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CONTENTS

Manifesto of the VI. World Congress of the Communist International.

Politics.

Ernst Schneller: The Soviet Union and the Kellogg Pact.

Arne Swabeck: The Presidential Election Campaign in the United States.

Janet Cork: Class Forces in Mexico.

Against Colonial Oppression.

J. B.: British War Policy in Arabia.

League of Nations.

Sabotage of the Soviet Union's Disarmament Plan.

Fascism.

V. C.: Fascists at Work in Latvia.

The Youth Movement.

Fifth Congress of the Young Communist International.

Workers' Sport Movement.

Declaration of the Foreign Participants in the Moscow Spartakiade.

Agitprop.

Robert: Comintern Publishers' Exhibition in Moscow.

Obituary.

Comrade Julius Choraz-Volek.

Manifesto of the VI. World Congress of the Communist International.

To the Workers of the World!

To All Workers and Peasants!

To All Oppressed Colonial Peoples!

To the Soldiers and Sailors of the Capitalist Armies and Navies!

Comrades, Fellow workers!

The Sixth Congress of the Communist International, the representative of the revolutionary workers all over the world, of all nations peoples and races, appeals to you from Moscow, the red capital of the new world, to prepare yourselves for a struggle against the ever more insolent forces of capitalism.

The master of the world, capital, which exploits the labour power of the workers in the most brutal fashion, which sucks out their strength, which turns the proletariat into a unit of capitalist technique, which wears out its proletarian slaves in the process of production, which places the most wonderful discoveries of science in the service of the golden calf, which introduces ever more complicated and splendid machines, which introduces to an ever increasing extent the conveyor and flings millions of workers on to the streets,

which gives them stones instead of bread, capital is now marching into the struggle against the rights and freedom of the working class. It is pressing the standard of living of the workers down ever lower, raising the bloody sword of the white terror and preparing for a new world war under the cloak of lying and bombastic phrases of world peace.

Imperialism has once again placed the question of war upon the agenda. From day to day the competition between the great powers and their finance-capitalist cliques is sharpening. Their attacks upon the colonies are becoming ever more brutal, their attempts to encircle the tremendous body of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics ever more determined.

The United States of America, at whose gateway the great statue of liberty rears its head to the sky, is laying its hands more firmly on new countries and continents, including also

lands belonging to its chief rival Great Britain. American capitalism, firmly seated upon the treasuries bursting with gold recently minted from the blood and horror of the late imperialist war, is attempting to undermine the Republic of Mexico, is sending punitive expeditions to Nicaragua and stations its warships in Chinese harbours. American capitalism has fettered a number of European and South American countries with the gold chains of credit, and does not hesitate to call these countries sharply to heel like dogs when they show any sign of resisting its sacred will.

Along the coasts of the Pacific Ocean and in the boundless territories of China, American capitalism collides with the predatory, insolent, cunning and deceitful imperialism of Japan, whose troops have occupied a considerable part of China. Japanese imperialism is carrying on a war of extermination against all the forces of the Chinese people which are not prepared to subordinate themselves to its barbaric regime of terror. Millions of Chinese workers, peasants and handworkers are bowed down under the iron yoke of Japanese imperialism, which is brutally crushing the Chinese people and preparing for a terrible duel with its American rival and at the same time purchasing itself a breathing space with provocative excesses against the Soviet Union.

These excesses form a link in the chain of the general hostility of the imperialist States to the State of the proletarian dictatorship, which is alive and developing, carrying out constructive work everywhere regardless of the venomous howls of rage and the threatening rattle of sabres in the camp of the enemies who would like to intimidate the land of the socialist dictatorship of the workers and force it to its knees.

Despite all the contradictions and antagonisms which exist between the capitalist powers, and despite their deep and growing mutual hatred, they are preparing, with Great Britain at their head, a war against the Soviet Union. They are systematically preparing for war. They are preparing for war with all the means at their disposal. Every hour is filled with war preparations. The attempts of a number of powers, from the powerful United States to pitiful Austria, the mutilated invalid in the ranks of the European nations, to blockade the Soviet Union financially, the breaking off of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union by Great Britain, the conclusion of diplomatic and military alliances against the Soviet Union, the constant provocative threats of the Republic of Marshal Pilsudski, this insolent militarist who has placed the so-called representation of the people into the category of prostitution and who rattles with the sabre to the same degree as he licks the boots of the generals and ministers of Great Britain and France, the almost open work of the General Staffs of the Entente in the Baltic States and in Roumania, and finally the insolent provocations of Japanese imperialism — all these things must act as a warning to all honest workers, for all proletarians and for all the oppressed all over the world who see in the Soviet Union their Fatherland wrung from the hands of the capitalists and rich landowners by the hot blood of the sons of the working class.

The "civilised" robbers, the bloodhounds of the General Staffs, the swindlers of secret diplomacy, the Bank magnates and the Trust kings who are carrying on a criminal war in China, bombarding Chinese towns, occupying Chinese territory, robbing the Chinese people of the means of its existence and destroying its most active sons, preparing attacks upon each other, organising their forces for a common action against the Soviet Union, arming themselves to the teeth, on land, on the sea and in the air, who are using science to prepare the most barbarous, destructive and inhuman war which will stifle the workers with poison gas and slaughter them in great agony with artificially injected sicknesses, who conduct "monkey trials" against the teachings of Darwin, the most prominent contributor to science in the nineteenth century, who issue laws against "dangerous ideas", who murdered Sacco and Vanzetti in the electric chair, such a horrible atrocity that millions held their breath in anxiety only to groan for vengeance and curse the murderers, these civilised robbers, with their scholastic and non-scholastic latkeys, are raising a howl about the barbarism of the Bolsheviks and about their own "love of peace".

The history of humanity has never known anything so hypocritical and sanctimonious, so lying and disgusting as the present ideology of modern "pacifist" imperialism, whose foreign political tasks consist in the most criminal, most barbarous, most counter-revolutionary, most destructive form of warfare ever known. The more furious the armament race becomes, the more energetic become the official and unofficial agents of imperialism in their howls of "peace" and in the production of "peace pacts" and in the organisation of conferences and discussions, in the elaboration of projects and proposals for "peace".

