no matter whether the overtime agreements are still in force or not.

In all the remaining industries, and before all in the docks and harbours, all work must be refused which is only brought to the Continental docks owing to the struggle in England.

The trade union executives in the various countries, must issue an appeal to the whole working class calling upon them to refuse to perform any kind of strike-breaking work, while at the same time they pledge themselves to stand with their whole power behind every worker, employee and official who is victimised for refusing to perform strike-breaking work.

While these are only the first and unavoidable necessary measures for supporting the English workers, it is also the task of the trade unions to draw the lessons and conclusions from the English example for the fight of the working class in the remaining countries of Europe: the fight against reduction of wages and lengthening of working time, against closing down of factories, unemployment etc., which up to now has either not been conducted at all or has been quite unsuccessful owing to false tactics, must everywhere be organised and conducted according to the English model. This means the immediate setting up of fighting alliances and the common struggle of the most important groups of workers for the complete realisation of the eight hour day, for the seven hour shift for mine workers, for increase of wages and for the restoration of the rights of the workers which have been lost as a result of the employers' offensive. Only the organisation of an aggressive counter-attack by the working class offers the guarantee for the victory of our English brothers, creates the conditions for beating back the capitalist offensive and for the victory of the workers in all Europe.

## Declarations of Solidarity with the English Miners.

The struggle of the English Miners has aroused the keenest interest of the workers in other countries and expressions of sympathy and declarations of solidarity and support for the English workers in their tremendous conflict are coming in from workers meetings and organisations in all parts of the world. We publish below one or two brief reports showing the feeling of enthusiastic solidarity animating the workers on the Continent.

Moscow May 3, 1926.

The lockout of the English miners has aroused great excitement among the working class of the Soviet Union, which has been still further increased by the decision of the General Council of the British Trade Unions to proclaim a general strike.

The First of May celebrations were carried out in Moscow, as in the provinces under the impression of the miners' struggle, at which millions of demonstrators demanded the utmost support for the British miners in their struggle. Extra editions of the

"Isvestia", "Pravda" and other newspapers appeared. Although owing to the holiday the factories and workshops were not working, there took place everywhere, in the workers' quarters and workers' clubs, meetings of workers, in which the English events were most eagerly discussed. News was also broadcasted by wireless apparatus, huge crowds gathered round the loud speakers in the streets. The mood of the workers of the Soviet Union is absolutely in favour of giving fullest support to the English workers, whereby it is emphasised that since the visit of the English Trade Union Delegation and since the setting up of the Anglo-Russian Committee for trade union unity, close and friendly relations have existed between the trade union movement of England and the Soviet Union, and that the proletariat of the Soviet Union is prepared to show its solidarity in every way.

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The Executive of the Austrian Metal Workers' Union, at its sitting held on the 4th inst. adopted the following decision:

"The Executive of the Austrian Metal Workers' Union greets in the name of the Austrian metal workers their English comrades who are engaged in a tremendous defensive struggle. Convinced that their struggle is a tremendously important encounter between labour and capital and that it is a result of the efforts to restore the capitalist rule at the cost of the workers, the Executive assures the English comrades of their sympathy and wishes them full success in their struggle."

The Executive has also decided to furnish the English comrades with material help from the Austrian workers, and to hold meetings in order to explain to the workers, the enormous importance of the tremendous conflict in England.

A Telegram from Essen states:

The May Day demonstrations in the Ruhr district were completely dominated by the impression created by the outbreak of the miners' struggle in England. Everywhere the news was received with the greatest enthusiasm. Many more workers observed the May Day holiday this year than last. In Essen alone about 15,000 workers demonstrated. The demonstration in Dortmund sent the following telegram to A. J. Cook, Secretary of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain:

"The May Day demonstration of the Dortmund working class takes note of the brutal lockout. The meeting demands from the German Miners' Union and Transport Workers' Union as well as from the I.F.T.U. immediate measures for preventing the export of coal to England."

The Communist Party of the Ruhr district immediately issued leaflets and handbills throughout the whole area calling upon the workers to hold demonstrations of solidarity. The Communist Party calls for the formation of control committees for the purpose of preventing the export of coal to England and the markets supplied by English coal. These control committees are to be under the leadership of the German miners' Union and the German transport workers' Union and shall include the factory councils and representatives of the unemployed committees. The Communist Party further demands immediate convocation of a full meeting of the factory councils of the miners' Union for Rhenish Westphalia, to include the factory councils of the transport workers and seamen in all the most important docks and harbours. In addition to this there is demanded the most speedy convening of a conference of the Miners' Union, which according to programme will not take place until next month, but which can take place immediately as the elections of delegations have already been held. These demands were everywhere enthusiastically taken up by the working class. The splendid fighting mood is increasing from hour to hour.

\* \* \*

Berlin, 4th May 1926.

The fighting mood of the German working class for the support of their English comrades is increasing from hour to hour. The demonstration meetings for the English strikers are constantly increasing.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany has issued an appeal calling upon the German proletariat to conclude a fighting alliance with the English workers, not to permit a piece of coal, or a pound of strike-breaking goods to be forward to England, and for this purpose to set up control committees.

The Communist Party has also sent a letter to this effect to the A. D. G. B. (German General Federation of Trade Unions). In the docks and in numerous other places control committees have already been formed.

The bourgeois papers of Germany are conducting a furious campaign against the strikers; the German mining capitalists,

regardless of the possibilities of making profit by selling coal to England during the strike, have come forward openly on the side of the English coal barons.

The Central Committee of the Workers International Relief in Berlin has issued an appeal calling upon the international working class to hold everywhere meetings and demonstrations for the English miners and to arrange collections and actions their in support.

Vienna, 6th May 1926.

Declaration of Solidarity of the Vienna Firm of Warchalovsky.

The full meeting of the workers of the firm of Warchalovsky held on the 5th of May, expressed its fullest sympathy with the striking workers in England and declared itself ready to support the struggle not only morally but if necessary also financially. The workers declared, that the victory of the English workers is their victory.

\* \* \*

The meeting held yesterday of Functionaries of the Communist Party of Austria, has sent the following telegram to the General Council of the English Trade Union Congress:

"The Conference, held on the 5th of May, of the Vienna functionaries of the Communist Party of Austria notes with enthusiasm the heroic struggle of the English working class. The Vienna working class is following with breathless attention the course of the greatest general strike in the history of the world. The fight which you are conducting is our fight, we shall share with you the victory or the defeat. The functionaries of the Communist Party of Austria will unceasingly advocate in the trade unions and in the other labour organisations of Austria the most far-reaching support for the English workers. The meeting of functionaries promises you not to rest until, by the ideological and material support on the part of the Austrian trade unions, the pre-requisites are created that your heroic struggle is concluded with the victory of the world proletariat.

The revolutionary Austrian working class is, of one mind with you for the setting up of the international united front. The functionaries will unweariedly work in order that the Austrian trade unions join the Anglo-Russian unity Committee.

Long live the General Strike!

Long live the victory of the English workers!

Long live international trade union unity!"

## HANDS OFF CHINA

### The Situation in China and the Plans of the Imperialists.

By G. Vojtinsky.

The events in China have been represented by the capitalist and Social Democratic Press in the last few weeks as the beginning of the annihilation of the revolutionary movement in China. The defeat of the 2nd and 3rd People's Armies and the retreat of the 1st People's Army from Tientsin and Peking served as the basis for this campaign.

The wish is father to the thought.

The workers in the capitalist countries, who undoubtedly have taken the keenest interest in the situation in China during the last few years, ought however to have a clear conception of the true state of affairs at the present moment.

What has actually happened in China during the last few weeks? Under the pressure of General Chang Tso Lin, who had linked his fate with Japanese imperialism and who was attacking from the North, and of General Wu Pei Fu, who had been supported up to 1924 by the British and American imperia-

lists (in which year he had been completely defeated by Chang Tso Lin) and who was attacking from the South West, the 1st People's Army withdrew at first to Peking and from there in a north westerly direction, without engaging in a serious fight.

The 2nd and 3rd People's Armies — small in numbers and badly equipped with arms — also retreated almost without any serious encounter with the enemy into the interior of the Empire. In doing so, its best divisions fused with the 1st People's Army, thus increasing its strength by no less than 20%.

The Central Government in Peking, at whose head was the reactionary Tuan Tsi Shui, the well-known member of the pro-Japanese Anfu Club, began, after the People's Armies had retreated, more and more openly to take the side of Chang Tso Lin and Japano-British imperialism. This Government, which yields to the wishes of the imperialists and is hoping for a loan as the result of the Tariff Conference which is now taking place, on March 18th caused to be shot down a delegation of social organisations which was proceeding to Tuan's castle with a protest against the ultimatum of the diplomatic corps. The "Central Government"; whose power actually only extends to Peking and even there under very limited conditions, wanted in this way, on the one hand to demonstrate its power to the imperialists, and on the other hand to discredit the 1st People's Army in the eyes of the masses of the people. For Tuan Tsi Shui knew that, as things were at that time, the garrison of the People's Army in Peking could not work for the overthrow of the Peking Government.

At the same time, the British imperialists, as is now known, were vainly attempting to provoke an insurrection in Canton and at the same time trumpeting forth to the whole world that the Canton Government had already fallen, that the Right wing of the Kuomintang party had seized power and formed a Government which had agreed to a compromise with the British and was arresting the partisans of the Left Kuomintang as well as the Communists. All this proved to be an invention of the imperialists, arising out of their passionate desire that things should actually happen in this way. Taken as a whole however, all this created the impression of a defeat of the revolutionary movement in China and of the commencement of an alarming era of counter-revolution.

The Social Democratic leaders and their Press hastened to identify themselves with this estimate of the situation in China. In the Vienna "Arbeiter-Zeitung", the events in China are already described as the arrival of "China's 1849".

In reality however, things are very different. In the first place, the People's Armies must not be identified with the revolutionary movement in China in such a way that their military victories or their temporary defeats, appear to be a decisive factor in the further development of the revolutionary fight of the masses of people in China at the present time. On the other hand, the movement for freedom in China is already in such an advanced stage of development that the transference of territories from the hands of the People's Armies into the hands of counter-revolutionary Generals cannot throw the movement back to its starting point, but that on the contrary the occupied territories continue to be a highly dangerous hinterland for the advancing counter-revolutionary generals.

An excellent example in this respect is given by the latest communications, that a serious peasant movement has already started in Wu Pei Fu's rear, and has in some places developed into revolts. More and more troops of armed peasants ("Red Lancers") are beginning to organise themselves in those districts; another similar example is the movement directed against Mukden, i. e. against Chang Tso Lin, in the province of Shantung, which has led to an insurrection in Tsindao.

