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An Estimate of the International Situation.*)

By G. Zinoviev.

A year ago, the international organisation of the proletariat, the Communist International coined the formula, which has since gained great popularity, of "stabilisation", the partial stabilisation of Capitalism.

Was this diagnosis correct? Is it true that international capitalism is really passing through a period of partial stabilisation? Yes, the diagnosis was undoubtedly correct. It implies that international Capital has gained time, that it has been given longer grace than we originally expected, for organising its resistance to the proletarian revolution. Now, however, it is evident that only they, not only the capitalists, but we also have gained time. The first victorious revolution in our Union has also gained time. Side by side with the partial economic strengthening of the capitalist countries, an irresistible steadily growing process of real, healthy stabilisation, of real strengthening of our national economy has been going on for

the last few years — as not only our friends but our enemies also bear witness.

For the first proletarian revolution the question of gaining time until the day comes when the troops of workers from other countries hasten to our aid, is of immense importance. Our whole policy during the past years of the revolution was chiefly dictated by our endeavours to gain time. Of course we must not gain time by the method of waiting with our hands folded in our laps to see what may happen, but we must gain time by making the best use of every moment in the interest of social reconstruction.

We said that Capitalism is at present passing through a period of partial stabilisation. There is still a regular confusion as to this question: Stabilisation, strengthening, but in comparison with what period? — If we compare the condition of capitalist economics now and at the time of the end of the war, at the time of the Treaty of Versailles, in the years 1920—1921, at the moment of the greatest collapse, of the greatest crisis of capitalism, then we can say: "Yes, European Capitalism seems to be working its way out of this state of collapse.

*) Extract from Comrade Zinoviev's speech at the Metal Workers' Congress of the Soviet Union on Nov. 25th, 1925.

The Conference of Locarno and its Significance.

The Treaty of Locarno is of very serious significance. As a matter of fact, at Locarno not one treaty, but a whole number of treaties were signed. The chief treaty was concluded between Germany, Poland, France, England and Italy. Apart from this, a number of so-called arbitration treaties were concluded at Locarno between the separate countries, between Germany and Belgium, between Germany and France, between Germany and Poland, between Germany and Czechoslovakia, between France and Poland and between France and Czechoslovakia. The matter however is by no means exhausted by Locarno. It is intended to call two more conferences: a special economic conference and a conference which is to concern itself with European disarmament, a question which is closely connected with the Locarno treaties.

During the last few years, we have grown accustomed to the innumerable international conferences which have always developed into a simple diplomatic tug-of-war, and have ceased to attribute any great significance to them. It would however be a mistake to conclude that the Conference of Locarno has no serious significance. This is not the case. The Conference of Locarno represents the first serious attempt since the Treaty of Versailles to bring about an alliance of the bourgeois world against us, against the Soviet Union. The significance of the Locarno Agreement is not yet quite cleared up because there are no doubt a number of secret treaties which were concluded in Locarno and are, up to now, unpublished, in addition to the published documents. For this reason, even within international communism, no clearly crystallised point of view has yet been formed on all questions of detail with regard to the meaning of the Conference of Locarno.

There can be no doubt that America was behind the affair of Locarno. As is well known, America herself is not a member of the League of Nations. She did not take part in the last European conferences for she regarded it as beneath her dignity to do so. She considers it sufficient to send a simple "observer" to these conferences as well as to the League of Nations, who sits behind the scenes and pulls the European Great Powers on wires like marionettes. America did not behave differently even with regard to Locarno — of that there can be no doubt.

The second fact about which there can be no doubt is that the Soviet Union was the target at which the Conference of Locarno was aimed; that this conference was a more or less successful attempt on the part of England, relying on America's backing, to organise the most important European States against us, against the Soviet Union.

In the third place there is likewise little doubt that the Conference of Locarno has cast a noose round Germany's neck. It is usually said that Germany is joining the League of Nations. This is not quite the right expression. Germany is not joining but is "being joined". She is being forced to enter the League of Nations, is being dragged in by a lasso. Germany's independence could only be saved by a proletarian revolution, as the independence of our country was only saved by the proletarian revolution. Germany is now being dragged into the League of Nations and is being made more or less openly a vassal of this League of Nations.

The fourth fact which arises from Locarno is that the France of to-day is, to a certain extent, also a target against which this conference is directed. From the military point of view, France is now the strongest Power on the European continent. It is not easy for England to compete with her in this respect. The Anglo-French dissensions have existed since the Treaty of Versailles and take different forms in different periods. England wants to bind the hands of France whom she regards as too strong a military Power.

To a certain extent, England has achieved this aim through a whole system of treaties which were concluded in Locarno.

These are the chief conclusions which can already be drawn from the Agreement of Locarno. Probably, in the course of time, many new features of the international situation which has arisen in connection with Locarno will be cleared up. It is an indubitable fact that the European diplomats have also come to an understanding with regard to a united front against the Communists. It is not very easy for imperialists to come to an agreement about disarmament, but they will easily come

to an understanding, and have probably already come to one, with regard to the common fight against the Communists. Later on, when their mutual quarrels become rather more apparent, we shall undoubtedly learn more of the Conference of Locarno. But what we already know, leads us quite definitely to the conclusions set forth above.

Efforts are being made to represent the Conference of Locarno as a victory for pacifism, as a victory for the policy of peace, as a guarantee against war. All the leaders of the 2nd International are leaping and dancing for joy over Locarno. The 2nd International is running behind the wheels of the chariot of the Locarno Conference and declaring right and left that Locarno is a victory of peace, a guarantee against new wars. The whole international bourgeoisie is roaring still more loudly in the same tone.

They will not however throw any dust in our eyes. Locarno is a further link, a further development of the chain which was originally forged in Versailles, it is a new tangle of contradictions, a new preparation for war, in any case an attempt to create a united front against the Soviet Union. And if we add the fact of the partial stabilisation of capitalism, it becomes evident that we cannot dismiss Locarno with a wave of the hand. We regard Locarno as a factor which threatens peace. Perhaps Locarno means no immediate threat to our Union, but it is most certainly a mine under our Union. Chamberlain appealed to Japan, France, America and to the smaller States and tried to get them to mobilise against us. He also tried to persuade our Baltic neighbours to mobilise against us.

Chamberlain however was not successful in his work. Locarno is a slower but at the same time "more solid" attempt to prepare for war against us. For this reason we must make a correct estimate of the present international situation and carefully weigh it; we must render to ourselves a clear account of the fact that Locarno is a new, more or less serious and solid attempt to unite the forces of the international bourgeoisie under the leadership of the English Conservatives, and that in the first place against us.

The Situation in the Individual Capitalist Countries.

Locarno alone however does not exhaust the characterisation of the international situation. The imperialists met a Locarno with the object of reconciling each and everyone. Nevertheless, two Government crises arose at the same time immediately after Locarno, the first in Germany, the other in France. These crises throw a fairly clear light on the situation in the most important countries of Europe.

What is happening in England? Everyone knows that English industry is on the down grade, that the monopolist position held by English capitalism in the European markets is being destroyed. The revolutionising of the English working class, its fraternisation with our trade unions is, at bottom, closely connected with the crisis in English capitalism. This could be illustrated by a number of facts and figures.

Let us take the second most powerful country in Europe, France. She is passing through a period of very serious crisis. Bourgeois France is suffering from the following severe complaints: firstly, she is carrying on two wars, in Morocco and Syria, two real wars in which a quarter of a million of French soldiers are engaged, which are costing a few milliards of francs and the end of which is not yet in sight. In these two wars, the revolt of the colonial peoples against bourgeois France finds expression at the same time. Secondly, France is passing through an extremely severe financial crisis. This is the most fashionable disease through which most governments nowadays come a cropper. There is no unemployment in France, on the contrary, France is at present employing 2—2½ millions of foreign workers. The basis of this industrial boom however is so unstable, that it is compatible with the most alarming financial crisis and the fact the country is in the grip of a severe financial fever which places the French Government before the alternative of either carrying out serious confiscations of the profits of the largest financial magnates, or of enduring an interminable permanent financial crisis. The French bourgeoisie is ruminating and cannot make up its mind to anything. The third crisis is that the petty bourgeois strata of the population is beginning to kick. The pressure of taxation

is increasing and consequently the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie of the towns are rising and the discontent is growing among these strata of the population. It is reported from Paris that in the last fortnight large meetings of the petty bourgeoisie have repeatedly been held and have been attended by tens of thousands, and that in these meetings the communist speakers who propose confiscating the profits of the great magnates of capital, are decidedly popular. It seems to me that these diseases alone are enough to ruin the strongest country: two wars, financial crisis and fermentation amongst the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie, — France, be it remarked, being a country of petty bourgeoisie and peasants.

A very interesting situation has now arisen in Poland. I choose this country as an example, because its position is closely connected with the French crisis. Bourgeois Poland, which calls herself "independent", has lived hitherto in many respects upon the reflection of the French bourgeoisie. Poland, for her part, is passing through a still more serious crisis than France. The Polish manufacturers and industrialists are besieging their Government and pointing out that they are on the edge of a precipice. The disputes between England and France are having their effect on Poland. The English imperialists who are trying to entice Poland from the influence of France, have now turned their "benevolent" attention to Poland and have undermined the Polish currency by a whole number of financial measures. The English imperialists are turning the French authorities out of the Polish Government and replacing them by their own. Pilsudski is again beginning to give signs of life; he poses as a Polish national hero but is in fact a commissioner of England. The undercurrent of all these phenomena is a fermentation among the Polish peasantry. The peasant deputies who were elected to the Polish Sejm a few years ago on the basis of the most reactionary franchise law, are beginning to veer towards the Left.

As regards Germany, I have already told you how she is being dragged into the League of Nations by ropes. Thanks to the Dawes plan, the economic situation in Germany has improved a little during the past year. Bourgeois Germany has stabilised herself more or less. Now however, a year after the acceptance of the Dawes plan, Germany has to face the first repayment of the loan which she received under such difficult conditions. In Germany such gigantic firms as the Stinnes concern are now going bankrupt. In Germany there are evidences of a fresh increase in the cost of living and a further increase in unemployment.

Italy is in a peculiar situation. Mussolini was compelled to prohibit the organs not only of the Communist but also of the Menshevik party. The case of the Menshevik deputy Zaniboni, who is said to have been making preparations for an attempt on the life of Mussolini, is a matter of common knowledge. If it is true that the idea of shooting Mussolini can enter the heads of the Italian Mensheviks, if the same idea as entered the head of Fritz Adler during the war could occur to these parliamentary jobbers who believe in nothing but Parliament and franchise — if things have gone so far, it is evident that the Italy of to-day has finally arrived at a deadlock.

The International Labour Movement and the East.

At the same time we see that the revolutionary movement, having overcome a whole number of difficulties — and it has met with the most serious difficulties during this year — is beginning to gain in strength, and that on a new basis; here and there even on the basis of an improvement in economic affairs, but it is growing and has at the same time undoubtedly to overcome the most serious difficulties. The Communist Party of Germany has passed through its most serious crisis this year. It has however begun to recover in recent times and has proved the enormous vitality which is inherent in Communism in Germany. The C. P. of Germany received almost 400,000 votes at the municipal elections in Berlin. This proves that Communism in Germany is standing on firm and solid ground. The elections in Hessen and in numerous other districts show the same. The elections in Czechoslovakia in which our Party received a million votes are of enormous significance. There can be no doubt that Communism has become a tremendous force in Czechoslovakia and is the second strongest force in Parliament.

In Belgium we have a comparatively small Party and a strong enemy in the shape of the Belgium Labour party. The Belgium Mensheviks have managed to penetrate into the life of the working class. The Belgian and Austrian social-democrats are the strongest Menshevik parties and they have so managed that almost the whole life of the worker and of his family are under their influence. It is hardly possible for a working man's child to be born without the trade union and the party being on the spot. They have their own banks, their own hospitals, their rich and powerful co-operative society, their own theatre and cinema, in a word, they understand their job. But even in these two countries the Communists can record success in recent times (in Austria among the Youth).

In my opinion therefore, comrades, European Communism has left behind it its most difficult years, its most serious crises. We know that these crises were inevitable. We also know that our Party passed through its most difficult decade between 1908 and 1917. International Communism is now passing through a period of this sort.