The "League of Nations", the product of Versailles, the most shameless robber treaty of the last decade, cloaks the warlike work of its members by working out projects for disarmament. The Soviet Union has exposed this game: the great friends of peace refused to disarm when their bluff was called. The diplomatic comedy turned into a vulgar farce. The mask of peace fell to the ground and the brutal features of imperialism were revealed to the whole world.

The "League of Nations" is first of all a counter-revolutionary organisation, but it is also directed against America. In consequence, Dollar imperialism has put its own "pact" upon the agenda through the mouth of its agents. The hegemony of American capitalism, which possesses the most modern machinery, the greatest gold resources and the best military technique, must secure its juridical recognition. War is "out-lawed". Japan is not carrying on war against China, but only "protecting its interests". The U. S. A. is not conducting war against Nicaragua, but only "maintaining order". All the capitalist countries are not arming for war, but only to maintain "civilisation".

The business managers of imperialist policy who are attempting to conceal their imperialist desires and warlike intentions with a cloud of pacifist pacts and by the narcotic poison of pacifist phrases, are at the same time doing everything possible to cast the workers into chains and to break the backbone of the revolutionary movement in the colonies and to weaken the Hinterland of the Soviet Republics. The signs of the times are terror and corruption, a ruthless exploitation of the workers, the corruption of their leaders, a united front against the mass-organisations of the workers when they threaten to become dangerous, the policy of disruption in the ranks of the workers, the increasing attacks of the police upon the Communist Parties, etc. A wave of repression in Great Britain, the United States, France and Japan meets with a terrible wave of terror in Italy and in the Balkans and with mass executions in China. The bloody axe of bourgeois "civilisation" is at work unceasingly. The imperialist murderers survey their victims without moving an eyelid, although they feel inwardly that thousands of fighters crying for vengeance will arise in their stead.

In this period, when the whole air smells of powder and lead, when the antagonisms of capitalism are strained to their utmost, when the class-struggle of the proletariat is intensified, when the million masses of the colonial slaves are rising, when ever new columns of the toilers are mobilising to defend the Soviet Union, the bulwark of the movement for freedom, in this period the treacherous role of the Second International, the social democracy and its Amsterdam department, the I. F. T. U., advances once again into the foreground.

From the standpoint of the class interests of the proletariat it is more than ever necessary to-day for the workers to realise their class independence and to realise that their interests are diametrically opposed to the interests of the capitalists and the capitalist States. A proletarian counter-attack is the only possible answer to the insolent attacks of capitalism, to the inhuman exploitation of labour power, to the unemployment, to the policy of dissolving the working class organisations and to the fascist terror. And in this period the high priests of the Social Democratic Parties, who have shamelessly betrayed all the old traditions of the class struggle and who tread the elementary pride of the proletariat into the dust, in this period they preach the collaboration of the classes, "industrial peace" and "economic democracy". Peace and democracy under the iron-shod heel of trust capitalism! "Industrial peace" in economy and coalition with the bourgeoisie in

politics, that is the treacherous sum of social democratic wisdom.

From the standpoint of the class interests of the proletariat it is more than ever necessary at the present time to expose every warlike action of the bourgeoisie, to draw the attention of the masses to the danger of war and to sound the alarm. And in this period the social democratic politicians are building armoured cruisers, acting as the initiators of brutal military laws, grovel before militarism, actively "improve" the capitalist armies, praise the imperialist League of Nations, slander the U. S. S. R., praise the deceptive and deceitful document of the hangmen of Sacco and Vanzetti and are full of foul pacifist slime. Whilst they themselves are whitewashing as well as they can the military reparations of the imperialists, they at the same time accuse the Soviet Union of imperialism. The social democrats, the heroes of 1914, are already grovelling before the imperialist General Staffs. Already their hands are outstretched to receive the reward for their work on the day when they join the ranks of the bourgeoisie in a war against the soldiers of the proletarian revolution.

From the standpoint of the class-interests of the proletariat the unity of the industrial proletariat with the working masses in the colonies is more necessary than ever before. In this question however the social democrats are on the side of the exploiters, on the side of the imperialists, on the side of the imperialist robber States and their agents. The French socialists supported their government when the French troops razed the villages of the Riffi and laid Syrian towns in ruins with heavy artillery fire. The government of MacDonald appeared openly as the oppressor of India and Egypt. Members of the Labour Party now in India are fulfilling the direct instructions of the British bourgeoisie. All social democratic parties are supporting their own governments in the Chinese question and only allow themselves a polite and respectful criticism when the pressure of the masses forces their hands. The Brussels Congress of the Second International, which failed to support the Kuomintang in the period of its revolutionary struggles, openly sided with the Kuomintang after it had become the bloodhound of imperialism and the hangman of the Chinese working class. In the colonial question the Brussels congress made decisions which were practically copied from the documents of the League of Nations.

The social democracy has thus become the chief force which makes for separating the workers in the industrial countries from the toiling masses in the colonies.

Finally, from the standpoint of the interests of the proletariat as a class, the unity of the working class is more than ever necessary. The struggle against the powerfully organised enemy, against the gigantic trusts, against the state power of capitalism, which protects the interests of the finance-capitalist oligarchy, the maximum of unity in the ranks of the workers is necessary. But just at this present moment the social democratic agency of the imperialist bourgeoisie is at work to carry out its instructions and disrupt the ranks of the workers! The leaders of the social democratic parties and of the reformist trade unions, the heralds of unity with the bourgeoisie and its trusts, the apostles of industrial peace and political coalition with the representatives of the banks and the stock exchange, are doing everything possible to expel the communists and all revolutionary proletarians from the mass organisations of the working class. They are splitting the trade unions, they are splitting the sport organisations, they are smashing up the ranks of the proletarian free-thinkers. The more they fight for unity with the bourgeoisie, the more brutal becomes their struggle against the unity of the working class.