On the other hand, a process of enormous importance is now going on in South China; the Canton Government, which was "overthrown" by the imperialist Press, is now actually stronger than ever and is being joined by the neighbouring provinces of Kwangsi and Hunan. The question of the formation of a South Western Federal State with Canton as its centre is obviously under discussion. The formation of such a Federal State under the leadership of the revolutionary-democratic Canton Government is being accelerated by recent events in North China.

What has actually happened since the telegraphic agencies of the imperialists spread the news of the complete defeat of the People's Armies? Even after that, the 1st People's Army remained for more than a month in Peking. More than that in spite of the advantage of Chang Tso Lin from the North and of Wu Pei Fu from the South, the People's Armies disarmed the troops of Tuan Tsi Shui, the head of the State, and he himself only narrowly escaped arrest.

Wu Pei Fu on his part, in spite of his temporary understanding with Chang Tso Lin with regard to the question of attacking the People's Armies, which had evidently been concluded as early as in January 1926, entered into negotiations with the leaders of the 1st People's Army re an armistice and a Bloc. The People's Army however was not taken in by Wu Pei Fu and it succeeded, without fulfilling the hopes of the generals of Chili, in escaping from the dangerous situation.

The withdrawal of the People's Armies behind the well-known tunnels of Nankou, which represent an important strategic point of defence and are only a few hours' journey from Peking, is far from representing the destruction of the People's Armies, which are learning from the lessons of the past and are preparing for further fights.

At the present moment the British and Japanese imperialists are working at their plans for the formation of a lasting military bloc between the most important reactionary forces in China, between Chang Tso Lin and Wu Pei Fu. Their plan is to form a government to be based on a military dictatorship which would fulfil the wishes of British and Japanese imperialists. Their chief aim is to stifle the freedom movement in the country and to tear asunder the connection between the Soviet Union and revolutionary China, with the help of Chinese militarism.

As early as in 1923, when Wu Pei Fu was in power in Middle China, the British and American imperialists tried to establish a military dictatorship in China, to centralize it from above and to stamp out the Labour movement and the movement for liberation in the country, which at that time were comparatively weak. Wu Pei Fu roused public opinion in the whole country against himself, and this contributed in no small measure to his defeat in the autumn of 1924.

The National-Revolutionary movement in the country is now much stronger than it was in 1923. The Kuomintang party has developed from a party which actually only represented South China, into a National party.

The working class of China has made an enormous advance in the last three years. The famous strikes in Shanghai, Hong Kong, Canton, Tientsin and in other towns, in the Summer of 1925, have shown that a socially self-determining and politically organised working class is in the course of formation and is appearing in the arena of the political fight in the country. Furthermore, the working masses showed last year that they are the most advanced section in the revolutionary fight against the foreign yoke.

At the same time the peasant movement is beginning to join in the general revolutionary movement in the country. In the districts of South China, which are under the influence of Canton, the peasants, under the leadership of workers, Communists and adherents of the Kuomintang party have repeatedly repelled counter-revolutionary attacks of Chinese militarists.

If only for this reason, the establishment of a military dictatorship in China will be extraordinarily difficult.

Apart from this, the sphere of the activities of Chang Tso Lin and Wu Pei Fu embraces less than the half of the Chinese Empire. The other half consists of a number of districts with military groups of their own which do not submit either to Chang Tso Lin or Wu Pei Fu and are prepared to defend their independence.

China will not be united by a military dictatorship which is backed by the imperialists. The tendencies to unification in China are strong. They are dictated by the interests of all strata of the population. But this unification will proceed from below, on a revolutionary line and not through the force of the counter-revolution.

The present stage is complicated and and difficult for the revolutionary movement in China. Plans for the suppression of

the revolution in China are being worked out by the General Staffs of the imperialists and in their Foreign Ministries. If the British and Japanese imperialists do not succeed in materialising the idea of a bloc between Chang Tso Lin and Wu Pei Fu, they will no doubt make new combinations, undertake new sanguinary attempts to arm other militarists, but they will never succeed in arresting the mighty process of the revolutionising of China. The Communist party of China and the Kuomintang party will now organise the masses with redoubled energy and gather them together to fight for the democratisation of the country.

To the slogan of the imperialists "A military dictatorship in China", they will reply with the slogan "Revolutionary Democratic Power in the country, the summoning of a National Assembly for the whole of China".

In this difficult period, China needs all the help that can possibly be given her for the revolutionary movement. The workers of the imperialist countries, especially of Great Britain and Japan, must fulfil their duty towards the workers and towards all the revolutionary strata of the people of China, they must, by protests and by their sympathy for the revolutionary fight in China, unmask the devilish plans of the imperialists and compel the latter to desist from meddling in China by constantly contriving new plots against the movement for freedom.

## Who has the Power in Peking?

By Tang Shin She.

Up to now it still remains a riddle who will form the so-called Central government of Peking — Wu Pei Fu or Chang Tso Lin? At the time of the struggles against the People's armies the general opinion was that Chang Tso Lin would only have Jehol and Chili and for the rest would withdraw into Manchuria, while Wu Pei Fu would take over political affairs. Chang Tso Lin had declared to the Manchurian population that he only entered on the new war in order to support Wu Pei Fu against the Reds. Wu Pei Fu, on his part, had summoned the hordes of robbers to the fight "against the Reds", and announced that, in the event of his being victorious, he would restore the old Constitution of 1923 and convoke the old Parliament. Thus it appeared as if Wu Pei Fu alone was the active and enterprising partner, whilst Chang Tso Lin only supported him. As a matter of fact things were quite different.

Chang Tso Lin had promised to advance only as far as Hoangho, a point of defence for Shan-hai-kwan; as a matter of fact he sent his troops to Tientsin and then even marched into Peking. Tuan She Sui, to whom Chang Tso Lin, after the retreat of the People's Armies, wished to hand over governmental affairs again, was driven out by Wu Pei Fu's troops. At present government business is being conducted by Dr. W. Yen and Wellington Kou, both of them supporters of Wu Pei Fu and well known tools of the English and American imperialists. In face of the military superiority and power of Chang Tso Lin they cannot do anything opposed to the latter's will. This is about the same state of affairs as prevailed previously, when the Kou Min Armies exercised military power over Peking and made use of Tuan She Sui, who conducted the business of government, as their tool. In order to consolidate his power still further, Chang Tso Lin will probably — as he already did on a former occasion — declare his desire to restore the old Nanking constitution of 1911 and prepare the elections for a new President.

Wu Pei Fu's general position is again very weak, although he was able to bring the provinces of Hupe, Honan and South Chili under his rule and to occupy the Peking-Hankow railway line. It is not only that he cannot even go to Peking; he has not succeeded in carrying out his old plan which he cherished before his connection with Chang Tso Lin, i. e. to transfer his headquarters to Loyang. One reason for his weakness is that his headquarters in Hankow are threatened by the extension of the power of the Canton government into the Yang-Tsi-Kiang district. Secondly, it is impossible for him to maintain law and order in Honan, where the robbers' and Peasants' organisations which he made use of to fight against the Kuo Min Armies, have risen against him. Thirdly, his army is not well organised and his supporters are very vacillating.

Owing to the fact that Chang Tso Lin has the power in Peking entirely for his own sake, and because Wu Pei Fu is too weak to undertake anything, the first-named will soon have absolute rule in Peking.

It was not only for political reasons that Chang Tso Lin worked systematically and with every possible pretext and trick in order to come to Peking; he was also prompted by economic reasons, namely, in order to escape from the fearful financial crisis in Manchuria. In spite of the great inflation, Chang Tso Lin is not even in a position to pay all his troops with depreciated paper money. For this reason not only his soldiers carried on tremendous looting wherever they came; the whole Chang Tso Lin clique deliberately plundered by "buying" with depreciated money all the goods obtainable. It was for this reason that all the business people of Tientsin and Peking closed their shops for several days on the arrival of Chang's soldiers.

It is not to be expected that the enlightened population of North China will for long endure the unbounded economic and political terror of Chang Tso Lin. The only question is, whether it will immediately come to a revolution or whether, as in central China (Sun Tschuan Fang), a clever military ruler will appear who, by asserting his sympathy for the Canton government, will make use of the situation for his own advantage.

## POLITICS

### The Treaty between Soviet Russia and Germany.

By Karl Radek.

The campaign of the newspapers which are hostile to Germany and the Soviet Union has not delayed the signing of the treaty between Germany and the Soviet Union and the exchange of notes which are of no less importance than the treaty itself, but on the contrary, has accelerated them. The agitation against the consolidation of relations between Germany and the Soviet Union has shown the masses of the people of both countries and both Governments that they are on the right path when they work towards drawing the two nations closer together in an economic and political sense, an approach which is a guarantee of peace in Eastern Europe. The immediate publication of the treaty and of the supplementary notes shows that neither country has any desire to conceal anything, because they have nothing to conceal. Even diplomacy which is in accordance with the interests of the masses of the people, cannot carry on negotiations in the open street; it is however under the obligation of dealing openly and can only gain by this open dealing. What is the significance of the treaty of Berlin for the populace of both countries?

It means that in spite of Great Britain's efforts to harness Germany to the British chariot and to turn it into a tool in the campaign against the Soviet Union, the German Government is able to appreciate the growing power of the Soviet Union and attaches importance to establishing close relations with it.

The Hindenburg Republic, the Government of Luther and Streseman is a government of the capitalist class. The capitalist Government of Germany has no reason to love the country of the workers and peasants, but it possesses sufficient political realism and understands that the less firm the relations between Germany and the Soviet Union, the weaker will Germany's position be in relation to the countries of victorious capitalism. The experience gained at the last meeting of the League of Nations, showed the German Government how little consideration the capitalist Great Powers have for Germany and how they absolutely take for granted that Germany has no choice but to accommodate herself to them.

The German Government stated in its note that it would maintain friendly contact with the Government of the Soviet Union in order to harmonize their opinions in all questions which concern the mutual interests of both countries. It states that, should the League of Nations, contrary to the expectations of the German Government, attempt to carry on a policy directed exclusively against the Soviet Union, the German Government would oppose such efforts with all the means in its power.

These obligations, undertaken publicly in the face of the whole world, are of great political significance. Both countries, through their Governments, are beginning to work out a method

of deciding by arbitration all questions which arise between them. If these efforts meet with success, no question can lead to strained relations between the two Powers. As regards attempts on the part of third Powers to involve Germany in conflicts with the Soviet Union, Germany undertakes to oppose such efforts with the greatest energy.

The treaty of Berlin determines the attitude of Germany in the event of a third Power or a coalition of Powers attacking the Soviet Union. In such a case, Germany pledges herself not to take part in such an attack, provided it is made in spite of the peaceful behaviour of the Soviet Union. Soviet diplomacy and the Soviet Government which guard the interests of the masses of the people who are striving for peace, will certainly give no unprejudiced judge reason to accuse our policy of an aggressive attitude. As however Germany declares that, should she join the League of Nations, she would reserve to herself the right to decide which country had carried on a policy which led to the conflict, the Treaty of Berlin considerably blunts the blade of the treaty of Locarno.

