

V. b. b.

English Edition.

Unpublished Manuscripts - Please reprint

- INTERNATIONAL - PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 6. No. 1

7th January 1926

Editorial Offices and Central Despatching Department: Berggasse 31, Vienna IX. — Postal Address, to which all remittances should be sent by registered mail: Postamt 66, Schliessfach 213, Vienna IX. Telegraphic Address: Inprekorr, Vienna.

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The Struggle between Fascism and Legitimism in Hungary.

By Béla Molnár (Buda-Pest).

Public opinion, both in Hungary and abroad, is following with the eagerest attention the investigation of the franc forgery case. The matter promises to become a political scandal of the first rank and is likely to expose the hidden secrets of the Hungarian fascist king makers (followers of the Habsburg Albrecht) and the secret threads which connect them with certain currents in the government's policy.

On December 20th the Dutch police arrested in the Hague three persons belonging to the circles of the "Upper Ten Thousand" of Hungarian society. The three were: Aristide Jankovich, colonel of the General Staff (retired), the brother-in-law of the present Minister for National Defence Count Csáky, a man who belongs to the most intimate circle of friends of Horthy and was at one time the director of one of the departments of the military Cabinet of Horthy. The other two arrested are: Georg Marsovszky and Georg Markovits, both of them "persons of the highest repute". The first of these two is secretary of the Party of the "Awakening Magyars" and the bosom friend of the chief of this organisation, Julius Gombos. Forged thousand franc notes, amounting to 10 million francs and which were kept in the courier luggage officially sealed by the Hun-

garian Foreign Ministry, were found in the possession of the arrested; and they produced regular diplomatic passports of the Hungarian government. During their cross-examination they declared that they had been pursuing "patriotic aims".

The arrests had the effect of a bombshell in Budapest. The government and also the police were completely paralysed and endeavoured to hush up the whole affair. The police investigations brought absolutely nothing to light in the first ten days; the entire bureaucratic apparatus, which is permeated with fascists and Horthyists, was set into motion in order to destroy all clues and to cause the question of the accomplices of the arrested to be smothered up, as was the case with all the crimes of the counter revolution, beginning with the murder of the social democratic editors Somogyi and Bascó. This intentional inactivity of the police and their obvious manoeuvre of hushing up the affair revealed at once that, in this case the matter is not a question of some of the prominent fascists being personally compromised, but that the Franc note forgeries constituted a link in the chain of a plan for a **putch on the part of the Hungarian fascists**. The Hague arrests thwarted these plans which were already well advanced.

In order to be better able to understand the political background of the whole system of corruption brought to light by the police investigation of the forgery affair, one must bear in mind two specific features which have characterised Hungarian politics during the last few months: 1. a new rising wave of fascism; 2. an ever stronger wave of chauvinism.

The struggle between the legitimists and the fascist supporters of the Habsburgs must be considered in the light of these two features. The breeding ground of the reawakening fascism and also of the legitimist efforts at a restoration are the permanent and ever increasing "sanitation" crisis and the misery of large sections of the workers, petty bourgeois and peasants arising therefrom. Not only industry, but agriculture also is involved in the severe crisis. Instead of the boom which had been expected as a result of the good harvest and of the state investments, there appeared a sharpening of the crisis, accompanied by increased unemployment and growing discontent in the villages. These circumstances led the impoverished masses to look for "salvation" from their present misery to "Greater Hungary". This mood is being taken advantage of by the legitimists and also by the fascist supporters of Albrecht Habsburg.

Legitimism, as a class movement of the allied financial capitalists and big agrarians, has recently more and more assumed the form of irredentism, in order to harness the petty bourgeois masses, who are revolting more and more against the sanitation, to the chariot of the ruling classes again. In addition to this, in connection with the regrouping of forces in Europe, the imperialist hopes have been again awakened in the ruling circles of Hungarian society. It was thought, and not without reason, that the present foreign political stability of the European groupings would not last for any length of time, and that Hungary would escape from her present foreign political isolation and would find a place in some European combination of powers. Legitimism was therefore the slogan with the help of which the ruling classes hoped to divert the discontent of the petty bourgeois masses who were becoming rebellious, and to make use of them in their own interests.

The Albrecht wing of the Habsburgs, on the other hand, based itself mainly upon the fascist petty bourgeois, who thought that with the flag of "free choice of king" they could take up a fighting opposition against the "king" of the capitalists and great agrarians, Otto, the son of Karl the last. Both cliques competed with one another in order to win the petty bourgeoisie, while irredentism served as a chief weapon for both parties. The attractive power of the Albrecht wing was naturally the greater. In its camp there was included the Horthy elements; it was this wing which was in a position not only to make use of certain national anti-Habsburg traditions, but which also appeared to be pursuing a more "real policy" by emphasising that Albrecht Habsburg's ascension to the throne would not be regarded as a Habsburg restoration, but as the founding of a new "national" dynasty, and that therefore the Succession States of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy would raise no objection to it. It was this wing which could finally boast that it had the support of fascist Italy.

Under such circumstances it is not surprising that even sections of the ruling classes began to flirt with the Albrecht combination, and that there came about a certain rapprochement between the representatives of the ruling classes and of the fascists under the aegis of the Albrecht kingdom. The leader of this rapprochement is the Minister for Education, Count Klebelsberg, who in recent times has become more and more recognised as the leader of the Albrecht wing and has become the open rival of the Prime Minister Bethlen. There was already talk in Hungary of an approaching Albrecht putch, which would result in Count Klebelsberg being the first Prime Minister of a new fascist kingdom.

The forged notes affair appears in this connection as an adventurous financial operation of Hungarian fascism which was preparing for a coup d'état. That politics and business are inseparably connected in this respect is quite natural in view of the whole structure of Hungarian politics. The fact that the Hungarian police, who were always known to be one of the most reliable supporters of Bethlen, attempted, in spite of this, to hush the matter up, is quite natural in view of the fact that Hungarian fascism possesses a decisive influence upon the entire government apparatus and that the various political cliques in Hungary are not sharply divided from each other. It is quite possible that Bethlen, who is known as a politician who was

opposed to Horthy and Klebelsberg and is in favour of "consolidation", but nevertheless always has two irons in the fire, had a hand in the "business", both in the literal and in the political sense of the word.

The results of the police investigations (which only began to be energetically conducted when the representative of the French police appeared in Budapest and the French Ambassador began to use threats) go to indicate that there is involved in this affair not merely the outspoken fascist wing of counter-revolution, but at least a portion of those circles closely connected with the government. Prince Windischgraetz, whom the police had finally to arrest, is generally known to be a legitimist, as well as an adventurer, who from one day to another changes over to the opposing camps. But beside Windischgraetz and besides the friend of Horthy, the provincial chief of police Nádossy, who had to be sent away as speedily as possible on "leave of absence", there are involved in the affair the Minister of Defence, Count Csáky, who was likewise hastily sent away, and the bosom friend of Bethlen, the late Minister for Foreign Affairs and member of the Mosul Commission, Count Teleky. It transpired that the forged thousand franc notes were printed in the printing works of the military geographical institute, the directors of which were, Count Teleky, in his capacity as chairman of the Hungarian Geographical Society, and Count Csáky, in his capacity as Minister of Defence.

The press announces further "sensations", and it was openly stated that the police would not venture on their own initiative to arrest several prominent personalities, but have to wait for the sanction of the government. All signs indicate that there existed a far reaching understanding between prominent circles of the governing clique and the fascist putchists. The foreign political basis of the fascist preparations is clearly revealed in the light of this affair: all those who are compromised and who have been "granted leave of absence", the leaders of the "Awakening Magyar", Ulain and Eckhardt, Count Csáky and Nádossy proceeded to Italy and arranged to meet in Milan.

One cannot at present predict how the whole affair will turn out. The legitimists, with Count Apponyi at the head, are preparing to settle accounts with the followers of the "usurper" and "adventurer" Albrecht Habsburg. It is quite possible that Count Bethlen, now that the affair has come to grief, will decide to settle accounts with his rivals. Foreign political factors are already playing a part in the affair. England and Italy will perhaps appear as mediators and peace makers between the warring groups of the Hungarian counter-revolution. An undermining of the French Franc by means of issuing forged notes would in no way run counter to the plans of England.

POLITICS

Anglo-Italian Imperialism at Rapallo.

By G. Peri (Paris).

In Rapallo, where at one time the representatives of the Soviet Union and the delegates of vanquished Germany, in the face of the terrified Entente powers, signed a Treaty of friendship, the Foreign Minister of Great Britain, Austen Chamberlain, and the Prime Minister of Italy, Mussolini, have had a meeting and, according to official reports, have decided "to carry on more definitely the co-operation established between the two countries".