The Communist International appeals to all workers and to all toilers to close their ranks still more firmly, to fight for the unity of the whole working class, to fight for the unity of the workers with the peasants and to fight for the alliance of the workers with the oppressed colonial peoples in the struggle against the exploitation and oppression of the class enemy.

The Sixth World Congress of the Communist International adopted an international programme which is binding equally for all sections. For the first time since the existence of the revolutionary working class movement, the working class will have a document in its hand whose passages are law for

the millions of organised workers in all countries and amongst all races and nations of the globe. This document is not one of peaceful grovelling before the bourgeoisie; it is not a document making for dishonourable peace with the bourgeoisie. It is not a declaration of pharasaical degenerate and treacherous unity with the bourgeoisie, a unity which means nothing but the desertion of the ranks of the proletariat for the camp of the enemy, desertion, treachery and renegacy. This programme is the guiding star of millions of exploited and oppressed toilers in the struggle against the oppressors, in the struggle of the proletarian masses, in the struggle of the white, black and yellow toilers in the tropics, in the farthest corners of the earth, in the plantations, in the factories, in the mines and on the railways, in the woods and in the desert, in the large towns and in the country, everywhere where the class-struggle is being carried on. It is the programme of the unity of the working class and of a life and death fight with the bourgeoisie. It is the programme of the inevitable world dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Communist International appeals to all toilers to rally closely around the banner of the class struggle, the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the working class. With the exertion of all its energy the capitalist world has again reared itself up upon the backs of the workers exploited by the gigantic slave machine of capitalism. Under the crack of slave whips capitalism has emerged from the ruins of the first imperialist world war. But capitalism is beginning to suffocate under the weight of its own contradictions. Its historical fate drives it once again with tremendous elemental force into the vortex of tremendous catastrophes, the deadly breath of which will scorch the whole world. The imperialist cliques, which are afraid of their own historical fate, but are nevertheless its instruments, the capitalist cliques who cannot decide to let loose the dogs of war, but who are nevertheless doing everything possible to break the chains and let loose the carnage, the imperialist cliques who are trying to deceive everyone with murmurs of peace and pacifism, but whose fingers are at the same time feeling for the trigger, are driving the world steadily to the brink of a new and terrible catastrophe.

The Communist International appeals to all toilers to arise in their own defence. Now at once, day for day, the ranks of the fighters must be set up, the masses of the toilers must be mobilised, loyal messengers of the working class sent into the armies and the fleets of capitalism to prepare the soldiers and sailors to turn their guns in the hour when imperialism calls upon them to slaughter each other, against the imperialists themselves, the best target during the imperialist war.

The imperialist beast with its dull eyes can only see the historical past and is unable to penetrate the curtain which hides the future. It is consoling itself with the comparative state of peace which prevails in Europe, which from time to time is given an injection of life-giving gold elixir from the transatlantic vampire, the United States. But the sober glance of the proletariat, which has felt all the glories of capitalist rationalisation and all the burdens of "industrial peace" upon its own skin, can see clearly the gigantic accumulation of capitalist contradictions and the steady and rapid intensification of the class struggle everywhere. The General Strike in Great Britain, the insurrection in Vienna, the strikes in Germany, the electoral results in France and Germany, the reaction of the German workers to the new treachery of the social democrats in the armoured cruiser question, the violent resistance put up by the Chinese workers and peasants, the growing thunder of the revolutionary volcano in India, which is already sending up preliminary smoke signals, the steadily growing dissatisfaction in South America, the growth of self-confidence amongst the Negroes and thousands of other signs do they not show that the mole of history is burrowing?

The Communist International appeals to all toilers, and in particular to the industrial workers, to take up the struggle for every inch of ground that has been won, to fight against the offensive of capitalism, to fight against the ruthless exploitation of capitalism, to fight against the enslavement of the proletariat, to fight against the policy of the imperialists and against imperialist war. The Communist International appeals to all workers and to all oppressed peoples devotedly to

defend the Chinese revolution, whose heroes and martyrs have fallen under the axe of the executioner. The Communist International appeals to all honest proletarians to form a wall of iron around the Soviet Union against which imperialism is raising the sword of war. The Communist International appeals for increased watchfulness and for a direct fight against the pacifist lies and pacifist deception. The Communist International appeals for a complete break with the bourgeoisie and for the unity of the ranks of the workers in a ruthless struggle against the class enemies of the proletariat.

Against the Social democratic unity with the bourgeoisie — for the class unity of the proletarians!

Against social imperialism — for the heroic support of our brothers in the colonies!

Against the pacifist lies — for the devoted fight against imperialist war!

Against reformism and fascism — for the proletarian revolution!

Long live the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union!

Long live the proletarian world revolution!

Moscow, 1st September 1928.

Sixth World Congress of the Communist International,

POLITICS

The Soviet Union and the Kellogg Pact.

By Ernst Schneller (Berlin).

The Note of the Soviet Union, in which it declares its readiness to sign the Kellogg Pact, leaves no doubt whatever that the Soviet Union regards the "outlawry of war" by the imperialist powers as a gesture intended to cover the manoeuvres of the Powers against each other as well as the increasing armaments in the individual imperialist countries.

The Soviet Union is taking part in the Pact to outlaw war just in the same way as it is taking part in the disarmament negotiations of the League of Nations. In both cases there is to be seen the same game of the imperialists. At first the Soviet Union was excluded from the disarmament negotiations, allegedly because it did not wish to take part, but in reality in order to turn the sentiment of the masses against it as the "disturber of peace". As a result of the increasing antagonisms between the Powers, however, none of them was ready to take on the responsibility of opposing the admission of the Soviet Union or of supplying the pretext therefor. The action of the delegation of the Soviet Union at the meetings of the Preparatory Commission on Disarmament was, to the great and hardly concealed chagrin of the imperialists, a loud appeal of the Workers' State against the war policy of the big imperialist Powers.