We are quite aware that their own interests form a decisive element in the policy of the bourgeois States. We know that the capitalist Powers possess sufficient material means to exert pressure on Germany, even though formally she determines her own policy. We are therefore not inclined to exaggerate the importance of any diplomatic document. The Treaty of Berlin must be strengthened by a consolidation of the economic relations between Germany and the Soviet Union and by the ties between the proletariat of the Soviet Union and Germany. The market of the Soviet Union and its increasing importance for German industry which is struggling to re-establish itself, the growing sympathy between the working masses of Germany and the Soviet Union, the military power of the Soviet Union, the international importance of the Soviet Union — these are the elements which will prove the value of the diplomatic document which was signed on April 24th, when it is put to the test.

The fact that this document could be signed only a few months after the conclusion of the Treaty of Locarno, is an object lesson of enormous importance. It proves that the efforts of British imperialism to isolate the Soviet Union, is a more difficult task than British diplomacy had imagined; it proves that the dissensions between the capitalist Powers are not dispelled by speeches made at banquets.

Since Locarno, Soviet diplomacy has been tremendously successful, as is evidenced by the Treaties between the Soviet Union and Turkey and between Germany and the Soviet Union. There can be no doubt that in the future, it will succeed in concluding treaties with a number of other Powers, thus ensuring the peace which is a necessary preliminary for the work of peaceful building up of the Soviet Union by the working masses.

## The Causes of the Government Crisis in Poland.

By Axel (Warsaw).

The Coalition Government of the capitalists and of the leaders of the Socialist compromising S.P.P. (Socialist Party of Poland) lasted exactly five months. On April 20th, both the Ministers belonging to the S.P.P., Barlicki and Zinienski, handed in their resignation which was accepted by the President of the Republic.

During the whole seven years of the existence of the new State of Poland, the S.P.P. — in spite of its gestures of opposition — has continuously supported the rule of the bourgeoisie. During the last ministerial crisis however (in November 1925) the gentlemen of the S.P.P. openly offered their hand to the capitalists with the idea of fighting in common against the "danger" of a revolution in Poland. For this purpose they promised the workers to restore industry, to help the unemployed and to resist the assaults of reaction. At the Party Conference of the S.P.P. in January 1926 Barlicki said:

"It is difficult to imagine what the bourgeoisie would have made of the State and its working class if we had not been in the Coalition Government."

The industrial crisis and the general economic devastation have only increased during the five months of the Coalition's

existence, in spite of the S.P.P. taking a share in the Government. Unemployment "stabilised itself" at the official figure of 360,000, which is far from corresponding with the truth. The slogan of the National Democrats, who form a government within the Government, demanding the reduction of the wages of State employees and at the same time that their numbers should be cut down, has only increased the distress of these millions of employees and led to a growth of the army of unemployed. The Budget policy of the National Democratic Finance Minister Zdziechowski, makes it its aim to establish equilibrium in the State economy by transferring all burdens on to the shoulders of the working masses, while at the same time granting preferential conditions of every kind to the possessing classes.

The "help" given to the unemployed by the Government consisting of the S.P.P. and of capitalists, was in accordance with the simultaneous use of the newest achievements of technique; in Zawiercie the police fought against a demonstration of unemployed with the aid of suffocating gas, in Kalisz they fired into the crowd of workers who were clamouring for work and bread, in Stryj they carried out a blood both in which 10 proletarian victims lost their lives.

The true character of the Coalition Government as a government of famine and of bloodthirsty retaliation became more and more evident to the working masses. The disgraceful part played by the S.P.P. in the Coalition was more and more clearly revealed to them.

A flight from the ranks of the S.P.P. began. In Cracow and in Teschen, a party Opposition began to be formed. The growth of the sympathy of the masses in the S.P.P. for the Communists, provoked a savage, merciless persecution, which reached its climax just under the Government of the S.P.P. and the bourgeoisie. Nevertheless this growth of sympathy is constantly becoming more evident. In Lublin, Malinowski, the deputy belonging to the S.P.P. had to flee from a meeting which he himself had called and, without a struggle, to abandon the field to Varski, the Communist deputy. Comrade Varski also carried off a complete victory at a meeting in Olock, in the constituency of the S.P.P. deputy Niedzialkowski.

It is not the masses of the S.P.P. alone which are constantly becoming more and more discontented with the policy of their leaders; a considerable number of the officers of the S.P.P. army, which is unable to hold in check the indignation of the masses, have demanded that the generals of the S.P.P. and Ministers should resign from the Government.

The leaders of the S.P.P. were finally compelled to break with the Coalition, for fear of becoming a general staff without an army.

Financial policy was the platform on which the breach with the Coalition was made. The most recent financial programme of Minister Zdziechowski provides for further burdening the working masses with taxes, further for maintaining the reduction of the salaries of State employees which was introduced in December 1925, the immediate dismissal of 18,000 railwaymen from the service, the withdrawal of annuities from 60,000 war invalids and finally, further inflation.

All this brings with it a new wave of unemployment, of increase in the cost of living, of distress and famine. All this makes an outburst of dissatisfaction among the working masses inevitable, so that the S.P.P. could not have resisted this outburst, if it had expressed its approval of the programme of Minister Zdziechowski.

The financial programme of the S.P.P. however, with the help of which this party is trying to win back the confidence of the working class, only differs from the programme of the capitalists in its external form. Of the 208 million zloty to be brought into the National Treasury through the raising of the taxes, 105 million fall almost exclusively on the working masses. The S.P.P., it is true, is demanding an increase of the levy on capital by 85 million zloty. But it is only demanding this as a set off to the Communists who demand that these taxes be paid to the full, to the amount of 735 millions, and whose campaign for the immediate payment of these enormous sums by the capitalists and the Junkers has found a lively response among the working masses.

It is characteristic that the S.P.P. no longer speaks of cutting down the army, by which measure the salaries of State



employees might be increased while their number remains undiminished. This is the simple result of the approach between the S. P. P. and Pilsudski which has taken place recently and of Paul Boncour's visit to Poland. It is not for nothing that this Socialist agent of French imperialism and of the "peace-loving" League of Nations said:

"The Polish soldier whom I saw on the Polish-Russian frontier was for me a symbol of the protection of the whole civilisation of Europe."

If we compare the programmes of the S. P. P. and the bourgeoisie for the "reconstruction" of Poland, it becomes clear that there is no essential hindrance to the continued existence of the Coalition. And if the S. P. P. has left the Government, it is only because the objective position of the working masses of Poland has grown tremendously worse in the period between November and April, while at the same time there is a strong swing to the Left in the mood and sentiment of these masses. In view of these facts the S. P. P. no longer dare to risk its authority with the working class and had to take a decisive step.

The Government crisis in Poland which had long been expected, has not led immediately to any extremely acute crisis of power. The President *Vojciechowski* did not accept the resignation of the whole Cabinet. Only ten days were left to the end of the month and, had the crisis been prolonged, the State would have remained without consent to its Budget until the 1st of May. This task must be carried out by the rump Cabinet of *Count Skrzynski*; the necessary Parliamentary majority will be supplied by the monarchist-clerical party of the National Christian Junkers at the price, of course of the consolidation of the reactionary course.

The real crisis the crisis of power, is still to come. The situation in Poland is drifting towards it. The Fascists are preparing for a thorough upheaval. Pilsudski's adherents are dreaming of his becoming dictator. Wider and wider circles of the working masses are gathering round the Communist slogan of a workers' and peasants' Government.

## Decay of Japanese Parliamentarism.

By N. J. (Tokio).

At the opening of the present session of Parliament the governing party (Kenseikai) had 163 seats whilst the largest opposition party (Seijukai) had 136 seats and the other opposition party (Seijuchonto) 90 seats. Last year the Seijukai and the Seijuchonto constituted one single party, and even at the present time there are many members in the ranks of the Seijuchonto who demand amalgamation with the Seijukai. Things went so far that in parliament a group numbering 24 severed organisatory connections with the Seijuchonto and demanded the immediate fusion of the Seijuchonto with the Seijukai.

Before the opening of the present session the opinion prevailed that the Seijuchonto, if it did not amalgamate with the Seijukai would at any rate act together with it in all questions. This view has turned out to be incorrect. The Seijuchonto has concluded a tacit coalition with the ruling Kenseikai party and supports the government against the Seijukai. The reasons for this are not clear. It is characteristic, however, that in Japanese circles bribery is considered as the most probable explanation of the various political combinations.

As soon as it became clear that the "oppositional" Seijuchonto supported the Kenseikai, the group which had severed itself from the Seijuchonto and which is known by the name of *Dokokai*, joined forces with the Seijukai, so that the latter has now in parliament 160 members, that is only three less than the Kenseikai. It soon became clear, however, that the Seijukai had simply bribed the members of the Seijuchonto in order to entice them to join their ranks. The mediator in this transaction was *General Jamanassi*, the former assistant of the Minister of War, *Tanaka*. It is true, it transpired that not only the Seijukai bribed the members of the Seijuchonto by paying each of them 5000 Yen, but that the Seijuchonto had also endeavoured to retain the allegiance of their wavering members by means of money.

Thus we have before us the picture of a complete decay of parliamentarism and of the political parties of Japan.

The governing Party, Kenseikai, is prepared to go to any length in the way of compromise provided it can only retain the support of the Seijuchonto. It has capitulated to the Seijuchonto in the question of taxation reform and will undoubtedly enter on a compromise also in other questions.

\* \* \*

The present 51st session of the Japanese parliament has become a perfect scandal.

In the last few weeks scandalous scenes have occurred every day in parliament: in which it has come to fisticuffs and sometimes even to bloody collisions. The chief responsibility for these scandals rests with the most prominent Party leaders.

The series of scandals began with *General Tanaka*, the leader of the opposition Seijukai Party, being accused of having received three million Yen from a financier in Kobe, to whom *Tanaka* had promised a barony as soon as he came into office. This exposure was hushed up by some means or other, and the matter was beginning to be forgotten. Now a fresh scandal regarding *Tanaka* has come to light; this time a more serious one. The member of parliament *Nakano*, a member of the Kenseikai Party, accused *Tanaka* of appropriating many millions from the secret funds of the war Ministry at the time when *Tanaka* was Minister for War. This accusation aroused the greatest excitement throughout the country. The War Minister, *Ugaki*, demanded that *Nakano* be severely punished, as the latter was undermining military discipline. The Seijukai fraction is daily carrying on obstruction in parliament by demanding that *Nakano* withdraw his accusation.

It is interesting to see how the supporters of the Seijukai have formulated their demand. Their resolution states:

"The member of parliament, *Nakano*, has taken the liberty of bringing forward impudent and unfounded accusations in the sacred hall of parliament with the obvious intention, following the example of the Russian communists, of creating mistrust among the people, of reducing military discipline to chaos, to depress the spirit of the army and to sow dissension between the army and the population."