At the same time we can observe a powerful revolutionary movement in the East, which is of tremendous importance and proves that Lenin's diagnosis with regard to how the world revolution will proceed, has proved to be perfectly correct. In this sense, events in China are of the greatest significance. Up to now, they have only roused millions, soon they will rouse tens and hundreds of millions. The Labour aristocracy which is organised in the ranks of the 2nd International, does not understand this movement.

The movement in the East is the biggest gun directed against the capitalist Powers. The movement in the East is turning the germ of the European revolution into the germ of a world revolution. Without the East, without those massed millions which are now, before our eyes, resisting the imperialist yoke, there can be no talk of a world revolution.

If we take all these factors into consideration, we must say: "Good, we will call the present situation of Capitalism stabilisation, but no one can maintain that this stabilisation will last, that it will secure Capitalism against cataclysms". The most far-seeing capitalists regard the present situation in their country as something transient, something unstable. Nevertheless, we must not close our eyes to the fact that the development of the international revolution has not proceeded as fast as we expected. In determining our tactics, we must, of course, always take into our calculations the worst that may happen. We must however clearly recognise that this stabilisation is only transient. It will be shaken, it will be weakened by those subterranean blows which we observe in the capitalist countries, and by the growth of our Soviet Union.

The Three Tracks of the International Revolution.

With regard to the international revolutionary movement, our task can be formulated briefly as follows: we are only beginning to use the tactics of a united front. It is developing on peculiar lines. I think we should now distinguish three chief tracks of this movement.

The first chief track is the approach between the workers of England and the Soviet Union. It has economic foundations, but is leading to the English working class freeing itself from bourgeois influence, casting aside Reformism more and more and slowly but surely coming round to our point of view. The influx of delegations of foreign workers into our country is a similar powerful phenomenon. Only a few years ago, relief committees were formed in all the towns of Europe to help the starving people in Russia, and now numerous foreign workers' delegations leave our country overwhelmed with profound joy at our success and achievements. If we place these two facts side by side, we shall grasp what a gigantic step forward has been taken in the reconstruction of our economics and in the approach to the workers who still, to a certain extent, stand on the ground of Reformism.

The social-democrats often point out that the Communists in the largest countries are nevertheless in the minority. This is actually true. The social-democrats ask: "With what troops are you going to defeat us?" When they ask us this question, I am reminded of an old humorous illustration which appeared in an English newspaper during our fight against Koltchak. In this illustration, Lenin is on the one side and Koltchak

on the other, Koltchak big and Lenin small but supple. Koltchak asks: "With what troops are you going to defeat us?" Lenin answers with a smile: "With your own troops." When now the social-democratic leaders, who still in many countries have the majority of the workers behind them, ask with a superior air: "With what troops are you going to defeat the international bourgeoisie and us, the leaders of the German and other social-democratic parties?" then, in view of the mood of the delegations of workers who have visited us, we can confidently reply: "With those troops which you still regard as your own, with those workers who are still at present in your ranks."

The second track is the revolutionary movement in the East. This is a gigantic stream which is forcing its way through all the narrows. This is China, Japan, India. We have already achieved a certain amount of success in China. Canton to-day closely resembles Moscow. But it cannot be denied that other centres will soon arise in the Chinese movement, that other centres will join Canton. We shall have important successes in Japan which is pregnant with the bourgeois revolution. It is inevitable that a revolutionary proletarian mass movement will arise there. No repressions will arrest the growth of this movement.

Finally, the third track: the application of the old methods of the Comintern, the development of our nuclei under the most difficult circumstances imaginable. Our enemies are endeavouring to shatter our nuclei. We however, like ants, reconstruct them laboriously and teach the Communists of other countries how to construct them.

These were the conditions with us before the fall of Czarism. An enormous amount of time and energy has been used by our best people in order to form small workers' nuclei; the heavy tread of the police destroyed in half a minute everything at which the best representatives of the working class had been working for years. To-day the Communists of other countries are in the same position. This hard, strenuous work is the third track, the main track. Without it, victory in England, Germany and Czechoslovakia is impossible. We are constructing the main foundation of our work, the Communist nuclei. Our success in the trade unions is a reflection of the influence of the Communist Party on the masses of workers.

These are the three tracks which must be brought together and must be strengthened into a junction. To-day our whole wisdom consists in combining these three tracks into one. It cannot be said that the first or second or third is important in itself. All three are of importance. They present the picture of a slow and difficult process of the maturing of the world revolution.

HANDS OFF CHINA

Chang-Tso-Lin, Manchuria and Japan.

By Karl Radek.

In all probability the rule of Chang-Tso-Lin is at an end. His flight from Mukden means the loss of that basis upon which he had set up his power. This is not a defeat like that which he sustained in 1922, when he was beaten by Wu-Pei-Fu, or like that which Wu-Pei-Fu suffered in 1924 when he was beaten by the troops of Chang-Tso-Lin. In these two cases, both Wu-Pei-Fu and Chang-Tso-Lin suffered defeats outside of their main bases. Chang-Tso-Lin advanced beyond the borders of the three Manchurian provinces and had attempted to seize possession of the whole of North China. Wu-Pei-Fu, however, had left the central provinces of China in order to make himself dictator of the entire country. After their defeats they both retreated to their provinces, and their reassembled their forces in order, after a short space of time, to begin the war afresh.

The recent defeat of Chang-Tso-Lin commenced in the same manner as that of the year 1922. Driven from Shanghai, he retreated towards the North. Here there commenced the new feature that characterises his defeat: simultaneously with the collapse of his basis, there occurred the mutiny of Kuo-Sun-Lin. What does this mutiny mean? It became possible thanks to the

regrouping of the material and moral forces among the troops of Chang-Tso-Lin. A part of his soldiers had been exposed to the influence of the atmosphere of Shanghai and had become unreliable. The provisions and supplies which were to have been despatched to Manchuria proved to be insufficient. The Generals whom Chang-Tso-Lin had been able to gather round him during the eight years of his rule in Manchuria became convinced that the policy of Chang-Tso-Lin constitutes a danger to the ruling clique in Mukden.

This situation rendered possible the mutiny of Kuo-Sun-Lin. Kuo-Sun-Lin does not differ from Chang-Tso-Lin as regards political opinions. But it is not the opinions of Kuo-Sun-Lin which are of importance in estimating the situation, but the fact that Kuo-Sun-Lin, or some other General who would succeed Chang-Tso-Lin, can no longer base himself upon a resistless Manchuria and upon the apparatus which Chang-Tso-Lin has created by many years of work.

In this sense we are faced with a great change in the situation in Manchuria, which at the same time means a change in the fighting forces of China.

Whence did the rule of Chang-Tso-Lin originate, and what does it mean? Chang-Tso-Lin is usually represented as being a leader of the robber-bands of Manchuria, who, with the assistance of the Japanese, has seized power and conducted a policy in the interests of Japan. This is the view that is commonly held; but it does not take into account the far-reaching changes which have taken place in Manchuria during the last twenty years. The construction of the East China Railway and the Russo-Japanese war constitute the reasons why this most backward province of China has become one of the most advanced parts of the Chinese State from the point of view of economics. The influx of Russian money, which was followed by an influx of masses of people who had to be fed, gave a powerful stimulus to the development of agriculture in Manchuria. In 1923 Manchuria produced 534 million puds of food-stuffs, of which 390 puds were consumed in Manchuria. The export from Manchuria amounted to 124 million puds in 1923.

This export — wheat, beans, soy-beans, oil-cake — which goes to Japan, America and Europe, is the basis of the industry which supplies commerce and agriculture in Manchuria. The huge number of modern equipped mills, factories and banks which undertake the purchase and export of products, the commercial apparatus which has been set up in Manchuria — all this has completely changed this province. These conditions have created the class of commercial bourgeoisie, that basis upon which Chang-Tso-Lin relied for support.

During the Russo-Japanese war, Chang-Tso-Lin was as a matter of fact the leader of a division of Hunhuses, fighting against the Russian army. After the war he entered the service of China and became the chief of the Mukden division. Chang-Tso-Lin took advantage of the decay of the State apparatus of the Manchu dynasty, ousted the two military governors of the two Northern Provinces of Manchuria and united the power in his hands; whilst during all these years he employed the money obtained from the country in order to develop its commerce and industry. He became one of the chief shareholders of the Japanese bank in Manchuria. A considerable portion of the mills and export undertakings belong to him. His attempt to penetrate beyond the Great Wall and to subject to his influence the province of Shantung, as well as Tchili along with Peking, constitutes a combination of the personal efforts of the military clique and of the young commercial bourgeoisie of Manchuria to extend their rule beyond the frontiers of the three Manchurian provinces.

As, apart from the proletariat engaged in the coal mines and on the railways, there are no working masses in Manchuria, the basis of Chang-Tso-Lin was fairly secure. The commercial bourgeoisie, everywhere and at all times, supported the absolute power which aimed at extending its sphere of influence. The General Staff of Chang-Tso-Lin held in its hands the full administrative power over Manchuria. The limitation of the power of Chang-Tso-Lin was not due to the population, but to Japanese imperialism. After the Russian defeat in the Far East, Japanese imperialism obtained possession of the Southern Manchurian Railway, introduced its troops into this territory in order to protect the railway and, taking advantage of the world war, began to oust from North Manchuria the Russian bourgeoisie which, until the war, had imported 60 per cent of

the manufactured goods, 100 per cent of the petrol, 75 per cent of the sugar and 70 per cent of the tobacco into this territory.

The cessation of Russian exports in Manchuria, the cessation of the influx of Russian capital, facilitated the attempt of Japan to take possession of this territory. As she could not do it openly, for fear of America, Japan supported Chang-Tso-Lin as her tool. But in supporting him she attempted at the same time to dictate her will to him. The troops of Chang-Tso-Lin were trained by Japanese instructors. The Japanese attempted to penetrate into all branches of the Manchurian administration, and desired at the same time to seize possession of Mongolia in order to threaten Chang-Tso-Lin's possessions not only from the South, but also from the North and West.

The home policy of Chang-Tso-Lin and his dependance upon Japan rendered more hopeless every month his efforts to play a role throughout the whole of China. The democratic movement is growing in the whole of China. It finds expression not only in the Kuomintang Party, but also in a number of independent organisations of intellectuals and of the working class (organisations of teachers, physicians, engineers and workers), in a great movement to improve the elementary schools, to set up a system of people's high schools, and in the women's movement.

This movement is weakest in Manchuria. The mere fact of the existence of a great number of Russian and Japanese traders in Manchuria prevented the formation of a broad, compact Chinese bourgeois mass. Manchuria was the most backward province of China from a cultural point of view. It therefore lacks a broad mass of intellectuals which is so characteristic of the remaining parts of China. The proximity of Siberia, with its civil war, strengthened the reactionary tendencies of the bourgeoisie.

As a result of all these conditions, the rule of the Generals in Manchuria was more obvious than in any other part of China. For the mass of the people in China, Chang-Tso-Lin became the symbol of the rule of reaction. The open arbitrary rule of the Japanese in Southern Manchuria made Chang-Tso-Lin, in the eyes of the masses, a tool of Japan. His efforts to seize possession of Northern China in order to advance into Central China, was regarded by the mass of the people as an attempt on the part of Japan to obtain possession of China. Thus, Chang-Tso-Lin, in his endeavours to play a role in all China, encountered greater opposition than anybody else.

The defeat of Chang-Tso-Lin renders Japanese imperialism, for whom Manchuria represents a very tasty morsel, very nervous. If Manchuria, with a population of twelve millions, is able to export more than 100 million puds of wheat, that is one fifth of the pre-war export of Russia, what could it supply with an increase of population? The increase in the population of Manchuria is very great. Northern Manchuria is 30 per cent larger than Germany. Hundreds of thousands of peasants in China are striving to emigrate to Manchuria. In the event of war, Manchuria would be able to constitute a basis of supplies for Japan. It also contains considerable coal beds. From this point of view the fear of the Japanese imperialists regarding Manchuria is perfectly intelligible.