Just as the disarmament comedy of the imperialists not only aims at deceiving the masses but at the same time at masking the intrigues of the Powers against each other, so the basis of the Kellogg Pact, apart from the pacifist masking of the imperialist robber policy of the United States, is likewise in the first place the increasing aggravation of the antagonisms between United States and British imperialism. Under the cloak of the "Pact to outlaw war" there was to be created a counterweight to the consolidation of the League of Nations as an anti-American alliance under the leadership of England, in order "peacefully" to induce England to submit to the claims of America.

The Naval Disarmament Conference of the U. S. A., Japan and England a year ago was just such another manoeuvre. This manoeuvre proved a failure. And the Kellogg Pact? England has made a whole number of reservations to the Pact. In doing so England secured beforehand the support of France. England also attempted to win Germany for this joint action. But Stresemann politely declined — in the belief that he would thereby improve the position of German imperialism; but he only succeeded in completely isolating Germany without, on the other hand, venturing even to take one step against the Anglo-French reservations.

The reservations mainly relate to two points: one to the necessity of preventing the participation of the Soviet Union in the Kellogg Pact, and the other to securing English claims to certain spheres of interest (North Africa, Near Asia, Far East), which are also to be "defended" by means of war. The strongest reservation against the Kellogg Pact, against the manoeuvres of United States imperialism, is however the reply to the Pact proposals in the shape of the Anglo-French naval agreement!

The Kellogg Pact has so profoundly laid bare the antagonisms between the imperialist Powers, that it has become not a means to mitigating them but to aggravating them.

This fact has been taken up by the Soviet Union at the right time in order on its part to set up against the hypocritical policy of intrigues of the imperialists its real policy of peace. The interview which Comrade Chicherin gave to the international press was an unequivocal declaration of preparedness, in signing the Pact, to make use of the differences of opinion and profound antagonisms between the Powers for the benefit of the Soviet Union. If the U. S. A. was not to acknowledge itself beaten by the counter-manoevres of England, if the signing of the Pact was not to become from the outset a setback for the United States, then the Soviet government could be just as little excluded from participation in the Pact as from the disarmament negotiations. The attempt of British imperialism to make use of the Pact for a great action against the Soviet Union and to bind the U. S. A. at the present moment for this action, has proved abortive. The antagonisms between the U. S. A. and England have enabled the international position of the Soviet Union to be consolidated and given it a fresh possibility of appealing to the working masses against the imperialists and to demand most emphatically, against increased armaments in the imperialist countries, against the war preparations and the imperialist robber-campaign, disarmament, the securing of real right to self-determination of the oppressed or dependent peoples.

This fact, that the attempt further to isolate the Soviet Union has failed, that on the contrary, as a result of the intensified antagonisms between the imperialists, the position of the Soviet Union has been rendered more secure, does not in any way mean that the antagonism between the imperialists and the Soviet Union has been allayed. The Soviet Union has achieved a prolongation of the pause for breath. The imperialists, owing to their own differences, are not at present in a position to come to an agreement regarding joint action against the Soviet Union.

At the same time, however, the contradictions between the Soviet Union and all imperialist Powers are growing, and there can be no doubt that new manoeuvres, especially on the part of England, are being carried out in order further to isolate and encircle the Soviet Union. The temporary breaking away of Germany from the close connection to English policy will be answered by the increased pressure by England and France upon Germany (Rhineland evacuation, Dawes payments, disarmament provisions are, on the "desire" of England, not to be discussed in the near future).

It is impossible to say at present of what nature the manoeuvres and means will be. It is all the more necessary, therefore, for the workers and toilers of all countries to be at their post, to strengthen the fight of the Soviet Union against the imperialist war policy by the fight against their own bourgeoisie and against the war preparations against the Soviet Union: in Germany against the armoured-cruiser policy; in France and England against the armament agreement and increased armaments; in Poland, in the Border States, in Czechoslovakia against the military treaties, against increased armaments, against the terrorist measures to suppress the labour movement etc. The fight against the furious anti-Soviet incitement of the reformists calls for special attention. The reformists are not only defending their social-imperialist and military policy of support of their own bourgeoisie with calumnies against the Soviet Union, they are trying to represent the signing of the Kellogg Pact by the Soviet Union as a "retreat" of the Soviet Power, as a "success" for the imperialist policy of peace, and thus in the most shameful manner to deceive the masses as to the character of the Kellogg Pact.

The signing of the Kellogg Pact by the Soviet Union is a fresh summons to all: — Intensify the fight, against the war policy of the imperialists, for the defence of the Soviet Union, for weakening and overthrowing the bourgeoisie in every country!

The Presidential Election Campaign in the United States.

By Arne Swaback (New York).

In many respects the coming presidential elections will mark points of greater interest than heretofore as well as a beginning toward more clearly accentuating class issues in American politics. This is expressed in the following.

First, in the general line up of candidates and forces of the two major parties. **Captains of industry and finance** play a more direct and a more outstanding role, making a reality of the slogan "More Business in Government" and more than ever throwing off the fetters of bourgeois democracy. This itself signifies not only the growth of power of American imperialism but also its more conscious and deliberate preparations to remain in power.

Secondly, in the almost complete elimination of issues of difference between these two parties and a marked beginning of their **inner dissolution** upon issues resembling a class character. This is a process so far held back mainly by the low level of development of the American working class movement. It is a beginning of the disappearance of the reactionary two-party system.

Thirdly, by the further and complete disappearance of any working class semblance of the **Socialist Party** and the absence of any **third party** or **labour party** movement as a national organised and political factor of consequence.

Fourthly, by the emergency of working class issues as an integral part of the elections becoming apparent to important sections of the workers. Together with this a better prepared and more conscious participation by the **Workers (Communist) Party**, raising the banner of revolutionary class struggle and becoming a greater political factor.

These four factors alone suffice to indicate a prelude to a more definite constellation of class forces and, viewed in connection with the growing industrial depression, also a sharpening of the class struggle.

