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The Communist International at Work.

On the Opening of the Session of the Enlarged Executive.

By G. Zinoviev.

Six years of work lie behind us. How greatly the situation has altered! The Soviet Republic, the main stronghold of the Comintern, constituted in the year 1919, at the time of the founding of the Communist International, a still very weak proletarian State, which was badly protected and open on all sides to the furious blows of its enemies. The Soviet Union now represents a far more powerful stronghold, although it is still begirt by enemies who have, however, become more peaceably disposed.

At the same time the capitalist world, against whom the Comintern from the first moment of its existence declared war to the death, has also become stronger during these years. The first imperialist war and the first Bolshevik revolution, which was accompanied by a number of bourgeois semi-revolutions, dealt blows to capitalism but they have not yet delivered it the death stroke.

The situation in which the Comintern must now carry on its work is difficult and complicated. In a number of countries the sections of the Communist International are now experiencing a situation similar to that experienced by our Party between the

two revolutions, that is, between the years 1905 and 1917. The ebb of the revolutionary wave, stagnation, despondency, desertions into the camp of the enemy — who among the old revolutionaries will not recollect that difficult time through which our Party passed between the two revolutions — between the years 1905 and 1917? We cannot close our eyes to the fact, we shall in the present period meet with these unwelcome phenomena more than once, now in this and now in that party of the Comintern.

And in spite of this only those who are blind can fail to see the tremendous success which the Communist International has achieved in the face of all obstacles. The Levis go over to the camp of the enemy and in the womb of the Comintern there remains a powerful German Communist Party, which neither the stormy winds nor the gloomy Autumn have been able to vanquish, which continues to grow even while exposed to the cross-fire of the enemy and is gradually becoming a real Bolshevik Party.

The Frossards desert over to the camp of the enemy and there remains in the Comintern a continually growing French Com-

minist Party, which is gradually abandoning the whole of the reformist ideology and is attracting to itself all that is sound and healthy in the French proletariat and is creating for the first time in France the new tradition of a real Bolshevist mass Party.

The Newbolds and the Prices go over to the camp of the enemy, but the young English communist movement is beginning to grow and is changing before our eyes into a serious and increasing political force. The most difficult questions of the English Labour movement, which in their time taxed the mental powers of such men as Friedrich Engels, and to which the late V. I. Lenin devoted so much attention, are now beginning to be solved. The teachings of comrade Lenin have given the Comintern the key to the English Labour movement. A wide prospect is opening before English communism.

In the course of its six years existence, the Comintern has received adequate attention from the world bourgeoisie. But there never was such a strenuous and systematic fight against the Comintern as the world bourgeoisie has been recently conducting against it.

The most powerful Party of the English bourgeoisie — the Conservative Party — has openly placed itself at the head of this struggle. Deliberate attempts are being made to draw up international exceptional laws against the communists. A regular "holy war" is being organised against the communists. Throughout Europe, and even on a world scale, forgeries of documents alleged to have emanated from the Comintern are organised in order to terrify the philistines of the whole world. The communists in Italy, Roumania, Poland, Bulgaria, Germany, America, Japan, India and in a number of other countries are being tortured, murdered and condemned to long terms of imprisonment with hard labour. Every effort is being made to honey-comb the communist Party with spies.

But there is no power in the world capable of shattering the Comintern. It will emerge all the stronger from all its severe trials.

In western Europe there is not at the present moment an immediate revolutionary situation. This also applies to Germany.

This is not the year 1923 but the year 1925. The Comintern, which is not afraid of looking the facts in the face, says this clearly and unambiguously. But in spite of this the situation in the whole world remains objectively revolutionary. The Eastern question, which is destined to play a very great rôle in the work of emancipating humanity from the yoke of imperialism, is ripening before our eyes with far greater rapidity than one could have expected. Soberly considering the whole situation and carefully weighing every step made by each of its parties, the Comintern is working steadily and undeviatingly at preparing the revolution under any and every condition.

In the short time which has elapsed since the V. world congress, the Comintern has in a number of countries achieved the first serious successes in regard to work among the peasants and the commencement of work in the colonies. These first successes are of enormous importance. Our communist sections, which for the greater part sprung from the womb of the social democratic parties, were for a long time unable to commence work among the peasants and the colonial peoples. They did not understand what enormous and decisive reserves for the proletarian revolution exist in the colonies, and particularly among the peasants.

The unity of the international trade union movement which is at present the most popular slogan in the labour movement in the whole world, is our slogan. The initiative in this great work is wholly and entirely in the hands of the followers of Leninism. All that which we are now witnessing of newness, significance and importance in the English labour movement is closely bound up with this slogan.

The Bolshevising of the Parties of the Comintern was the slogan issued by the V. World Congress. The Chamberlains and the Barmats, the Eberts and the MacDonalds, the Hendersons and the Brantings have by their whole policy and by their work contributed not a little to the fact that the best section of the workers understands the necessity of Bolshevism.

A number of complicated and difficult questions have to be decided at the session of the Enlarged Executive Committee of

the Comintern. In such a period in which we are now living, deviations to the right, to Menshivism, as well as "ultra-left" deviations, which comrade Lenin described as "reversed Menshevism", are unavoidable. True to the charge entrusted to us by Lenin, the Communist International retains the compass in its hands and will understand how to protest the movement from every kind of ideological digression.

Let those who have little faith depart from us! The fresh battalions of the proletariat who are preparing for the fight will inevitably march under the flag of the Comintern.

POLITICS

Lord Curzon and the Soviet Union.

By Karl Radek.

When the late Lord Curzon in 1898, at the age of 39, achieved the ambition of his life and was appointed viceroy of India, the highest dignity which the British Empire can confer, the fear of Russian tsarist imperialism constituted for this representative of British imperialism the central point of his entire policy. To prevent Russia from penetrating into Asia was the dominating idea of Curzon. When he perceived that Tsarism had its hands full with its enemy in the Far East, he decided to undertake some risk. The expedition to Tibet (1903—1904) over the snowy passes of the Himalaya mountains was intended to show that Russia must not venture to oppose the will of English imperialism.

On the 18th November 1905 Curzon left India after he was defeated in the dispute with the military commander, Lord Kitchener. Overloaded with honours, he was buried, while still living, in a golden sarcophagus. His further stay in India was rendered impossible as Tsarist Russia was at that time so crushed in the Far-East that she ceased to be a danger to English imperialism, and Lord Grey, then Foreign Minister, arrived at an agreement with Russia in all Asiatic affairs. Russia turned her front against Germany, who had become the most threatening rival of English imperialism. Russia was necessary as cannon-fodder against Germany, and the anti-Russian policy of Lord Curzon had to be hidden away in the archives.

The political resurrection of Curzon did not take place until the year 1919, after the end of the world war when once again England's relations with Russia occupied the central point of English policy. Curzon, who had now become Foreign Minister, seems not to have opposed the change of policy which Lloyd George made after the defeat of Denikin and Koltchak. England did not carry on intervention with all her forces. This was prevented not only by the profound social crisis through which England was then passing, but also by the commencement of the struggle with France for hegemony. Besides this another thing had to be taken into consideration: if the white guards had succeeded with the help of the Entente in defeating the Soviet power, then they would have been compelled to submit to the Allies the old treaties concerning Turkey and Persia. In 1919 Curzon took advantage of the weakness of Russia at that time in order to grab Persia. The English were also masters in Constantinople. This state of affairs would have become impossible in the event of a victory by the whites.

But even if the whites in order to maintain power had capitulated to England, there existed not the least doubt that in the future a white Russia would have had to direct its efforts in the direction of the weakest states, that is, towards the East. "In Russia the Whites and the Reds are fighting. This is not enough. It would still be necessary to arm the Greens," said one of the English agents after his return from the Baltic area. England required before all that the civil war in Russia should drag on as long as possible. The longer it lasted the more weak and shattered must Russia have emerged from it.

When Soviet Russia was victorious one had to be reconciled with her. Lord Curzon made no objections when Lloyd George sought to obtain raw materials from Russia in order to free England from her dependence on America, for he believed that

Russia has been sufficiently weakened and that she would not be able to exercise an influence upon the development of Asia. He also hoped that the famine which had broken out in 1921 would compel Soviet Russia to capitulate to England.

But when, at the Genoa Conference, Russia did not capitulate, when she began to recover and to become the centre of the liberation movement in the East, the old hatred which Curzon had cherished against Tsarist Russia broke out against the new workers and peasants' Russia with redoubled force. But Lloyd George, who kept a tight control over Foreign policy, did not give him full liberty of action. The hate against this "plebian", the rage of Lord Curzon that during the conferences in Cannes and Genoa he was compelled to be "ill", assumed hysterical forms. Lloyd George was abandoned by the Conservatives.