What is the political reality which lies behind this equally mysterious as banal official report?

In Locarno Italy expressed her will to play a role in the concert of the great Powers. The leader of the blackshirts, by signing the Treaty along with the leader of the "jingoes", wished to show that, in the settlement of international affairs Italy must be taken into account.

Shortly after Locarno Mussolini delivered a great political speech in the Chamber, in which he lauded the world importance of fascism. In their comments on this speech the Italian newspapers laid emphasis on the "eternal" right of Italy to Nizza and Savoy, and particularly to Tunis, that is to the territories in the possession of France which are inhabited more by Italians than by French.

At the same time persistent rumours went round, according to which Italian fascism was preparing to support secretly the

advocators of the restoration of the Habsburgs in Hungary. Mussolini, it was said, wishes to destroy French influence in the Balkans, and has sent his best emissaries to Roumania.

The attitude of the Italian rulers towards the disarmament Conference is well known. The tone of the government press of Italy leaves no doubt possible in this respect. Italy rejects the Geneva phantasies regarding the control of armaments. She will in no way permit her rapidly increasing population to be robbed of the means of expansion and conquest.

A month ago a Treaty was signed between Italy and Egypt, according to which Italy obtained possession of the Oasis of Djahboub. English pressure exercised a great influence on the signing of this treaty. In return for this, Italy, some days afterwards, supported the claims of Great Britain to Mosul, and the representative of Italy, Scialoja, occupied the chair at the meeting of the League of Nations which decided the shameful plundering of the Turkish Republic.

But all this does not suffice to satisfy the ambitions of Italian imperialism. Fascism, now it believes that it has consolidated its position at home, is dreaming of extending its borders in order, as it is expressed, to set up again the "Roman Empire". These pretensions are causing the Italian government to fortify the Italian islands in the Aegean Sea opposite Asia Minor and to demand colonial mandates.

It is true these claims would cause uneasiness to England, were not these two States who are carrying on a rivalry in the Mediterranean, these two "guarantors of peace", quite unequal in strength. London is turning to Rome as a creditor to its debtor, and there is no doubt that Chamberlain will take advantage of the approaching negotiations between England and Italy on the question of debts in order to press energetically for payment.

Italy, on her side, is not ignorant of the difficulties which Great Britain is encountering in the Near East. She knows that, in spite of the clear desire for peace of the Turkish government, the decision of the League of Nations regarding the Mosul question can any day kindle a war in this corner of the world. After the signing of the Treaty of friendship between the Soviet Union and Turkey, and after the conclusion of the agreement between Turkey and Jugoslavia, such a war would constitute a very dangerous adventure for Great Britain. Finally, Italy is also aware that, owing to the lack of active co-operation with the armies of France, who have their hands full with two colonial wars, the British imperialists would be very glad of the support of Italy in Asia Minor. Mussolini is also well aware of this, and says to the British Foreign Minister: our debts, along with the accumulated interest, amount to 5000 million; now then, grant us favourable conditions; take into account our difficult economic position, and we shall side with you in order to defeat the Turkish Republic.

And Mussolini is also reckoning in this connection that if he helps the chauvinists of Great Britain to plunder young Turkey, he will win a big share in the distribution of the booty, such as the annexation of the South West portion of Asia Minor and a free hand in South West Arabia.

That is the actual meaning of that "co-operation" which is so enthusiastically welcomed by the Italian newspapers. The French Foreign Office remembers the attack by Italian government circles against France and is greatly annoyed. Such is the picture presented by Europe a few weeks after Locarno!

The Question of a Labour Party in Norway.

By W. Mielenz.

The Communist Party of Norway has at present begun an action which will be of great significance to the Labour movement far beyond the borders of the Norwegian country. The Communist Party of Norway has begun to propagate the formation of a Labour party after the model of the British Labour Party.

In order thoroughly to appreciate how much to the purpose this action of the party is, a few preliminary explanatory remarks must be made.

Before there was any political Labour organisation in Norway, craft and professional organisations existed as precursors

of the present trade union movement. The "Norwegian Labour Party" was founded more than 40 years ago. This Labour party still exists and is the dominating organisation among the three workers' parties. Since its origin, it has been very closely allied with the trade union federations and even nowadays the number of its individual members is very small, while the number of members affiliated to it through the trade unions — collectively — is comparatively very large. The proportionate organisatory strength of the three workers' parties is about as follows:

Norwegian Labour Party . . .	in round figures	40,000	members
Norwegian Communist Party . . .	" "	10,000	" "
Norwegian Soc. Dem. Party . . .	" "	7,000	" "

About 100,000 workers are organised in the Trade Union Federation whereas the number of workers employed in industry, commerce and trade can be estimated at 350,000. The whole country has, as is well known, only 2,650,000 inhabitants.

Up to 1921, the N.L.P. was the only workers' party in Norway. As an effect of the Russian revolution, it had carried out revolutionary actions in Norway, had given the trade union movement a more revolutionary tinge than is shown by the other Scandinavian associations, and joined the Communist International at an early date. There was however in the party also a Right opportunist reformist tendency. This tendency was opposed to the Communist International. It worked for its ideas in a fractionally organised form. Apart from this tendency, there was an influential group with a decided bias to the Left which wanted to turn the party into a strong fighting section of the Communist International. And, between them both, was the large Centralistic mass, led by Martin Tranmael, who on his part was considerably influenced by the syndicalist terminology and endeavoured with unusual talent, to represent the trade unions as the essential organs in the class war of the workers. Regarded in this light, the N.L.P., in the years 1918—1920, offers the picture of an already existing Labour Party.

The picture assumed a different aspect when the well-known 21 conditions of the Communist International were published. These were too much of a good thing for the social democratic elements; they left the N.L.P. and formed the above mentioned Social Democratic Party of Norway. Its influence up to the present is very slight. It only shows a certain activity at the time of the different elections. Its Press consists of 16 newspapers, of which only one appears daily. Its leadership is in the hands of members of the petty bourgeoisie (craftsmen and clerks) its members are recruited from workers in the paper and saw-mills, State and municipal employees, typographers and other small occupational groups. It is only strong in one industrial district — Oesfold — whereas in other industrial districts it has almost no influence. This party, like the Communist party, is built up on the basis of individual membership, nevertheless it has a fairly strong influence on the management of some of the trade union federations and decisive influence on the Co-operative National Union of Consumers, numbering about 100,000 members. The party has no appreciable influence on the masses of small peasants. Internationally, it belongs to the Second International.

In November 1923, there was a second split in the Labour Party. The majority, led by Tranmael, Bull and Madsen refused to agree with the principles of democratic centralism and the discipline of the Communist International. They demanded unlimited national freedom of movement and only promised active participation in international actions. They did not wish to relinquish collective membership and even the change of name of their chief organ, from the "old-established" "Social Democrat" to the "Labour Journal" was only carried through under strong pressure on the part of the C.I.

The minority formed the Communist Party of Norway which is thus now two years old.

Our party was born during the gigantic fight of the metal workers, to which it gave decided support from the beginning. In spite of many internal convulsions and internal dissensions, it consolidated and grew, so that to-day it is an important factor in the Norwegian Labour movement.

Nevertheless there is almost unmistakable impulse towards unification of forces among the Norwegian workers. In view of the steadily and boldly increasing reaction in the country, which makes use of organised strike-breakers and Fascist organisa-

tions, in view of the systematic preparation for a great employers' offensive and of the hostile attitude of the Government to the working class, the workers feel that successful resistance to this great offensive of capital could only be achieved with great difficulty because of the present disunity of the Labour movement. This is why they press for unity.

This intense desire is also evident where international affairs are concerned. For this reason, only a short time ago, the **Congress of Trade Union Federations** (which belong to no international organisation), resolved to aim at organisatory co-operation with the **Anglo-Russian Unity Committee** for the purpose of establishing unity in the trade union movement throughout the world. This resolution found its first expression in the despatch of a numerous **trade union delegation** to Soviet Russia, which, on its return, started good propaganda for world unity, and in participation in the last meeting of the **Anglo-Russian Committee** which recently took place in Berlin. As is well known, the **Federal Congress** also resolved to withdraw completely from the **Labour Office of the League of Nations**.

These resolutions, which have been extended by individual congresses of trade union organisations are a good expression of the mood which prevails among the masses, which has become so strong that no reformist or demagogic manoeuvre is able to turn them in a contrary direction. The consistent work of the **Communist Party among the masses** which can point to increasing success, particularly in the **trade unions and the local trade union cartels**, is by no means the least factor in rousing the masses to consciousness.