But Manchuria does not play a separate role in Japanese policy: it is at the same time a bridge to China. China is in need of foreign capital. Thanks to her familiarity with Chinese conditions, Japan possesses enormous possibilities of development on the Chinese mainland, which, in the event of international complications, would secure her not only the assistance of Manchuria, but also that of China. But these possibilities cannot be based exclusively on bayonets. Japan cannot venture on a war with America and China at the same time. China, driven into the arms of America, would in the future find the strength to annihilate Japan. Hence, the liquidation of the Chang-Tso-Lin clique confronts the Japanese government with the all-important decision: will its policy be directed towards winning the friendship of China, towards co-operating with those elements which desire to create an independent China, or will it be directed against China?

In the latter case this would mean the final defeat of Chang-Tso-Lin and the beginning of the complete defeat of Japan in the Far East.

POLITICS

The Struggle of the Communist Party of France.

By Pierre Semard (Paris).

On the 8th November 1925 the Communist Party of France addressed a Manifesto to the workers, in which it set forth the essential points of its programme.

To the class finance plan of the bourgeoisie, it opposed the proletarian finance plan. It was at this time that the Painlevé government introduced into parliament a plan that was subject of a long discussion on the part of the influential members of the Left Bloc, whose policy is directed against the workers and the middle classes. The plan of the Communist Party proposed that "the money be taken from where it is to be had", and carefully laid down the means by which this is to be achieved:

1. Nationalising of the Banks and placing them under the control of the workers.
2. Nationalising of the great capitalist monopolies.
3. Setting up of a State monopoly of foreign trade.
4. Settlement of foreign debts.
5. Expropriation of fortunes by a progressive capital levy.
6. Workers' control of production.

The C.P. of France demanded the immediate cessation of the ruinous wars in Morocco and Syria and showed to the workers in the clearest manner, that only the mass action of the workers and peasants, the fraternising of the French soldiers with the Riff Kabyles and the Syrians and the military evacuation of Morocco and Syria can bring about immediate peace.

In this manner we gave to the working masses an exact programme for improving their conditions, while we at the same time exposed the ambiguous attitude of the socialist leaders and issued a powerful appeal for the setting up of the united front of the workers.

Whilst the Socialist Party only conducted a weak parliamentary opposition against Painlevé on account of his finance plans, which mean inflation and therefore ruin for the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie, the Communist Party addressed itself to the broad working masses, submitted its programme to them and called upon them to rally together in the class organisations for the fight against the dictatorship of the banks.

* * *

The Communist Party of France had, for over a year, pointed out to the workers the growing fascist danger. Since the Left Bloc came into power in May 1924, fascism had continually gathered together its forces. When we called the attention of the democratic Herriot to the organising of 40,000 catholics in the provinces under the leadership of General Castelnau, when from the tribune of the Chamber of Deputies and everywhere throughout the country we exposed the scandalous activity of the "Patriotic Youth" under the influence of Taittinger, Herriot scornfully replied that fascism was only a bogey. This pronouncement received the approval of the social democratic leaders, and the Socialist Party never considered it necessary to reply to the proposal which we made for a united front.

For some months past the fascist organisations have become more insolent, and at numerous demonstrations have proclaimed their will to dictatorship. The "Action Française" under Daudet, the "Nouveau Siècle" (The New Century) League under Valois and Arthuys, the "Patriotic Youth" under Taittinger and the "National Republican League" under Millerand have been taking advantage of the difficult situation in Parliament and the confusion of the middle classes, in order to undertake energetic attacks which were rendered more easier by the flabbiness, both of the democratic and social democratic leaders.

Our Party, which had unceasingly called attention to the fascist danger and combated it, on the 21st of November submitted a fresh proposal to all socialist organisations for a united front.

We offered the Socialist Party to undertake along with them a broad campaign of agitation throughout the whole of France on the basis of immediate demands, including the disarming and dissolving of the fascist bands.

At an extremely critical moment, when the Painlevé government, the last government of the Left Bloc, proclaimed itself bankrupt and proved itself incapable of giving satisfaction to the big bourgeoisie, because it was faced on the one hand with the proposals of the socialists Boncour and Blum and on the other hand by the Right, the Communist Party of France, after submitting its programme in the clearest manner to be broad working masses, applied in the correct manner the united front tactics by calling upon all socialist organisations to form a common united front on the basis of a programme of demands previously agreed upon.

When the crisis broke out in parliament, the Communist fraction immediately refused to vote for one of the clauses of the finance plan of Painlevé, in favour of which the Socialist Party had withdrawn their own proposals. The clause in question was that which provided for the consolidation of the National Defence Bonds, which meant that the government reserved the right not to pay the Bonds which became redeemable on December 8. This meant, therefore, a declaration of bankruptcy as regards obligations of the bourgeois State. The Communist fraction emphatically refused to vote for the clause, which only hit the small owners and increased the misery of the people with small savings.

The votes of the Communist parliamentary fraction resulted in the defeat of the Painlevé Cabinet. Thereupon political confusion reached its climax. President Doumergue, who had been chosen by the Right, attempted to push the socialists to the wall by manoeuvring in favour of the big bourgeoisie.

In order to avoid every misunderstanding, our Party, on the 25th of November, issued a second Manifesto in which we laid down the attitude of the Party as regards the overthrow of the Painlevé government. Without concealing anything of our Programme, our Party declared to the working masses: Just see what your experiences will be with the Bloc and with the Socialists! We will not play into the hands of the reactionaries as the democrats and social democrats falsely accuse us of doing. We are opposed to every reactionary government and in favour of the fight for the workers' and peasants' government.

* * *

The demonstration which took place in Luna Park on November 26th confirmed in the most striking manner the correctness of the programme, the policy and the tactics of our Party. More than 20,000 workers, the elite of the Paris proletariat, crowded into the vast assembly hall.

The financial plans of our Party were fully and entirely approved, as offering the only means of solving the financial crisis at the expense of the capitalists and for the benefit of the working class. The summons to struggle for the ending of the colonial wars and for immediate peace in Morocco and Syria received the enthusiastic approval of the workers present.

But when it came to the question of fascism and the necessity of the proletarian united front, we came to learn how rightly we had interpreted the wishes of the masses. From 20,000 throats there rang forth the response to our call to fight against fascism and to win the masses away from its deceitful demagoguery. Our programme for the defence of the immediate demands of the workers, which was set up in opposition to the demagogic demands of the fascists, must however not deter us from aiming at the formation of a workers' government, which will be the outcome of the unavoidable class struggle and will lead to the realisation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The "Dollar Campaign" in Italy.

By Fisa (Milan).

In the last few days, the "dollar campaign" which was carried on by the bourgeois newspapers of Italy of all shades with a great display of titles and appeals, has been brought to an end. It was touching to witness the unanimity of the Press which forms the chief bulwark of the Aventino, such as the "Corriere della Sera" (the Evening Post) which has in the meantime been turned into a Fascist paper, the "Stampa" (the Press) and even the social democratic "Lavoro" (Labour) in their attempts to adopt the slogans of Fascism in this campaign which is to serve the purpose of giving foreign countries the impression that Fascism has been established throughout Italy.

According to the first official statements, about 80 million lire, i. e. more than three million dollars, have been collected in the "National Subscription" which is to serve the purpose of paying the first instalment of Italy's debt to the U.S.A.

The bourgeois Press of all shades extols this result as a pronouncement of the people of Italy in favour of Fascism and of Mussolini, its leader. The papers which were in favour of the Aventino, are attempting to "purify" themselves and to testify their devotion to the "Duce" by means of the dollar campaign. A few days before it was dissolved, the printers' trade union, which was affiliated to the Confederazione Generale del Lavoro (General Federation of Labour) and was under the leadership of the Neo-Fascist Bruno who, we are told, has just gone over to the Fascist Corporations, allocated a certain sum for the dollar subscription.

Thus we see that the dollar subscription was the means by which the former adherents of the Aventino and of the "fiancheggiatori" (those forming the flanks, i. e. the sympathisers who were not members of the Fascist party) tried to rehabilitate themselves in the eyes of Fascism. The latter thereupon made efforts to prove that the dollar subscription was evidence of the broad approval which Fascism enjoys in the country.

They further tried to prove that the working masses are "on the side of Fascism" by calling upon all industrialists to get all their workers without distinction to subscribe one dollar, i. e. about 25 lire, which is the equivalent of the average wage for a day and a half. And, as a matter of fact, the subscription lists came in without any difficulty, a week after the instructions had been issued.

This was due to a very simple cause! In the majority of the factories, the employers simply deducted a dollar from the wages at the end of the week. Anyone refusing to acknowledge this obligatory reduction was dismissed. In many other factories, notices were posted up by the management, calling upon all workers who were not inclined to contribute, to enter their names in the office of the factory department in question. Anyone who is familiar with factory life under a regime of police and blackmail like the Fascist regime, will very well understand what it meant to go to the office and to declare "I refuse to sign", well knowing that apart from certain dismissal, he was sure to be cruelly ill-treated by the "black shirts".

And yet, in many factories, the workers went in masses to the office and declared that they would not sign. In these cases, the obligatory deduction was frequently made without any further question. A number of other means were employed to compel the workers to sign. Meetings were held at which Fascist big guns and the managers of the factories spoke whereupon the workers were "invited" to hold up their hands for the subscription (it should be noted that armed "black shirts" were present at the meetings). Even on these occasions, the great majority of the masses nevertheless frequently refused to hold up their hands, the consequence being that they were ill-treated.

The system most used by the Fascists was that of individual "persuasion". The most brutal of the factory police in black shirts, went through the factory departments with a list which all workers who "agreed" to subscribe the dollar had to sign. The workers were individually seized and in a brutal way compelled to sign, being threatened with dismissal and ill-treatment if they refused.

Thus, in these cases also, murderous Fascism gained the "consent" of whole departments of factories.

Since the beginning of the dollar campaign, the communist Press has received numerous letters from workers who relate the deeds of violence, the measures of compulsion and the ill-treatment by the Fascist malefactors to which the workers are exposed when they are being "persuaded" to subscribe the dollar. On the other hand enthusiastic letters are received in which is related that in various factories — especially in the large centres — the workers have unanimously refused to sign, with the result that they succeeded, as a united mass, in resisting the compulsory measures of the Fascists.

The Labour Press, the Communist Press however cannot make the slightest allusion to all the infamies which are undertaken to the detriment of the working masses, unless they wish to be confiscated or prohibited. It is therefore not difficult for Fascism, to which the appendage of the Press of the former adherents of the Aventino and of the "fiancheggiatori" is attached, to announce to the world that the dollar subscription is a "plebiscite in favour of Mussolini".

We can calculate without exaggeration that of the 80 million lire brought in by the dollar subscription, at least 50 million were exorted from the masses of workers and employees by the methods we have described.

In spite of the "manifestation of agreement" which was blazoned forth by the venal Press, the masses are more anti-Fascist than ever. Driven by starvation wages and by political pressure which grows more acute from day to day, they are gradually forging the new weapons which are to unite them and to lead them to a frontal attack against Fascist reaction.

The Reawakening of the National Liberation Movement in Egypt.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

After the expulsion of the Liberal-Constitutional Party, which although by no means revolutionary still had a little regard for the masses, the dictatorship of the Zivar Pasha ministry became unbearable. After a number of brutal measures which were intended to crush the opponents of this dictatorship along the whole line, he issued a coalition law, according to which only those parties confirmed by the king have a legal right to existence; all others are to be straight away dissolved. This law which, as the Zivar Ministers boasted, was to put an end to the Zaglulist movement, had the exact contrary result: Zaglulism, the national movement, which for over a year had given no sign of life whatever, began at once to become active and went over to the counter-attack. Zaglul Pasha's astonishingly spirited protest against the bombarding of Damascus met with an enthusiastic response throughout the whole country, and in the last few weeks not a day has passed in which the Egyptian press, and not only the Zaglulist press, has not made some allusion or other to approaching great actions against the Zivar Cabinet. On the 13th of November, the day of the national festival to be held in honour of Zaglul Pasha, there took place, against the express prohibition of the government, a Zaglulist meeting which ended with the arrest of prominent nationalist leaders. This act of violence on the part of the government increased the excitement of the population still more.