Curzon finally obtained complete control of foreign policy. He concluded the peace with Turkey in order to divide the revolution of the East from the Russian revolution. He allowed the French to enter the Ruhr Area in order that he might have a free hand; then he sent an ultimatum to Soviet Russia. The man whose agents had surrounded the Soviet Union on all sides and organised all the hostile forces against it, decided to demand from Russia that she abandon propaganda in the East. He decided to humiliate her at all costs in order to show the peoples in the East that it was enough merely to raise the whip and the unruly "rabble" — the Russian workers and peasants — would sink on their knees; if they did not sink on their knees, then he, Curzon, would show the Soviet Union that he was not to be trifled with, that he would unleash his dogs against it. Here was to be seen his entire shallowness, his complete incapacity to understand any forces other than hard cash and bayonets.

The government of the Soviet Union made every concession which was possible, but did not surrender. And then Curzon had to undergo the experience of seeing the leading circles of English industry raising a protest against his insane policy. The chairman of the industrial group in the English House of Commons called the leader of the Labour Party, Henderson, to him and declared to him that he would not permit a breach with the Soviet Union, and that Curzon would have to be content with the sum which the Soviet government had paid to the "insulted" English spy, as well as with the repetition of the promise not to carry on propaganda. Thus Curzon failed to bring about a breach with the Soviet Union.

His Turkish policy ended likewise in a defeat. Turkey who was compelled, owing to the relation of forces, to agree to the negotiations of Lausanne, did not reconcile herself with English imperialism which is threatening her existence. In Afghanistan, Curzon failed to drive the Soviet Union from the positions she had taken up. In the Far East the position of the Soviet Union is becoming stronger every day.

When, after nine months of the government of the Labour Party, the Conservatives again came to power, Curzon was not given the position of Foreign Minister. He was again buried in the Upper House. He no longer had any influence upon the course of foreign policy. His star was finally eclipsed. The representative of the English aristocracy, the representative of the brute force and of the romance of imperialism, the boundlessly self-satisfied and conceited Curzon, was not capable of grasping the whole complication of the situation of the British world empire, which had lost its strength not as a result of the agitation of this or that power, but owing to the fact that the United States of America has become the leading industrial power, that the peoples of the East, who were at one time the dumb slaves of the British world empire, have awoken, and wish to live and to develop, that the Russian people, in the shape of the Soviet Union, is developing its forces, that finally, the conditions of modern warfare have destroyed the advantages due to the insular position of England. The puffed-up Lord who thought that it sufficed to raise the English whip and the people would tremble, was an old fogey who did not understand the world and whom the world had ceased to understand.

Even at his grave-side one cannot say that he embodied the greatness of British imperialism. The greatness of British imperialism lies in that period when it was the driving force of capitalist development. Curzon entered the arena of history at a time when British imperialism had become a hindrance even

for the bourgeois development in the East. Curzon only embodied the soulless force whereby British imperialism wishes to save its rule. This force was directed against the people of the East and against the Russian people. He hated Russia, even quite independent of the class which was ruling in it. He hated the Russian people in general because of that rôle which it was called upon to play in the awakening of Asia, this selected object of English exploitation. In addition to the hate he had for the Russian workers, he also had the profoundest contempt for them; he could not understand how the workers could even think of venturing to compete with him, Lord Curzon of Kedleston. The Russian workers had the same attitude towards him. They could not understand how the representative of a world which has outlived its time could venture to hold up the stream of history. History will show that there was every reason for the contempt of the Russian workers, at a time when the attitude of Curzon towards them was only an expression of the haughtiness of the representative of the old world which has not understood that it is time for it to die.

After the Halle Murder.

By Peter Maslowsky (Halle).

On Thursday, March 19th, in the midday hours, the bodies of eight members of the proletariat lay in state in the "Volkspark", at the very spot where the police of the Social Democratic Police President Runge fired on a legal meeting of voters of the Communist Party, killing these eight and wounding about 40 workers, men and women, some very severely.

From the early hours of the morning, the streets of Halle began to be enlivened with the red colour of the revolution. An almost uninterrupted stream of the workers of the factories flowed towards the "Volkspark"; delegations of workers from all parts of the Republic advanced in serried ranks. Groups of women in red kerchiefs, proletarian young brigades, Red front, fighters and groups of children of the "Jung-Spartakus" mingled with the defiles of workers. Long before the funeral ceremonies began, the three halls of the "Volkspark" were full; shortly afterwards, the whole park was overcrowded. And still the masses streamed up, singing defiant revolutionary songs, so that, before long, all the streets leading to the "Volkspark" were crowded with people. It is estimated that more than 30,000 proletarians were assembled in and round the "Volkspark".

The speakers addressed the assembled people in front of the pavilion in which the coffins were deposited. It was an impressive moment when, at the demand of a Comrade, thousands of proletarians raised their clenched fists, testifying by this sign of fists to their will to take revenge on the capitalistic system of murder.

The funeral procession which then moved through the main streets of Halle to the "Gertrauden" cemetery, was of vaster proportions than even Halle, in which city the Communist Party is by far the strongest, has ever seen. Above all, this vast funeral procession was purely proletarian in character. Not a single black red and gold flag of the social traitors was to be seen. All the banners, streamers on the wreaths and kerchiefs were red, doubly-dyed. The workers would, as a matter of fact, not have tolerated the presence of a black, red and gold flag in the funeral procession of their murdered comrades. Black, red and gold are the colours under which the republican police under Severing had murdered the proletarians.

The police kept fairly well out of sight on the streets, only in the side streets were police-troops, armed to the teeth, and many divisions of mounted "Schupo" to be seen. Whenever the crowd caught sight of the police, it broke out spontaneously into cries of "Shame!" and execrations such as "Down with the murderers!"

The crowd took an hour to pass, so that at a careful estimate 30,000 proletarians must have marched in the procession. This is not counting the thousands who, especially in the streets of a proletarian character, stood on the pavement, and with bared heads paid their last respects to their dead comrades. More than 200 red banners were counted, among them six with Russian inscriptions, and about 250 large wreaths with revolutionary inscriptions.

In the very "Gertrauden" cemetery, where more than 200 of those who fell in the Kapp Putsch and in the March fights in 1921 are buried, the eight murdered comrades of Halle were laid to rest.

* * *

The bourgeois pack of liars who, immediately after the murder of the Halle proletarians, shielded the murderers by an infamous campaign of deceit, did not fail to pursue with hatred and malevolence this procession of the masses under the sign of the red flag, the emblem of class war. When on the next day the workers returned to work, they were, at five factories, dismissed without notice for having taken part in the funeral demonstration. It reveals the attitude of the "black, red and gold" that the owner of the firm Heilbrunn & Pinner, who dismissed 21 proletarian girls for having taken part in the funeral demonstration, is a member of the Social Democratic black, red and gold "Reichsbanner". Such brutal agitators play an important part in the "Reichsbanner!" These disciplinary measures are however the best evidence of what an enormous impression the procession of the masses made on the public.

These disciplinary measures seem to be the preliminaries for new struggles. The masses who paid their last respects to the dead proletarians, feel it as though it were a blow aimed at their murdered comrades themselves, that their fellow-workers are now turned on to the streets for what they did. Just as 30,000 of them followed the coffins of the murdered men as one united red front, the workers of Halle are preparing to take as firm a stand in defence of their dismissed comrades if the employers do not at once cease from provocation. A strike in Halle, which would easily spread throughout Central Germany and even beyond it, has become imminent.

* * *

In the meantime the sanguinary deed of Halle was discussed in the Parliaments, in consequence of the proposals on the part of the Communists, that the relatives who had been dependent on the victims of the Severing police, should be given succour. On this occasion the nature of bourgeois parliamentarism was once more unmasked before the masses of the proletariat. Both in the "Reichstag" and in the Prussian Diet, the very ministers and deputies, who are responsible for the 715 millions which were squandered on the Ruhr industrialists, the same deputies who, as bosom friends of Barmat and his companions, are deeply sunk in the slough of corruption, the same so-called representatives of the people, refused all support to the victims with mockery and scorn.

This happened in spite of the plainest evidence that the Halle police, even from the bourgeois point of view, acted in defiance of the law in penetrating into the legal assembly, that the murderous bandits, without being menaced, fired on the masses, who were already in flight, and that many witnesses of the various parties, who were at the Thälmann assembly, have offered to give evidence on oath as to these facts.

The persecution of Communists, inside and outside Parliament, the insolence of declaring that not the murderers but the murdered were guilty, and the refusal of any support to the victims, represents a record even for the Noske Democracy which rules in Germany. Only a society which is in its decline, is capable of such brutality and vileness.

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The situation which was created in Germany by the murder of proletarians in Halle is characterised by the enormous mass demonstrations which took place immediately not only in Halle but throughout Germany. In Berlin above all, a demonstration took place on the same day on which the victims of Halle were laid to rest, in which it is estimated that a hundred thousand persons took part.