The most serious accusation which the supporters of the Seijukai can raise against *Nakano* is that he cherishes sympathies for Leninism and has connections with the Russian Bolsheviks. But of course they do not even believe this themselves!

The secret fund scandal is very characteristic of the present political situation in Japan. If only a short time ago such an accusation had been thrown in anybody's face, particularly that of such an eminent politician as *Tanaka*, the latter would, without hesitation, have committed *Harakiri* (suicide by means of ripping open the bowels). But now *Tanaka* is very little disturbed.

Bribery and corruption have become every day affairs in Japan. They are characteristic symptoms of the decay of parliamentarism and of the political parties in Japan.

## THE BALKANS

### A Roumanian Ochrana Chief on the Bessarabian Hell.

By Vasile Spiru (Kishinev).

It is exactly eight years since Roumania, under the rule of a Boyar bank oligarchy, wrested the province of Bessarabia from the proletarian State of Russia with the help of treachery, perfidy and violence.

By means of slaughter and arrests, the Roumanian usurpers reduced the representative body of Bessarabia, the "Sfatul Cerii" to a conventicle of their own creatures, who then, in the Spring of 1918 declared the union of Bessarabia with Roumania "in the name of the whole Bessarabian people".

This "formal" union was, according to the words of Roumanian statesmen, to be followed by a "spiritual union". The

method in which this "spiritual alliance" with the mother country was carried out is shown by the fact alone that the way for it was prepared by the notorious Roumanian political police ("Siguranza") and the military, that 86 peasant revolts took place in the first seven years of Roumanian rule in Bessarabia and that, apart from the victims of this permanent civil war, 15,000 civilians were executed without a verdict of the court for "Bolshevist intrigues", according to Roumanian statistics which have not been refuted.

At the Russo-Roumanian Conference in Vienna, the Russian delegation had demanded a plebiscite with regard to this province. The Roumanians refused, and negotiations had to be broken off.

In the meantime the chief of the Siguranza of this province, a certain J. Husarescu, hastened to prove, in a richly documented and illustrated brochure "The Subversive Movements in Bessarabia" (a kind of reserve instructions for the disciples of the Siguranza, which was published in a limited edition by the Roumanian State printing works) that all classes and strata in this province were opposed to the blood-stained Roumanian rule in Bessarabia.

He did this with a cynicism and effrontery which made one's blood curdle. He refers to the wholesale executions as a "work of purification of the spirit", to the ghastly tortures as "an inevitable attempt to destroy the hostile microbes", to the reports of Roumanian cruelties as "a proof of the mendacity of the Bolsheviks, who even from prison write letters about non-existent tortures in order to stir up the population".

It gives, however, a deep insight, when he himself cold-bloodedly states that the Bessarabian people's movement against Roumania is "to be attributed to the consequences of the revolution, to excitement and discontent and longing for the Bolshevik past" (preface). Otherwise he explains the revolts as being due to the following factors:

- 1) the general hatred and contempt for the Roumanian rulers;
- 2) a strong tendency of the peasantry in favour of the autonomy of the province;
- 3) the disorganisation of Bessarabian industry, the exorbitant increase of prices, the stagnation and the periodical famines since the Roumanian occupation;
- 4) the fact that the Roumanians took back the land distributed by the Bolsheviks: Husarescu profoundly states that "the Bessarabian agrarian law did not entirely satisfy the peasants";
- 5) the unbearable burden of taxation;
- 6) the forcing up of prices and the exploitation of the peasantry by speculators;
- 7) the depreciation of currency;
- 8) the dissolution of the Co-operatives;
- 9) the destruction of the schools for the minority nations;
- 10) the resistance of the Church to the Roumanian occupation;
- 11) the supplanting of Bessarabian professors, doctors, officials, lawyers and statesmen by others from Roumania itself;
- 12) the process of denationalisation of the Bessarabian minorities begun by the Roumanians, and their resistance;
- 13) the "sabotage" of the permanent Bessarabian institutions and of the whole Bessarabian Press.

Be it noted that all this is stated by J. Husarescu, the General Inspector of the Siguranza in the introduction to the above mentioned brochure and not by a "wicked Bolshevik".

He substantiates his statements by describing the armed popular movement of the Bessarabians. And the photographs published show still more clearly why it is so disagreeable to Roumania when the Soviet Union leaves it to the will of the two millions of the population of Bessarabia to decide to which State they will belong.

## ECONOMICS

### The Colonisation of Spain by Foreign Capital.

By Jar (Madrid).

The ultra-nationalist government of Spain, the military dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, has extraordinarily intensified the process of colonisation of Spain by foreign capital.

The censorship is very strict and does not permit the newspapers to publish any news on this question. Nevertheless every day there is talk of new facts which go to indicate that another important industry has come into the hands of foreign capital.

This colonisation was started in about 1918, but since 1923 has become more intensified every day. Before the European war the iron and copper mines, some railway lines and docks were under the control of Belgian, French and English capitalists: in the last two years German, American and English capitalists have monopolised all the Spanish industries: mines, railways, blast furnaces, telephones, aviation transport — in fact all the key industries of modern economy are run by foreign firms.

The "Cooperation del Fluido Electrico" of Barcelona, the most important electrical undertaking of that part of the country, has recently been reorganised with the aid of French capital. A few weeks ago there was constituted in London "The North Spanish Anthracite Coalfield Ltd." with an initial capital of £ 1,500,000 for the purpose of developing the coal mines of the province of Leon.

The "National City Bank" and the "International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation" have in the last few months acquired a monopoly of all the Spanish telephone lines, including those which were the property of private firms. Spain is the only country in the world that has handed over its telephone system to private and foreign firms.

The Central Mining and the group "Bernard Scholle & Co." have obtained a concession from the government to construct the "Santander-Onteneda-Calatayud railway line", passing through Burgos and Soria. This is one of the most gigantic industrial undertakings known in Spain. The "Fabrica del Mieres", the "Altos Hornos de Sagunto", the docks of La Corunna, the aerial base of Seville are actually run by German firms.

The textile industry which until recently was one of the principal sources of wealth of Catalunna, is at present in a state of decay and is passing into the hands of foreign capitalists. An English firm with a capital of £ 350,000 has been lately formed in Barcelona for the purpose of establishing artificial silk manufactures.

The influence of the foreign capitalists is not confined to the limits of the Peninsula. The recent trip of Mr. Kahn, the well-known financier, has demonstrated that Wall Street is interested in the Mining business of the Spanish zone in Morocco. The fact that the undertakings of Mannesmann in Morocco are now in the hands of English and American capitalists clearly shows that the colonisation of Spain by foreign capital is complete.

Primo de Rivera, taking advantage of his position as dictator, carries on the most scandalous business transactions for his own personal profit. 35 million Pesetas of the 87 millions constituting the capital of the English firm owning the "Ontenedo-Calatayud" railway have been distributed in "acciones liberadas" (preferential shares without payment of capital) as payment for the negotiations and for the granting of the concession.

A considerable part of this sum has gone into the pockets of the Spanish dictator. The following fact proves the scandalous rule of Primo de Rivera. The Spanish State has a contract with the "Compania Trasatlantica", according to which the State has to pay this Company a subsidy of 60 million Pesetas. The contract comes to an end in 1933. Eight years in advance, in 1925, the government, by a royal decree, granted an extension for a further 25 years. This extension has been granted by Primo de Rivera in order to evade a possible discussion in a future parliament.



Primo de Rivera has a debt of 300,000 pesetas with the "Arnas" bank, the most powerful bank of Barcelona. He has met this debt by the concession, by royal decree and without inviting any offers from the public, of the salt mines of Torrevieja.

It is the aim of Alfonso XIII and his dictator to render the present dictatorship permanent. In his last public speech Primo de Rivera declared that he had not even thought of convoking parliament. He added: "The government has reliable institutions of its own in order to solve all kinds of problems. To solve the social problems, the government relies on the cooperation of the socialist Workers' League".

Spanish socialism protects the Spanish dictatorship. It is this complicity that has kept Primo de Rivera in power since 1923.

## Twenty Five Years of the American Steel Trust.

By Earl Browder.

Bourgeois America has been celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the United States Steel Corporation. And well may they do this, for this body, popularly known as the "Steel Trust", is the heart and soul of American imperialism, which in turn is the bulwark of strength of world imperialism today. While the bourgeoisie celebrates this event, the workers may profitably look over this monstrous organization and its history, which will for some time be the source of world oppression of all toilers over which capitalism still holds sway.

The rise of the Steel Trust coincides with the emergence of the United States as a world imperialist power. It was formed under the initiative and control of J. P. Morgan, in alliance with Rockefeller (the first joint venture of these two American financial giants), uniting the two already-existing partial monopolies, those of Carnegie centering in Pittsburgh, and of Gary, centering in Chicago, and absorbing a score of other companies, comprising 60% of the industry. It was the first "billion dollar corporation" in America, listing its assets at \$ 1,647,443,022, approximately half of which was "water", or capitalization of prospective earnings.

Very quickly it became the centre of the gigantic Morgan holdings, which ramified into almost every phase of American industrial and financial life, and spread its tentacles over the world. The Steel Trust itself has gathered in an astounding array of properties, controls almost all available iron ore lands, operates its own transportation lines, both ships and rails, controls 75% of all coal properties, and produces about three-fifths of all steel and iron in America.

Steel is a key commodity in the imperialist system. When it is remembered that U.S. pre-eminence is reflected in the fact that it produces three-fifths of the world's steel, and that in turn the Steel Trust directly controls three-fifths of the U.S. production, it will be realized how closely this Steel Trust affects the life of the working class of every country.

Nowhere in the world has capitalism shown a more dramatic and sudden expansion than in the Steel Trust. In the years before the world war, it increased its production 130%; it paid dividends on its watered stock; it accumulated tremendous reserves; it absorbed great properties, such as the Tennessee Coal, Iron & Railroad Co. With the outbreak of the world war its profits took a tremendous leap forward. In the single year of 1917, they were a half-billion dollars (\$ 487,073,637), and in 1918 almost as large. In addition to paying dividends of 16% and 17%, the Trust accumulated a surplus of undivided profits amounting to \$ 624,000,000.

The same group of financiers that control the Steel Trust control the Coal Trust (75% of all mines), the Railroad Trust (82% of all railroads), the Shipping Trust (about 75%), the Beef Trust (about 95%), the Food Trust (about 90% of grain terminals, etc.). It dominates foreign commerce and investments.