Formally, Egypt is a Constitutional Monarchy. The constitution was drawn up by the Zaglulist parliament and — at least outwardly — is still in force at the present moment. This constitution is on the one hand an excellent mask behind which the real rulers of the country, the English, remain hidden. But precisely for this reason it is a dangerous weapon against them: for if the constitution, the maintenance of which they themselves guarantee, is violated, then the mask is immediately torn from them and the rulers find themselves face to face with the masses whom they have deceived — a state of affairs which is bound to lead to severe collisions. Now the Zivar government, in response to "wishes from above", violated the constitution when, in March last, it dissolved the Egyptian parliament. Since then Zaglul Pasha has been able, under the perfectly loyal slogan of "for parliament", "for the constitution", to rally all sections of the Egyptian people against the Zivar government. The withdrawal of the Liberal-Constitutional

party from the Zivar Cabinet completed the isolation of the latter from the masses of the people.

According to the Egyptian Constitution, Parliament has to be summoned to meet on the 21st of November. As Zivar Pasha, after the dissolution of the former parliament, had quite sufficient time in which to prescribe new elections but has not yet done so, Zaglul declared a few days before the 21st of November: "The old parliament continues to exist. This parliament alone is empowered to determine the government of the country according to the constitution. And parliament will assemble on the 21st of November".

This declaration was an open challenge to the Zivar government. Zaglul felt strong enough to enter on a struggle, and he did so. The government concentrated all its troops in Cairo; all public buildings were placed under guard and Zivar Pasha assured the King that the parliamentary sitting would not take place.

It did take place, however, punctually at the time laid down and only in another place. Its imposing proceedings surprised even the most optimistic supporters of Zaglul. Before the assembled members the representatives of the Liberal-Constitutionals and also of the extremist "Nationalist Party", who for years had bitterly opposed Zaglul, declared their complete solidarity with the latter. The assembled members took an oath not to rest until the "anti-constitutional government" in Egypt is removed. The three great Egyptian parties stand behind Zaglul and against Zivar.

More important than the imposing sitting of parliament is the fact that the masses have again commenced to move. One sees again, as was not to be seen for many months, demonstrations attended by thousands raising the cry: "Long live the constitution!", which is always accompanied by a second cry: "Long live Zaglul Pasha", a further proof of the great popularity of this leader, in spite of the many mistakes he has made.

Zivar Pasha is, for the time being, ignoring parliament and the activity of Zaglul Pasha. He is continuing his policy of suppression, if possible with greater ruthlessness than before. The sufferings of the arrested Communists are terrible. One of them is seriously ill while the others have entered on a hunger strike. Their trial is being continually postponed. Zivar Pasha is relying solely upon the military and the policy forces on the one hand, and the authority of the king and the English on the other.

The last named are, it is true, not so confident as Zivar: the despatching of cruisers to Egyptian waters and the great nervousness which the English newspapers have shown since the 21st of November prove that they are better able to appreciate the real importance of recent events than is Zivar. Nor are the English misled by the calm which has followed Zaglul's action: the British troops are standing ready in expectation of the storm which is approaching.

The Permanent Crisis in Lithuania.

By A. Elen (Kovno).

The post-war period knows of many newly-founded States which are condemned to chronic crises because they are political formations lacking an economic basis. This abnormality finds particularly crass expression in the border States, and among them Lithuania perhaps ranks first.

Lithuania is a typical agrarian country, far more so than Latvia or Esthonia for it has practically no industry. Its natural wealth consists of a fertile soil and extensive forests. It has no ores and no coal. Consequently Lithuania is incapable of developing anything but corn and wood industries (mills, saw-mills, match and paper factories). For that however it lacks the necessary pre-requisites which could only be supplied by a political transformation of Eastern Europe.

A small country with about 2 million inhabitants is compelled, for reasons of home and foreign policy, to support an army and an apparatus of State which is enormous as compared with the resources of the country. Created only at the wish of the Entente, Lithuania has of course no independent foreign policy. The Lithuanian policy is undoubtedly manufactured, not on the banks of the Njemen but on those of the Thames and the Seine. And, as long as the existence of Lithuania seems necessary

to the Entente as a territory for drawing up troops in a future war against the Soviet Union, this small country will have an army of its present size, for, in the end, it is clothed by London. On the other hand, Lithuania has not given up the hope of "conquering" Vilna which was inherited by Poland. For this purpose however it is necessary to appear "imposing", and this of course cannot be done without an imposing army.

But for reasons of home policy also, Lithuania cannot dispense with its large army, policy and "Schwalgiba" (political police). The revolutionary movement daily keeps the Government reminded of this. Lithuania is one of those countries in which the agrarian question and the national question are always to the fore, and in which the solution of these questions would mean the death of the present regime. It is only necessary to bear in mind that just these two questions have been brilliantly solved by the Soviet Union, in order to understand that the Soviet Union and communism have a considerable power of attraction for the masses of the Lithuanian people. This accounts for the hatred of the priest-ridden Government.

If we take into account the discontent of a large part of the peasantry with the "agrarian reforms" which have been carried through, we see that the majority of the population is against the Government — and in that case, government is only possible through a large army and police force.

Other conditions also come into consideration which increase the necessity of an armed list.

The inhabitants of the present Lithuania were in the former Russia counted among the inhabitants of "alien stock", and as such they were refused participation in the administration of the State. When the present Lithuanian State was "erected", the apparatus of State was filled by entirely new people who had never come in contact with questions of State administration. Even to the present day, there are still no trained State officials who can keep the masses of the people in their place "successfully", i. e. with the necessary finesse, without driving them to rebellion by obvious abuses. The Government is conscious of the weakness of the State apparatus and endeavours to make up by quantity for the inferior quality; where one "trained" policeman would suffice, three "bad" ones have to be appointed. The consequence is firstly that the civil service staff is swelling and costing enormous sums, and secondly that the Government does not feel safe and is increasing its brutal methods.

It is therefore no coincidence that the Communist Party in Lithuania, as in the other border States, is always illegal and that the Government is afraid to grant legality to the revolutionary movement.

Thus, little Lithuania is compelled, for reasons of foreign and home policy, to maintain a large army and a colossal State apparatus. The Budget amounts to 30 million Lit (= 3 million dollars). The screw of taxation provides the Government with these enormous sums. Everyone is sighing under the yoke of taxation. The few commercial undertakings which are founded end in a crash. Others are simply not founded because the merciless screw of taxation does not allow of accumulation — far too large a part of social production being used unproductively.

Should however a capitalist succeed in accumulation, he cannot do anything with his capital because there is no large market capable of absorption in the small country of Lithuania. A large concern in Lithuania must immediately overstep the national frontiers, if it is to exist even for a short time. This however is a very difficult matter, indeed an impossible one, for protective tariffs hold sway everywhere, and the young, weak industry of Lithuania will not, for a long time, be in a position to take up the struggle of competition with the neighbouring countries. Thus, the situation is as clear as it is hopeless; in Lithuania it is impossible either to accumulate capital or to reproduce it when it is accumulated.

It is impossible for industry to flourish in the "independent" Lithuanian State, and therefore the towns cannot absorb the surplus rural population and the development of productive forces is impossible, briefly this "State" is doomed to a vegetating existence. How desperate the situation is in Lithuania, is best proved by the recent breakdown of the Jewish Central Bank and the 80 People's Banks. The comparatively good harvests throughout the world this year and the new German agrarian duties were disastrous for Lithuanian agriculture. The export of corn came to a standstill and the prices for agricultural products fell. In the trade balance, the liabilities were greater than the assets. In order to keep the currency stable, the Emission

Bank closed the import credits. The example of the Emission Bank was followed by the other banks, including the Jewish Central Bank and the People's Banks. Even at a time when trade is at a propitious juncture, the customers of the latter — the Jewish petty bourgeoisie — is a stratum of the population which is economically uprooted, not to speak of a time when the peasant can sell nothing and consequently can buy nothing in the town — the realm of the Jewish dealer. It was of course out of the question for the Jewish dealers to pay off their loans, and the consequence was the great crash of the Central Bank and the People's Banks.

This is the aspect of "independent" Lithuania, and it has this aspect because it is "independent", because it wants to play the part of a "sovereign" State. That it does not form an economic whole, is a matter of little concern to the Lithuanian priests. Their view is that if the country is small, it must be made larger. They begged for and were given the Memel territory, now they want Vilna, and hope in this way to save themselves. But prospects are getting worse and worse so that the "Berliner Tageblatt", following on a discussion of the Memel elections, raised the question as to whether there was any justification for the existence of such a formation as the Lithuanian State. The German bourgeoisie is of the opinion that, since Locarno, since the Entente has gained so strong a mercenary as Germany, it can dispense with a miserable errandboy such as Lithuania.

The articles of the "Berliner Tageblatt" on this topic fell like a bomb in Lithuania and the Lithuanian Government forbade the introduction of the "Berliner Tageblatt" into the country. And it did right. Did not the Polish Foreign Minister return from Locarno feeling very nettled, and Poland — as is well known in Lithuania — is a bigger trump in the Entente's game against Soviet Russia, than Lithuania.

Who will give advice in this case? Will the Entente show favour to its new strong mercenary at the expense of the dwarf of the Njemen? It seems to us however that there is no cause for particular anxiety. For, as long as the Soviet Union is not overpowered, this dwarf, called Lithuania, will have a task to fulfil, a smaller one, it is true, since Locarno. The reward will probably be correspondingly reduced. This monstrosity will only disappear completely when the masses of the Lithuanian people sweep away their priests and social democrats and ally themselves with the Soviet Union.

THE COMMUNIST PERSECUTION IN ENGLAND

The Trial of the Communist Leaders in England.

By E. H. Brown (London).

Perhaps the most important trial in modern British history was that concluded at the Central Criminal Court, London, on Wednesday November 25th. Twelve leading members of the British Communist Party were found guilty, by a jury composed entirely of members of the property-owning class of conspiring together.

- a) To publish and circulate seditious literature.
- b) To incite persons to mutiny.
- c) To seduce the King's forces from their duty and incite them to mutiny.

Five of the prisoners, Comrades Gallacher, Inkpin, Rust, Hannington and Pollitt, each having been previously convicted, were sentenced to one year's imprisonment in a criminal prison, whilst the remaining seven, Comrade Bell, Macmanus, Murphy, Arnot, Cant, Winttingham and Campbell, after refusing to renounce the Communist Party and the Communist International, were each sentenced to six month's imprisonment.

The case excited the widest possible attention among all classes. Tremendous crowds gathered at the police court, but as the public accommodation was limited, thousands could not gain admission, but remained outside and demonstrated their solidarity with the prisoners in the dock. The bourgeois and labour press alike gave the maximum amount of space to reporting the proceedings.

Despite all the attempts of the prosecution to try to prove that the accused men were the leaders of a small conspiratorial organisation choosing the methods of terrorism and violence, it very soon became apparent to the whole of the working class that the trial had been instituted as part of the general capitalist offensive against organised labour in Great-Britain.

The Attorney-General, Sir Douglas Hogg, in his opening speech of 4 hours summarised the Communist doctrine as

"Whereas other people are willing to work by peaceful means through Parliament, the Communist Party say, that is a useless waste of time... we insist on armed revolt — civil war!"

He made extensive use of the literature seized from the Party premises — books, pamphlets and newspapers published during the last four years, quoting from articles written by Lenin in 1903 and from theses of the International that have been in circulation since 1921, without any prosecution following. He accused the Party of spending £12,000 a year in subsidies from Moscow received through "secret channels", but failed to produce a shred of evidence in proof of this. The only documents found by the police which referred to money at all had nothing whatever to do with the Communist Party.

Hogg attempted to prove that the Communist Party was merely an agent of the Comintern in Britain, applying absolutely and without discussion the whole of the theses and resolutions of the International. He accused the prisoners of being "the heads in this country — the supreme control being in Moscow — of an illegal organisation calling itself 'The Communist Party of Great Britain!'"