Martin Tranmeal, the leader of the Labour party, was also well aware of these two factors. For this reason, he has for more than a year, tried to impress on the masses in his Labour party the slogan of "collective organisation". On the one hand he wished in this way to regain for his party and his purposes the position of monopoly in the Labour movement, on the other hand, his object was to bring about the destruction of the Communist party which he abhorred. This slogan however found little echo among the workers.

In this situation, the slogan of the Labour party does not mean a retrograde step to the old form of organisation, but an advance in the direction of a party of the masses. This slogan is not only one of the day, on the contrary it has become an actual necessity. Its realisation depends in the first place on the internal firmness, skill and effective power of our party.

What then is to be the actual form of this Labour Party? It is to be a united party of the whole mass of workers. Regarded from the point of view of organisation therefore, the trade unions will be its most important component. The party will further embrace: all the three existing **Workers' parties**, the **three Leagues of Youth** of the workers, and the **Co-operative movement**.

Needless to say, the Communist will not dream of relinquishing their form of organisation. They will continue to work as a firmly centralised C. P. within the framework of the great Labour Party. This framework will make it possible for them to approach the masses better than up to the present, to influence them and finally, in the course of the class war in Norway, to have a dominating influence in all actions taken by the workers and the small peasantry — who like them are oppressed — against native capitalism and world imperialism.

For the present, the action is still in the first stage of propaganda, the whole of the members are not yet mobilised for this slogan, nevertheless **Tranmeal** scents the dawn. As was to be expected, he is combatting the slogan of actual gathering together with the most hypocritical and demagogical arguments. It will not help him much, but rather injure him greatly, for now the workers will clearly recognise the value of his old slogan of "collective organisation". Some of the leading trade unionists on the contrary have already recognised the value of a Labour party and declared themselves in favour of organising one. This applies above all to **Halvard Olsen**, the present **President of the Norwegian Trade Union Federation** and to **Alfred Melgaard**, the leader of the **Metal Workers' Union**.

And, if we are not entirely deceived, a discussion on this question has already begun in the C. C. of the N. L. P., in which leading members of the delegation to Russia may clash with the **Tranmaelist majority**.

HANDS OFF CHINA

Telegram of Greetings from the XIV. Party Conference of the R. C. P. to the Kuomintang.

At its session held on 26th December, the XIV. Party Conference of the C. P. of Russia decided to send the following telegram to the Presidium of the Second All-Chinese Congress of the Kuomintang:

"The XIV. Party Conference of the C. P. of Russia sends its brotherly greetings to the Second Congress of the People's Revolutionary Party, the 'Kuomintang'. In the Congress of the Kuomintang we greet the many million people of China who have taken up the struggle for their emancipation from the yoke of imperialism and by their blood sacrifices have won the right to free development and existence.

To our Party has fallen the proud and historical role of leading the first victorious proletarian revolution of the world on the territory of the former Russian Tsarist Empire, the bulwark of world counter revolution. We are proud and happy in having destroyed this bulwark and converted it into the Soviet Union, into the bulwark of the emancipation movement of the workers and suppressed of the world.

We are convinced that the Kuomintang Party will succeed in playing the same role in the East and thereby destroy the foundation of the rule of the imperialists in Asia. We are fully convinced that this task can only be carried out with success if the Kuomintang strengthens the alliance of the working class and the peasantry of China in the present struggle, and allows itself to be guided by the interests of these fundamental forces of the revolution, and if the Kuomintang at the same time supports every opposition movement which is directed against the yoke of world capitalism and in support of the intellectual and economic emancipation of the working masses.

The Presidium of the
XIV. Party Conference of the C. P. of Russia."

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Situation in the various Trade Unions in Italy.

By G. Germanetto (Milan).

The general situation of the working class in Italy, which in any case is difficult, has been rendered still more so by recent events and by the laws with regard to trade unions, which have been passed in great haste by the Fascist Government as the crowning point of their anti-proletarian policy.

The national trade union associations, owing to the policy of renunciation and counter-revolution of the **Confederazione Generale del Lavoro** (C. G. d. L., General Federation of Labour — the trade union association of Italy, led by the Reformists), and also owing to the fact that the great majority of them are under the leadership of the same persons — or of the same party — as lead the C. G. d. L., have confined themselves to being bureaucratic centres which collect facts, documents, contributions and protests. And, if ever they did rouse themselves from their inactivity, it was because they were under pressure from the mass of the workers, and immediately afterwards they employed the whole weight of the authority of the organisation, in order to defend the political interests of part of the bourgeoisie, even if it was the democratic part, whose interests at any rate were opposed to those of the proletariat. The authority of the trade

tional class trade union policy which had always been used to strangle agitation and strikes, was never used by the Reformists for the mobilisation of the masses.

The communists have a weighty influence in the F. I. O. M. (Federazione Italiana Operai Metallurgici, Italian Metal Workers' Union). From the point of view of organisation, our forces amount to about one third. It must be borne in mind that in the Turin section, the communists are no doubt in the majority, whereas, thanks to all kinds of tricks and exclusions, they are represented as being in the minority. Their influence however is stronger than would appear from their numbers, and that both because — as even the secretary of the Union Bruno Buozzi must admit — the communists are deeply devoted to the F. I. O. M. and also because the policy adopted by the F. I. O. M. in these years of warfare, is opposed to the interests of the mass of metal workers.

The action developed in Turin for the election of the Committee for the administration of the relief fund in the Fiat works, our victory and the resignation of the social democratic counsellors, the elections of the International Commissions and the treaty signed by the Internal Commissions themselves, after an appeal had been made to the F. I. O. M. to interfere (it however refused), all these show how the influence of the communists has grown and how both social democratic tendencies have decisively taken up their stand on an anti-proletarian basis. In Milan also, where the Reformists and Maximalists always had great influence, the communists moved up from the third to the first place at the last elections in the local group of the F. I. O. M. In Trieste, the local group of the F. I. O. M. is under our leadership the same applies to Genoa, Treviso, Udine, Padua, Naples, Florence and a number of other places. All through Piedmont we have very strong minorities. The Reformists and Maximalists have excluded many communist and revolutionary metal workers, and have always hindered our comrades, and local trade unions under our guidance from joining the F. I. O. M.

The F. I. O. T. (Federazione Italiana Operai Tessili — Italian Textile Workers' Union) is one of the most important organisations because of the extreme importance of this industry. The Reformists only succeed in keeping the lead in their hands, because, with the co-operation of the Maximalists, they have carried on a policy in opposition to the Communists. At the last party session they were only saved at the last moment by the fact that the Maximalists passed a vote of confidence in them. The most important wool and cotton manufacturing districts are under the influence of the communists.

Four communist organisers, who held important functions in the Union and represented very important districts, were excluded from the F. I. O. T. on account of their opposition to the anti-proletarian policy of the trade union. In a number of places, in which we do not lead the local groups, we have strong minorities and effective influence on the masses of the textile workers. Thanks to the trade union policy of the C. G. d. L. and the leaders of the F. I. O. T., wages have been reduced, and the increase of wages in recent times has not been adapted to the steadily increasing cost of living. At the time of the last Fascist offensive the C. C. of the F. I. O. T. did not give any instructions to its own local groups.

In the chemical industry, which has developed in the most remarkable way in its various branches, there is no large organisation, as it does not require specially skilled workers. At the first meeting which took place in 1924, during the epoch of revival of organisation, our point of view met with remarkable success. Our minority, although it was sabotaged, supported a general class action, but did not gain a majority. The Fascist Corporation of chemical workers has, up to the present, not gained much foothold.

The F. I. G. E. (Federazione Italiana Operai Edili, Italian Union of Building Trade Workers) might have carried on a vigorous campaign in order to improve the conditions of wages and hours of work, in consequence of the emigration of numerous elements to France and other countries, and in view of the extensive building operations. The policy of their leaders however, compelled the workers in the building trade to begin local fights which were doomed to failure because of the Fascist reaction of the employers. This occurred for instance in Rome and Bologna, only to mention the most important centres. In Bologna, the communists who stood by the workers in their fight, were excluded from the Union. In Turin one of our best

fellow-fighters, Comrade Mosca, was excluded because of his criticism of the leaders of the F. I. O. E. The communists have repeatedly called upon the masses to resist abuses and to fight against the reformism of the leaders.

The F. I. L. I. L. (Federation Italiana Lavoratori in Legno, Italian Wood Workers' Union), which is led by our comrades, is the only union which has succeeded in obtaining Labour agreements, some of them after much agitation and fighting — for instance in Milan, Genoa, Rome and other places. Even after the treaty of Vidoni Palace, the F. I. L. I. L. succeeded in obtaining agreements. A few battles were lost because of the reaction which prevailed in the district in question.