The U.S. Steel Corporation was formed at the moment when Theodore Roosevelt, then President of the U.S., was launching his spectacular career as "trustbuster", which made so much noise and did so little harm to the great corporations. J. P. Morgan was somewhat suspicious of Roosevelt, thinking that his demagoguery might have adverse effects upon his gi-

gantic ventures. But the man whom Morgan had put in charge of his Steel Trust, Judge Elbert H. Gary, saw beneath the surface of Roosevelt and recognized a kindred spirit. He was assisted in this by one of the Directors of the Trust, the chairman of its Finance Committee, by name of George W. Perkins, who was a personal friend of Roosevelt. Quite soon a very close alliance was set up between Gary, Perkins, and Roosevelt, which lasted until the latter's death. It was this alliance which marked the entrance of Morgan upon the political scene of the U.S. as its dominant figure.

After the big panic of 1907 had broken upon the country, and while J. P. Morgan was busy raking in the rich pickings which the crisis threw in his path, the question arose of the Steel Trust absorbing the great Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Co., a monster undertaking in the South, which Morgan had succeeded in involving in financial difficulties. Clearly this was a violation of the existing laws, but it was too rich a plum to be passed. So Gary went to see his friend the President of the U.S., and fixed it up with him, obtaining papers signed by Roosevelt, and by his Attorney General, Bonaparte, to the effect that the Government approved of the action. From this time on the alliance between Morgan and the White House was sealed with bonds of Steel. It went so far, that when Roosevelt split the Republican Party, in 1912, George W. Perkins, a right-hand-man of Morgan who certainly did not act without his boss's knowledge and consent, acted as the financial organizer and "angel" of the new Progressive Party. That was the time when Morgan was going into the business of buying political parties wholesale, being interested at that time in all three of the major contending parties in a very realistic fashion, an interest that has continued down to date, the younger Morgan continuing the methods of Morgan Senior.

One of the oldest labour unions in America is the Amalgamated Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers Union, which grew up in the steel industry of America before the rise of the great corporations. In 1892 it had 25,000 members, a strong organization for those days. But by that time Andrew Carnegie, in combination with the great Coal King, H. C. Frick, had formed the first great steel combination, centering in Pittsburgh, and declared war upon the labour unions. The result was the great strike of 1892, which, however, was broken by the overwhelming weight of the financial power of the new Steel Combination. Not only was the battle lost, however, but the union itself was corrupted by the actions of its leaders, who signed a contract with the Corporation pledging themselves not to attempt in the future to organize the workers of the Steel Trust.

As a result of this treason, the Union has never since regained strength in the industry, except during the campaign and strike of 1919, when again treason by the leaders defeated the workers. The strike of 1909, poorly organized and worse led, did not seriously threaten the power of the Steel Kings. It was only in 1919, almost two decades after the monster U. S. Steel Corporation was finally launched, that a mass movement of steel workers took place; this was organized and led by Wm. Z. Foster and brought 350,000 steel workers into one of the greatest strikes of American history, which closed the steel mills for five months. The sabotage of Gompers, and of the Amalgamated Association of Iron Steel and Tin Workers (which continued its treason of 1892) broke this great effort. But at least Foster and his staff had forced, through the mass pressure brought to bear, the abandonment of the 12-hour day, prevailing up until then, and soon after abandoned.

The capitalists have never forgotten that strike. They still speak of it to warn one another to be careful of how they handle the workers.

Thanks to this deep-grounded fear of a repetition of the strike of 1919, the conditions of the steel workers is not nearly so bad as they used to be a few years ago. Hours have been reduced, and wages, though still below the average for the country as a whole, are not so far below as they were seven and eight years ago. By means of this policy, and by their schemes of selling stocks to employees, of keeping up a great spy system inside the plants, and by corruption of union leaders, the Steel Corporation has continued to keep its mills as the centre and inspiration of the "open shop" movement of American capitalism.

Every worker, outside as well as inside of the U. S., should be interested in the U. S. Steel Corporation, because it affects the

life of the working class all over the world. Behind the Dawes Plan, which drives downward the wages and upward the working hours of Germany, England, and all Europe; behind the warships and marines present in or threatening the capitals of all Latin-American republics; behind the imperialist policies of America in the Far East; behind everything that goes by the name of "Wall Street" stands the mighty mills, mines, railroads, banks, of the Steel Trust, at the head of which stands the most powerful man in the world — J. Pierpont Morgan.

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

### The Great Lockout in Norway.

By Christian Hilt (Oslo).

Already since last year the employers and the leading financial circles in Norway have propagated the necessity of considerable reductions in wages in order, it is alleged, to overcome unemployment. The closing down of factories, on account of the rise of the Norwegian crown, has already assumed considerable dimensions. The number of unemployed has increased to 40--50,000. The rise of the valuta has led in the course of the year to a certain falling of prices. This situation was taken advantage of by the employers to depress wages and piece-rates. When the collective agreements in the most important industries of Norway (metal, building, mining, shoe industry etc.) expired on the 31st of March 1926, the standard of living and wages of the trade union organised working class had already worsened to a considerable extent. On the occasion of the renewing of the collective agreements a great labour conflict arose in Norway.

The capitalists were of the opinion that the working class were so demoralised by the tremendous unemployment, that they would straightaway accept the demands of the employers. They were also strengthened in this belief by the fact that prominent leaders of the trade union movement had already for some time been advocating a reduction of wages, "in the interests of production". As a matter of fact the new collective agreements concluded in the chemical industry and in the saw-mill industry provide for a reduction of wages of 10%.

When the negotiations on the March treaty were begun, the employers demanded a reduction of wages amounting to 25--50%, and along with this a shortening of holidays, a reduction of piece-rates, undermining of the eight hour day etc. These shameless demands were refused. After the negotiations were broken off, the national Arbitration Court attempted to find a new basis for an agreement, but without success. The Minister Lykke, in accordance with the arbitration law, thereupon appointed the so-called Arbitration Council, consisting of three jurists.

On the 16th of April the Arbitration Council communicated its proposal to the employers and the trade unions for decision. According to this proposal there is to be a general reduction of the minimum wage, as well as of normal wages, by 11 to 20%; further a reduction of piece-rates, and in addition to this a regulation of wages in the autumn according to the index of prices. The remaining provisions of the collective treaties are to remain unaltered.

The employers' press could not conceal its satisfaction with the proposal, which for the rest it should have kept secret until after the arbitration proposal had been voted on. The overwhelming majority of the leaders of the trade unions were in favour of the proposal, so that the bourgeoisie expected that the workers would also submit.

The defeatist mood of the leading trade union bureaucrats could not however paralyse the fighting will of the workers. On the 23rd of April the Norwegian General Trade Union Federation had to declare to the Arbitration Council that its proposal had been rejected by the workers. The employers on the other hand, announced their acceptance of the proposal.

The proposal of the Arbitration Council was rejected by the working class by a two thirds majority. In spite of a long winter of unemployment the workers are prepared for a bitter struggle.

On Sunday the 24th of April there were already 32-35,000 workers locked out.

It is impossible at present to predict the further development of the conflict. The fighting mood of the workers is ex-

cellent. The chairman of the General Trade Union Federation, Halvard Olsen, it is true, has declared that the conflict will not for the present be extended.

The government press declares that no intervention will be made in the conflict on the part of the government, because the workers have rejected the unanimous proposal of the Arbitration Council, which in addition was recommended for acceptance by the leaders of the trade unions. The possibility has been pointed out that Parliament could accept the law for compulsory arbitration advocated by the Liberal Party, which would involve a change of government. But such legal measures of compulsion will have to have the support of the agrarian party and of the social democrats, as well as of a portion of the conservatives, which is hardly likely to happen.

The struggling Norwegian workers are convinced that their brothers in other countries — before all in Scandinavia — will render them the most far-reaching support in this struggle as they did in the great struggle of 1924.

### The March of the Miners on Budapest.

By B.

Whilst the reports of the League of Nations Commissar Smith describe the "sanitation" of Hungary in the most glowing colours, the misery of the working population, is growing beyond everything imaginable even under capitalism. There is an entire lack of any social legislation. Thus, for example, there is no state support for the unemployed, in spite of the fact of several years of chronic unemployment and short time.

This misery resulting from the "sanitation" has driven the miners of the Salgotarjana district to acts of desperation as were only to be seen at the time of the first beginnings of the English labour movement. The coal crisis, which is further aggravated by the cynical foreign policy of the government which on the one hand imports foreign coal and on the other hand does nothing in order to establish relations with the Soviet Union, has had as a result that those miners who have not yet been discharged are only working from 3 to 3 1/2 days a week. The misery of the unemployed who are left to their fate is described by a miner in the following words:

"There are hundreds and hundreds who are driven to eat the bark of trees and roots... Even in the most remote districts you meet miners at almost every step who are wandering through the villages begging."

It is characteristic that even the local gendarmerie authorities have demanded that something be done regarding the situation of the mine workers, as a "situation in which a family of five or six has to make ends meet on a monthly income of 500,000 Crowns (that is about six shillings a week Ed.) threatens serious consequences.

On the 15th of April a further 600 workers in Salgotarjana were given notice and handed over to death by starvation. As the social democratic trade union bureaucracy does not move a finger to lead the miners in the struggle for the most modest demands, and as every revolutionary movement is much more strongly suppressed in the mining areas than anywhere else, the miners decided on their own initiative to march to Budapest and to demand personally from the government emergency measures for the amelioration of their misery.

On the 27th of April there assembled about 10 to 12,000 miners with their wives and children and proceeded on foot to Budapest — as they had no money for railway fares. On the way they were held up on the one hand by the gendarmerie and on the other by the trade union leaders.

The same gendarm officer, whose words regarding the misery of the miners we have quoted above, declared to the workers, that the gendarmerie would stop the march even if it meant bloodshed.

The trade union leaders who, as they themselves declared in the social democratic central organ, were "dismayed" by the decision of the miners, and in particular at the fact that it was carried out without consulting the (social democratic) leaders, persuaded the workers to turn back and to be satisfied with the sending of a delegation to the government.

This decision was only adopted by a narrow majority and after long persuasion, whilst a strong minority, in spite of the gendarmerie and the trade union leaders, continued on their way and could only be induced to turn back after the mobilising of the whole local functionary apparatus by the trade union bureaucrats.

The delegation, of course, received from the Minister for Trade the usual parliamentary answer. The Minister called attention to the crisis in coal production in the whole of Europe (it is true, he forgot to add that coal production in the Soviet Union is in full swing and is continually increasing). He gave very general promises without any concrete content.

These promises were characterised by the social democratic "Nepszava" as "earnest and sincere words". The delegates of the miners however had quite another opinion.

It was to be seen from their statements that they repented having taken part in this comedy on the persuasion of the trade union bureaucrats. According to a bourgeois paper the delegates declared:

"We now see that we are only taken seriously so long as we come forward in masses. We were only taken seriously when thousands and thousands of hungry men, weeping women and sick children marched in endless ranks along the road to Budapest. We were promised everything in order to turn us back. When, however, after great trouble, we managed to hold the people back and only sixteen miners came to the Minister, the question at issue was again forgotten.