The only witnesses called by the prosecution were detectives and police spies. Our comrades in cross-examination of these secret agents extorted some remarkable confessions. It was admitted that in order to obtain evidence, the premises of the National Minority Movement were burgled by the police, while other detectives confessed to having attempted to enter Communist organisations as spies and to having hidden under the platform of conferences in order to take shorthand notes of the proceedings. In spite of the constant watch of the police on the Party, of the raids and searches, no evidence was found that the Communist Party had ever attempted any of the crimes or acts of violence alleged against it. Although arms are admitted to be openly used by the fascists, no weapon of any description was discovered by the police, and no evidence was brought forward to prove, what the Attorney-General suggested, that the Party was plotting armed civil war.

Comrades Pollitt, Campbell and Gallacher were appointed by the Central Committee to reply to the accusations of the capitalist law officers and to put forward the point of view of the Party.

They made their stand upon the fact that the arrest of the leaders of the Communist Party cannot be taken as an end in itself, but should be treated as an indication of the determination of the capitalist class in Great Britain to smash the organised power of the workers. They have begun upon the Communist Party because it is the best organised and most militant section of the working class, and because its policy was adopted by the workers in the economic crisis in July, when the attack was made upon the miners as a preliminary to a general offensive against the working class.

The miners, railwaymen, engineers and transport workers are all faced with the possibility of large cuts in their wages and an increase in hours. The capitalists have stated quite openly that they intend to force down the standard of life of the British proletariat, and that all opposition will be crushed by using the full forces of the State. The government has prepared an organisation for breaking the resistance of the workers and has issued a call to the fascist blackhundreds to rally to them in the coming fight. In these circumstances the Communist Party calls upon the workers to form their factory committees of action, to consolidate the Workers Alliance, to organise the unemployed and form Workers Defence Corps to defend their class against capitalist violence.

In their defence our comrades clearly showed that these were the crimes for which the Communist Party was in the dock before bourgeois justice. It was not for the publication of the theses of the International, not for the articles of Comrade Lenin or the resolutions of the Young Communist International, that they were charged with mutiny and sedition. It was because they stood there as members of the working class prepared to fight till the end for the right to live of the working class,

because they stood there as the voice of the workers demanding a complete change in the system of society by which one small section of society could oppress and hold in subjection the great masses of the working class, that they were accused of the fantastical crimes for which they stood on trial.

The verdict was a foregone conclusion and the 20 minutes which the bourgeois jury took to consider it were a striking example of the contempt which, as representatives of their class, they felt for the whole case.

The effect upon the organised labour movement has been startling. Immediately upon receipt of the news of the verdict, the General Council of the Trade Union Congress and the National Executive of the Labour Party met together and passed a resolution of emphatic protest against the prosecution. The resolution contrasted the political prejudice of the prosecution and the verdict with the withdrawal, at the instigation of the government, of the charges against the fascists in the "Daily Herald" newspaper van incident. It expressed indignation and resentment at the severe sentences inflicted, demanded the immediate release of the prisoners and called upon the organised trade union and labour movement to proceed at once with a campaign of protest. The Labour Party put forward a resolution of protest in the House of Commons, and political and industrial leaders of all shades of opinion from Left to Right, united in condemning the class nature of the prosecution. The Defence Fund for the prisoners dependents and the expense of the trial was swelled at once by contributions from working class bodies all over the country and monster demonstrations demanding the release of our comrades are being organised by the Labour movement in every big town in Great Britain.

The action of Baldwin and Joynson Hicks against the Communist Party has stirred up a storm of resentment which can only have the effect of uniting even more strongly the organisations of the workers to meet the attack which is to be delivered in May, and of which the preliminary blows are being delivered. No worker can now have any illusions as to the real nature of the Conservative Government, the unscrupulous and ruthless champion of the attacking bourgeoisie. The trial has shown them clearly that the Communists are being imprisoned because they are the most militant defenders of the working class. It has proved to them the hard reality of the class war and the necessity for no longer standing passive while blow after blow is rained upon them by their enemies.

THE BALKANS

Henri Barbusse on the White Terror in the Balkans.

Henri Barbusse, who along with comrade Vernochet, Chairman of the International Teachers' Union, and Mademoiselle Lamy, a woman lawyer from Brussels, has paid a visit to the Balkans and to Hungary in order to study conditions in South Eastern Europe, has given to the "Inprecor" the following brief summary of his impressions. Ed.

The purpose of our journey was, in the relatively short time which we had at our disposal — in all a month — for studying the situation in the Balkans, to gain an exact and impartial view. As a matter of fact we have collected on the spot ample material, consisting in the first place of documents and photographs, regarding the situation in Roumania, Bulgaria, Jugoslavia and Hungary. We had thorough discussions with representatives of the most varied political opinions; we have spoken with Ministers, bourgeois members of the opposition, with writers and with workers, that is to say with representatives of all classes, in order to obtain a clear picture. In brief outline we can say the following:

White terror prevails in the Balkans and in Hungary. Everywhere there exists a regime of suppression of the working masses, which assumes its own particular form in each country.

The entire government and police apparatus fulfils the task of holding down the broad masses; the entire legislation, if one can describe it as such, is directed solely to this purpose. Hence, there exists the necessity of a powerful protest action in all Europe and the entire world against the horrible conditions in South and South-East Europe.

In all the Balkan States, and of course also in Hungary, the governments in no way respect the democratic principles of which they are so very fond of talking. One must not be deceived by the European exterior which they display or by the politeness which they showed towards us. The fact is, that these governments, which have come into power partly by means of fascist patches and reactionary military conspiracies against the will of the overwhelming majority of the population, can only maintain themselves by means of a fascist-militarist tyranny, and are endeavouring to cling to power by every method of cruel repression against the will of the people. Whom do these governments in South Eastern Europe and also in Hungary represent? They do not represent the workers or the peasants, they represent solely the interests of the thin superficial layer of society from which they have risen. They serve their personal ends.

The parliaments are completely enslaved to them; justice is entirely at their service, even where it is not openly administered by means of Exceptional Courts. The laws, and before all the laws for the "defence of the realm", are brutal measures to ensure their rule and to stifle the will of the majority of the population. Everywhere the same system is to be seen. It is raging the most furiously in Bulgaria.

The governments of all these countries, including of course Hungary and even Yugoslavia, are not at a loss for a pretext for their persecutions and measures of suppression, tortures, acts of murder etc.: everywhere it is the alleged bolshevik danger; everywhere it is the alleged emissaries of Soviet Russia who render these methods necessary.

We were able to observe these methods of the government in the concrete example afforded by the Tatar-Bunar trial. The Foreign Minister Duca and the Under Secretary of State, Tatarescu, attempted to explain at length their thesis of the "bolshevist influence from abroad" by means of the example of Bessarabia. As they persisted in this story we demanded documentary proofs from them. They promised to furnish the same, but in spite of our repeated reminders they have not been forthcoming.

We have become convinced that in the case of the peasant revolt of Tatar-Bunar there was, of course, no foreign influence, no "bolshevism" as the government asserts, but that it was simply and solely an outburst of desperation on the part of the peasants in Bessarabia, who are suffering the most extreme misery and oppression.

As regards the mishandlings, torturings and acts of murder in Roumania and also in Bulgaria, we have collected authentic material, photographs etc. which we shall publish and which will speak for themselves.

We also desired to visit the prisons and to speak personally with the prisoners. This, however, we were not allowed to do. Nevertheless we were able to obtain information regarding the horrible conditions obtaining in the prisons.

We were in Kishinev and were present at the trial. We were not allowed to speak with the accused, although we had been assured that we should be allowed to do so. We were not allowed to visit their prisons, although this also had been promised us. On the day on which we attended the trial there was preserved the outward appearance of publicity regarding the proceedings, although on all other occasions the public was excluded. When however Costa Foru, a prominent lawyer and one of the defenders of the accused peasants, wished to speak of the torturings which they had suffered, the president endeavoured to prevent him, indicating at the same time that foreigners were present.

In spite of the white terror, the governments have not succeeded in entirely stifling the workers' movement in the Balkans. In Bucharest we had an opportunity of visiting the workers in the workers' club. As we left the workers club — it was a Sunday — the workers followed and accompanied us. It came to spontaneous demonstrations which gained control of the busy streets. It is true the Roumanian fascists had attempted to organise action against our presence in Bucharest, and also in Constantza, but they were unable to carry it out successfully.

As regards Bulgaria, there prevails now, as before, a gloomy reign of terror, even if it is concealed from without. We spoke

with a number of politicians, including members of the government, who appeared to be very obliging. A Secretary of State, who of course wished to cast the blame for the acts of murder on to unknown individuals, himself admitted that in the last two years about 3000 people have perished or disappeared. The leader of the Democrats, the former Prime Minister Malinov, informed us that a petition had been handed to him by his near acquaintances which alone contained enquiries as to 121 missing people.

We intend in a very short time to go through and publish the great number of documents which we have collected, and make known our experiences to the broadest public. We hope thereby to prepare the way for a great campaign of enlightenment regarding conditions in the Balkans, and to initiate action against the terror prevailing there. For this purpose an international committee will be set up.

The Fresh Wave of White Terror in Bulgaria.

Moscow 7th December 1925.

The whole of the Party press here is sounding the alarm to the workers in view of the ominous news from Bulgaria regarding the fresh Wave of White Terror.

Comrade Dimitrov, writing in the "Pravda", states that the Bulgarian government, as a result of the pressure of the world proletariat and of the most eminent scholars and intellectuals of the various countries, was compelled to postpone for the time being the carrying out of several death sentences that had been pronounced. At present all signs go to indicate that the Bulgarian Reaction is seeking for a suitable opportunity in order to massacre the political prisoners. In the Sofia prison Fascists have been appointed as Overseers, whose intention it is to frame up an attempt to escape, in order to provoke a panic in the prison and then to use this opportunity to slaughter the best Comrades.

Among these Comrades is our Comrade Kabaktchiev, one of the founders of the Comintern, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria up to September 1925, who has been pining in the prison of Sofia for two and a half years. The Sofia hangmen have for long marked him down as their prey. After the explosion in the Sofia cathedral his name stood as first on the list of political prisoners whom it was intended to murder. And his life was only saved, thanks to the fact that at that time an English parliamentary delegation was visiting Sofia and who wished to see Kabaktchiev. It is certain that the Zankov bandits are now seeking an opportunity in order to murder the leader of the Bulgarian Communist Party whom they so thoroughly hate.

The class vengeance of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie even extends to the children of the political prisoners. Thousands of shelterless children of the murdered, imprisoned, banished and emigrated revolutionaries are handed over to death from starvation; to provide any material help for these children is regarded as high treason and punished accordingly. The International Red Aid is treated as an illegal organisation, and participation in its work is punished with death. The funds collected by the English Women's Committee, and which were sent to the American Missionary in Sofia, Dr. Markhan, for the benefit of these children, were confiscated and handed over to the Red Cross for distribution among the families of the Generals killed in the explosion in the Sofia Cathedral.

Four thousand Bulgarian workers and peasants are pining in prison and are exposed to the most inhuman tortures; thousands of Bulgarian emigrants appeal to the international proletariat and to all really cultured and honest men to intervene immediately and energetically to stay the bloody hand of the executioner and to save the lives of those who have been condemned to death, the life of the old leader Kabaktchiev, the lives of thousands of helpless children. Only immediate International action can save them!

Against the White Terror in Roumania.

To the Working and Peasant Youth of the Whole World!

A few weeks ago we called upon you to raise your voice against the bloody deeds of the Zankov government in Bulgaria, which is causing thousands of young workers and peasants to perish in prison and has condemned nearly a hundred young people to death. Now, in Roumania, the blood of thousands of murdered workers and peasants, of youths as well as of adults, is crying for retribution. For four years the Roumanian government has been carrying on its murderous work.

The rule of the Roumanian bourgeoisie is based upon prisons and mountains of corpses.

Fresh news is arriving through bourgeois newspapers which goes to show that there is no sign of an end to the reign of terror.

Thus, in December 1924, four hundred young people were arrested and fearfully tortured in the torture chambers of the Siguranza, as the Roumania Secret Police are called. In June of this year several trials took place at which young people were sentenced to ten years hard labour.

On the occasion of the 11th International Youth Day in September 1925, 150 young workers and peasants were arrested and handed over to the Military Court.