The murder in Halle had tremendously stirring effect as the introduction to the presidential election in Germany. It is not for nothing that the social democratic Press is foaming at the mouth over the "Communist agitation corpses". The Barmat party realises that even the eyes of the social democrat workers are beginning to be opened after the incident in Halle. For

the social democrat Severing is Prussian Police Minister, the social democrat Runge was Police President in Halle! And it is only as an attempt to calm the social democratic workers, that Runge has been made sacrificed by being removed from his post. But it will be a vain attempt. The social democratic Press is behaving in a too stupidly brutal way, to bring this about; in the consciousness of its weakness, it is guilty of the greatest follies. The Halle "Volksblatt" of the S.P. of Germany for instance pours fire and brimstone on the Communists as being guilty of the murder, although innumerable Social Democratic workers were present at the Thälmann meeting and saw with their own eyes the monstrous proceedings of the police.

In this sense the S.P. of Germany is, it is true, in the right, when it sees in the workers, murdered by the Social Democrats an agitation in favour of Communism and consequently foams with rage. The incident at Halle gave a mighty impulse to the fight of the German proletariat against the monarchist Luther Government, supported by heavy industry, against the social traitors, the fight to obtain expiation from the murderers of Halle, the liberation of all political prisoners and the election of the Red Labour candidate Ernst Thälmann as President of the Republic. The red front of the proletariat is on the advance in Germany. The wave of revolution is rising once more. The sanguinary act in Halle clearly shows this to be the case.

Sun Yat Sen's Life and Work.

By Tang Shin She.

Sun Yat Sen, the son of a peasant, was born in 1862 in the province of Canton, where Imperialism had its headquarters. At that time the revolutionary movement, begun in 1850 and led by Hung Shu Tzuen, was still active although somewhat abating. Hongkong had been under English rule for exactly 20 years. Growing up in such a period, revolutionary ideas were implanted in his mind even in childhood.

His revolutionary activity began in 1885, when China was forced to hand over Annam to the French. During that time he studied medicine first at Canton and then at Hongkong, later on practising as a doctor in Macao. During the whole of this time however, he carried on revolutionary propaganda against Imperialism, mainly amongst students and soldiers, whom he formed into secret organisations. His plan was, first to overthrow the Monarchy and then to attack Imperialism. In spite of severe measures against the revolutionaries on the part of the Mandschu Emperor, he still continued his activity.

In 1895, at the end of the Chino-Japanese war, Sun Yat Sen organised the first insurrection in the town of Canton. The insurrection being suppressed, he was obliged to fly to Japan. He thought that the Chinese who were living in foreign countries would have a greater freedom of outlook; he therefore travelled through various countries in order to spread propaganda among his fellow countrymen. He went from Japan to America, and from there arrived in London in 1896. Here he was imprisoned in the Chinese Embassy and the intention was to execute him. It was only owing to the protest of his former teacher from Hongkong, who happened to be in London at that time, that he was released. He travelled to various other European countries and then returned secretly, via the Malay Archipelago, to Hongkong, where he stayed in defiance of the law. As regards this journey, he stated later on that amongst his fellow countrymen abroad, he was generally regarded as a traitor and that he found but few followers.

In 1900 he, for the second time, led an insurrection in Canton. As this insurrection was also suppressed, he again undertook a propaganda journey through various countries. This time he was greeted with enthusiasm by his fellow countrymen, wherever he went. He organised revolutionary associations. The first association was founded in Brussels in 1905, where he had found 30 partisans. The second group was formed in Berlin and consisted of 20 persons, the third in Paris (10 persons), the fourth in Tokio where he found hundreds of adherents. Since the formation of these associations he had found fellow-combatants not only in Canton but in all other provinces.

He then organised insurrections not only in South China but also in Central China. Finally he was forbidden to enter the whole of China and all foreign colonies in Eastern Asia; neither

was he allowed to return to Japan. Thus he had to spend years in America and Europe.

He was only able to return when, in 1911, the great revolution broke out in China and the republic was proclaimed; he then obtained permission in London to re-enter the colonies. In January 1912 he was elected first President of the republic. As however Yuan Shi Kai, who had strong forces at his disposal, was anxious to become President, and Sun Yat Sen could not carry out his aims, he retired and left the presidency to the former.

Sun Yat Sen's revolutionary association was now changed into the Kuomintang (Gomindan people's party). In a short time this party assumed enormous proportions. Counter-revolutionary ex-officials of the monarchy of high rank all called themselves members of the Kuomintang. The President Yuan Shi Kai in 1913 accepted a big loan from the association of foreign bankers for the development of the country. In reality however he used the whole of the money for the suppression of the Kuomintang.

In the same year — 1913 — Sun Yat Sen was the leader of a revolution against Yuan Shi Kai, but this was suppressed and he was again obliged to flee to Japan. The Kuomintang was forbidden.

Sun Yat Sen now came to an understanding with a number of reformist leaders of the Kuomintang, who did not, as he did, wish to discipline the party, and thereupon he formed another party under the name of the Chinese Party of Revolution. He stated that this was only to serve the purposes of revolution, that it was not an institution for persons who wanted to become high officials.

In 1915 he organised for the second time a revolution against Yuan Shi Kai with the result that the latter was overthrown. In 1920 he formed a government in South China against the regime of Tuan She Sui in the North. At that time he hoped that Germany, Russia and China would form an alliance. In order to realise this plan, he had sent a representative to Germany. The attempt failed however.

Sun Yat Sen then for the first time made the organisation of the workers and peasants his chief task. He supported the great strike of workers in Hongkong and Macao. In 1922 his Government was overthrown by his former adherent Chen Shui Ming with the help of the English Government at Hongkong. Then however a great enthusiasm for Sun Yat Sen made headway among the people. They regarded him as the real leader of the Chinese people.

In 1923 he met the Russian representative Joffe in Shanghai. His relations with Soviet Russia date from that time.

In the winter of 1923 he formed another government in South China (Canton Government). He reorganised his party and, by general desire, it was again given the name of Kuomintang. He now concentrated his attention on the workers and peasants as the chief forces of revolution. He took the Communist party as his model.

Sun declared publicly:

"The only aim of the old members is to get rich and to obtain posts as high officials. They are not true revolutionaries. The workers and peasants alone are the real forces of revolution."

He then organised the "anti-Tschili block", in co-operation with Tuan She Sui and Tchang Tso Lian. From that time onwards his Government was exposed to constant attacks. The Canton merchants and Chen Shui Ming opposed him directly, the English and Wu Pei Fu indirectly. The anti-Tschili block existed until Wu Pei Fu was defeated. Sun Yat Sen's struggle however continued. The tables were now turned; Tuan She Sui and the Japanese had become his chief opponents. Sun Yat Sen wanted to call a general Constituent assembly, Tuan She Sui a "reconstruction conference". The Japanese called Sun Yat Sen a "dreamer" and supported Tuan She Sui with loans. For they maintained that China could only be held together as an undivided state by a military dictatorship, and not by the people.

Tuan She Sui seized the opportunity of Sun Yat Sen's being seriously ill, to egg general Shen Shui Ming on to attack the Canton Government. For this reason a Japanese telegraph office announced his death long ago. The attack on Canton however failed; Chen Shui Ming was completely defeated. Sun Yat Sen's disease was unfortunately incurable. On March 11th at

10.30 a. m. he had to give up his place in the fight. In his political will, he pledged the party to continue the fight against imperialism and militarism. In his farewell letter to the Russian Executive Committee he begged the Soviet Union to support the Chinese people in their fight for the revolution.

There had never before been a leader in Asia like Sun Yat Sen who, from his youth upwards into advanced age, had been an active pioneer of revolution. His will to revolution and his courage increased with every defeat. He was an unflinching pioneer. Most of his young adherents failed to follow him on his revolutionary path but dropped out somewhere on the way. When in 1912, Sun Yat Sen resigned the post of President, his only reason was that he alone of all the members of the Kuomintang wanted to fight against Yuan Shi Kai. Many of his partisans who had succeeded in obtaining secure posts, hindered him in his struggle. Sun Yat Sen always wanted to discipline his party, but his partisans only wanted to enlarge it; it was a matter of indifference to them, whether counter-revolutionaries or monarchists joined it.

The worst of it was that even many of his own disciples called him a dreamer. Quite at the end, many opposed his friendship to Russia. The circumstance that Sun Yat Sen at first concerned himself chiefly with intellectuals was responsible for this. But we know that, being a man of superior qualities he recognised his mistakes and in his last years used all his power in organising the workers and peasants.

To-day the Kuomintang is split into three groups: the Right, called in China the "crown prince wing", the Centre (Canton Government!) and the Left. The last includes the workers and peasants.

The most important and foremost task of the faithful disciples of Sun Yat Sen is now to purge the party of all unruly followers and bad elements who only use the name of the great leader as an advertisement for their sordid affairs.

The German-Roumanian Conflict.