The F. I. L. A. M. (Federazione Italiana Lavoratori Albergo e Mensa, Union of Hotel and Restaurant Employees), which is controlled by the communists, has during this period offered resistance to reaction. Occupation of the office of the Union, ill-treatment of the secretary, persecution of the organised members most of whom have to work in factories, in which they can be seized immediately, have not been enough to break down the resistance of this small Union. The organ of the Union was confiscated many times. After the dissolution of its local group in Milan, the F. I. L. A. M. was deprived of its central office.

The State employees, agricultural workers, transport workers, private employees, workers in the food trade and other unions are in a similar position to the above mentioned trade unions. The situation in the graphic trade deserves to be specially described.

Through a decree which was recently issued, the unions of printers, photo-engravers, lithographers and bookbinders were dissolved. In place of the Central Committee of the Printers' Union, a Fascist Royal Commissioner was appointed, Rossoni, the secretary of the Fascist corporations; the Reformist Tommaso Bruno, the former General Secretary, was appointed as vice-commissioner for the Printers' Union, and the Deputy Cucini as the vice-commissioner representing the Fascist graphic corporation. In all district committees of the Union, a Fascist commissioner and two vice-commissioners were appointed to represent the organisations of free trade unions and the Fascist trade union organisation. These are the results of the trade union activity of one of the greatest representatives of trade union reformism. Tommaso Bruno, the extremely reformist general secretary of the Italian Printers' Union, has always been at the head of any open or concealed action of trade union reformism.

The getting into touch with the Government, which occurred only too frequently, the appeal to Mussolini to act as arbitrator in a Labour dispute which dragged on for a long time — the strike in the Nebiolo factory in Turin, in which by the bye, Bruno refused the offered support of the Printers' Union of the Soviet Union, and the arbitration ended with a defeat of the workers — all this showed in the plainest manner, whither Bruno wished to lead the Printers' Union.

The following few figures suffice to make it easier to understand the import of the present action of Bruno and his accomplices:

	Members of the Printers' Union Belonging to	
	Free Trade Unions	Fascists
Turin	2400	120
Milan	3050	200
Rome	1800	200
Naples	1450	-

The C. G. d. L. (Confederazione Generale di Lavoro — General Federation of Labour) has never officially stated whether or not it approved of Bruno who, a short time ago, expressed his satisfaction at the suppression of the internal commissions in the columns of the organ of the C. G. d. L. Only after the attacks of the communists did the C. G. d. L. make it known that it had severed all connection with Bruno.

The chief work aiming at leading the Printers' Union over to Fascism, has been carried out by Bruno and the President Alberti during the last few weeks. For a long time already the Central Committee has cherished the intention of separating from the C. G. d. L.; this however was energetically com-

bated by the communists who, on the contrary, wished to amalgamate the four unions of the graphic trade (printers', photo-engravers, lithographers, bookbinders) into one union which naturally was to be affiliated to the C. G. d. L.

In a letter to the C. G. d. L., the Communist Printers' Committee has demanded the exclusion of these traitors. The secretariat answered that up to the present no resolutions have been passed with regard to the question of Bruno and his comrades nor with regard to the new structure of the printers' union. The communist printers' committee also addressed a small pamphlet to the members of the graphic trades in which the slogan was issued: "Defend the C. G. d. L. by forming committees in every factory!" The treachery of the General Secretary of the Printers' Union is shown up in the pamphlet.

Tommaso Bruno, the wild anti-communist of all congresses of the C. G. d. L., the man who could not refrain from proclaiming his joy at the abolition of the internal commissions, has been guilty of the basest treachery. He is now a fellow-worker of Rossoni, the leader of Mussolini's trade unions, which are controlled by the bourgeoisie.

The First Factory Newspapers in Poland.

As everybody knows, Poland is a country of illiteracy and police terror, and these conditions are certainly not favourable to the development of factory newspapers. Nevertheless, they are appearing.

In Upper Silesia, in the "Slonk"-Mines at Chropaczow, the miners have published the first two numbers of a newspaper "Storm". In this newspaper, the workers' correspondence appears in the Polish and German languages, as the Upper Silesian workers pass through the German school and read and write better in German than in Polish.

The paper contains workers' letters from various mines, and articles describing the struggle of the Upper Silesian proletariat in defence of the 8-hour working day in Upper Silesia. Besides this, a song by one of the comrades is published, which was written in honour of the political prisoners. This song has acquired extraordinary popularity. It is already being sung by the revolutionary workers throughout almost the whole of Silesia.

The nucleus in the "Ferdinand"-Mines, also in Upper Silesia, has published a paper called "The Sword".

The paper in the "Nikisz" Mines describes the abuses of the local factory committee and conducts electional agitation. The paper also contains an article commemorating the Communists executed in Warsaw and Lvoff, who were victims of the White Terror now reigning in Poland. The paper calls upon the workers to protest, and to give donations in aid of the political prisoners.

The paper of the "Wujek" Mine in Upper Silesia is extremely interesting.

Having to deal with illiterate workers, this wall-newspaper consists entirely of drawings. One of the numbers which is posted up throughout the whole mine, is a geographical map of Poland covered with gallows. In the background of the picture lies a worker, who from one side is beaten by a police bully and from the other side by a trade union bureaucrat. Beneath the drawing is written: "This is how the workers fare in Democratic Poland." The workers crowd around this paper all day long, and during the night the police made a large number of searches in order to try and find the paper and its editors.

This kind of illustrated paper is already being imitated in other Upper Silesian mines.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

At the Sources of Social Treason.

(Revelations by Vandervelde).

By H. Valecki.

The expression "social treason" has come into existence since the war. In the fights which the Left revolutionary wing of the 2nd International carried on against its own Right wing, it described the latter as reformist and opportunist. It combated the methods of the Right as wrong and intellectual, without denying its good faith or raising doubts as to its elementary honesty.

It was only during the imperialist war and especially after its conclusion, only when the reformist leaders (and with them many others who had made a show of opposing them) openly and cynically went over with bag and baggage to the camp of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, that the title "social traitors" was branded with red hot iron on the foreheads of those Judases.

A book which has recently appeared on the Socialist Labour Party of Belgium "Le Party Ouvrier Belge 1885-1925" — which was published by Vandervelde on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of this model section of the 2nd International, contains revelations which prove conclusively that even before the victory its leaders were guilty of direct and conscious treachery to the working class in its fight, and of being on terms of a definite understanding with the enemy.

The following are the facts as Vandervelde himself tells them:

The events took place in 1912-1913. The working class of Belgium was preparing for a general strike in order to obtain universal franchise. A resolution passed at the party congress of the Labour party in June 1912, ran as follows: "We wish for a general strike; we want it to be forcible and irresistible; . . . a committee must be formed which includes delegates from all the great political and economic organisations; this committee must work indefatigably and with all available means at preparations for the strike, and it will be its duty to proclaim it as soon as it is convinced that the masses of workers are ready and the moment is favourable . . ."

"During this critical period", writes Vandervelde, "I kept a diary which, could it be published at the present moment, would report much about the differences which often exist between the outward form and the reality in politics. It seems to me however that certain things can be brought to light without any harm being done. They show up the spirit of reconciliation and the political far-sightedness of the Prime Minister of those days; on the other hand they are absolutely necessary in order to explain the resistance which some of us were obliged to make to the unanimous feeling of the masses of workers in favour of inaugurating a general strike in April 1913."

What are the things which Vandervelde feels he can publish "without doing any harm" in 1925, whilst at the same time he observes silence with regard to other things? What are the facts which have been kept secret hitherto and the knowledge of which is "absolutely necessary in order to explain the resistance" of Vandervelde and his collaborators "against the unanimous feeling of the masses of workers?"

On February 17th 1913 — Vandervelde, who has evidently preserved all the documents of the epoch among his private archives, is very exact — an Antwerp shipbuilder wrote him a long letter in which he expounded in an impressive manner the unrest which had been roused in shipping circles by the threat of a general strike on April 14th: "Antwerp is and must remain, as you know, a great stronghold of transit trade."

"Three days later", continues Vandervelde, "on Thursday Feb. 20th, the President of the Antwerp Chamber of Commerce visited me and begged me to accompany him to the Prime Minister with whom he had already had an interview."

These proceedings were reported in the following minute:

"On February 20th 1913, M. Corty, the President of the Antwerp Chamber of Commerce, visited M. de Broqueville, the President of the Cabinet, and declared — while assuring him that he was only acting personally without investigating the

political question raised by the general strike — that he regarded it as his duty to keep the Government informed as to the economic dangers which this threat had roused in the town of Antwerp alone.