In the trial at Kishinev of the insurgent peasants of Tatar Bunar, 85 peasants, including very many youths were sentenced to 15 years hard labour.

Not content with this, in the last few weeks a further hundred young people were thrown into prison and subjected to every conceivable method of torture in order to extort statements from them. In the prisons of Roumania our comrades are subjected to such fearful mishandlings, that in a very short space of time they are complete physical and mental wrecks. Yet our courageous and heroic brothers, in spite of the worst tortures, in spite of their being threatened with death, refuse to betray the proletarian youth movement. The heroic death from starvation of Max Goldstein has now been followed by that of our youth comrade, Grecea, who was condemned as a soldier to five years hard labour and who fell as a victim to the fearful prison regime after having been on hunger strike for 45 days.

Our Comrades face the approach of death with cheers for the Proletarian Revolution!

Comrades! Brothers!

Do not tolerate for another day the foul murder of the young workers and peasants in Roumania. Demonstrate against the reign of terror in Roumania.

Down with the government of the oligarchy!

Demand the release of the imprisoned young and adult workers!

The Executive Committee of the Young Communist International.

Balkan Federation of the Young Communist International.

Moscow 5th December 1925.

FOR THE UNITY OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

The Sabotage of International Trade Union Unity, Still Continues.

By A. Lozovsky.

The following article was written before the negotiations in Berlin. Ed.

There is no session of the General Council of the International Federation of Trade Unions held, without the Russian Question being raised. One can say that the Russian Question has become the favourite occupation of the leaders of the Amsterdam International during the course of the last two years.

The recent meeting of the General Council of the International Federation of Trade Unions (4th and 5th December) in Amsterdam had been carefully prepared: On the one hand there were negotiations with the leaders of the American Federation of Labour regarding bringing this body into the

I.F.T.U. as an antidote to the Anglo-Russian approachment, and on the other hand an attempt was made, on the eve of the session of the General Council of the I. F. T. U., to persuade the English to abandon their harmful "deviation to the Soviets". In Atlantic City the Amsterdamers had been as soft as wax and had promised the leaders of the American Federation of Labour to adapt their (the Amsterdamers) International to the American taste. In London, at the joint meeting with the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress, they were far less inclined to make concessions, and in Amsterdam the majority of the leaders of the I. F. T. U. adopted an irreconcilable attitude towards the Left wing of the Labour Movement in general, and towards the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union in particular.

The meeting of the General Council of the I. F. T. U. was very stormy. The caustic words of the late Fred Bramley, that in the Amsterdam International it is possible to discuss any other subject under the sun, but that as soon as the subject of Russia comes up excitement and passion are immediately aroused, were once again proved to be true. The representative of the English, George Hicks, attempted by means of a conciliatory — in fact far too conciliatory — resolution, to find a bridge between Scarborough and Amsterdam. His proposed resolution was as follows:

"This General Council of the I. F. T. U. declares itself prepared to meet representatives of the All-Russian Trade Union Movement, in order to discuss the possibility of affiliation with the Russian Trade Union movement."

This resolution, which at the outset limits the problem of Trade Union Unity to the question of the "affiliation of the Russian Trade Union movement", was received with extraordinary hostility. It was in vain that George Hicks urged upon the Right Wing of Amsterdam that "you cannot ignore the Russian Trade Union movement", that in view of the attacks of the employers, who are aided by the reactionary governments, it is necessary to do everything possible in order to strengthen the power of the international trade union movement. All his words failed to have any effect with the leaders of the Amsterdam International, who are very little interested in strengthening the power of the Labour Movement. Have they not just recently achieved a victory in Locarno! What need have they for trade union unity and other disagreeable things?

The General Secretary of the reformist trade unions of France, Léon Jouhaux, declared: "We are ready to speak with the Russians, but we will never agree to meet together with them at a conference". Jouhaux obviously wishes "to speak" with the Russians just as the Allies in their time "spoke" with the Germans in Versailles!

The English representative, Brown, made an attempt to introduce a still more compromising resolution, and was supported in this attempt by the General secretary of the Miners' International, Hodges, the latter declaring that it was said in Europe that the British had succumbed to Russian pressure (!) and if the Hicks resolution were passed, it would lend colour to this view. Thus the General Council of the English Trades Union Congress and the decisions of Scarborough were opposed by a representative of the English Miners' Federation; the very Union which, more than any other, has stood for and still stands for unity. Hodges followed the line of other speakers and raised the question — who are the better, the Americans or the Russians. He stated:

"I consider that the joining up of America with Amsterdam would be an event of the greatest historical importance, because of the huge population and the highly industrialised state of America, and its influence hereafter in world economic affairs. In this sense it would be a much more important event than even Russian acceptance of the constitution."

After long discussions, in which the relative value of the American and of the Soviet trade unions for Amsterdam was subjected to an all-round discussion, the following resolution was moved by Stenhuis:

"This General Council, having taken note of the correspondence exchanged with the Russians since February, and having taken note of the discussions that have taken place at the present meeting, reaffirms the decision of February, 1925, and considers no new decision necessary." Stenhuis' resolution was adopted by 14 votes against 7.

The following voted against the resolution: Purcell, Hicks and Brown (England), Jacobsen (Scandinavia), Fimmen (Transport Workers' International), Hodges (Miners International and Smit (Clerks International).

At an interview with a press representative after this decision Oudegeest declared:

"It is impossible to deviate from our rules because of a sudden change in one country, as at Scarborough. We hope and expect that the British will await the next I. F. T. U. Congress in 1927 (Oudegeest is in no hurry) before attempting to modify the decision... The real importance of the present meeting was in the approach to America and Mexico, which was a question quite different from that of Russia. Our difference with America is one of tactics, not of rules."

Oudegeest obviously considers the readers of his journals to be hopeless fools when he tells them tales of this sort. The preferential treatment afforded the American trade unions constitutes a premium on reactionary behaviour. If the trade unions of the Soviet Union were against the class war, if they were to pronounce in favour of collaboration with the bourgeoisie, if they were to fraternise with Fascist organisations and to support bourgeois parties as do the leaders of the American Federation of Labour, then Oudegeest would consider the trade unions of the Soviet Union to be worthy of admission into the select Amsterdam society. This is the meaning of the whole tactics of Oudegeest. The Amsterdam International will have to wait very long and will never live to see the trade unions of the Soviet Union descending to the level of the American trade unions.

At the meeting of the General Council of the Amsterdam International, the R. I. L. U. was the object of a good deal of abuse. The sins of the R. I. L. U., are well known. Its chief sin is that it is not like Amsterdam. We leave it to the Oudegeests to occupy themselves with the enumeration of our faults. The continual stream of abuse directed against the R. I. L. U., the holding up of the R. I. L. U. as an organisation which exists exclusively of minorities, even aroused the indignation of some English comrades. We are not rendered indignant by these continual outpourings of abuse. If the R. I. L. U. were really weak, the leaders of the Amsterdam International would not continually repeat that Amsterdam is not afraid of the R. I. L. U., that the R. I. L. U. does not possess any strength etc.

The political import of the decisions adopted has been fully appreciated by the English bourgeois press. The Russians have been repudiated — this is the unanimous opinion of the entire press which at last finds itself revenged for Scarborough. The English bourgeois can rejoice: the decisions of the Amsterdam International are an open attack not only upon the Russian, but upon the English trade unions. It is in vain that Oudegeest is endeavouring to emphasise that the decision is only directed against the Soviet trade unions. The decision adopted is directed against the English and against the international trade union movement. The Amsterdamers have achieved another "victory", but the more victories of this sort that they achieve, the nearer they will be to defeat. These politicians may cling to the coat-tails of Gompers' successors, they may rejoice at the defeat of the Russian and English trade unions but he who laughs last laughs the longest.

The Berlin Resolution of the Anglo-Russian Committee.

The Anglo-Russian Joint Advisory Council met in Berlin on the 8th and 9th December. The General Council of the British Trades Union Congress was represented by A. Pugh, (President), A. B. Swales, G. Hicks, A. A. H. Findlay, A. A. Purcell M. P. and W. M. Citrine (Secretary), while the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions was represented by M. Tomsy (President), D. Melnitchansky, J. Lepse, T. Ugaroff, J. Jaglom and A. Dogadoff (Secretary).

The following resolution was unanimously adopted:

1. The Anglo-Russian Joint Advisory Council regrets the action undertaken by the majority of the General Council of the International Trade Union Federation, which led to the rejection of the proposal for a preliminary and unconditional conference between the I. F. T. U. and the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions.

2. The Council asserts that this decision reflects official bias rather than the opinion and desires of the rank and file of the International Trade Union Movement. As proof for this the Council contrasts the prejudice displayed towards the Russians with the markedly different attitude towards other Unions not affiliated to Amsterdam.

3. The Council is of the opinion that one of the first practical steps which will have to be taken is the convocation of a conference by the General Council of the British Trade Unions in accordance with Clause 3b. of the resolution passed by the Anglo-Russian Conference in London last April and subsequently ratified by authoritative bodies of the trade union movement of both countries.

4. The Council resents the continual and unprovoked attacks on the Russian trade union movement and the gross misrepresentation of its own work and policy, with regard to the establishment of International Trade Union Unity and resolves to take the necessary measures with a view to counteracting such obstruction.

5. The Council considers however, that the representatives of both movements must continue to maintain their attitude of complete moderation and dignity towards all irresponsible attacks directed against them and against the trade union movement which they represent and continue to carry on the work which they have begun for the realisation of the Unity of the Trade Union Movement of the whole world.

It has been decided to hold the next meeting of the Council early next year.

(signed) Arthur Pugh,

President of the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress.

M. Tomsy

President of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions.

Resolution of the 7th Metal Workers' Congress of the Soviet Union on the Unity of the International Metal Workers' Movement.

The seventh Metal Workers' Congress of the Soviet Union declares, that the Central Committee of the Metal Workers' Union of the Soviet Union has correctly carried out the decisions of the sixth Congress, which decided to strive for the entry of the Metal Workers' Trade Union of the Soviet Union into the Berne Metal Workers' International. The seventh Congress declares at the same time that the Berne International has not kept to the agreement signed by its representatives in May 1923 in Friedrichshafen, which pledged the International to enter into concrete negotiations with the Metal Workers' Trade Union of the Soviet Union, and with other Metal Workers' Unions outside of the International, in order to restore the unity of the International Metal Workers' Movement.

The actual refusal to permit the delegation of the Metal Workers' Union of the Soviet Union to take part in the work of the tenth International Metal Workers' Congress at Vienna, as well as all the decisions of the Central Committee of the International, go to prove that the leading organs of the International do not desire to further the establishment of Unity in the Metal Workers' Movement.

The Congress records with satisfaction that the Central Committee of the Metal Workers' Union of the Soviet Union has not confined itself to mere declarations in favour of the restoration of the unity of the movement, but has, by deeds, expressed its solidarity with the Metal Workers of other countries and its willingness to afford them practical help in the fight against Capital.

The Congress approves the sending of money for the support of the metal workers of Belgium, Italy, Austria, Poland, Norway and China who have been on strike, and emphatically protests against the refusal on the part of the Central Committee of the Belgian Metal Workers' Union to accept the aid proffered by the metal workers of the Soviet Union for the Belgian metal workers.

The Congress declares that the Metal Workers' Union of the Soviet Union will continue to fight in the future for the unity of the International Metal Workers' Movement and therefore instructs the new Central Committee:

1. To raise again before the Berne International the question of the entry of the Metal Workers' Union of the Soviet

Union into the International, and to demand a direct and concrete answer to this question;

2. to continue in the future to offer material and moral support to the metal workers of other countries in their fight against Capital;

3. to encourage in every way the sending of Workers' Delegations to the Soviet Union by the metal workers' of other countries, in order thereby that the latter shall gain a knowledge of the Labour Movement and the condition of industry in the Soviet Republics, and to propose to the Trade Unions of other countries that they insist on Workers' Delegations from the Soviet Union being permitted to visit capitalist countries in order to become acquainted with working conditions and the Labour Movement;

4. to support with all means the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee, and to render popular among the broad masses of metal workers the approachment between the trade unions of the Soviet Union and of Great Britain.