By So

For the past eighteen months the Roumanian capitalist economy has been labouring under a severe crisis. The petroleum and wood industries have greatly reduced their production. The harvest has been so meagre that it is thought that it will be necessary to import wheat during the present year. The burden of debt has increased to about 4 milliard gold Lei. This crisis has been rendered more acute by the obstinate adherence of the governing "liberal" and capitalist circles to an outspokenly national Roumanian policy, in order to prevent Roumania from becoming dependent upon foreign capital. The crisis is finding political expression in the growth of the opposition of industrial circles to the government and in the increase of the radical peasant movement.

Conditions have become so bad that in the last few months the Roumanian government has attempted to break completely with its previous economic policy. After the Roumanian government attempted in vain to increase its share in the reparation payments from Germany (the share amounts to 1.1%), Roumania endeavoured to obtain loans from America, England and France, without however giving up political control as demanded by foreign capital.

But attempts to obtain foreign loans have failed up till now. America and England desire that the granting of loans shall be accompanied by the complete handing over of Roumanian economy to one of these two powers.

In order to avoid this fate, the Roumanian government sought to make use of every possible way of escape. It is possible that the ultimate demand to Germany which gave rise to a German-Roumanian economic conflict seemed to the Roumanian government to be a last resort.

The German Hohenzollern government, during the occupation of Roumania in the world war, issued Roumanian banknotes amounting to over 2 milliard Lei. The Roumanian government, after its "victory" in the world war, was of course compelled to honour these banknotes. It therefore put forward the demand to the German government that the latter repay this sum, which demand was rejected on the German side, so long as the reparation question remained unsettled. After the situation of Roumania had become more and more difficult, the Roumania government submitted another proposal, that the German government should

at least pay 300 million gold marks. This proposal was met with the offer to pay 50 million gold marks. But after the acceptance of the Dawes Plan the German government declared that it would pay nothing more whatever, as the total sum of its liabilities arising out of the world war, have been settled by the Experts' Report. The Roumanian government should, if they wanted anything, apply to the Reparation Committee for a transference of an adequate portion of the German reparation payments as a compensation for the German liabilities.

Both England and France expressed "their complete understanding of the demands and of the situation of the Roumanian government", but refused to grant any relief out of the reparation sums.

Driven by the increasingly difficult economic situation and by the growing opposition of the industrial capitalists in Roumania, the Roumanian government is sharpening the conflict until it is assuming the danger of an outspoken economic war.

The prospects of an economic war appear to be very bad for Roumania. For on the one hand the amount of German capital invested in Roumania is very small, and on the other hand it is so skilfully invested that only a very small portion of it can be seized. The number of Roumanians who are living in Germany is much larger than the number of German citizens living in Roumania. In addition to this the boycott of Roumanian securities on the Berlin Exchange has had a very damping effect upon the Roumanian rulers.

There are already signs that the Roumanian government is abandoning the idea of an economic war.

The attempt of Roumania to extort money from Germany in this manner can be considered as a failure. There remains nothing else for Roumania but to follow the course indicated by American and English capital, that is to allow itself to become a colony. Thus the colonising of Roumania is the necessary consequence of the settlement of the reparation question on American lines. The way which is marked by the Colonising of Germany, by the intended "sanitation" of France and Czechoslovakia and Poland is thus being consistently further followed by English and American capital.

The carrying out of these intentions will necessarily lead to a number of complications between England and France, as well as between England and America. At the same time the colonising of Roumania will involve certain national concessions in the Bessarabian question.

The difficulties between France and England will without doubt be decided in favour of England. Both England and America possess the possibility of meeting any opposition by France by pointing out the situation of French finances and her huge debts.

This decision is of course also of the greatest importance for the Soviet Union.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Great Metal Workers Strike under the Fascist Regime.

By Edmondo Peluso (Rome).

"If you drive the class struggle out by the door, it comes back through the window." This paraphrase of a well-known proverb has been illustrated in Italy in the last few days. For a hundred thousand metal workers went on strike.

It is the first time since the seizure of power by the fascisti that a mass movement of this kind has made its appearance. And throughout the whole time there has never been witnessed such a fighting spirit and such a united and spontaneous movement. This is to be attributed to two causes: the fearful rise in prices, and the prolonged regime of oppression under which the workers have been compelled to live since the fascisti began to bludgeon the working class.

What course did events take? The strike broke out towards the middle of March in Brescia. About three months ago the fascist leaders in this town signed a treaty with the employers which granted a bonus on account of high prices of 2 Lira (about fourpence) a day. But, intentionally or unintentionally,

the treaty did not provide for a minimum wage. The employers did not hesitate to free themselves by an easy method from the liability of the bonus granted to the workers. They simply dismissed hundreds of metal workers in order to re-engage them at starvation wages. As the workers had been so shamefully tricked, they began to be very indignant.

The fascist leaders, who had been thereby rendered ridiculous and were cursed by the workers, were compelled in order not to lose their small handful of followers to take action. They attempted once again to employ their method of collaboration between Capital and Labour. But the employers, as it was a question which affected their money-bags, turned a deaf ear. Thereupon the fascisti ordered the strike — of course as a piece of demagogic trickery. These fascist leaders who have always made use of a system of repression in order to break strikes, now made use of the same system in order to force the workers in other organisations to take part in the strike, including the clerks and employees who refused to follow them. Ultimatum to the employers, threats of reprisals and the declaration of Rossini, the leader of the fascist trade unions, that "the fascist revolution was not carried out in order to enrich the industrials"!

The employers, who were aware of the numerical weakness of the fascist trade unions, were not intimidated. If the fascist trade unions had been compelled to conduct the strike alone, their absolute impotence would once again have become evident. But the situation of the Italian metal workers is unbearable. The wages of skilled workers amount to 18 to 23 Lire a day, and the lira to-day has fallen so low that its purchasing power is only 14% of what it was in 1914. The free trade union organisations of the Italian metal workers ("Fiom") could therefore not remain inactive in the face of such a movement, and on the 13th of March issued the strike order to all their members. A hundred thousand metal workers in Milan, Turin and Trieste immediately responded like one man to the call. And with what enthusiasm, with what fighting spirit they responded!

Mussolini, Rossini and his staff, as well as the industrials, were afraid of the extension of the movement and immediately set everything in motion in order to break it.

The industrials began to negotiate with the fascist trade unions for the purpose of granting them this very bonus which was the cause of the strike. The fascisti thereupon gave the order to the workers to return to the factories. But the great mass of the metal workers, at the command of the free trade union organisations, remained on strike. It was thus clearly seen that the workers, in spite of the terror, had remained true to their class organisation. In this first great struggle of the Italian proletariat under the fascist regime, the masses at the very moment again found their entire unity in action.

The Communist Party was at its post right from the first moment. In a manifesto which it issued at the beginning of the strike, it defined the tasks of the communists in the strike and did not fail to criticise the inactivity and the treachery of the reformist leaders, who opposed all open resumption of the class struggle in order not to disturb the parliamentary manoeuvres of their allies, the bourgeois opposition.

But the Communist Party of Italy did not confine itself to issuing appeals. On the orders of the Executive of the C. P. of Italy, a definite number of communist members of parliament had to go among the strikers in order to carry on propaganda and to explain the issues. There was not a factory of any importance which was not visited by our comrades, whilst the workers saw no signs of either a maximalist or a unitarian socialist member of parliament.

When the strike had reached such an extent as to cause it to appear dangerous in the eyes of the government, the latter had the local leaders of the trade unions arrested. The free trade unions thereupon applied to the communists with the request that they place their "illegal apparatus" at the disposal of the free trade unions for the purpose of conveying directions, distributing leaflets etc.

This strike was participated in by ninety per cent of the workers. It was inspired with a fighting spirit hitherto unknown. One felt in the masses the eager desire for unity which has grown up even in the years of the fascist regime. It is certain that the strike of the metal workers could have been the starting point for a movement of the metal workers on a national scale, which could then have drawn into it the other categories of workers. But it is clear that the reformist leaders did not wish the workers to be drawn into a struggle

of this kind. For this reason the leaders of the "Fiom", on the 18th March, against the will of the masses and of the Committee of Action, issued the order to end the strike and to resume work, declaring themselves satisfied with having demonstrated to the fascists that "the masses are really with them" — the free trade unions.

In Lombardy the workers resumed work with feelings of the greatest bitterness. In Turin the strike lasted some days longer and then work was likewise resumed. The workers in Trieste and Monfalcone remained on strike the longest.

What are the teachings which can be drawn from this strike? Before all the Italian metal workers strike has proved the obvious fact that the fascists have not the masses behind them, and as a result the free trade unions, the proletarian class trade unions, have remained the reliable weapons of the Italian workers, who have recognised more than ever that unity and discipline are the most important pre-requisites for victory.