Thousands of miners await our return, and we cannot guarantee that if to-morrow morning the workers again proceed on the way to Budapest we should prevent this march again. We already know today what the sending of delegations means. We will march at the head of the working class, if necessary across half the country, or we abandon our functions."

This is the lesson learnt by the delegates of the miners and which the masses of miners who sent them will also learn.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### The Murder in Reval.

By W. Stöcker (Berlin).

The „Vossische Zeitung“ in its issue of April 29th, publishes the following report from Reval:

"Since the failure of the Red 'putsch' of December 1st 1924, there has been no trace of a communist movement or propaganda in Esthonia. The chief leaders had been taken prisoners or had fled to Russia. The condition of martial law which still prevails in Reval, intensified to the utmost the difficulties of illegal organisations. Only in quite recent times, in view of the approaching elections (May 15th) has the work of the 3rd International been once more perceptible. The communist elements hoped by founding the Left radical "Esthonian Labour Party" to withdraw voters from the leading Social Democratic party and by getting deputies with communist tendencies into Parliament to carry on propaganda and obstruction.

At the head of the party was a certain Abramson. The political police, which had long been making observations, interfered at the moment when Abramson had a rendezvous in the street with Riismann, the agent of the 3rd International. This Riismann had attended the "high school for agitators" in Moscow and returned to Esthonia in the autumn of 1925, charged with the task of forming new communist nuclei. Riismann was brought before a Court Martial, which condemned him to death. He was shot an hour after the sentence was pronounced."

What is the significance of this report? After the horrible White Terror in December 1924, by which thousands of proletarians in Esthonia were slaughtered in the cruellest manner and the best of the Esthonian workers lost their lives "there was no further trace of a communist movement in Esthonia". A few weeks ago, writs were issued for an election for the Esthonian Parliament on May 15th. The class-conscious Esthonian workers began gradually to collect together and formed a new "Esthonian Labour Party" in order to take part in the elections. One of the organisers of this legal election campaign, our Comrade Riismann, was arrested in the street after a conversation with Comrade Abramson, taken before a Court Martial, condemned to death and shot an hour later.

This cold-blooded murder of our comrade should rouse the greatest indignation among the workers of the whole world; for it was nothing more nor less than common murder which was committed in Reval. This Court Martial — the state of martial law in Esthonia has been in force ever since December 1924, although there has been no proletarian movement whatever since then — is a mockery of all administration of justice. We know how these military courts and courts martial "work". No possibility of a serious defence, no possibility of an appeal or revision! Even such instruments of murder as courts martial should have some fact as a basis for pronouncing a verdict. What served as evidence in this case? What could be proved against Riismann? Had he been guilty of an act of "revolution" or taken part in any kind of action? Nothing of the kind! According to the statement of the bourgeois Press, the only evidence was that of participation in the organised preparations for the parliamentary election campaign. This, therefore, was the "reason" for the verdict of the court martial. Nothing but a cold-blooded, cynical murder!

Where has anything similar ever occurred? In the atmosphere of war or civil war, crimes are practised against human life. That is an atmosphere in which all passions are worked up to the highest point. But even then there must be sufficient cause to justify such deeds. But in what way can such a deed even be explained in the present situation in Esthonia, where, for the last year and a half not the slightest thing has happened and where, thanks to the abundant blood-letting in 1924, there has hardly been an economic wages struggle or a strike?

Truly, this murder in Reval exceeds everything that we have yet heard from this "democratic Republic", which is, of course, a worthy member of the famous League of Nations.

And the Socialists in Esthonia, those excellent members of the Socialist International? They are chiefly responsible for this vile murder since, as the Government party, they have shared in the whole monstrous White Terror. What help is it that they have now, shortly before the election, left the Government under pressure from their own members? The Socialist International also shares the guilt, for it has made no serious attempt to combat the White Terror in Esthonia with all its deeds of horror. On the contrary, it attempted to excuse the Socialist leaders of Esthonia, who were partly responsible, by trying to explain their deeds as "comprehensible".

The murder in Reval ought to call forth a strong movement of protest from the working class all over the world. What will things come to, if it is possible to have any leader of the workers slaughtered in this bestial manner?

It is the duty of all proletarians and all proletarian organisations, without distinction of party, to gather together in every town and to unite in a swelling illood of a protest strike. The murderers in Reval must realise that the eye of the international proletariat is fixed on them and that they can no longer indulge without restriction their lust for murdering workers. The united proletariat, must, with its powerful clenched fist, wrest the instrument of murder from the hands of the Esthonian bourgeoisie.

## UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

### Steady Rise of Soviet Industry.

By L. F. Vinov (Moscow).

Regardless of the rumours of a crisis which are being spread by the Social Democratic and bourgeois Press, the Soviet industry is not only continuously increasing its production, but the last monthly increase of production in March 1926 even shows in some branches of production a record which has not hitherto been reached. The value of the total production of industry in March amounts to 312.6 million pre-war roubles, i. e. almost 5% more than in Feb. 1926 (297.7 million) and more than 40% more than in March of last year (222.4 millions). (At the most flourishing time of capitalist development, an annual increase of 5-6% was extraordinarily good.)

If we consider the separate branches of industry, textile production does not show any great change as compared with the production in February, which is to be attributed to the lack of raw material; all other branches of industry on the other hand show a rapid increase.

The tremendously increasing building activity is evidenced by the increase in the production of cement, by fully 32% in a month.

The production of coal shows an advance in two directions. The gross haulage increased from, 1,812,357 tons in February to 1,964,364 in March, i. e. by 8.4%. On the other hand, the amount consumed in the works themselves were reduced by 0.7%.

The production of naphtha has increased still more rapidly. It amounted to 578,906 tons in February and rose to 638,635 tons in March, i. e. by 10.3%.

The development of the metal industry in March shows the following figures:

	February	March	onthly Increase in %
Cast-iron . . . .	162,315	188,745	16.2
Martin steel . . .	226,028	264,732	17.1
Rolled iron . . .	176,805	193,944	9.7

The tendency of this growth in the direction of the industrialisation of the country is revealed by the fact that the comparative increase in heavy industry is considerably greater than that in light industry.

In foreign trade too a considerable increase is to be seen. After several months of an adverse trade balance, in March exports again exceed imports. All the greater importance must be attributed to this fact since the success has been attained not by limiting imports, but by increasing exports (by almost 25 million roubles as compared with March 1925).

The development of production in the last few months justifies us in expecting that the annual increase of 40% planned will be realised to the full extent. Although of course, the demand for goods will even then not be completely met, a decided relief is already felt in some fields which, during the last few months, had been involved in the difficulties of growth, as for instance the provision of fuel for the steadily growing industry.

The number of trade union members (90-91% of the whole proletariat) amounted at the end of 1925 to 8 million workers. In the first half of 1924 the number of trade union members amounted to about 5,900,000. This means an increase of organised workers in 2 years by more than 2 millions, i. e. by about 30%.

We will not overburden these few remarks by detailed figures, we get however, an imposing picture if we consider the number of workers who, in the last five months of 1925 have, as is proved by national employment statistics, been newly employed in industry:

August . . . .	185,503
September . . .	190,648
October . . . .	207,631
November . . . .	150,511
December . . . .	147,750

(the new employment of workers who are not included in the national employment statistics increases these figures at least twofold).

From the most recent statistics of the national social insurance which are available, we see that the number of workers and employees who are socially insured, rose from Jan. 1st to Nov. 1st 1925 by about 1,800,000 and reached on Nov. 1st 7,876,000. This number has of course been far exceeded since then.

These few figures culled from the wealth of indications of economic growth, show how much importance is to be attached to the malicious gossip of our opponents with regard to the "all-embracing" crisis of Soviet economics.

As is well known, there are indeed some, even great difficulties in socialist construction, and we speak just as openly of them as of our successes — sometimes these difficulties are even painted in too sombre colours in order to concentrate the attention of the proletariat on overcoming them. The fact, however, must never be forgotten that these difficulties are not an indication of a decline of an anarchist method of economics, or of its having arrived at a deadlock; they are due to the great historical task of the Soviet Government, the task of bringing systematically into harmony and guiding on to socialist lines the various elements of an unprecedentedly rapid growth which has been made possible by the proletarian revolution.

## THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

### To the Participants in the Congress and Youth Day of the Young Socialist International in Amsterdam and to the Young Workers of all Countries!

Manifesto of the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International.

Comrades.

Attack follows attack on the part of the employers and the capitalist governments on the workers standard of life. The 8-hour day is practically abolished in most countries, and in other countries it can, at the bidding of the capitalists, be replaced by the 10-hour or even longer working day, whilst wages are being reduced more and more. Mass unemployment on a terrific scale is the lot of the workers of Europe, and among those unemployed there must be at least 1 million unemployed young workers under the age of 20.

But there is also another terrible peril threatening the youth, the peril of the new imperialist wars. Can anyone today after the events in China, Morocco, Syria, after the conspiracy of the powers in Locarno against the Soviet Union, after the collapse of the League of Nations in Geneva, still close his eyes to the fact that in various countries war is already raging and that the peril of wars fiercer and larger is again imminent? These perils of bourgeois militarism and imperialist wars are directly connected with the growth and domination of reaction and of the white terror. The latter militates particularly against the working class youth.

Amid the storm of reaction and the attacks of capitalism, the Soviet Union stands as a firm rock — the bulwark of the workers of all countries. Whilst the position of the workers in the capitalist countries is becoming ever gloomier, we witness in Soviet Russia the development of Socialist construction. Therefore the capitalists of all countries cannot rest and are doing their utmost to undermine the Soviet Union and to bring about its destruction.

The workers have but one weapon to protect themselves against these perils. This weapon is — unity in resistance and struggle. And yet another thing is required to repulse the attacks of the capitalists, to ward off the war peril, and to make progress ourselves — unity with our brothers in the Soviet Union, with the Russian workers.

Weak and unorganised, the Youth can only struggle effectively against the growing misery and still greater perils if they

join hands with the adult workers in their struggle for unity and if they establish the united front in their own ranks.

For these reasons the Young Communist International and its sections has untiringly worked for the establishment of the united front of the working class youth. But all our appeals to the leaders of the Young Socialist International have fallen on deaf ears and even met with direct rejection. Only recently (to the Marseilles Session and on December 12, 1925) we addressed to the Executive of the Y. S. I. the proposal to establish the united front for the struggle against the capitalist attacks, against war peril and reaction and for the organisation of young workers' delegations to the Soviet Union. With the exception of an ambiguous and impossible declaration in favour of delegations to the Soviet Union, the Executive of the Y. S. I. has given nothing but abrupt refusals.

Can the working class youth, confronted as they are by mighty foes, with their conditions deteriorating daily, accept such a reply? No. The working class youth will and must struggle and its struggle must be a united struggle.