Finally, the Congress greets the Metal Workers' Unions of Norway and Finland which have pronounced in favour of the immediate and unconditional acceptance of the Metal Workers' Union of the Soviet Union into the International, and have likewise announced their willingness to lend support to the Anglo-Russian Committee in its struggle for the unity of the International Trade Union Movement.

The Congress specially greets Comrade Albert Purcell on account of his stand before the workers of the United States of America, whom he called upon to support the trade unions of Great Britain and of the Soviet Union in their fight for international unity and to send a workers' delegation from America in order to study life and the reconstruction work in the Soviet Union.

THE PEASANTS' MOVEMENT

The Congress of Agricultural Workers and Peasants in Warsaw.

By L. O.

The so-called "agrarian reform" which in the summer of this year was passed by the Polish Parliament and "corrected" by the Senate, deprived the landless rural population and the small peasants of any hope of having land allotted to them, and placed the agricultural workers at the mercy of their masters. It was, however, one link in the economic "reconstruction" and the stabilisation of the bourgeoisie. It created in the ranks of the large peasants, a counter-revolutionary army, which was to oppose the revolutionary movement in the country. It "solved" the question of the colonisation and Polonisation of the Ukrainian and White Russian districts and — thanks to the method of parcelling out the land — deceived the least enlightened masses of peasants and checked the ever-growing discontent.

The agrarian reform — as indeed the whole so-called reconstruction, which the Grabski Government carried out — was energetically supported and zealously defended by the Socialist Party of Poland (S.P.P.) When however, in consequence of the "corrections" of the Senate, which made the agrarian law even worse than it was, the opposition in Parliament and the discontent in the rural districts grew and signs presaging the fall of the Grabski Government increased, the S.P.P. called a general Congress of agricultural workers and peasants in Warsaw for November 8th of this year. The S.P.P., of course, proclaimed to the whole world in its pamphlets that it was "on principle" in favour of the distribution of the land without compensation, and intended to organise the masses of peasants to "fight" for the land, but that, for the present, it was obliged to defend the agrarian reform passed by Parliament. We will call attention to the fact that the Government has transmitted sums of money to the S.P.P. and has granted a reduction of 75% on the fares of the delegates who were to organise this "fight", for which thousands are languishing in Polish prisons!

The Communist Party of Poland, the leader of the real fight for the land, called upon the peasants and agricultural workers, among whom it has great influence, to attend this congress in large numbers. In their manifestos, the C.P.P. said that this congress was to create a united bloc of workers and peasants in order to mobilise the workers and peasants for a real united fight against the offensive of the industrialists and

landed proprietors. For this reason, the C.P. of Poland issued the following slogans which are of vital importance for the peasants and for the workers in town and country: "Fight for the land for the peasants and agricultural workers"; "fight against taxation, the whole burden of which falls on the masses of workers in town and country"; fight against the eviction of agricultural workers, for the eight hours day, against reduction in industry". This is why the C.P.P. called upon the workers of Warsaw, to manifest their will to fight in a mass demonstration, in common with the peasants.

In response to the appeal of the C.P.P., the agricultural workers and delegations of peasants with flags on which revolutionary slogans were inscribed, came in masses to the Congress. At the same time 2000 workers of Warsaw assembled in front of the building in which the Congress was held. It was then that the counter-revolutionary colours of the S.P.P. were openly displayed — they opposed the alliance of workers and peasants by an alliance of social-Fascism with the secret police, the fight against the common enemy by a fratricidal fight.

Neither the Communist deputies, nor the deputies of the Independent Peasant Party, neither the delegations of workers, nor the peasants who were not delegates, were allowed to enter the hall in which the Congress was held. Even delegates were not allowed to speak. The delegates, who had come from long distances, were only to listen to the speeches of the socialist big guns and then to return home without any directions for the fight.

In front of the congress building, the so-called militia of the S.P.P., armed with revolvers and clubs, "worked" in a united front with the police and the secret police. A large number of this "socialist" militia were at the same time members of the secret police. The deputies of the Independent Peasant party and many workers were beaten by the militia of the Socialist party, and about one hundred workers were handed over to the police.

The same sort of thing went on inside the hall. When the assembled audience heard of the street massacres and of the "heroic deeds" of the militia of the socialist party, they were seized with such indignation that the meeting could not even be opened. But the same tactics were employed in the hall. The majority of the opponents were cruelly beaten and thrown out, a number of them being handed over to the police. By this organised terror on the part of the socialists and the police, comparative quiet was achieved and a resolution was forced through in favour of the agrarian reform of the large peasants, in spite of the large majority of the delegates being against it and against the S.P.P.

The Congress was dissolved in two hours. The demonstration which had been announced was called off in view of the spirit of opposition, and all were told to disperse quietly in groups. This was supervised by the Police.

The leaders of the S.P.P. triumphantly brought the resolution to Grabski. (No delegation had been elected at the Congress.) Thus, the Socialist party of Poland has once more rendered the service which the bourgeoisie demanded of it.

After this Congress, the S.P.P. can hardly dare to face the peasant masses again. The peasants realise that they have nothing more to hope for from that quarter. They have grasped the fact that nothing but a relentless fight under the leadership of the C.P.P., on the basis of the bloc of peasants and workers, can improve their position; that the rule of capitalism can only be abolished and a government of workers and peasants established through an alliance of the working and peasant masses in a common and daily struggle. This is the most important gain from the Congress of the S.P.P.

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

The Meetings of Delegates of the Working and Peasant Women in the Soviet Union.

By A. Artjuchina (Moscow).

Our meeting of delegates are a school for the masses, a school of communism for the practical training of working and peasant women in the art of State administration and governing. This practical training of millions of working women for State work is proceeding in various other ways also, as for

instance through Soviets, trade unions, cooperative societies etc., but the first and most important training of the working and peasant women is that in the meetings of delegates.

In the autumn of 1925, 378,163 women delegates, elected by 9,414,513 women workers and peasants, completed their year of work. They all learned in practice the art of governing the State, but in doing so, they did not turn their back on industrial production or agriculture.

The activities of the meetings of delegates are based on a combination of theory and practice. At the meeting of delegates, a special programme is worked through, which is in every way adapted to the power of comprehension of a working or peasant woman who is making her first steps in public life. Besides this, a practical question, usually local in its nature, is dealt with in every assembly of workers. These practical questions call forth a lively exchange of opinion among the delegates, as many of them work in the factories etc. 147,067 women delegates (in a total number of 378,163) have worked in practical spheres of work; in 1924 the figures were 60,022 among 208,704.

The women delegates remain in the closest touch with their electors by giving them regular reports of their work and also by bringing up the subject of the demands made by the women electors in suitable organs.

All our meetings of delegates are in close connection with the Party organisations and transmit the influence of the Party to the masses of working and peasant women. The Party has proved that meetings of delegates of the women workers and peasants are the best and most approved form of Party work among the broad masses of working women. The Party endeavours to help the Party organisations by word and deed at the time of the election of delegates.

At the present time, the Party has set itself the task of attracting the broadest masses to the work of Government and administration, of establishing as far as possible a close and insoluble connection between the Party on the one hand and the masses of peasants and workers on the other hand and to win over the latter to general work for the reformation of our whole life. Our meetings of delegates, in their quality of primary mass organisations, serve these fundamental tasks of the Party.

The forms and methods of work resulting from these general Party tasks of the meetings of delegates, find expression and organisational corroboration in the new statute of the meetings of delegates which was confirmed by the C. C. on June 19th 1925.

The first and fundamental change in the condition which has hitherto prevailed, is in relation to the place for the organisation of the meetings of delegates of women workers and peasants. If the meeting of delegates is to be a real driving-belt which connects the Party and the masses of workers, it must work under the immediate direction of the Party organisation. The foundations of our Party organisation are the factory and village nuclei; the meetings of delegates of the women workers and peasants should therefore be affiliated to the Party nuclei. Where the total number of delegates exceeds 300, meetings of delegates should also be organised in the individual departments of the factory, that is to say, affiliated to the nuclei of the factory departments. When however it is a case of small works and small groups of working women, the meetings of delegates should be directly affiliated to the district and regional committees of the Party.

The subsequent novelty which arose out of the work of the Party in organising the broad masses of women workers, was an increase in the number of women delegates. Now one delegate is elected for every ten women workers in large factories and one to every three in small ones.

The activity of the peasant women has enormously increased like that of the women workers, the number of delegates has been doubled; cases have occurred in which meetings of delegates of peasant women took place without the help of the local women's department, as the latter were not up to the task of doing the whole work. The meetings of delegates of peasant women were organised by village Soviets and in connection with nuclei of leagues of youth, schools and hospitals. In the Ukraine, this activity of the peasant women found expression in the organisation of "groups of delegates" which were affiliated to the Soviet.

In the interest of the reconstruction work of the Soviets, this steadily increasing activity of the peasant women had to be directed into suitable channels. Preliminary conditions had to be created in which the initiative of the peasant women would be of the greatest possible benefit to the Party. The new statute provides these preliminary conditions of organisation. According to the new statute, meetings of delegates can be organised by peasant women:

1. In villages where there is a village nucleus or a Party committee of the Wolost (district) or area.
2. In villages where the Wolost committee or the nearest Party nucleus can organise its leadership by means of individual communists or special peasant women organisers.
3. In villages where a town nucleus which has the protectorate over the village can take over the guidance of the meeting of delegates.

The new statute also introduces some changes in the composition of the meetings of delegates of peasant women. Up to now we tried to get as delegates as many widows, agricultural workers, poor peasant women and young girls as possible. As regards the most numerous class of peasant women, the married ones in the middle peasantry, we did not take them into consideration in the election of delegates, so that the idea gradually developed that only poor peasant women and widows could be elected as delegates. This practice is not in keeping with the task set itself by the Party, — the formation of a qualitatively strong active cadre of non-Party peasants and peasant women which would form a link between our Party and the innumerable millions of working peasants. Our chief task is now to bring about a close alliance with the main mass of the peasantry and to march forward in their company.

We must try in our daily work to realise this Party task by organising our mass meetings of peasant delegates in such a way that the main mass of the peasant women will take part in them.

This statute has also introduced some changes in the activity of the meetings of women delegates in the East of the Soviet Republic which aim at attracting chiefly working women of the native population to the meetings. In this connection, special attention is to be paid to attracting young women and intellectuals who are in sympathy with the Party.

The statute makes it the duty of the Agitprop department to put the best propagandist forces at the disposal of the meetings of delegates. The statute further prescribes that the meetings of delegates should affiliate a section for maternity and child welfare where one does not exist in the Soviet.

All these enumerated tasks are now on the agenda of the Party organisations and of the Party members working in the women's branches in connection with the re-elections for the meetings of delegates of women workers and peasants.

The extent of this work is enormous and can only be fulfilled with the participation of the Party as a whole and the support of those delegates whose year of work has come to an end, as well as with the help of the whole mass of women workers and peasants whom we have been able to group round the Party.

The Participation of Women Workers in the Activities of "Public Feeding".

By Art. Chalatorov (Moscow).

The slogan of the new economic organisation "Public Feeding" (Narpit) runs: social feeding is the "way to a new life". This slogan contains the whole programme of work of the "Public Feeding" and characterises the fundamental lines of its activity. A close network of workers' canteens is to arise in the factories and works and in residential districts with a dense working population; a transition from individual to wholesale cooking; to collective feeding in eating houses and factory canteens, from production on a small scale to mechanical production where millions of tasty and satisfying dinners are served at a price adapted to the worker's budget.

These are the tasks towards the fulfilment of which the "Public Feeding" has been working for two years. It is a real workers' concern. The extensive campaign of agitation which has been carried on in the whole Union has shown fairly fruitful results. Social canteens exist by the hundred; public feeding has taken deep root in the life of the workers; it has become a ne-

cessity for the worker; the whole Soviet society has been mobilised round this undertaking, the Government, the Party and trade union officials; not only of the central bodies but — what is still more important — of the local and factory organisations also.

"Public Feeding" undertakes especially the ideological and organisatory task in the opening of every canteen of medium or large type; the actual management of the canteens is in the hands of the workers' co-operative societies, on the principles and scientific methods worked out by "Public Feeding".