M. Corty informed the Minister that he would take the appropriate steps with regard to M. Vandervelde and expressed the hope that, in case it proved desirable, he would be able to bring about an interview between M. de Broqueville and the leader of the socialist party. The minister received M. Corty in a very friendly way. The President of the Antwerp Chamber of Commerce thereupon immediately visited M. Vandervelde and urgently begged him to accompany him the very same evening to M. de Broqueville. M. Vandervelde acceded to this request. M. Corty, authorized by M. de Broqueville, took M. Vandervelde to the President of the Cabinet on the evening of Feb. 20th, and, having thanked these great personages for the friendly reception they had given to his proposals, he withdrew and left them alone.

Taking for granted that his mission was ended, and trusting to the intelligence of these high personages, whose noble feelings he had learnt to appreciate, M. Corty abandoned all immediate activities which had the object of "preventing the threat of strike becoming an actual disaster for all classes of society."

Vandervelde, who reproduces this minute verbally, accompanies it with the following short remark:

"It is of course quite impossible for me to publish what took place in the course of this meeting."

"Of course!" We cannot but admire the modest discretion with which "the high personage" declines after twelve years to say straight out what took place behind the closed doors of the "chambre séparée" in which he was left alone by the honest match-maker in close intimacy with the other "high personage".

It is at any rate certain that, as the result of this intimate discussion between the "leader of the socialist party" and influential member of the committee for the general strike, and the enemy Chief of the Staff, the "leader" used his whole influence to oppose the "unanimous feeling of the masses of workers in favour of inaugurating a general strike".

But, as Vandervelde continues, "neither the efforts of the burgomasters", who were concerned to maintain order, nor the attempts at intervention on the part of the Liberals, nor the objections (!) of the majority of the leaders of the party ... prevented the working class from displaying its strength.

The strike broke out on the day fixed, April 14th, and the number of strikers reached 450,000 by the second day.

Nevertheless, the "leaders", supported by a resolution of the Chamber which, "though it refuted and condemned the general strike" nevertheless contained vague promises, succeeded a week later in breaking the impetus of the working class and proclaiming a return to work.

Thus, in the last great battle which the working class of Belgium fought on the eve of the war, its leaders were guilty of the gross crime of high treason and of intelligence with the enemy.

Vandervelde's career since then has been: **Minister for Civil and Military Affairs** under the above named **Comte de Broqueville**, **Minister of Justice** from 1919--1921 and **one of those who signed the Treaty of Versailles**, finally since June 1925, **Minister for Foreign Affairs** and **one of the most active co-operators in the conspiracy of Locarno**.

At any rate, all the crimes committed by the former President of the 2nd International in the various offices he filled, were already contained in embryo in the successful conspiracy hatched by him with the enemy of the working class on the evening of February 20th 1913, the eve of the general strike.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Wilhelm Pieck's 50th Birthday.

Comrade Wilhelm Pieck, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, celebrated on the 3rd of January his 50th Birthday.

The life of this our comrade, who belongs by birth to the proletarian class, has been devoted from his earliest youth to unceasing work for the cause of the proletariat. Pieck belonged to the Left Wing of the old social democracy which was led by Rosa Luxemburg, Franz Mehring, Clara Zetkin, Karl Liebknecht and others. Pieck himself played an active role in the organisation and at Party Conferences of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, in fighting against the increasing reformism. During the war Pieck was one of the organisers and leaders of the Spartacus Bund, which resulted in his being imprisoned on several occasions. Pieck was chiefly responsible for the organising of the first anti-war demonstrations and the publication of the first number of the "Internationale", edited by Rosa Luxemburg and Franz Mehring. Pieck spent the last months of the war as a political refugee and military deserter in Holland, where he organised a paper for the numerous German deserters. Before November 1918 Pieck returned to Germany, where he was active on the side of Karl Liebknecht for the German Revolution. Pieck, for example, was a member of the Committee of Action which led the January struggles of the Berlin proletariat in the year 1919.

Since November 1918 Pieck has been without interruption a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, of which he was one of the founders.

The Young Communist League of Argentina and the Death of Comrade Müller.

By R. Olliver.

The news of the murder of Comrade Enrico Müller, the Secretary of the Young Communist League of Argentina and the responsible leader of the secretariat of the Young Communist International for South America is a severe blow for us.

He was the best pioneer for the creation of the movement of the Young Communists in Argentina and the first who commenced a systematic work in order to establish real connections between the various small Youth Leagues of Uruguay, Peru, Chile, Bolivia and Brazil.

The Young Communist League of Argentina, which numbers several thousand members, has, under the leadership of our comrade Müller, greatly developed in the course of the past year. The forces of the Youth League have been especially concentrated in Buenos Aires, the most important industrial centre of the whole area of South America and which alone numbers two million inhabitants out of a total of nine millions for the whole country.

In October 1925 the Young Communist League held its National Congress, which constituted a stage in the building up of a mass communist organisation of the Youth in Argentina.

All methods of work among the working youth which were laid down by the International Congresses, were there employed with the greatest intelligence and with the best results: fight for the defence of the economic interests of the Youth on the basis of a programme of demands and the fight against militarism are the two chief branches of the activity of the League.

Our Comrades have set up a sport organisation which numbers over a thousand members and has good prospects for the future.

There also exist in Argentina various groups of young pioneers, and the comrades are making great efforts in order to develop this movement. They publish every month a children's newspaper, the last edition of which amounted to 25,000 copies.

The "Juventud Comunista" (Young Communist) the monthly journal of the Young Communists has at present a circulation of over 3,000 copies.

The Young Communist International loses in Comrade Müller one of its best co-workers. We are certain that our Argentine comrades will courageously continue the struggle on the basis of the S.C.I. organisation which has been created there under his active and intelligent leadership.

IN THE COLONIES

Labour Activity in Cyprus.

We have received a report from our Comrade Alexander Nicolaidis regarding the situation of the Labour Movement in Cyprus, from which we give the following facts for the information of our readers. Ed.

The Labour Movement in Cyprus is still in its infantile stage. The workers and peasants who are fearfully exploited by the bourgeoisie and the clergy, have just begun to show signs of awakening.

The recent elections have resulted in the defeat of a formerly all-powerful aristocratic clique and in the return of bourgeois candidates, who owe their success thanks to their having come forward with a labour programme and declared themselves in favour of a radical labour policy. This programme which procured them their successes over their opponents contains, among other items, the eight hour day, maintenance of disabled workers etc.

Following on the elections, the Executive Committee of the Limasol Workers Union adopted a resolution to be handed to the newly elected members of the Legislative Council, regarding the enactment of certain labour laws, viz. the eight hour working day, maintenance of disabled workers by funds to be raised by a drastic taxation of capital and other measures. Similar resolutions have been adopted by various Peasants' Leagues throughout the Island.

The 8th Anniversary of the Russian October Revolution was celebrated by the Communist Party in a magnificent manner. The offices of the Party and the Workers' Union were handsomely illuminated and a meeting was held at which speeches were delivered on the historical significance of the day, after which the "Internationale" was sung.

On November 21st the offices of the C. P. at Limasol were raided by the police. The raid was carried out by Chief Inspector Montague and two minor officers according to instructions received from the Central government in London. All those suspected of being leaders of the Communists were arrested, but instantly released. The offices of the Party and the houses of members were carefully searched, all correspondence, literature and even the pictures on the wall were confiscated. Thus British imperialism is extending its general anti-Bolshevik offensive to the little Communist Party of Cyprus.

WORKERS' DELEGATIONS IN THE SOVIET UNION

Appeal of the International Young Workers' Delegations to the Proletarian Youth of all Countries.

The undersigned four delegations of young workers who were sent to Soviet Russia by thousands of young workers from the factories and from the country, have travelled through Soviet Russia with much interest and close attention. We now turn to you to tell you what we have seen and at the same time to make an urgent appeal to you.

We came from countries in which the working class and especially the young workers are terribly exploited, from countries in which the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie prevails, in which the White Terror is employed against the proletarians who dare to rise against their exploiters, and we found in Russia a real proletarian regime, which is called the dictatorship of the proletariat.

During our visit we have recognised that the attacks of the bourgeois and of some social democratic leaders on the Soviet

Union, in which a proletarian dictatorship actually exists, are unjustified. The great participation of the workers in the management of affairs of State (hundreds of workers and peasants are active members of various State institutions, councils etc.) and in raising the production of the proletarian State (factory councils) are a proof that in Russia, there is not a dictatorship over the proletariat but a dictatorship of the proletariat.

The first proletarian State seems to us an invincible power, as it is built up on the broad masses of workers and peasants who are conscious of the great task which they are fulfilling.