On the other hand the treachery of the reformist leaders has never been so clearly revealed as it has been in this strike. There remains no doubt that this treachery has reacted very strongly upon the working masses of Italy, who have recently followed with admirable energy the slogan given out by the communists of "back to the class trade unions!". It is now necessary to create such organs as shall express the will of the masses and which shall maintain direct contact with the masses as well as with their trade union organisations in order to prevent the trade union bureaucrats from sabotaging the will of these masses. These organs are the "Committees of Action".

The Struggle of the Chinese Seamen.

There is a growing discontent and indignation among tens of thousands of Chinese seamen at the shipowners' non-observance of the Agreement concluded between the Chinese Seamen's Union and the Shipowners' Committee as a result of the seamen's victorious strike in 1922. The Agreement was signed by R. Sutherland, Chairman of the Shipowners' Committee, A. Jamieson, British Consul-General at Canton, Luk King Fo, Secretary to the Commissioner for Foreign Affairs at Canton, and Chak Hon Ke, Delegate of the Chinese Seamen's Union. It was further guaranteed by Sir Robert Hotung. Nevertheless, the shipowners and the British Colonial Government in Hongkong have violated every one of the three clauses, while the Chinese seamen, as represented by the Chinese Seamen's Union have kept strictly to the Agreement ever since its solemn conclusion.

In gross violation of the agreement, the Blue Funnel Line of the Butterfield & Squire Co. in April, 1923, decreased the wages of the men in its ships to the former scale. The British Colonial Government, a signatory to the Agreement in the person of H. B. M. Consul-General, ignored the protest lodged by the Chinese Seamen's Union. Moreover, in violation of Clause III, providing for a minimising as far as possible of irregularities connected with the engaging of crews, the Colonial Government abetted the B House Union, thus enabling the replacement of the original crews of the Blue Funnel Line by strike-breakers from the organisation. Again, abusing its military authority and extending its iron rule to the water surface, the Colonial Government authorised the strike-breakers in the ships to carry arms.

Cases of similar violations are too numerous to be enumerated.

The shipowners not only have no desire to assist, as they are in duty bound to assist, in accordance with Clause III, in inaugurating "a system of engaging crews which will minimise as far as possible any irregularities which may (rather, do!) exist in connection with the pay of men"; but on the contrary, in conjunction with the Colonial Government, it maintains a B House Union, an organisation of labour contractors, whose service to mankind it is to fleece the seamen mercilessly. Thus the Colonial Government, in collusion with the shipowners, prolong the exploitation of labour by labour parasites, which would have been abolished by the Chinese seamen immediately after their victorious strike, but for the interference of the Colonial Government and the shipowners. This is not only a grave violation of the Agreement, but also a sinister act of provocation. As already mentioned, the Colonial Government does not even refrain from openly supporting the labour exploiters by allowing them the extraordinary privilege of carrying arms in the colony.

The shipowners have violated completely Clause II, which stipulates that "if positions are not available for men ready to return to work, it is agreed that half pay shall continue for such period as the men are not employed, but not exceeding five and a half months from the date of the general return to work."

Lest it should seem that the clauses of the agreement are much too liberal on the part of the shipowners, it must be explained here that, firstly, the said pay for a period not exceeding five and a half months is no more than a beggarly compensation for the victorious strikers whose positions had been taken by the Philippine and other strike-breakers, called to Hongkong by the shipowners. Secondly, these clauses were won by the seamen as a result of a victorious life and death struggle for fifty-six odd days. Settlement was delayed just because of the shipowners' reluctance to accede to these very clauses, thereby prolonging the unheard-of hardships and damage suffered by the seamen and the common masses of Hongkong.

However, up till now, not a cent has been paid by the shipowners, in spite of the Agreement in black and white! Where is the "fairness" in the hands of the capitalists! Where is the "sacredness" of agreement with the capitalists! And where is the "law" in a colony!

The Chinese Seamen's Union in 1923 referred the matter to the British Colonial Government in Hongkong, but the latter washed its hands of the matter, despite the fact that His Majesty's Consul-General was a signatory to the Agreement. The Chinese Seamen's Union presented to the Chairman of the Shipowners' Committee, R. Sutherland, a list of the men entitled to the half pay, together with the amount, but he claimed that the list was not in proper form and that money would not be paid to the men without producing the names of those who had taken their positions. Such an impossible condition cannot be found in the Agreement and cannot be considered. Besides, how was it possible to know then, and how is it possible to produce now the names of the strike-breakers filling the positions, who escaped with the ships under military escort in the darkness of night! Such pretexts are too obviously intended to baffle the seamen, who have seen the world and who have been through it thick and thin.

The Chinese seamen know full well the unwillingness of the shipowners voluntarily to carry out the terms of the Agreement, as well as their cunningness and collusion with the British Colonial Government. The Chinese seamen have not lost sight of Sir Robert Hotung, whose failure to keep his word will further expose him as a useful instrument in the service of colonial rule whenever things come to a head between the rulers and the ruled.

The Chinese seamen demand of the shipowners that they pay forthwith the half pay and carry out the other two clauses. They demand that the British Colonial Government, signatory to the Agreement, besides protecting the shipowners, shall heed the seamen's demands. They demand of His Excellency Robert Hotung, British knight who has been proclaiming a so-called peace conference, professedly in the interests of the Chinese people, that he fulfil his duty as guarantor before he speaks again.

Several thousand Chinese seamen are entitled to five and a half months' pay, the total sum far exceeding \$ 200,000. They are clamouring for their rightful compensation. The Chinese Seamen's Union, representing their interests, will never neglect its duty and will realise at any cost the conditions won by the victorious struggle and heroic sacrifices. These conditions were by no means gifts from the shipowners. Those who recall the fifty-six odd days of a life and death struggle in 1922 of more than sixty thousand seamen and eight combatant unions, the sacrifices of the workers and the panic caused by the blockade of Hongkong due to the interruption of communication, will agree that whatever was acquired was acquired by the united and tremendous power of the workers themselves. There is no need now to recall the machine-gun patrols of the Colonial Government which were ready to massacre the workers at any moment!

The whole body of Chinese seamen, 100,000 strong, are prepared! They appeal to their brother workers in China and in all countries, particularly the seamen, and their organisations to help their Chinese brothers in their present just demands! Hand in hand, in a glorious United Front, they have every reason to expect the day in the immediate future when the British Colonial Government and the shipowners will have to redeem what they hitherto have atrociously violated.

ORGANISATION

Communist Fractions in Representative Institutions and Extensive Non-Party Workers and Peasant Organisations.

By Ossip Piatnitzky.

I.

The inter-relations between Party organs and Communist fractions in representative Institutions (Parliament, Municipalities, etc.); Communist Fractions in mass organisations, not national in scope; and the work of such Communist Fractions.

In Federal (or National) and State representative institutions (Parliaments) and also in district, urban and rural institutions (county-councils, municipalities and rural district councils) the work of the Communist fractions is the simplest and the relations between these fractions and the corresponding Party organs, under normal conditions, are also not complicated. During elections to the respective institutions, the urban or district Party committees put forward a Communist ticket. A factory worker, office clerk or peasant in voting for any one of the Communists in the list of candidates votes, not for the individual, but the Communist Party as a whole, for its programme and tactics concerning all the questions of the political and economic life of the country.

Consequently, the mandate held by an elected person to a representative institution (parliament and municipality or rural council) is not given to the individual Communist elected, but to the Party represented by its respective Party organs.

For that reason, the policy and tactics of Communists elected to any public bodies must be not their own policy and tactics, but that of the Party. This applies even when a deputy or a majority of the Communist Fraction in a given representative institution is not in agreement with the policy and the tactics of the Party. Certain Communist deputies fail to understand or refuse to admit this principle, and the repudiation of the exclusive right of the Party to the mandates held sometimes lead to the insubordination of the fraction or of certain of its members to the Party organ.

In carrying out the policy and the instructions laid down by the organs of the Party, the above-mentioned Communist Fractions can help considerably to acquaint the masses with the attitude of the Party towards the important questions concerning the masses of the people. This can be done by means of the speeches made by Communist deputies in the parliaments and municipalities, for the masses are eager to know what is said in these places. Deputies and members of public bodies elected on the Communist Party ticket must, in their speeches and resolutions follow a proletarian class policy. By this they, supplementing the Party press and the mass meetings convened by the Communist Party, help to make clear the policy of the Communist Party.

Communist Fractions as a whole must report on their work periodically to the Party organisation; in addition to this, however, individual deputies and members of public bodies must report on their work to their constituents. The rôle of the Communist Fractions in parliaments and municipal bodies in those countries where the Communist Party must conduct its work underground, as for example, in Roumania, Poland, Bulgaria, etc., is much more important than in those countries where the Party exists legally or semi-legally. In the former case, the Communist Parties are unable to utilise organs of the press or call labour and mass meetings. Consequently in such countries deputies must make use of all the possibilities they have for Communist propaganda by calling meetings of working-class electors and at these explain the attitude of the Communist Party towards all important questions of programme and tactics. In the parliaments, the deputies must clearly and unreservedly formulate the view of the Communist Party concerning the government, the Parties which support it, on the tasks of the working class, etc.