But why is social feeding the way to a new life? Where are the elements of this new life and in what do they consist? The extensive organisation of workers' canteens will have two important consequences for the woman worker.

With the transition to social feeding, the role and significance of the working woman will be completely altered; independently of her will sweeping changes will take place in the traditional family relations. A new page will be turned in married life, which will recall the "period of storm and stress".

As a matter of fact, social canteens are being opened; many thousands of workers obtain their dinner in the factory, at their regular place of work.

According to data before us, as much as 25% of those visiting the canteens consist of families. Consequently, to quote Lenin, the "housewife" is relieved from the most burdensome and least useful work. Hundreds of thousands of hours of unproductive work of the working woman at the domestic hearth can be used for work which is socially more useful. That is one point.

A questionnaire circulated in the canteens of "Public Feeding" recently showed that the canteens are visited by 20—40% of the women workers in those factories where women's work is predominant. At the first glance it becomes evident that a slight initiative has produced a real revolution in the life of the worker's family. The old system of private cooking is breaking down. The family of the worker is becoming a real working family in which man and wife realise true equality of right.

The woman worker is becoming a worthy citizen who can take part in the constructive work of the workers' State. Millions of women workers and peasants are given the possibility not only of self-development, not only of study, not only of learning to know the new forms of social life, but also of active participation in the social, civilising, political life of the country.

The women workers are joining the ranks of the fighters for and constructors of the new free life. For we know that politics begin where millions of women workers and peasants take part in them. This is what Lenin taught.

RED SPORT INTERNATIONAL

The Results of the Paris Conference of the Lucerne Sport International.

By Fritz Reussner (Berlin).

The Congress of the Lucerne Sport International met in Paris at the beginning of November. Representatives appointed by the committees of the associations came to this congress from various countries, so that it was rather an international conference of committees than a real congress.

Altogether, 10 nations from 8 countries were represented by 38 delegates, of whom 17 were entitled to vote. In addition there was the International Bureau. About 1,300,000 members were represented.

The main questions at the Congress were the question of international unity and that of affiliating to the Amsterdam and 2nd International.

Contrary to the wishes of an important contingent of the leaders, the second question became a main question. Even before the Congress, the Red Sport International (R. S. I.) had made a number of proposals to the Lucerne Sport International (L. S. I.), with the object of solving the question of unity. Among them was the proposal that representatives of the R. S. I. be admitted to the Paris Conference. This proposal was rejected before the Congress by the International Bureau.

The secretary of the Lucerne Sport International, Devlieger, was instructed to speak on the question of unity. In the theses he presented, the old proposal was again included that

the R. S. I. should dissolve and liquidate and penitently join the Lucerne International.

The composition of the Congress, the agitation of many of the leaders of the Lucerne Bureau, and the opinions and motions of some of the Central Committees of the Associations, make it easy to understand the significance of the results of the Congress.

Expressions of opinion were also brought forward from other countries, which however were not seriously represented at the Congress. We have already been able to report that the German Federal Committee of the Workers' Gymnastic and Sport League had passed a resolution in favour of uniting the two Sport Internationals. This suggestion was not energetically advocated in Paris. The Finnish Association Committee had made a proposal to the Paris Congress with respect to the international question. Kostainen, the delegate of the Finnish Association did not sufficiently uphold this proposal, on the contrary, he tried, through his exposition, to give the impression that Finland is opposed to unity. In the last paragraph of the resolution of the Central Committee of the Finnish Association we read:

"The Congress (this refers to Paris) makes it the duty of the International Bureau to confer with the Red Sport International in order to clear up the fundamental differences of opinion and to bring about an international congress on unity."

The Central Committee of the Workers' Gymnastic and Sport League in Aussig (Czechoslovakia) wrote in a letter of Oct. 24th 1925, i. e. 6 days before the Paris Conference, to our Czech section:

"In view of the state of affairs and in consideration of the discussions which have already taken place, a united front in the domain of workers' sport can only be created through negotiations between the Internationals."

This opinion also was not represented in Paris.

These opinions and resolutions are attributable to the wishes of large groups of members to achieve unity. The Association Committees of some countries have accepted such proposals under the pressure of this attitude of the masses.

Thus we see that before the Congress, there were great differences of opinion within the Lucerne International on the question of unity and of how it should be dealt with.

The delegation of the R. S. I. who came to Paris were not informed of the refusal of their admission to the Paris Conference, as the news reached Moscow too late. Neither did they hear anything to the contrary. The delegation therefore presented itself as the reporter for the Russian Sport Press. As such it was refused admission and the Congress resolved instead, with 13 votes to 8, to admit the representatives of the R. S. I. to the discussion of the question "Unity of the International Movement" which stood on the agenda and to hear their opinion. The countries which voted against admitting them were France, Latvia, Belgium, Czechoslovakia (Prague), Wildung refrained from voting. Although the Congress had, according to the documents presented, received the announcement of the arrival of two representatives of the R. S. I., only one was admitted. When, whilst the point was being discussed, the second representative of the R. S. I. entered the hall, the Czechs and French sprang up and made a regular scene, threatening to leave the Congress, if the second delegate remained in the hall. In order to give no pretext for the sabotage of this, the second point on the agenda, the second comrade representing the R. S. I., left the hall of his own accord. Comrade Reussner was then told that he was allowed 30 minutes for his speech. He himself declared that he would only use 20 minutes for his speech in order at the end to be able to answer questions in the discussion for at least 10 minutes. This was agreed to.

The admission of the representative to the Congress was a success for the R. S. I. and a setback for the International Bureau which was opposed to his admission. Instead of the Lucerne secretary Devlieger, the secretary of the R. S. I., Comrade Reussner, spoke on the question of unity. This was another piece of success.

The discussion once more brought into relief the wide differences of opinion within the Lucerne International; from the representatives of absolute rejection of any union with the R. S. I. (Czechoslovakia, Prague) down to the comrades who are in favour of unconditional unity (Alsace Lorraine), all points of

view were represented. In spite of many violent attacks and misrepresentations however, the majority did not dare absolutely to reject the possibility of unity. That is, as we have shown above, a consequence of the attitude within the circles of members. The R. S. I. furthermore laid quite concrete proposals before the Paris Congress.

1. Immediate direct negotiations between the two Internationals to discuss the question of the establishment of unity;
2. establishment of a co-operation;
3. immediate co-operation in sport.

The leaders of the L. S. I. found a suitable way out. The centre point of this outlet was that permission be granted for sport competitions between sections of the R. S. I. and the L. S. I., from which France and Czechoslovakia are excluded. This exceptional clause being accepted, all the other countries which were against unity otherwise, gave their consent. At the end of the resolution it was stated that union with the R. S. I. is impossible at the present time but that, when the result of co-operation in sport has been seen and if a union then seems possible, a fresh congress should decide upon it. The next congress will take place in two years.

By this resolution, the L. S. I. has at any rate, given official expression to the recognition of the R. S. I. as a factor in the international Labour sport movement with which competitions in sport can be carried out.

The position of co-operation in sport having been made possible, must be made use of, and the broad circles of members within the Lucerne International must recognise that this is only a small step and that real unity still has to be brought about.

The fact that the Congress did not pass resolutions on the proposals to join the Amsterdam and the 2nd Internationals, but left these questions to the International Bureau as material for further deliberation, can be regarded as a result — and a truly successful result — of the debates and discussions on the question of the unity of the International Workers' Physical Culture and Sport Movement.

A change in the statutes has been made to the effect that the Lucerne International is now called the "International Socialist League for Sport and Physical Culture." Thus the description socialist has been introduced.

The seat of the International Bureau is again to be Belgium and Devlieger is once more to be secretary and Brideaux president.

Taking it all in all, it may be said that the result of the Paris Congress was favourable to the R. S. I.'s policy of unity. We should not of course entertain any illusions with regard to what has been achieved, but should know that it is by no means the free will of the majority of the leaders in the Lucerne International, that, on the contrary, their steps are to a large degree dictated by the spirit which rules among broad sections of the organisations. Wherever it is possible, they will try to hinder, distract, delay, in order to gain time. This was also demonstrated at the Paris Conference. It is therefore quite evident that unity will only be accomplished if the will of the masses to establish it, becomes stronger and stronger.

PROLETARIAN CULTURE

On the Way to a Labour Radio International.

By A. Winogradov (Moscow).

The German worker's delegation rendered our movement invaluable service by its visit to the Soviet Union last Summer. Radio amateurs who were members of the delegation, helped us to enter into closer connection with the Labour amateur radio movement in Germany which had up to then hardly made itself apparent, which put us in the position of taking up our international work.

There had been no lack of inducement to take up this work sooner. We had received invitations to the International Radio Congress in Paris and also to a Radio Conference which was organised by the League of Nations in Switzerland. But we ignored deliberately all these invitations, in the consciousness that, just as we could learn nothing from the bourgeois "Friends of Radio", it could not be agreeable to them to be connected with the movement which works under the banner of the fighting proletariat.

We were always convinced that sooner or later a secession of the workers would occur in the radio amateur movement, that is a movement to make use of radio as a weapon in the fight to raise the cultural level of the workers. The examples of a similar occurrence in the sport and Esperanto movements show quite clearly that no co-operation is possible outside the classes for an object which in itself is a weapon in the class fight.

There is no doubt that radio possesses all the qualities which enable it to become such a weapon. The bourgeoisie of Western Europe fully recognises this and is consequently building up its policy on this basis.

But history, which cannot be forged, fulfils its mission, and the Labour radio movement will gradually become an actual fact. The beginning has been made in Germany and the "merit" belongs chiefly to the German Government itself which, by its inconsiderate treatment of the Labour radio movement, has best served to promote a clear understanding of its class character among the workers.

The Labour radio Club which was called into being a year ago in Berlin is to-day a strong organisation with branches in most of the industrial centres. We are already in regular correspondence with some of these branches. The material received in this way, gives us the following picture:

Radio is in Germany a State monopoly, maintained by a special company which includes the Post Ministry and the industry and which has an annual income of 12—14 millions. This sum is undoubtedly to a large extent taken from the pockets of the German workers, but at the same time definite limits are put to the independent Labour radio movement.

By a clever interpretation of the law, the Post Ministry compels members of the Labour clubs to join the local bourgeois associations of the "Friends of Radio", or else refuses to grant them the concession for the lamp receiving-apparatus. Recently, the Ministry has provisionally granted the concession to members of the Labour clubs if they submit to an examination by a special commission consisting of State officials. The only object of the examination is to keep the workers as far as possible away from the Labour radio movement. This is evident from the fact that the "Friends of Radio" may conduct the examination on their own premises, in which case it becomes quite a formality. In the meantime, the Labour Radio Club, in spite of many applications, is to the present day still unrecognised by the official bodies by which the bourgeois radio associations are openly patronised.

Thus, the motto of the German Post Ministry is — complete freedom for the bourgeois "Friends of Radio", and every possible obstacle in the way of the newly-awakening Labour radio. Special difficulties are met with in the occupied districts of the Rhineland, where the "promoters of culture" have forbidden the use of radio, and where this regulation has led to innumerable arrests and other persecution of radio amateurs.

"On the basis of this fact" — writes the chairman of the Labour Radio Club in Berlin — "the policy of the Ministry and the radio monopoly of the bourgeois society mean new chains for the cultural higher development of the working class".

For this reason, the Labour Radio Clubs are now starting to fight for the right to independence.

At the same time a demand has been made for a fundamental change in the radio programme, for up to now it has only supplied the demands of the bourgeoisie and its composition has been far from meeting the requirements and interests of the broad strata of workers.

"The 'Labour Radio Clubs' — writes the same reporter — "have set themselves the task of making the radio waves accessible to the Labour leaders, authors and artists for practical use."

On March 29th 1925, the 1st Conference of the Labour Radio Movement was organised, which discussed a whole series of tasks of the Labour radio movement.

During the conference, the many obstacles which are placed in the way of this movement, became clearly evident. The result of the conference was that the idea arose of founding a Labour Radio International, which was expressed in a special manifesto. We report this fact with great satisfaction as the idea of the Labour Radio International logically corresponds in every respect with our work up to the present.