Unquestionably the selection of the presidential candidates and the committees to manage their campaigns shows more than ever the hands of big business, finance and industrial capital. **Herbert Hoover**, candidate of the leading party of capitalism, himself signifies big business in its most ruthless form despite the attempts to fasten the humanitarian halo onto his skull. On his campaign advisory boards are such men as **Henry Ford**, **E. W. Litchfield**, president of the Goodyear Tire and Rubber company and others. The part played by the multi-millionaire, **Andy Mellon**, was not merely a secret backroom affair but performed in public view.

While strenuous, and possibly successful efforts will be made to have **Al. Smith**, the democratic choice, continue in his pose as the people's man and friend of the workers, the selection of **John J. Raskob** as chairman of the democratic party national committee and campaign manager, with the assistance of such personalities of the financial world as **Du Pont**, **Herbert H. Lehman**, the Wall Street banker, and others is not without significance. **Raskob** is **Morgan's** man, proclaimed heir to the mantle of the deceased steel king **Elbert Gary** and vice president of the **General Motors**, the largest corporation in the world. The Democratic Party may now fully as well as the Republican Party lay claims to being the representative of Wall Street with the dominant capitalist imperialists completely taking over the direction of its affairs.

The **Workers (Communist) Party** platform states, "There are no real political differences between the two big political parties. Both are parties of capitalism, both are the enemies of the working class.

The deletion of the issue of the class struggle from its programme by the **Socialist Party** at its last convention coincides with its more recent attitude as, for instance, expressed by its leading elements at the New York Socialist Party state nominating convention. There the main appeal was made to the middle class, the small business men. The **labour party movement** as a nationally organised political factor is at a low ebb. Its existence as an independent force in the state of **Minnesota** and a few other isolated points will hardly be of any real consequence in the presidential elections.

The history of the American labour movement during the last few decades has been one of failing to keep step with the rapid consolidation of capitalism. While this consolidation has reached the point of a mighty empire the level of development of the labour movement is still a very low one. The signs of radicalisation of the workers are so far visible mainly in their **economic struggles**. The traditional two-party system has in the past been the main factor preventing the development of such tendencies in politics. The American workers do participate in political elections but not as a class.

These elections will become a test of the **Workers (Communist) Party's** ability to apply its programme of action. This programme contains demands in keeping with the economic needs of the workers.

The growing competition for world markets and the process of capitalist rationalisation now definitely indicate the beginnings of a permanent industrial reserve army in this country. The election platform of the **Workers (Communist) Party** demands unemployment insurance, initiation of public works and reduction of working hours.

The attacks upon the working class standard of living has become general. The forms of attack have varied from the cunning bribing of willing trade union officials, through class collaboration schemes and company unionism to open onslaughts, mustering all the forces available, from economic pressure, to courts, police and use of military forces. Despite shortcomings our Party has already proven itself the only force capable of organising effective resistance. It has led important struggles to save the trade unions and to maintain the standard of wages and working conditions, both from the attacks of the bosses and from the treasonable conduct of the labour lieutenants of capitalism. It has led the fight for amalgamation and militant union policies. It has now also made a beginning towards organisation of the unorganised into new unions. These struggles themselves must become a direct part of our election campaign and a means of helping to mobilise the workers for class political action.

The issues of government strike-breaking and anti-labour injunctions are very pertinent parts of our election campaign. The attitude of both major parties, while differing in form, is, the one of maintaining this system so indispensable to American capitalism and its continued possibility of keeping the workers in suppression. In some fields of struggle, notably in the late Pennsylvania and Ohio miners strike, our Party has made its stand clear by actually making the first attempts to organise the workers for mass violation of injunctions and against the systematic strike-breaking. These examples will live in the memory of thousands of workers and lead them toward support of Communism in these elections.

The growth of American imperialism and its war preparations are issues in these elections. An effective counter-campaign can be expected only from a working class party, in other words only from the **Workers (Communist) Party**. Our efforts so far in this respect have not nearly had a sufficient broad working class character. While carrying on our election propaganda it is of the utmost importance that simultaneously the workers be actually set into motion against American imperialism and for the defence of the Soviet Union.

The **Workers (Communist) Party** is a small party in a large industrial country, ruled by the most powerful imperialist bureaucracy in the world. This merely means that the difficulties which we have to overcome are so much greater. We even have remnants of our own past attitude towards parliamentary elections to struggle against. When we remember that as late as 1920 our Party, then existing illegally, issued the slogan of boycotting the elections (without any effect upon the workers) it is but natural that among our members there should still be somewhat of a dual attitude to this question. One of accepting the necessity of participation without fully recognising or utilizing the opportunities available. Yet these present elections should, and surely will become a starting point toward the firm establishment of our Party as a political factor in the United State, capable of fulfilling its great historical mission.

Class Forces in Mexico.

By Janet Cork.

In the last ten years there has arisen in Mexico a loosely organised working class, but this working class is divided. On the one hand the **Mexican Federation of Labour (CROM)** led by **Morones** and his satellites, on the other a number of independent unions.

The **CROM** is a class collaboration organisation par excellence. Not only does it make alliances with its own bourgeoisie but also with **American** finance capital. **Morones** has repeatedly refused to organise the workers employed by **American** interests. Therefore most of the oil workers, a majority of the textile workers, all the miners, and the railway confederation belong to independent unions. In the recent struggle of the **Jalisco** miners the **CROM** made an alliance with the **Catholic** unions to break the strike of the independent miners. "**El Machete**", the organ of the **Mexican Communist Party**, published a series of sensational documents exposing the relations between the **CROM** and the **Catholic** rebels in **Jalisco** and proving that the **CROM** had furnished arms to the **Catholics** against the miners.

Opposed to the ideology of the **CROM** leadership are the independent unions of **Railway Workers**, **Oil Workers**, **Textile Workers** and **Miners**. These base themselves on the class struggle. They have had a difficult uphill fight against foreign interests in Mexico. Everytime they declared a strike **President Calles** would use **Morones** to break it.