Therefore we repeat the proposal for the establishment of the united front on an international scale, and in all countries.

We call upon all socialist young workers and the socialist youth organisations to establish the united front with the Young Communist International and its sections and on an international scale for the following demands:

1. Against capitalist attacks and for better conditions for the young workers!

For the establishment of international trade union unity.

For a 100% organisation of young workers and apprentices in the trade unions with full rights and lower membership dues.

Re-conquest of the 8-hour day, over and above this the 6-hour day for young workers. Particularly struggle against all attempts to prolong the 7-hour day in the mining industry.

Struggle against wage reductions and high cost of living. Higher wages for young workers and apprentices and establishment of a minimum wage in accordance with the cost of living.

Annual 4 weeks holiday with full pay.

Insistence on vocational training for all young workers and struggle against unemployment among young workers. Extension of education to 16 and more by means of the reorganisation of young workers' labour with a view to their education and professional training, in apprenticeship departments in the factories and factory schools with full pay and under trade union control.

For all young workers either employment or full unemployment benefits, extension of unemployment benefit to all young workers and increase of the present miserable doles.

2. Against imperialism and the peril of new imperialist wars!

3. For the organisation of young workers' delegations to the Soviet Union!

These delegations to make an objective investigation into conditions in the first Workers' State and establish close contact between the working class youth of the West and the Soviet Union for a common defensive and work for the building of Socialism in U. S. S. R. Delegations of young workers of all tendencies, elected by young workers!

4. Against reaction, fascism and the persecution of the working class youth! — for the formation of joint defensive organisations of workers!

Comrades!

The interests of the working class youth demand that there should be common action with respect to these questions. No petty diplomacy or pretexts concerning differences of principle may stand in the way of the united struggle on these pressing vital questions. The Congress of the Young Socialist International has placed the attitude to bourgeois youth organisations also on the agenda. Is the working class youth to undergo the humiliating experience that collaboration with bourgeois youth organisations is allowed, while the united front with the hundreds of thousands of young fellow workers in the Young Communist

International and in the Soviet Union is again rejected? This would be the height of folly and intolerance and those who make themselves responsible for such a policy will stand self-condemned before the eyes of the working class youth throughout the world.

Long live the united front of the working class youth!

Executive Committee of the Young Communist International.

## The Present Condition of the United Front of the Young Workers.

By R. Schuller.

It cannot be expected that, on a general international scale, any striking alteration in regard to the position of the united front should take place in the course of a few months. Broadly, it may be said that the basic tendency has remained unchanged; the sympathy and tendency of the rank and file towards a united front has grown while the central executives of the Young Socialist organisations have opposed it nationally and internationally.

The Young Socialists International takes up a still more right wing attitude than the Second International. While in the latter the Independent Labour Party of England is in opposition and the Austrian Social-Democrats adopt a pseudo-left wing attitude, the same cannot be said of the youth organisations of these parties. It is possible that the Guilds differ from the other organisations in respect of their judgement upon Soviet Russia.

One should not forget that the leaders of the Young Socialists' International not only conduct political agitation with reactionary slogans against the influence of Communism, but they also make use of another, and more formidable, weapon, namely, the complete banishment of politics from the Y. S. I.

Moreover, it is, unfortunately, a fact that the majority of the members of the Young Socialist organisations are averse to politics, a circumstance which renders it an easy task for the leaders to carry out a reactionary policy.

The most important recent successes in regard to the united front have been attained in England. Despite the offensive of the Independent Labour Party and the attitude of the executive of the Guilds, it has been possible in that country to establish a united front among 50 units of the Guilds and organisations of the Young Communists. Special importance attaches to the united front of the two London districts, which functions so well in general demonstrations, in general work in the trades-unions and, at the moment, in the organisation of the delegation of young workers to the Soviet Union. Wherever a united front is established a united front committee is formed of representatives of the two organisations concerned. In many cases representatives of the youth sections of the Labour Party have served on these committees. The vote at the National Congress of Guilds on April 2nd was also, in a certain measure, a success of the united front. The fact that, despite the sharp offensive put up by the Independent Labour Party and of the executive of the Guilds, while 37 delegates voted against the united front, 25 voted for it illustrates clearly the significance of the tendency in favour of the united front.

The movement towards a united front in England has experienced a fresh impulse through the question of the delegation to the Soviet Union. The idea of such a delegation is popular in England, and it may certainly be assumed that in some form or other a united front will be achieved for the purpose of forming this delegation.

In Germany our League used the campaign for the expropriation of the princes as a ground for proposing a united front to the Young Socialist workers movement and to the executive of the youth sections of the trade-unions. Both, however, ignored the offer and displayed a more reactionary attitude than their adult organisations. Nevertheless, in a number of localities united committees were formed between Young Communist and Young Socialist Workers.

In Czechoslovakia the Russian delegation was specially successful in regard to the Czech Socialist Youth. The members were so decidedly in favour of such a delegation that the executive of the organisation passed a resolution to send one to the



Soviet Union. No definite steps have, however, yet been taken. The movement towards a united front makes only slow progress among the German Social-Democratic youth. But in general it may be said that the Russian delegation has had very favourable effects, and further developments may be expected.

In Italy, both in the Maximalist Socialist Youth movement and among the Junior Republicans, there is undoubtedly a perceptible increase in the tendency towards a united front. This is naturally connected with the fact that the Maximalist Party has itself recently introduced modification into its tactics and taken up a more leftward attitude than previously. This party has, therefore, joined the Anglo-Russian Committee and opened negotiations with the Italian Communist Party for a united front, but these negotiations have been broken off again. The Young Maximalists of Trieste and Bologna are emphatic in their demand for a united front. Several unity committees, some of them with the Young Maximalists, some with the Republicans and some with both, have already been formed. In Bologna a joint leaflet was distributed. At the moment, great interest is concentrated on the organisation of a delegation to the Soviet Union.

In Austria the movement towards a united front has gained fresh impetus from the visit of the Russian comrades to the country. Almost one hundred reception committees were formed comprising members of the Young Communists, Young Socialists, apprentice sections of the trade-unions, Freethinkers and non-party workers in many localities, factories, etc. The Young Socialists have not as yet committed themselves officially either for or against the delegation. They appear to find the whole affair distinctly embarrassing.

From the foregoing it will be seen that a very important part is being played everywhere by the delegations to or from the Soviet Union, and similar significance attaches to the committees of the united front, which have now developed in Germany, England and Italy.

These united-front committees are a new form which has arisen out of the movement in the various countries themselves. In practice they have proved their worth, and, therefore, the last general meeting of the executive of the Young Communist International approved of them and recommended them generally. It is, however, essential to the utility of such committees that the Young Communist Leagues keep them alive in the spirit of the campaign from which they resulted and provide them with practical work. Such committees may be formed by delegations sent direct from the participating organisations. But also those committees which are created by conferences of young workers come within this province. Such committees may be formed in localities, districts or factories.

On May 23rd the Second Congress of the Young Socialists' International will take place in Amsterdam, in connection with which there will be held an International Young Socialists Day. According to reports from the Young Socialists' International, 7000 to 9000 young workers are expected to attend this gathering (the majority from Holland and 3000 from Germany). The Young Communist International has decided to make use of this opportunity to explain once more to the members of the Young Socialists' International the necessity of a united front. The executive has issued to those participating in the Gathering and in the Congress of the Young Socialists' International in Amsterdam a proclamation, in which they again declare their desire for a united front and confirm their letter of December. In particular, the Young Communist International proposes a united front with the following slogans:

Against the attacks of Capitalism upon the position of the young workers!

Against imperialism and the danger of new Imperialist wars!

For the despatch of delegations of young workers to the Soviet Union!

Against reaction, Fascism and the persecution of young workers!

It will be interesting to see what effect this proclamation will have upon the Young Socialist organisations. But, do what they will to prevent it, the united front will develop steadily among the masses. This year, just as last year, the delegations to the Soviet Union will play a special role in this connection.

## IN THE EAST

### The First Turkeological Conference.

By NIASI (Baku).

The first Turkeological Conference which was held in Baku, the capital of Soviet Aserbeidjan, recently brought its work to an end.

The October revolution announced complete liberation and the right to form national republics for all the separate nations which had up to then been bound by force into one "Great Russia".

Soviet Aserbeidjan is one of the three Transcaucasian Republics, a member of the Soviet Union. The small Turkish Republic, described as the "Gate of the Orient", plays an enormously important part in the revolution of the Orient, both in a political and cultural respect. We need only recall the first conference of the whole Moslim population of the East in 1920, immediately after Aserbeidjan was sovietised. At this Conference, the representatives of the millions and millions of the working population of the whole Orient unanimously expressed their protest against their oppression and exploitation by the world imperialists and "bearers of culture", and at the same time declared themselves the allies of the Soviet Power.

The Turkeological Conference, which was unique in character, is evidence of the cultural work of Soviet Aserbeidjan. The Conference was called by the representatives of the Turks and Tartars of the separate Republics of the Soviet Union, by the professors of Turkeology of the Universities of the Soviet Union and by celebrated scientists and professors of Europe.

One of the most important questions of the Conference was that of a uniform investigation of the history and ethnography of the Turkish and Tartar population. Up to now, scientists have worked in individual fields but there has been no systematic common work on the history and ethnographical distribution of the Turko-Tartar peoples. A task of such magnitude could not of course be solved at the first Conference. It will be the task of the committee appointed for the purpose to collect the necessary material, whether from works of historians or from archeological monuments. The intention is to compile a conclusive historico-ethnographical work on the Turks and Tartars from this material in the immediate future.

Among the other questions discussed at the Conference we may mention that of collecting Turkish and Tartar literature, folk-songs and poetry.

The question of the new Turkish alphabet was the centre-point of all other questions. There were three points of view: the first wanted to retain the old Arabian alphabet, the second wished to transform and simplify the Arabian alphabet, whilst the third advocated introducing the Latin alphabet. It was clear from the beginning that the last would triumph, because of the great advantages of the Latin alphabet over the Arabic.

It is sufficient to point out that the Arabic alphabet in its various forms has about 120 letters, whilst the Latin alphabet introduced has only 33. The results achieved through its introduction into Soviet Aserbeidjan 4 years ago are the best evidence of its advantages.

It takes on an average 3—4 years to learn to read and write with the Arabian letters and only about 6—8 months with the Latin ones.

It was not the first time that this question of the alphabet was discussed; it has been on the tapis for decades; but the policy of the Tsarist regime and its allies, the priests of Islam, aimed at keeping the broad masses of the population in the darkness of ignorance. The Conference passed the resolution for the introduction of the Latin alphabet with an overwhelming majority (101 to 7).

In this way the Turks and Tartars in Aserbeidjan are given the possibility of developing their national culture and progressing by much simpler path.