This tremendous co-operation of the workers in the factories, the majority of which are technically still fairly backwards and have suffered much through the civil war, has undoubtedly contributed to the fact that the economic situation of the Soviet Union has, in spite of many difficulties, already reached 78.6% of the pre-war level and has now begun to develop into a systematic socialist economy.

During the epoch of the new economic policy, which is only necessary as a transition period in the rural and backward country for the construction of socialism, the fight of the new socialist forms against the old capitalist ones is going on in the domain of economics. The fact that 97% of the transport, 89% of the industry and 73.7% of the trade is in the hands of the State, plainly shows that the development will lead slowly but surely to socialism.

This awakening of the proletariat and the constantly progressing development of the first proletarian State have called forth many opponents. It is therefore comprehensible that in the Soviet Union all those who would fight the Soviet Power from within, are severely punished.

Soviet Russia is the standard-bearer of the world revolution which calls upon the international proletariat to unite in the movement for an unrelenting war against the imperialists of all countries.

Workers!

Whilst you are still being exploited in the factories of the capitalists, the workers of the Soviet Union have won for themselves all the advantages of the victory of the revolution; the eight hours' day — a six to seven hours' day in work which is injurious to health — has been strictly carried through. Two weeks or more holiday is compulsory; it is spent by a certain percentage of the workers, free of cost, in holiday homes.

Free medical help. After prolonged illness, the workers have the possibility of spending several weeks, free of cost, in a convalescent home to improve their health.

No curtailing of wages during illness. Industrial accidents are compensated for by the State which also pays a pension corresponding to the wages.

For the cultural education of the workers and the construction of workers' houses, sums are allocated from the profits on production.

The trade unions which embrace 90% of the mass of workers, regard the improvement of Labour conditions as their chief task. In spite of this, the economic position of the proletariat cannot be as good as it and the State desire, but the worker is interested in production and knows that an improvement in his working conditions will ensue from an improvement in the economic condition of the Soviet Union.

Young workers of both sexes!

You, who are the greatest source of profit in the capitalist countries, you, who from your youth up have groaned under long hours of work for a paltry wage, under curses and sometimes under blows, it is to you that we would relate how the young Russian proletarians work.

Between the ages of 14 and 16 (only after medical examination) they work for 4 hours, between 16 and 18 for six hours, and they have four weeks holiday on full pay a year.

The school for apprentices, which is a source of well qualified and politically trained workers, educates the young workers systematically into conscious co-operators in the socialist construction of the Soviet State. The young people supervise the

carrying out of laws for the protection of youth. All young workers, who have completed their 18th year, have the franchise.

The international proletariat should regard with pride the strong purposeful work of the Russian Young Communist League. It unites a whole body of young fighters who take part in the construction of the proletarian State with a great sense of responsibility. Altogether, a million and a half of juveniles are organised in the Young Communist League of the Soviet Union. The League itself has put considerable forces at the disposal of the economic development of the Soviet Union and has carried through the demands of the young workers.

The Soviet Power gives the workers every opportunity of educating themselves scientifically and politically. Thousands of clubs, all the circles, courses and faculties of workers show to what a large extent the workers and peasants take part in this cultural rise of the Soviet Union.

The complete economic equality of rights of women has contributed to women taking an intensive part in political and cultural life.

The influx of the female sex to educational establishments is evidence of the measure in which women desire to collaborate in the construction of the State. The many children's homes, creches, communal kitchens, communal laundries have helped to free woman from her domestic burdens. For two months before and after confinement a woman is freed from work, while retaining her wages and receiving other special contributions.

The question of nationalities in the Soviet Union has been solved much more decisively and better by the Bolsheviki than by the Mensheviki and the nations are given every opportunity of preserving their rights.

The distribution of land has been carried through to the satisfaction of the broad masses of the peasants. The relations between the masses of peasants and the State are good. When we visited the villages, the peasants expressed great satisfaction with the electrification, the introduction of Co-operatives and the new cultural life. The electrification of the villages is being carried out by the State in spite of great financial difficulties.

The new generation of the children of the workers is being educated in a collectivist and socialist spirit with great attention on the part of the State, the Party, and the Young Communist League. The tremendous pioneer movement at present embraces a million and a half proletarian children.

An important factor for the Soviet Union is the Red Army and Navy which consists exclusively of workers and peasants. It has the important task of defending the proletarian State with all the means at its disposal. The Young Communist League sends its best forces into the army and navy because a great work of political enlightenment is being carried on there. The members of the Red Army are conscious of their responsibility and are ready any day to defend Russia and to support the world revolution.

For all the reasons given above, the four delegations of young workers call upon the young proletarian workers of the whole world to form a solid front and to support the first proletarian State. The Soviet Power is the firmest stronghold of the whole international Labour movement. Proletarian Russia will only be firmly established when the working class of the whole world recognises capitalism as its arch-enemy and fights it to the death.

Long live the united front of the working youth of the whole world!

Long live the Russian proletariat, the forerunner and torch-bearer of the world revolution!

**The Delegation of Young German Workers.
The Delegation of Young French Workers
The Delegation of Young Czech Workers.
The Delegation of Young Belgian Workers.**

ORGANISATION

The Organisation of the Sale of Newspapers.

by W. Ulbricht.

The question of the organisation of the sale of newspapers has hardly been discussed so far, because conditions vary so much in the different places and districts. It is only when there is a decrease in the number of subscribers, or when the paper is confiscated or forbidden that the interest in the sale of newspapers increases.

It is necessary for the party leaders to aim not only at improving the subject matter of the papers, but also to take measures to see that they find a sale. The organisation of the sale of newspapers is an important part of the development of the communist Press into newspapers for the masses. The following suggestions are intended to rouse interest in the discussion of this question.

1. In cases where the daily papers are sold through an apparatus of their own, it is, as a rule, only the management and the officials entrusted by them with the matter who concern themselves with the sale. The party leaders usually exercise no systematic control over the sale of papers. It is necessary for the Agitprop departments to realise that the newspaper apparatus ought to be a branch of the party apparatus, and to take more trouble than hitherto with regard to the organisation of the sale of newspapers. The local groups of nuclei and leaders of nuclei are responsible for the sale in their area. They direct and control the sale by:

- a) delivering to subscribers at their homes or in the factories,
- b) sale of single copies in front of the factories, in streets and in shops,
- c) sale of single copies at meetings, demonstrations etc.,
- d) sale of single copies by those in charge of literature within the fractions at meetings of non-party organisations of workers.

A preliminary condition for an increased sale of papers is punctual delivery to subscribers. It is therefore the duty of the party leaders to exercise a regular control over this.

The existence of a special apparatus for the sale of newspapers and a close connection between it and the workshops is of special importance when the press is confiscated. In cases where the prohibition lasted for some time, a special apparatus had to be constructed where a connection with the workshops was lacking. The result of this was that the paper, appearing irregularly, did not reach the most important readers, the industrial workers.

2. In cases where the newspapers is sold through a so-called "neutral apparatus" (post, news agent, newspaper distributing agencies) the Party must organise yet another special apparatus to control subscriptions and sell single copies. The comrades must above all exercise a strict control over the list of subscribers, so that any reader who ceases to subscribe, may be visited immediately. When papers are forbidden or confiscated, there will be no disturbance of the sale of a newly appearing paper if we have a second apparatus, with persons for keeping up connections in every urban district and in every large and middle sized factory.

3. In cases where the distribution of the paper is based on the sale of single copies, which the readers fetch from certain places without being definite subscribers, it is necessary gradually to introduce the system of subscriptions. The sale of single copies should nevertheless be continued, even though it does not retain its previous significance.

The question has often been raised as to which is the most suitable time for the paper to appear, morning or evening. As a rule, this depends on the technical possibilities of the printing and publishing works. Apart from this, it is important to take into consideration at what time our opponents papers appear.

If, for instance, the opposition papers are sold in masses in the morning, many workers will read that Press because it gives them early information of the latest news. In such cases, efforts should be made, if it is technically possible, to publish the communist paper in the morning too. Further, it is extremely important for us, in case of any action being taken, that the workers are informed of it through the morning paper, before they go to work, whereas the papers which appear in the afternoon, only give the comrades this information after they have left the factories.

The Duties of the Nucleus.

The nuclei should keep an exact register of the subscribers to the communist Press, and should above all, ascertain which communists subscribe to the paper, and what sympathisers, adherents of the trade union opposition, are regular subscribers. It is also necessary to ascertain which workers regularly read the organ of the factory nucleus. This register should be kept in the factory and street nuclei, even when for instance, the sale only takes place in the residential district. Where possible, the leaders of the factory and street nuclei or groups of nuclei, should organise meetings of the friends of the communist Press in order to establish a closer connection with the readers and gradually to attract them to collaborate in providing matter and in distributing the paper.