On the **Agrarian** field. — The last eighteen years of revolution and suffering have produced a partially armed peasantry. For a long time they were militant in a sort of hit-and-miss way. During the last five years, however, over a million have been organised into the **National Peasants League**, under the direction of **Communists** and affiliated with the **Peasants International**. This makes them a powerful force in Mexican politics and considerably lessens the importance of the army and reduces its capacity for irresponsible mischief.

The **Agrarian** field, however, is also divided. There is a **National Agrarista Party**, a political organisation, under the direction of **Soto y Gama**, which although it really represents the well-to-do farmers — nonetheless — in its programme and official statements uses revolutionary phraseology to confuse the peasants and divide them, and by this means it has acquired a peasant following controlled by the well-to-do farmers. This party stands against the programme of land distribution to the peasants.

In close relation to the above economic groups stand the **foreign interests**. They often provoke the militant workers and peasants to strike or fight. This is where the yellow labour and peasant leaders come in. A Mexican president, if he is to remain president, must know how to jockey between the demands of the militant workers and peasants on one hand and the ruthless pressure of foreign capital on the other. The president alone is incapable of such a fete. So he constructs a cabinet to assist him. In his cabinet he must have someone — identified with labour — who can keep labour docile — someone who can put the breaks on the militants. That is why **Calles** chose **Luis Morones** as his minister of Commerce and Labour. **Morones** has acquitted himself with honours as strikebreaker and traitor to his own class.

As for the peasantry, the presence of **Adelberto Tejeda** in the **Calles** cabinet was a sort of sop to the poor peasants. In case of militancy **Calles** could count on him "to attempt to keep them in check".

After the assassination of **Obregon**, **Calles** had to reconstruct his Cabinet. Why has he protected the labour leaders? The foregoing facts answer the question. He still needs **Morones**, he still finds him essential to the development and consolidation of the national bourgeoisie and to help keep the peace with foreign interests. And although **Calles** accepted **Morones'** resignation, it is an open secret that the **Labour Department** of the Government, **Munitions** and **Printing** are still run by labour men under the guidance of **Morones** and his friends.

There are some who contend that **American imperialism** is trying to build a coalition between the petty bourgeoisie, the **Catholic Church** and the remnants of feudalism in Mexico. There are others who maintain that the remnants of feudalism are so small and politically so unimportant that they are not worth wooing, that representatives of the Church would be the upsetting element in the government, for the workers and peasants could less easily be fooled then; that such a coalition would be extremely unstable and incapable of insuring peace. And since "peace" permits of more intensive exploitation and greater profits, it seems logical for foreign interests to maintain the present combination — a petty-bourgeois "labour", "agrarian" coalition.

Statements that **Morrow** has supported **Calles** in his defence of **Morones** against the extreme right of the **Obregon** group bear out this contention. The present reconstruction of the **Calles** cabinet along these same lines, further strengthens this view.

AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

British War Policy in Arabia.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

The breaking off of the conference between **Ibn Saud** and the **British** representative, **Sir Gilbert Clayton**, makes the situation in **North Arabia** extremely serious. It is only a few months since **British** aeroplanes and military forces, in violation of the frontiers agreed upon between **Great Britain** and **Ibn Saud**, decimated the **Wahabite** tribes and bombarded women and children. At that time the whole **European** press published a report intended as exculpation for these shameful actions, to the effect that **Ibn Saud** had proclaimed a "holy war", and it was **Great Britain's** duty to protect the civilisation thereby threatened. Shortly afterwards **British** negotiators journeyed to **Dscheddah**, to ascertain whether **Ibn Saud** had been rendered sufficiently pliable to the **British** demands.

In **May** negotiations were broken off before any result had been arrived at. Meanwhile — contrary to **British** expectations — **Ibn Saud's** position had rather improved than otherwise. The hopes of the **British**, that **Ibn Saud** would become entangled in a war with his mighty neighbour in the South, **Imam Jihje of Yemen**, were not fulfilled. At the same time the hostility of this same **Imam** against the **British** increased to a point culminating in open war between **Great Britain** and **Yemen**.

Once more — this time in **South Arabia** — **British** air squadrons had the opportunity of proving their valour against the defenceless women and children of the **Yemenite** Arabians; once more highly satisfactory reports on these successful fights pervaded the **European** press; and once more the threadbare pretext of the necessity of protecting civilisation (symbolised this time in the **British** protectorate on the **Gulf of Aden**) against savagery has been employed in justification of this war sport. In reply to a question put in the **British** parliament, whether no other means could be found for settling matters in **South Arabia** except bombs and war aeroplanes, the minister answered with a chuckle that: "This was the best argument under the given circumstances", a retort which aroused much amusement in the **Conservative** benches.

It was now **Britain's** concern to create these same "given circumstances" in **North Arabia** as well. Numerous plans of the **British** capitalists cannot be realised unless the obstinate **Ibn Saud** submits to **British** wishes with respect to the oasis of **El Dschof**, the **British** frontier security to the north of his territory. So long as the **Wahabite** tribes can move freely and unpunished as far as the **Syrian** frontier, there is not sufficient substantiation for the arguments of the **British** shareholders in favour of conducting the **Mosul** petroleum through **British** mandatory territory to the port of **Haifa**, and the arguments put forward by the imperialists of **France** and the **United States**, proposing the laying of the pipeline over **French** mandatory territory to the port of **Alexandrette**, are more plausible.

The plans for an **Amman — Bagdad** railway, long since worked out, have been laid aside, for it is scarcely desirable to lay this line precisely beneath the feet of the Wahabites. In a word, the longed for last arch of the West Asiatic "land bridge" cannot be set up until Ibn Saud has entirely submitted to becoming a vassal of Great Britain, or at least cedes the necessary territory.

Ibn Saud's refusal to agree to one of these plans is the real reason for the breaking off of the new negotiations. The pretext was the question of the fortifications built by the **Iraq** government with the agreement of the British, close to the frontier of Ibn Saud's kingdom, although this violated previous agreements. Ibn Saud demanded that these fortifications should be razed to the ground, and the British delegates refused this demand; this put an end to the negotiations before the other questions were raised at all.