In a word, the Communist Fraction must utilise its immunity to aid the Party in its difficult work of creating, establishing and expanding the Party organisations and must become one of the megaphones of the Party.

In those countries in which the Communist Party is illegal, the most determined comrades and those having closest connections with the Party should be put forwards as candidates for public bodies, for their work is very difficult. It not unfrequently happens, under such conditions that a candidate after election breaks away from the Party on the pretext of being autonomous and independent of the Party. Such deputies do not aid the Party, but on the contrary, cause it harm by disorganising its ranks.

Parallel with the organisation of Communist Fractions in representative institutions in which the work of the Communist Fraction is conducted publicly, Communist Parties must also organise their fractions in all mass, labour and peasants organisations. This must be done irrespective as to whether the particular organisations is permanent (like trade unions, cooperative societies, sport clubs, peasant organisations, etc.) or temporary, (like tenant leagues, organisations for combating high prices, control committees, etc.) and also irrespective of the fact that the work of Communist Fractions in such organisations is of the quiet detailed every day work of a Communist, which is not loudly advertised in the press and not brought to the notice of the masses. In connection with these fractions, reference should be made to Communist Fractions in tenant leagues in which the inter-relations between the Communist Fractions and the Party organ, like that between the Party organ and Communist Fractions in representative institutions are distinguished for their simplicity.

In many towns in France, Germany and England there are extensive tenants' organisations, the membership of which is composed mostly of workers. Members of the Party should join such organisations, work actively in them and form Communist Fractions in them, which in their turn, must work under the guidance and control of the local Party organ. In Scotland, the Tenants' Anti-Eviction Leagues play a great part in the fight against the houseowners and the police, who, of course, wholeheartedly support the houseowners. In view of the fact that tenants' leagues do not represent national organisations the inter-relations between the Communist Fractions in such or similar organisations and the local Party organisations are simple and can be easily regulated. The housing conditions may vary in different towns and the local Party organ can lay down for the Communist Fractions in these organisations a programme of action and methods of work suitable to the conditions prevailing locally.

II.

The inter-relations between Communist Fractions in local and county Management Boards of Cooperative Societies and Peasants Organisations and the Fractions in the Central bodies of these Organisations; the inter-relations between all these Fractions and the Party organs; the work of these Fractions.

The situation with regard to the organisation of Communist Fractions in cooperative societies, sport societies and similar extensive labour organisations is more complicated.

In the majority of countries, organisations of the kind mentioned above are usually national in scope. Their local organisations are connected with county management committees and are subordinated to them. The latter, in their turn, are connected with and subordinated to central management committees and receive instructions from them. Communist Fractions in such extensive labour organisations, should be organised on lines similar to the structure of these organisations, the various links having the same relation of subordination; that is to say the Communist Fraction in the lower organisations should be subordinate to the Communist Fractions in the higher organisations. To this must be added that Communists who are members of central, provincial or local management committees of such organisations receive instructions from the central, provincial and local Party organisations respectively, and must be subordinate to them and work under their constant guidance and control. The corresponding Party organisations must carefully select suitable comrades for work in the central, provincial and local management boards of cooperative societies, sports societies, peasant organisations, ex-service men's leagues, etc., etc., for if bad selections are made, not only do the comrades so selected discredit themselves, but also the Party as a whole which put them forward as its candidates and bears responsibility for them. The Fractions will be able to work well and properly if they will obtain the constant support both of the Party organisations and of all the members of the Party. The Party organs must lay down the

line of conduct and plan of work for the Fractions in the organisations in which they work.

Communist fractions will be able to work well and on the right lines provided they receive the support both of the Party organisations and all Party members. Party organs must make themselves responsible for the plan of work and the line of conduct of the fractions in the organisations where they work. Besides acting upon the lines laid down by the Party organs, communist fractions should do their utmost to carry out this work in the most effective manner. They must deal with all new questions which arise in the process of work laid down by the Party in the most energetic manner and must do everything towards their solution.

It is only on such conditions acting upon the policy laid down by the Party on the one hand and showing their own initiative on the other hand — that Communist fractions will be able to carry out their functions and spread communist influence among large sections of non-party workers.

The Communist Fraction in the Central Committee of peasant parties or central management committees of cooperative societies must maintain close and constant contact with the Communist Fractions in the provincial management boards of those organisations. In cases where there are no Communist Fractions in the provincial management committees, the Communist Fractions in the Central management committees must establish contact with all the local fractions of the organisation in that province. The Communist Fraction in the provincial management board must in its turn maintain contact with all the local fractions in the organisations in the particular province. The Fractions in the central managing committees must send to the fractions in the provincial managing committees which, in their turn, send to the local Communist fractions material concerning the work of the proposals it has put forward and make their comments upon them. They should also visit the local organisations in order to acquaint the Communist members of the given organisation with the work of the particular managing committee and with the tactics of the Communist fraction in it. After proper preparations have been made, the central fraction should call general meetings of all the members of the particular organisation including non-Communists, etc., etc.

The most important and responsible rôle must be played by the Communist fractions in local managing committees of the above-mentioned extensive non-Party, labour and peasant organisations. Through the nucleus committee of the given enterprise, office, shop, middle or high school, farm, or through the local Party committee in rural districts, they must establish close contact with the comrades working in factories and workshops, amongst students, in middle and high schools, among labourers employed on farms and in the villages, among members of cooperative societies, sport societies, ex-service men's unions and peasants organisations. They must direct the work of all those comrades, provide them with material concerning the activity of the management board of which they are a fraction, inform them of the proposals they put forward and of the tactics they are carrying out on their management committees.

The Communist fraction through the local leading Party body should convene meetings of comrades working among the members of the given organisation and inform them of their work and after proper preparations have been made, to call meetings of all the members of the given organisations (cooperative, peasant, etc.) including non-Communist and at such meetings to explain the rôle of the organisation and the work in it of the Communist and other parties.

To place any question whatever before the general members meeting (that is to say not a meeting of Communists only) of the respective organisation constitutes a responsible piece of work on the part of the fractions. This necessitates careful preparation by the communist fraction of the question proposed to be placed before the general meeting attended also by non-party workers. For this purpose the most important questions on the agenda of the general meeting should be discussed and elaborated by the closed session of the fraction. Besides this, the Bureau submits the most important theses, resolutions, and proposals to the proper Party organ for perusal and endorsement. The decisions of the fraction adopted at the closed meeting of the fraction, which should always precede the general meeting at which non-party workers participate, is binding for all fraction members and must be acted upon by them at the general meeting. Parallel with this work, fraction members must endeavour to influence in the spirit of the adopted decisions, those who sympathise with us and

those who still waver with the view to winning them over to our side. This should take place both before the general meeting in which non-Party workers participate and at the meeting itself.

If all the above-mentioned conditions are fulfilled the work of these Communist fractions will bring colossal benefits to our Party, for they will serve as the conduits of Party influence to the broad masses.

If on the other hand, the Communist fraction is badly organised, if its work is badly conducted and the necessary guidance of the corresponding Party organisation is lacking, the Communist fraction may (and in some countries do) cause considerable harm to the Communist movement.

III.

Inter-relations between the Fractions in the various bodies of Trade Unions in a given industry; connection between Communist Fractions in the town, provincial and Central bodies of other Trade Unions of the same tendency; the coordination of the work of the Fractions in all Trade Unions, irrespective of tendency (Amsterdam, Profintern, Catholic, etc.); the work of Communist Fractions in Trade Unions, and their subordination to the Party organs.

In many countries, the inter-relations between Communist fractions and Party organs centrally and locally are very confused, and it is therefore difficult to lay down what shall be the proper relations and what should be the proper guidance to be exercised by the Party organs relation to these trade union fractions. This is due to the complex inter-relations between the trade unions themselves and to their lack of cohesion. In America, England and France, for example, we have several metal workers' unions which are affiliated to the same National Trade Union Federation. In a given factory the fitters and turners will belong to the Engineers' Union and the engine drivers and stockers will belong to the Engine Drivers' Union. At the same time, we have in the same factory workers belonging to engineers', engine drivers' and woodworkers' unions which are affiliated to different national federations or international federations (Amsterdam, Profintern). All this hampers the work of the Communists in the factory among the members of the various trade unions and among those workers who are not organised at all, and also renders the organisation of Communist fractions difficult in all the trade unions and their local and central governing bodies.

In France, in Czechoslovakia and some parts of Germany and Holland, there are red or revolutionary trade unions existing side by side with the Amsterdam trade unions, the majority of which are led by Communists, but have non-Communist members also. In these trade unions, Communist fractions have not existed and perhaps have not been organised up to this moment, in spite of the fact that these unions contain a large percentage of Communists, who either voluntarily left or were expelled from the reformist trade unions.