The Conference has finished its work and formed a Central Committee in Baku which is to concern itself with carrying out



the resolutions passed. The importance of the Conference is increased by the fact that its resolutions will not be confined to the sphere of the Turkish and Tartar population of the Union, but that their influence will spread to the Turkish and Tartar peoples of other States.

## THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

### Communist Work in Consumers' Co-operatives

#### Theses of the Cooperative Conference

During the E. C. C. I. Plenum in March, 1926, endorsed at the Session of the Org Bureau on April 10th, 1926.

1. Consumers' Cooperatives are a mass organisation in which Communist Parties must carry on systematic practical work for the capture of the rank and file and for the purpose of bringing cooperatives into the united proletarian fighting front against capitalism.

2. Working class consumers' cooperatives were established to counteract capitalist exploitation through commerce. When cooperatives had mainly to fight against the unorganised retail traders, they were able to provide certain advantages for their members merely by improved technical organisational methods of trading.

3. Under the domination of finance capital of the all powerful banks, trusts and syndicates, in the epoch of big stores multiple shops, big food concerns, etc., consumers' cooperatives can offer their members only very few advantages by mere improved trading methods. It goes without saying that cooperatives must adopt the best possible business and organisation methods, but they cannot do justice to their tasks unless they carry on the struggle for lower prices and a higher standard of living for the workers as an organised proletarian class struggle together with the trade unions and with other proletarian class organisations, as a struggle against high cost of living, price dictatorship on the part of syndicates and trusts, and the taxation and tariff policy of the capitalist governments, as a struggle against the entire capitalist regime in general.

4. Communist Parties should see to it that the importance and the tasks of consumers' cooperatives be fully realised by large sections of proletarian consumers.

Linking up with the everyday demands of the proletarian membership, by supporting these demands by means of business like and practical everyday work carried on with revolutionary energy and by exemplary cooperative collaboration, Communists can and must extend their influence over ever-growing sections of rank and file cooperators, they must draw the cooperatives into the proletarian class struggle, rallying to their banner the proletarian opposition and leaving them in this class struggle.

5. Experiences gathered in the most important countries have given us the following picture:

a) In Great Britain where the recently inaugurated cooperative work is not carried on as an isolated branch of work, but is included in the entire work of the Party and is closely connected with revolutionary trade union work, considerable results have already been achieved with respect to increasing the influence of the Party over the masses. The fact that local cooperative organisations and Women's Guilds have been induced through the C. P. G. B. to support the demands and campaigns of the trade union Minority Movement, and that there are already signs of the formation of a Left Wing in the British Cooperative movement, show that well-organised and regulated cooperative work can do much towards increasing communist influence.

b) In Germany good opportunities for Communist work among cooperators were to a certain extent neglected even after the adoption of the Party's new course. The existence of a number of consumers' cooperatives with Communist executives and a number of fractions must be an encouragement to the Party as a whole and to its executive to further cooperative activity much more than hitherto. Cooperatives were not drawn

into important campaigns (for instance the expropriation of the royal houses' campaign) to the extent that they should have been.

c) The Communists of Czechoslovakia, who have captured good positions in the Czech Cooperative movement, did not make the most of their opportunities for the mobilisation of co-operators for the struggle (for instance for the struggle against high prices). In many cases Communists limited themselves to purely cooperative business activity without linking up sufficiently cooperative work with the political demands of the proletariat, although certain progress in this direction has been noticeable during the past few years. Systematic fraction work is the necessary premise for success in this field of activity.

d) The Communist Party of France has done systematic cooperative work only in the Paris district, whilst hardly any beginning has been made with this work in the provincial organisations. Cooperative work is carried on without linking it up sufficiently with the entire Party work. There is lack of clearness with respect to many important questions: on the one hand there are tendencies to establish special Communist organisations (instead of fractions, revolutionary cooperative circles), whilst on the other hand cooperative methods are propagated which might create reformist illusions (for instance under the title "committees of action against high prices" organisations were formed which are in reality discount societies).

e) The activity of the Cooperative Section has been instrumental in the linking up of cooperative questions with Comintern work. However, efforts must be made to bring about a still closer contact between cooperative and general Comintern work.

6. Among the demands which are most likely to arouse the interest of large proletarian sections of cooperators bringing them over to our side, first place is given to the demand for the participation of cooperatives in the struggle against high prices.

With this object we must urge cooperatives that in their press and propaganda, in the decisions of meetings and sessions of local and central organisations, through sending delegations to state and municipal authorities and through organising mass demonstrations, they should advocate:

a) Compulsory measures against rising prices through the actions of trusts and the monopolist wholesale trade.

b) Abrogation or lowering of custom dues on articles of primary necessity and also abrogation of excise and duties.

c) Taxation exemption or preferential taxation treatment for consumers' cooperatives.

d) Long term state and municipal credits for cooperatives without interest or at low interest.

e) Reduction of freight charges for articles of primary necessity. By way of direct measures on the part of consumers' cooperatives themselves, Communists must, for the same object, demand:

a) establishment of business connections with small peasant cooperatives.

b) Establishment of direct trade relations with Soviet Russian Cooperatives and foreign trade institutions.

7. Communists should also bring forward in the cooperatives the following demands:

a) Support for the economic struggles of the proletariat and definite agreements with the trade unions for this purpose; material support for those engaged in the struggle and provision of food-stuffs on credit during struggles.

b) Energetic support for the demands of the unemployed, measures for their assistance on the part of the cooperatives themselves. Demand for special state and communal credits without interest to carry out "public work" (for the relief of unemployment) in the form of the extension of consumers' cooperatives business premises (building of bakeries, slaughter houses, etc.), also demand that cooperatives should sell food-stuffs at reduced prices to unemployed and part-time workers; Consumers cooperatives to be drawn into public distribution actions (municipalities).

c) Demand for closer connection and direct mutual representation of consumers' cooperative and local trades councils.

d) Establishment of **democratic self-government** in the cooperatives, activation of the **membership** by means of regular meetings, special efforts to draw **women members** into the work and complete freedom of opinion in the meetings and press of the cooperative movement.

e) Good labour and wages conditions in cooperative enterprises and obligatory trade union membership for cooperative manual and office workers.

f) The educational and training activity of the cooperatives, their press and publishing activity should have for their aim the class education of the membership.

8. **Communists in the cooperative must make sure that the cooperative movement be linked up with the political struggle of the proletariat.** Cooperatives should participate in the campaigns for trade union unity, they should support all the efforts of the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee, they should take part in the struggle against the war peril, Fascism, White Terror, and class justice and in the campaigns for the liberation of colonial countries.

9. It is a matter of course that Communists take an active part in the work carried on in all the existing parallel and auxiliary organisations in the cooperative movement (Women's Guilds, cooperative circles, recruiting committees, educational committees, debating clubs, etc.).

10. To enable Communists to carry out all these tasks in the cooperatives, the **Communist Parties of the various countries must link up their cooperative work with the entire work of the Party.** The necessary premises for this are: organisational measures by the Party which must be energetically carried out by a fixed date (control that Communists are members of the cooperatives, formation of fractions in the cooperatives, establishment of cooperative departments in the central and local organisations, appointment of cooperative chairmen in factory and street nuclei).

11. Communist cooperative fractions must be able to rally to themselves and to lead increasing members of working class members of Consumers' Cooperatives by struggling for concrete questions, comprehensible to and of importance for the membership. Throughout their activity, Communist fractions should take care not to become isolated, but to keep in as close contact as possible with sympathisers, in order to encourage the **proletarian opposition** and the formation of a **Left Wing** within the cooperative movement.

12. In their programme of action, **Party executives must also lay down the immediate tasks and demands of Communist cooperative work including it into the plan of work of the Party.**

13. The **Party press** and the labour press under Communist influence, especially the trade union press, must deal with all questions of cooperative work and must above all publish letters from the membership.

14. In its work among **Women** the Party should pay special attention to cooperative activity. By means of agitation for consumers' cooperatives measures likely to ease the household drudgery of proletarian housewives (in addition to the general struggle for raising the standard of living, a struggle should also be carried out for the establishment of laundries, public kitchens, crèches, etc.), we will be able to capture still backward female masses in order to educate them into class-conscious members of the proletariat.

## IN THE BOURGEOIS CAMP

Ellen Key.

By Käthe Duncker (Berlin).

In the last few days there occurred the death of Ellen Key, the Swedish writer at the age of 77. In the last twenty years before the war her name was the most well-known in Western Europe in the ranks of bourgeois champions of women rights, of reformers of marriage and education and of the pacifists, and she was generally recognised in these circles as a warm-hearted philanthropist and a magnificent master of style.

She called herself a socialist, and her critics in the old social democracy never disputed her claim to this title. Nevertheless we cannot agree to this, even in the limited sense in which we speak of utopian socialism. It is true, Ellen Key had for her time sharp and courageous words of criticism for social wrongs. But this criticism did not strike deep, it did not trace things to their economic and social causes. In her ways of thoughts she remained in the confines of a purely bourgeois, individualistic world outlook, and her practical proposals of reform reek somewhat of the drawers of a petty bourgeois household apothecary. For the most she had only in mind the educated bourgeois woman. Her psychological needs and struggles, her refined claims called forth Ellen Key's criticism of Love and Marriage. She lifted a warning finger when the bourgeois women's movement, in its efforts to do just as the men, overstepped the mark. Not to render the women masculine, but to free her special feminine personality, her "motherliness", that was to be the slogan.

Where Ellen Key speaks of "misused forces of women" she means the forces which are employed for passing examinations, for "competition with men in all spheres of work", which lead to the loss of "that which is peculiar to women", of "motherliness". She does not mean that misused force of women which, after eight to ten hours in the hot and noisy factory, has to keep the house in order and fulfil the duties of a mother, not the misused forces of women in home industry, in building works, in the brick fields and the mines! Where she sings the beautiful song of womanly nature, of motherliness, she does not ask what modifications this womanly nature, this motherliness has to suffer when it is necessary to prepare a home for husband and children on 15 shillings a week in a crowded workers' dwelling, four storeys high. When she proclaimed the "Century of the child", when she — with a perfect style and with a loving understanding of the nature of the child — demands a reform of education, she does not concern herself how this reform can be realised under the present conditions of society. She only has in mind the hindrances which arise from the individual incapacity, from the indolence and lack of understanding of the parents. To remove these hindrances, to create a breach in the wall of prejudices is her sole aim.

Ellen Key has, therefore, nothing to say to the fighting proletariat. We do not cast any doubt on the sincerity of her desire and her literary talent; but she could not escape from the skin of the bourgeois philanthropist, of the pedantic old maiden aunt. In the last two decades before the war she gave considerable inspiration to the bourgeois women; but the present generation of these women are almost entirely unfamiliar with her works. For the proletariat and its needs, for the idea of the class struggle she had no understanding. Therefore: Let the dead bury their dead!