When there are strikes or important happenings in the factories, it is advisable to publish the first page of the paper as a strike news page or, for particularly important large industrial concerns, to issue a miniature factory edition to be sold at a low price and from which workers, who have not up to that time read the communist daily Press, may see what attitude the communists take to the questions of the moment. For a factory with 10,000-20,000 workers, it pays to publish the first page of the paper as a special issue, even if it has to be made up again.

In specially favourable situations, for instance, after wages movements or other events of particular interest to the workers, and in cases where the social democratic and clerical leaders have shown their true colours with unwonted openness, a particular propaganda campaign is useful, if it has been thoroughly prepared. The first task of the Agitprop commission or the Agitprop organiser, as the case may be, is to collect material as to facts for the agitation, to organise the workers' correspondence for the Press, to prepare for the publication of a special number of the nucleus paper and then to organise the work in the factory in such a way that every group of workers is approached by specially appointed comrades. In so far as there exist members of nuclei who are not employed in the factory, it is their duty to carry on the sale of newspapers and literature at the factory gates. Many workers will at first refuse to subscribe to the paper, for financial reasons. In such cases, subscriptions for a week or a fortnight can be accepted in order gradually to gain these workers as regular subscribers.

This kind of special propaganda campaign should, however, not be organised regularly, but only on particularly favourable occasions, as otherwise the comrades will neglect the steady, daily propaganda work. That which has been said with regard to propaganda campaigns of the factory nuclei, applies also, in essentials, to the local groups and districts. After every propaganda campaign, a detailed report should be sent by those concerned to the party leaders who are their immediate superiors, explaining for what reasons certain workers declined to become subscribers.

The Recruiting Work of the Fraction.

In many factories, the connection with the workers does not function properly. Even the street nuclei are in touch only with a certain number of workers. It is therefore important that systematic propaganda for gaining subscribers should be undertaken by the fractions among the non-party organisations (trade unions, co-operative societies, sport clubs, tenants associations). As a rule the head of the literature department of the fraction is at the same time responsible for the sale of newspapers and magazines. This comrade, in agreement with the leaders of the fraction, decides which members of the fraction are to be responsible for the sale of newspapers and for trying to gain new subscribers in halls where meetings of any kind are being held.

In cases of meetings of large trade unions, where specially important resolutions are to be passed, towards which the communist paper takes up a definite attitude, it is advisable to call special attention to this fact by a short notice on the front page. The same applies to important meetings of co-operative societies etc. Along with the sale of newspapers, the sale of separate literature should also be carried out during such meetings by the comrades offering topical and cheap publications to the individual workers.

Propaganda Work in the Country.

As a rule, the conducting of work in definite rural districts or farms should be allotted to groups of nuclei or individual nuclei. The chief task of the commissions which have been formed for agitation in the country, is to gain subscribers for the papers in their sphere of activity. In the course of general agitation, at meetings, etc., they will soon discover persons who sympathise with us and to whom they can for a short time supply the paper, free of cost if necessary, in order to ensure at least a few connections at first. By keeping in frequent personal talks with these sympathisers in the country, we shall gradually gain regular subscribers to the newspaper.

* * *

From what has been said, we see that our chief tasks are as follows:

1. To discover and remedy shortcomings in the subject matter of the newspaper.
2. To improve conditions of distribution and develop the apparatus.
3. To find out which members of the Party do not subscribe to the communist newspaper.
4. Registration of sympathisers. Investigation as to those public places and shops in which the communist paper is not displayed. Possible organisation of meetings of readers of the communist Press.
5. The management of the paper should report monthly to the district leaders, Agitprop department, on the number of subscribers in the various places and should control the preparation and carrying out of propaganda campaigns which may take place.
6. The district leaders should instruct and control the persons engaged in the sale of papers and in recruiting work. Good and bad examples should be published in the Press with comments.

PROLETARIAN CULTURE

The Proletarian Freethinkers' International.

By Viktor Stern (Prague).

In the period from the 12th to 15th December last there was held in Leipzig the second Congress of the Proletarian Freethinkers' International. The work of this International, in which social democratic and communist freethinkers co-operate in the most comradely and friendly manner, is an eloquent proof of the living character of the excuses of the social democratic leaders who refuse to set up unity in other spheres of proletarian activity, before all in the sphere of the trade unions and in the struggle for common demands, because, they allege, any co-operation with the communists is impossible. The unity of the proletarian freethinkers, without distinction of nation and Party, has not merely proved itself to be possible and lasting, but has also contributed towards increasing the unity of the proletarian freethinkers' movement in every single country. As a result of the founding of the Freethinkers' International and in accordance with its first decisions, the suggestion of the Czechish Communist Freethinkers' organisation that all proletarian freethinkers' organisations be amalgamated into one body had the surprising success of bringing about complete agreement among the Czechish and German social democratic and communist freethinkers.

The Freethinkers' International has similar successes to record in Germany. In this country, as a result of the attitude of the proletarian Freethinkers during the Presidential Elections, a regular campaign was conducted on the part of the social

democratic leaders against the freethinkers, which finally led to a split. The executive of the Freethinkers' International intervened as mediator in the matter and finally succeeded in overcoming the split. The Freethinkers' International had also already undertaken the first successful steps in bringing about the unity of the proletarian freethinkers' organisations in Germany which are affiliated to the International.

At the Congress it was reported that proletarian freethinkers' organisations in **North America, Denmark, Moscow "Atheist"**, and also the proletarian freethinking youth of **Germany** had applied for affiliation. All the applications were accepted. On the other hand, the representative of the **Polish Freethinkers' organisation** had to be expelled, because he refused to recognise the class character of the freethinkers' movement. Whether the Polish proletarian freethinkers themselves support this reactionary standpoint of their representative or not must first be ascertained, and this will determine the final decision regarding the attitude to the Polish organisation of Freethinkers.

Comrade **Franzl, Vienna**, reported on the Congress of the bourgeois Brussels Freethinkers' International held at Paris. The representatives of the Proletarian Freethinkers' International submitted a proposal to the Brussels International, in accordance with which the latter had to decide whether it would accept the Teplitz thesis or whether it would at least base itself on a purely proletarian standpoint. The reply was a vague compromise proposal which could not be accepted. Our comrades demanded a complete break with the Brussels International. It was finally agreed once again to demand a definite declaration whether the Brussels International wish to adopt the proletarian standpoint or not, and to render the question of the possibility of co-operation with the Brussels International dependent upon this reply.

The most important item on the agenda was the drawing up of a **programme of action** for the Freethinkers' International. During the discussion of this item the valuable and successful initiative of our comrades was recognised on all sides. The unanimously accepted programme of action contains a number of important tasks for the Freethinkers' International. Mutual reports and information are to be organised and centralised, as well as the publication and supply of literature, mutual exchange of speakers by various organisations, the connection with the international labour movement and labour press, the organisation of international campaigns and actions (propaganda campaigns to withdraw from the church, protest actions and the like). The proletarian Freethinkers' movement is to be united in every country, the organising of proletarian freethinking youth supported, and the work of enlightenment among the women and the rural population to be carried out in a systematic manner. It is worth noting that the programme of action, which expressly states that the **promotion of the proletarian united front movement** is one of the most important tasks of the proletarian Freethinkers' International, was **unanimously accepted**.

After dealing with a number of organisatory and technical questions, reports were delivered on the Freethinkers' movement in the various countries. Unfortunately there was lacking a report from **Russia**, because the representatives of the great Russian Freethinkers' organisation of the Atheists was unable to take part in the Congress. The German Consul in Moscow had refused to grant them a visum to enter Germany. It was generally remarked that it would have been of the greatest value and interest to have had first hand information regarding the Freethinkers' movement in Soviet Russia, the only State in which the proletarian rules. It is therefore absolutely necessary that such reports are made accessible, at least by other means, to the proletarian freethinkers of all countries. They will certainly be everywhere received with the greatest interest and prove very instructive.