For the reason above indicated, proper methods for the establishment of Communist fractions in these trade unions have not been adopted, the form of connection between such Communist fractions and the inter-relations between the latter and Party organs have not been decided. Among the rank and file of the working mass in many countries, there is a desire for the establishment of unity in the trade union movement, for amalgamating parallel trade unions and amalgamating all the trade unions in a given industry. That being the case, all Communists should work in this direction in the factories and in the trade unions. In order that this work may be fruitful, it is necessary that the work be conducted according to a definite plan and that all Communists in each union be united into one whole, into a fraction which must work under the guidance of the Party organs.

The plan of inter-relations between Communist fractions, in trade unions and the relations between Communist fractions and the Party organs, in my opinion, should be as follows:

1. All the Communist members of a given union, (metal workers, wood workers) in a given town, irrespective of the factory or workshop in which they are employed, should form a Communist fraction in that union in that town. If the union in the town represents a branch of the national union, having a branch committee upon which there are Communists (or only one Communist), the latter serves as the centre for the Communist fraction of that union in the town. If, however, there are no Com-

munists on the branch committee, the trade union department of the local Party committee, or the secretary of the latter calls together and unites the Communists in the given union.

Communist fractions organised on the same lines are formed in all the other unions in the given town in which there are Communists. All the unions of a given tendency, Amsterdam, say, in the town are united by a trade union council (cartel). If on this trade union council there are Communists, the latter form a Communist fraction of this council and serve as the leading organ of all the Communist fractions of all the trade unions affiliated to the council. The Communist fraction on the trade union council, in its turn, establishes close contact with the local Party organ.

If, however, there are no Communists on the trade union council, the trade union department of the local Party committee, or its secretary must call a meeting of all the Communist members of trade union branch committees affiliated to that council and from these form a centre to guide all the trade union fractions in the given town.

2. Separate unions in a given industry belonging to the same tendency are united with similar organisations in other towns in a given province under a provincial committee which, in its turn, is affiliated to the provincial trade union council. The Communists in these provincial trade union committees must form a fraction which must be subordinate to the Communist fraction on the provincial trade union council, which in its turn, is guided by the provincial committee of the Party. If there are no Communists on the provincial trade union committee, the trade union department of the provincial Party committee or its secretary should convene a meeting of all the Communist members of the provincial committees of the respective unions which shall set up an organ to guide the work of the Communist fractions in the trade unions in the given province.

3. Separate trade unions (metal workers, wood workers, etc.) are united nationally under a national governing body. These national unions of a given tendency (Amsterdam or Profintern) in their turn are combined into a national federation of unions (the A. D. G. B. — The General Federations of Trade Unions in Germany — the C. G. T. — General Federation of Labour and C. G. T. U. — The United General Federation of Labour of France, the C. G. L. — The General Federation of Labour of Italy, etc.). The Communists on the national federations of trade unions must form corresponding Communist fractions.

The Communist fractions of the central bodies of separate trade unions are subordinate to the Communist fraction of the central body of the national trade union federation. The latter fraction works under the direct guidance of the Central Committee of the Communist Party through its trade union department. In the event of there being no Communist on the central body of the national trade union federation, the trade union department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party must convene a meeting of the Communist fractions of the central bodies of the separate national unions which then sets up a central organ to guide all the fractions in the national unions of a given tendency, this organ must be endorsed by the Central Committee of the Party.

Through the trade union departments of the Central Committee, of the provincial committees and of the town committees of the Party can and should be combined into one centre, all the Communist fractions on governing bodies of trade unions of all tendencies in the trade union movement, which must decide on the methods of work, exchange experiences, aid each other and simultaneously conduct campaigns against the high cost of living, against increasing the working day and reductions in wages, for trade union unity and against the discredited leaders of the yellow and reformist trade unions, etc.

The fractions of provincial and local trade union governing bodies are subject to a two-fold subordination: they receive instructions from the fractions on the central body of the given organisation and from the fraction of the provincial or town trade union council. This two-fold subordination is somewhat complicated, but it cannot be avoided. Practice will soon remove any inconveniences that arise from it. As for subordination to Party Organs, I have already stated that as a rule the fractions in separate trade unions do not establish contact with the Party organs directly, but receive their instructions from the Communist fractions of their respective trade union councils. The latter, however, are directly subordinated to the corresponding Party organ and receive instructions from the latter. Of course, the

Party organs may if necessary control, give instructions, appoint suitable workers, etc. to the various fractions on trade union governing bodies, but the Party organ does so with the knowledge of the corresponding fraction on the trade union council which is directly subordinated to the fraction of the governing body of the respective union.

If the above-mentioned fractions are weak, Party organs are in duty bound to support them in every possible way, in order to enable them to carry out their functions. However, this support and guidance on the part of the Party organs must on no account assume a kind of petty tutelage. On the contrary, Party organs must stimulate the activity and initiative of the fractions, for otherwise, no matter how perfect the guidance of the Party organs, the work of the fractions will be lifeless and will not give the results which an active and independent fraction can achieve.

The Communist fractions on central governing bodies of national unions are subordinated to the Communist fractions of the central body of the national trade-union federation and receive instructions from it. The latter is subordinated to the Central Committee of the Party and works under its guidance.

The plan of organisation of inter-relations between Communist fractions in the trade unions and the Party organisations outlined above, may be applied in its entirety to France, Czechoslovakia, Holland and other countries where there are trade unions affiliated to the Profintern. It may be applied partially to Germany, Sweden, Norway, Italy and in those countries where Communists are at the head of separate, local Amsterdam trade unions and in many towns even at the head of trade union councils.

Communist fractions on the governing bodies of separate unions of trade union councils must establish contact with the nuclei in the factories and conduct trade union work and trade union campaigns through them. The above-mentioned fractions must report to the members of their union; they must call general meetings of all the workers of their respective unions and report on the work of the union, criticise the governing body if the majority is composed of compromisers and put forward definite proposals on various questions to be conveyed to the particular governing body and to propose a programme of work if the Communist fraction represents the majority of that governing body, etc.

Communists who comprise a majority in a trade union council, or on a governing body of a particular trade union in a given town, must set an example by their work, their initiative, their contact with the masses of the workers and by the business-like suggestions they put forward to be submitted to the national central body of the given organisation. The nature of these proposals should be communicated to all the fractions in the given union, including also the non-Communist members of the union. The Communist fraction on governing bodies of unions which are led by Communists, must establish connection with the branches of their respective union in other towns and enlist them in the work, combine them on business-like proposals affecting the masses of the workers generally belonging to that union.

Good connection with the Party and the unanimous and conscientious fulfilment of the Party's instructions by all the Communists as one man, is a guarantee of the successful work of the Communist fractions in the trade unions.

To what has been said above, it is necessary to add that Communists must join all trade unions, including fascist unions, national socialist unions, Catholic unions and all other reactionary unions and direct their work towards bringing these unions into the class struggle and towards combining parallel unions into powerful, industrial unions.

IV.

Fractions in Factory Committees.

I submit the question of organising Communist fractions on factory committees as a separate question. Factory committees exist in Germany, Italy, Czechoslovakia and other countries. In some countries their activities are limited by the laws of the country (Germany and Italy), which prohibit them from interfering in the life of the factory. They do not even fulfil trade union functions in the factory. Moreover, the Amsterdam unions in Germany are conducting a campaign against the factory committees. Nevertheless it is extremely important for our Party to capture factory committees for they represent the only organs in factories and workshops which unite all the workers belonging to numerous

parallel unions of different tendencies, as well as workers belonging to no unions at all. In the event of trade union unity being achieved, the factory committee will undoubtedly become the primary organisation of the industrial unions which will enlist into the unions all the workers in the factory.

Finally, the factory committees will play an important part in the class struggle when the labour movement is again on the upgrade. It is necessary to capture the factory committees, to organise active Communist fractions in them, which in their turn, will work under the guidance of the Party nucleus in the factory in close contact with the local Party organisation.

Only such Party organisations can be regarded as flexible, disciplined, well-formed and active which, while simultaneously organising Party nuclei in the factories, will be able also to organise Communist fractions in all the large labour and peasants organisations, and through them extend influence to the general masses of workers and peasants.

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

Child Welfare in Soviet Russia.

By G. Bosse.

It is well-known that unsatisfactory conditions of life cannot help affecting the health and physical development of children. Their influence is felt directly as well as indirectly through the mothers whose weakened organism cannot cope satisfactorily with the bearing of children.

That is why great anxiety was felt about the future of the children born after the terrible mental and physical experiences of the 1918—21 period. Neither were we free from anxiety concerning the conditions of the workers' life during the last few years, as we were wondering if they had improved sufficiently to enable the workers to give birth to children who would be physically as strong as the children of the pre-revolutionary period. One can best judge if a child is strong and healthy by the development of the chest. The circumference of the chest of a new born child must be 90—100 mm. more than half of its length. If it is less, the structure of the child is weak, if more — its structure is above the average.