The tension in Northern Arabia is again increasing. Conflicts have already taken place between the tribes, and the British air force has again been active on the frontiers. How critical the situation has become may be judged from the fact that a conference held by the representatives of the **Hejaz, Great Britain, and France**, dealing with the Hejaz railway and opened at the same time as the negotiations between Ibn Saud and Clayton, likewise proved a failure. There was no possibility of arriving at a compromise between the standpoint of Ibn Saud's representative and that of the delegate sent by the imperialist powers.

It is obvious, that British diplomatists and colonial officials are pursuing their accustomed despicable war policy in Northern Arabia. It is true that neither Ibn Saud nor Imam Jihje have received an invitation to sign the Kellogg Pact. War against the colonial peoples is to be as little outlawed as war against the Soviet Union.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Sabotage of the Soviet Union's Disarmament Plan.

A Proposal made by Comrade Litvinov.

On August 20th of this year Comrade Litvinov, chairman of the delegation of the Soviet Union to the Preparatory Disarmament Commission addressed the following letter to the chairman of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission. Mr. Loudon:

Mr. Chairman,

As the fifth session of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission has rejected the proposal of the Soviet delegation for general and complete disarmament, the Soviet Union delegation proposed to the conference a project concerning partial disarmament.

The Preparatory Disarmament Commission, by a majority of votes, and without advancing any reason, postponed the handling of this project by the conference until the next session. The date of the convocation of the next session has not, however, been fixed; it was merely mentioned in the resolution accepted by the commission that "the convocation of the next session should take place as soon as possible and, if practicable, before the next session of the League of Nations". Although the Soviet delegation strongly objected to such indefinite wording and in the endeavour to accelerate the work for real disarmament insisted that the V. Session should be prolonged and then that an exact date should be fixed for the next session, the Soviet delegation, which is in a minority, did not succeed in putting this through, and there was nothing left for it to do but to await notice of the convocation of the commission, in accordance with the accepted resolution.

More than five months have passed since the V. Session — in no way a short time. Events of this period have again and again shown the danger there is to peace, in Europe, the Near East and in other parts of the world. In the meanwhile, the

Soviet delegation, as in all probability other members of the commission have to their deep regret so far received no advice of any session of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission in the near future, in spite of the fact that a general meeting of the League of Nations takes place on September 3rd. All this is in direct contradiction to the ceremonious declarations concerning disarmament which have been made by the accredited representatives of the Powers, partly in the sessions of the commission itself.

As the reason why the V. Session of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission had to be broken off prematurely and why the date of the next session could not be fixed, the circumstance was mentioned that there are differences of opinion on the disarmament question between two big powers and that negotiations had been instituted with a view to eliminating these differences. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of one of these powers, namely, Great Britain, Sir Austen Chamberlain, has just stated publicly and officially that in regard to these differences of opinion agreement had been reached. Without dwelling upon this compromise, i. e. without going into it from the point of view of those who are really interested in peace, it must be remarked that the fact itself of the compromise removes the above-mentioned pretext for the postponement of the work of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission.

It must also be remarked that the majority of the delegates of the V. Session of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission were impressed by the proposal of the United States concerning the outlawing of war. This proposal was even opposed to that of the Soviet delegation as a means whereby peace could best be secured and disarmament most rapidly accomplished. In this letter there is no room for an examination of the significance of the Kellogg Pact — in its present form and with its reservations — as a means of securing general peace. But in no case can the public declarations made by the initiators of this pact be ignored, as according to these this pact is in no way connected with disarmament, nor, therefore, with the question of the preservation of peace, either. In any case, the above-mentioned declarations of the initiators of this pact mention explicitly that that signing of this document is not intended to solve the problems of disarmament, though this is in reality the only guarantee of peace.

Drawing your attention to the above considerations and to the formal resolution of the V. Session of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission, I take the liberty, as a member of the commission, to ask you, as chairman, for what reason the convocation of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission was not possible, in accordance with the resolution of the V. Session, before the meeting of the League of Nations, what obstacles now stand in the way of a prompt convocation of the commission and when this convocation will take place.

In the Preparatory Disarmament Commission itself the Soviet delegation expressed their doubt that any important results could be obtained in the matter of disarmament along the lines and by the methods which the work of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission till then followed. The Soviet delegation still entertains this doubt, which has been confirmed by the train of events in recent times, but they consider it their right to learn what prospects there are of the possibility of fruitful work by the commission in the future, so that they may inform their government and the public of their country.

I believe, Mr. Chairman, that this inquiry addressed to you will interest other delegations and the public of other countries, and I therefore look forward to your esteemed answer at an early date.

A copy of this letter is being sent to the General Secretariat of the League of Nations.

M. Litvinov,

Chairman of the Delegation of the Soviet Union
to the Preparatory Disarmament Commission.

FASCISM

Fascists at Work in Latvia.

By V. C. (Riga).

In Latvia the parliamentary elections will soon take place. The election fight has already begun. At present it is being carried on in the streets, which are flooded with proclamations and slogans of the three dozen Latvian parties. This time Fascism is coming to the fore and has as retrospect the failure of the coup d'Etat of Wolmar but prospects of the rosier hue.

The danger of a Fascist revolution in Latvia has become imminent since the victories of Fascism in Poland and Lithuania. Latvian Fascism tried as early as December, 1926, to make a revolution in Wolmar, but without success. Now, two years after the failure of that attempt, Fascism has decided that the present situation is a particularly favourable one for the accomplishment of its designs. The Fascist slogan is: "Substitution of the hundred princes (meaning the Latvian parliament, which consists of 100 deputies) by strong and authoritative leadership." This slogan has found lively response among the urban bourgeoisie.