It was very pleasing to note that the agenda of the Congress contained reports on the general situation of the proletariat in the various countries. The social democratic parties came off very badly in this respect, but nobody had the feeling that any of the speakers were adopting a one-sided party attitude, but all these reports were given as objective and candid statements of the facts in the interest of the proletariat. A good portion of the complaints against the social democratic parties were made by **social democratic** representatives at the Congress. It appears that the social democratic freethinkers are not viewed with any favour by the leaders of their party, and that they enjoy anything but goodwill from them on account of their collaboration with

the communist freethinkers. The social democratic freethinkers cannot possibly overlook the fact that the communists carry on the fight against religion in a more consistent and unrelenting manner than the social democratic leaders, who, owing to their coalition with the bourgeoisie and their fear of the revolution, are bound hand and foot and in every respect are being driven into the camp of the bourgeoisie. This also increases the understanding of the social democratic freethinkers for the abandonment of principle by their Party in other spheres of the class struggle, particularly in regard to the united front. It is for this reason that the social democratic parties do not favourably view the work of the proletarian freethinkers' International, although the majority of the leadership of this International consists of social democrats. It is true the social democratic leaders do not venture openly to show this feeling, but behind the scenes they do everything possible in order to create difficulties for their own freethinking comrades, and reproach them with "playing into the hands of the Bolsheviks". The control of their policy by the freethinkers is specially irksome to them.

The Freethinkers' Congress also adopted a number of resolutions which deserve the greatest attention in all the circles of the proletariat. In these resolutions a passionate protest is made against the **white terror** in a number of countries; the struggle for liberation on the part of the suppressed colonial peoples in **Morocco, China, Syria** and other countries is welcomed, and the proletariat of all countries is called upon to support this struggle for emancipation. A resolution expressing regret that the **French socialists had not fulfilled their duty in this respect** was unanimously adopted, that is with all the votes of the social democratic majority of the Congress. Another resolution was likewise unanimously adopted which called upon all proletarian political and trade union Internationals to come together and to discuss concrete fighting measures for the protection of the **Italian labour movement** which is being so brutally suppressed. This resolution was introduced by the social democratic President of the Freethinkers' International, Comrade **Hartwig**.

It can be seen from all this that the proletarian Freethinkers' International is developing in a way which will yield the greatest advantage for the proletariat; it is the duty of every class conscious proletarian to further this development.

THE CHILDREN'S MOVEMENT

The International Children's Movement and its Tasks.

By W. Sorin (Moscow).

The **Second International Conference of the leaders of the Communist children's movement**, which was held a short time ago in **Moscow** and was attended by **representatives of 11 countries**, gave its consideration to the results of the development of the communist children's movement in the last few years and set a number of new tasks to all communist children's organisations.

The international communist children's movement has now been in existence for five years. It has spread to all the large countries of **Europe**, crossed over to **America** and is now beginning to found its first organisations in the East.

At the time of the 2nd International Conference, we already possessed **communist children's organisations in 20 countries**. In the Soviet Union alone, the **organisation of young pioneers** embraces approximately **two million children of workers and peasants**.

In spite of these visible results, the communist children's movement is still extremely weak and numerically small in the majority of the capitalist countries.

Apart from its numerical weakness (**outside the Soviet Union, 75,000 children are organised with us**), the majority of the communist children's organisations are very loosely organised, receive insufficient attention and support from the parties and the Young Communist Leagues and only do poor work among the masses. This is explained not only by the fact that the slackening of the revolutionary pace in recent years has rendered the work of all communist organisations including that among the children, more difficult, but also, because the communist parties and the Young Communist Leagues have devoted insufficient forces to the organisation of the children and their

guidance, and have often failed to realise the enormous importance of the children's movement to the whole revolutionary movement.

At the Conference it was brought to light that in some countries a good many deviations existed which confined the work of the communist children's organisations to limited cultural circles and interfered with the connection between the communist groups of children and the broad mass of the children of the workers and peasants.

Nevertheless progress is to be observed in the communist children's movement in some countries (Germany, Norway, England), thanks to the transition to the new form of organisation of school nuclei and to a series of campaigns against school reaction and the exploitation of children's work. In due consideration of this situation, the Conference set the following tasks to all communist children's organisations, the Young Communist Leagues and the communist parties:

1. The children's leagues must pass over with determination to a centralisation of the individual groups of children, to reconstruction according to the principle of school nuclei and (where children's work comes into consideration) factory nuclei, and must see to it that in every country they are combined into a uniform fighting league of workers' and peasants' children.

2. The children's leagues must change over to collective forms of work, especially that of carrying on a fight against distress among children and the exploitation of employed children, of interesting the mass of children in concrete slogans and of gaining the support of the proletarian organisations.

3. The parties and Youth Leagues must devote greater attention to the daily observation of the state of work in the communist children's associations and to strengthening the leadership of the work among children.

4. A thorough selection, preparation and systematic guidance of the functionaries of the communist children's movement must be undertaken. New functionaries should be appointed from the midst of the experienced young communists who are thoroughly versed in the whole work of the Y.C.L. and the C.P.

5. The distribution of literature, both for the leaders and the children must be improved and extended, while making use of the experiences of the League in the Soviet Union and of other strong leagues.

6. The fight against rival children's organisations must be conducted more energetically. Endeavours must be made to win over the proletarian children to our side.

7. The control of this work by the Y.C.I. and the Comintern must be intensified and the exchange of the experiences of the League in the Soviet Union with Leagues in other countries must be improved.

In addition to these chief tasks which were set to all countries, the Y.C.I. was commissioned, among other things, to begin with the organisation of children especially in the East, where the first signs of a communist children's movement can already be observed and where there is an extensive field for fighting organisations of children.

All leagues and parties are now faced by the task of supporting the children's fight, of organising mass leagues of workers' and peasants' children and of centralising the individual groups of children into a united children's army which, hand in hand with the older generation, will fight for the victory of the working class.

BOOK REVIEWS

E. Varjas: Co-operative Denmark.

By A. J.

A short time ago, a book with this title by Comrade E. Varjas was published by the Centrosojus Publishing Department. The history of the origin of the book is as follows: a numerous co-operative delegation of the U.S.S.R. attended the International Co-operative Congress in Ghent in the Summer of

1924. On the journeys there and back, this delegation visited Germany, Belgium, England, Denmark and Sweden with the object of making a thorough study of the co-operative movement in those countries.

Comrade Varjas has now published first of all a description of co-operative Denmark. Denmark is undoubtedly more advanced in co-operative organisation than any other capitalist country, especially in the domain of agriculture, the production and export of which is chiefly carried on by the Co-operatives.

Socialism, it is true, is by no means the aim of the Danish co-operative movement, and it does not work for the benefit of the working classes. The Co-operatives of Danish agriculture are on the whole peasant trusts which are well organised and which work intensively, but on the basis of private capital, their chief object being to gain as much profit as possible for the individual peasant — and especially for the large and middle peasants — whether or not this profit be acquired by ruthless exploitation of the consumers who are chiefly Danish and English workers.

In 1908, Lenin (Collected Works, Vol. IX) wrote a critical analytical description of Denmark as the model agricultural country. Up to that time, Lenin had strongly opposed Dr. Pudor who, in his book "Agricultural Co-operation" had referred to Denmark as "the ideal country". Like Lenin, Varjas gives a critical estimation of economic conditions in Denmark from the Marxist point of view and points out the unequal distribution of land, cattle, machines and other capital, and the increasing pauperism among the agricultural proletariat which is the result. One of the most interesting sections of Comrade Varjas' book is just that short but Marxistically clear picture of the economic, political and cultural conditions in Denmark.

During the general agricultural crisis in Europe in the early eighties, when American corn began to flood Europe, Danish agriculture as well as that of other countries, had, within a short time, to change a large part of its production, so that, whereas Denmark had been an essentially corn producing country, it began to produce more and more milk, butter, eggs and pigs. Denmark is now one of the leading countries of the world as regards the production of butter and pork.

During the industrialisation of agriculture which then followed, it was absolutely necessary for the peasants to unite for the sake of their economic interests, and this was done in organisations which indeed called themselves Co-operatives and were at first partly carried on on the principles of Co-operation, but which gradually developed into what they now are, i.e. trusts which are responsible for the purchases and sales of the peasants; almost the whole agricultural export to England is in the hands of these organisations — with the support of the State. Within these organisations, the leading part is being more and more assumed by the large and middle peasants.

The so-called "harmonious co-operation" between the small and large peasants, has revealed its true nature in Denmark. Anyone who still believes in "co-operative socialism" through which society is automatically to "grow into" socialism, should study conditions in Denmark, where co-operation serves as one of the best tools of the capitalist apparatus of State, with a dictatorship of the large peasants, both political and economic in character, and such systematic forcing up of prices, that in Denmark, the butter country, no worker can now eat Danish butter but must be satisfied with foreign — or at the best Danish — margarine.

The 200 pages of Comrade Varjas' book contain ample material on these and many other conditions which are interesting from an international point of view as well. The many statistical tables do not make the book dull, as they are enlivened by the writer's own impressions during his stay in Denmark and by many characteristic examples.

We hope that the book will soon be published in German and English.