Moreover, in a healthy new born child the circumference of the head must not be more than 10 millimetres more than the circumference of the chest. In the case of weak children it is 30 to 60 millimetres larger. As the child grows the body grows more rapidly in length than the chest in circumference, and the circumference of the chest more rapidly than the circumference of the head. In the case of very strong children at the age of 6 months the circumference of the chest is already equal to the circumference of the head (Filatov). With most children this equalisation takes place in their third year, and with weak children — in their fifth or sixth year.

For the purpose of ascertaining the influence of conditions of life on the organism of workers' children, the department for the study of biological factors of social phenomena of the State Timiryazev Scientific Research Institute has examined in the current year, under the supervision of Professor Nalimov, the new born children of the workers in the "Peter Alexaev" cloth factory (Lichobory). In the first instance attention was paid to the above mentioned symptoms. The results were surprising. In the case of children three months old the circumference of the chest is 100 and more millimetres more than half of their length. This means that in the case of new born children it was considerably larger than the average size. But the circumference of the chest, in spite of the normal development of the head was at that age greater than the circumference of the head, that is to say it was such as it is supposed to be in the case of very strong children only after the age of 6 months.

Thus Most of the Three Months old Babies of the Factory Were Healthier Than the Six Months Babies of the Pre-Revolution Period.

Older babies (6 to 9 months) are not worse than their younger brothers and sisters. The circumference of the chest of six months old boys is 100 millimetres more than half their

height, and the circumference of the head — 13 mm. The circumference of the chest of girls is 88 mm, more than half their height, and the heads — 9 mm.

The circumference of the chest of 10 months old boys is 108 mm more than half their height, and in the case of girls — 88 mm.

The "Peter Alexaev" factory (formerly Yokshitz) does not differ from other factories with workers hostels. Housing conditions there are if anything worse than in a number of other factories near Moscow. Nevertheless the new generation that is born is healthy, healthier than the Children of the Pre-Revolutionary Citizens, if we are to go by the enormous experience of such an authority as Professor Filekov.

Is not this a new victory of the U. S. S. R.?

WORKERS' CORRESPONDENCE

The Red Army is the School for Village Political Instructors. (Sokolnitchy Liaison Regiment.)

Moscow 4th February 1925.

Three months ago there was an influx of young workers and peasants into the Red Army and of course also into our regiment.

Today one can hardly recognise in the smart young men in Red Army uniforms the Vankas who arrived in our barracks wearing bast shoes. The vacant expression on their faces has vanished, and their features are full of energy and animation.

Many of the Red Army men have joined the Young Communist League and are up to their eyes in social work; and those who were quite illiterate are deep in their studies. I must say that there were many illiterates among those who joined our regiment, something like 100. Every morning when those who are literate attend their political courses, the illiterate ones go to school.

In this way we think that we will be able to do justice to the slogan "No illiterates on the 7th Anniversary of the Red Army".

So much for the regiment.

But a different kind of work goes on in the Lenin "corners" of the Squads. In the evening when our military training is over, the "corner" is like a bee-hive. Here Red Army men read newspapers, and those who are more advanced take the backward ones in hand. Such individual patronage is all the go in the regiment. There are seventy of such "patrons" on the official list, but it would be difficult to say how many carry on this work unofficially.

The success or results of this kind of work is evident. As the young fellows develop they become more active, and their activity finds vent in our wall newspapers of which the regiment has eleven.

Young chaps from the village, who never read papers before, are now clubbing together in twos and threes and subscribing for a newspaper. In this fashion the regiment has subscribed for 250 newspapers.

In the every-day work of the Red Army young soldiers learn all about the construction of proletarian society, they acquire knowledge in the army which helps them on demobilisation to do constructive work in their villages.

Dear British fellow workers, this is our Red Army message to you telling you about our life. It will help to explode the lies which the bourgeoisie spreads through-out the world about the Red Army. In this first letter, I have not been able to give you a full description of our life, but intend to do so in my future letters.

With comradely greetings,

VI. Samoruev,
(Army Correspondent).

OBITUARY

Nariman Narimanov.

Comrade Nariman Narimanov, the President of the Central Executive Committee of the Transcaucasian Socialist Federative Republics, and in this capacity one of the four Presidents of the Central Executive Committees of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, died suddenly on the 19th of March of heart failure.

Comrade Narimanov was born in Tiflis in 1870. He received his first education in a teachers' seminary. After having worked for ten years as elementary school teacher, he matriculated and entered the medical faculty of the university of Novorossiysk. At this time he turned to revolutionary activity. In 1905 he was already in the midst of organisation work: he was the first to found a Persian social democratic organisation in Baku which did not hesitate to take part in the revolution in Persia.

After the completion of his university studies, his revolutionary activity became more intense. But his arrest in Tiflis brought a sudden interruption to it. After being held under arrest seven months, he was exiled from the Caucasus district for five years.

He had scarcely obtained the possibility of settling at Astrakhan when he, together with comrade Schaumjan, again commenced a lively revolutionary activity, mainly devoted to propaganda.

It was not until 1913 that comrade Narimanov was able to return to the Caucasus. Up till 1917 he lived in Baku and was active in the social democratic organisation "Gummet", which in 1917 united with the Russian Communist Party. Narimanov remained its leader.

In 1917, after the civil war, he became member of the Council of Peoples Commissars. Since the year 1919 comrade Narimanov's activity as a statesman assumed a wide scope. He was called to Moscow, where after giving a report on the future of Soviet Aserbeidjan he was appointed as leader of the Eastern Department of the Peoples Commissariat for Foreign Affairs. He was later elected chairman of the Federal Council for Transcaucasia, which position he occupied up to his death.

Comrade Narimanov also devoted the 25 years of his political activity to literary work. As he had a command of the Tartar and Russian language, he published many articles, chiefly on social and political themes, in the native Russian press organs. In addition to this he wrote romances, novels, and dramas of a social import which are known in the West.

The Soviet Union and the Transcaucasian Soviet Republic in particular lose in him one of their most valuable champions, whose self-sacrificing activity will remain in the memory of the international proletariat.

Julian Marchlewski (J. Karski).

Our Polish Party has suffered a serious loss in the death of Comrade Julian Marchlewski. This is the third heavy loss of the Polish proletariat after the death of Rosa Luxemburg and Tyszkö (Jogisches). He, along with them, was one of the founders of Polish bolshevism, of the famous Social Democracy of Poland and Lithuania, the best champion brother party of the Russian Bolsheviki. Previous to the founding of this Party in the year 1893, he founded along with two workers in 1889 the "Union of Polish workers", the first workers' mass party in Tsarist Russia. The fact that this union developed on revolutionary Marxist lines redounds to the credit of comrade Marchlewski, who remained firmly and unhesitatingly devoted to the cause of revolutionary Marxism during the course of 36 years.

Comrade Julian Marchlewski was inseparably bound up not only with the Polish labour movement. Nearly half of his activity he devoted to the German and International labour movement. He adhered to the left wing of German Social Democracy of the pre-war period, and fought within the ranks of the left wing of the International. He was one of the founders of the Spartacus Bund. He signed the first invitation to the I. Congress of the Communist International containing the appeal to found the III. International. He was a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and of its Presidium and up to his last serious illness was also the Chairman of the International Red Aid.

As a result of his collaboration in the Spartacus Bund he was for some years confined in an internment camp in Germany and was only able to obtain freedom through the intervention of the Soviet government in 1918. In the Soviet Union he became a member of the Central Executive Committee, rector at the university of the National Minorities of the West and diplomatic representative at the negotiations with Poland, Lithuania, Finland, Japan and China. In Autumn 1919, during the offensive of Denikin, he succeeded by his negotiations with Poland in bringing about a temporary cessation of the military operations being conducted at the Beresina under the command of Pilsudski. In 1920 he attempted by means of the Polish revolutionary committee, at the head of which he stood, to break that section of the iron ring which passed through White Warsaw.

For many years comrade Marchlewski showed an exceedingly rich activity as an author, before all in the scientific field, which he mastered in a thorough and manysided manner. He acquired especially great recognition by his fight against the Revisionism and Centrism of German Social Democracy. His weekly economic articles in the "Leipsig Volkszeitung" of the pre-war period, which he published under the pseudonym Karski, played a prominent rôle in this ideological struggle.

The international revolutionary working class loses in comrade Marchlewski one of its oldest and most indefatigable pioneers.

The Voice of the 2nd International on the British T. U. Delegation's Report on Russia.

"Never since the excesses of the German social imperialists in the war have I read a book that has so shocked me by the baseness of its outlook and the shamelessness of its assertions as this "Report"."

Friedrich Adler (Secretary of the 2nd International) in the April number of "Der Kampf", theoretical organ of Austrian Social Democracy.