As far as military force is concerned, Fascism in Latvia is assisted by a corps of about 30,000 men of the "Self-Defence League", which is recruited among the sons of the bourgeoisie and various declassified elements and enjoys equally staunch support from the student corps, the frontier guard and those portions of the army which have been permeated by Fascist propaganda.

The foreign political situation, too, seems favourable to Fascism. The first year of the Soviet-Russian-Latvian trade treaty will shortly lapse and in this connection British pressure on Latvia is being increased. The bourgeois press, which is for the most part open to British imperialism, is now constantly publishing various rumours about alleged plans of aggression on the part of the Soviet Union against the Border States.

Latvian industry is not able to develop without Soviet Russia as a hinterland and outlet for export goods. It is quite clear that Latvian goods cannot find sales markets in Western Europe, because the necessary technics and capital are lacking. To renounce normal commercial relations with the Soviet Union would mean that Latvia would inevitably become an agrarian State dependent for good or ill upon the favour of the Imperialist powers. On the other hand, the trade treaty, which Latvia concluded with the Soviet Union in 1927, buttresses the former country's interests. This treaty has created very favourable conditions for the development of the mutual trade relations of the two countries. In November, 1927, the Soviet Russian commercial representative in Latvia, Shevzov, informed interested circles of the Latvian Government that the Soviet Union had planned to buy Latvian goods to a value of 40 million lats during the years 1927/28. That this was of great significance for Latvia appears from the fact that the whole of the industrial export trade of Latvia for the period of 1926/27 amounted to only 40.2 million lats. At the present time there are on order for the Soviet Union from Latvia goods to a value of 30 million lats. Such an influx of orders has created something of a boom in Latvian industry.

The Fascist campaign of lies has up to the present proved ineffectual in view of the flourishing commercial relations with the Soviet Union. If, however, normal relations with the Soviet Union are advantageous to Latvia, they are surely not so to the imperialist power backing the leaders of Latvian Fascism. The breaking off of commercial relations between Latvia and the Soviet Union would play into the hands of this power. It surely will not shrink from a coup d'Etat similar to that staged in Italy in order to bring about a rupture. As usual, the anti-Soviet campaign is accompanied by a campaign against the workers. The bourgeois bloc at present at the head of affairs in Latvia is maintained in office by but a slight parliamentary majority. The leader of Latvian Fascism, Arved Berg, is making use of this circumstance to demand measures of repression against the revolutionary proletariat; Prime Minister Jurashevski is naturally anxious to accommodate him. This is to be seen from recent events. Since April of this year

persecutions have hailed down upon the working class. The central office staff of the Riga Trade-Union Federation has been arrested en bloc, in addition to a number of prominent members of the left-wing trade union movement — Constantin Mesbuls, Magarshak, Klava, etc. The editorial officers of the Labour papers: "Cinal Laikmets" (The Fighting Era), "Darba Jaunatnes Cels" (The Path of Working Youth) and of others have been completely destroyed. Moreover, the Government has aimed a further blow against Labour by closing the Riga Trade-Union Federation. This has led to tremendous demonstrations, strikes and street fights on the part of Labour in Riga, in the course of which blood has been spilled and many fresh arrests made. Naturally, Latvian Social Democracy has been doing what it could for the Government.

All these measures and blows were intended to weaken the resistance of the opponents of Fascism.

The organisers of the coup d'Etat are now waiting for the result of the parliamentary elections in order to work out and execute their plan, after they have had the possibility of estimating the feeling and sympathy of the country. Fascist dictatorship in Latvia would naturally mean a strengthening of the anti-Soviet bloc and an increase of the danger of war against the Soviet Union.

There is, however, no doubt that in their attempt to proclaim a national dictatorship they will meet with a powerful adversary in the revolutionary proletariat, a fact which is proved by the mass demonstrations which took place in July and August throughout Latvia. One of the chief slogans of the demonstrations was: "We will permit no Fascist dictatorship in Latvia!"

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

Fifth Congress of the Young Communist International.

Moscow, 20th August, 1928.

The Fifth World Congress of the Young Communist International was opened this evening in the splendidly decorated auditorium of the Big Theatre in the presence of 250 delegates from all parts of the world and 4000 guests.

In his opening speech Comrade Chitarov reminded his hearers of the leaders of the International who had died since the last congress and of the young victims of the revolution in the Balkans, in Italy, in China etc. As a sign of sorrow everyone present rose from his seat. As most of the victims were in China, the memory of the dead was honoured in Chinese fashion by two minutes' complete silence. Chitarov closed his speech by pointing to the tasks of the Communist Youth in the struggle against imperialist war and offered the revolutionary greetings of the congress to the revolutionary fighters in the dungeons of the bourgeoisie.

The Presidium and an honorary presidium were then elected. The following were elected (interalia) to the honorary presidium: Comrades Stalin, Bukharin, Krupskaya, Clara Zetkin, Thaelmann, André Marty, Max Hoelz and Gramsci.

After the march in of the flag bearers of the organisation of the Leninist Young Communist League of the Soviet Union, who took up their positions on the stage, Kosarev welcomed the Congress in the name of the Central and Moscow Committees of the Leninist Y. C. I. of the Soviet Union.

Comrade Bukharin then spoke and was welcomed with protracted applause which lasted several minutes. In his speech Comrade Bukharin declared:

Your Congress is being opened at a moment when the Comintern is seriously occupying itself with the struggle against the preparations for imperialist war. The war danger hanging over the Soviet Union is extremely great, and this makes it our duty to work with all our forces to organise the resistance of the proletariat against the imperialists who wish to destroy the first workers and peasants State. After the VI. World Congress of the Comintern, the V. World Congress of the Y. C. I. must consider this question seriously. Amongst those present here we can see various generations: there are the representatives of the Paris Commune, then there are ourselves, the representatives of the October Revolution and then there are you, the representatives of the Communist Youth who must fight for world communism.

In conclusion Comrade Bukharin called to mind the heroic deeds of the Chinese youth in the Canton insurrection and appealed to the Communist Youth all over the world to fight for the proletarian revolution.

The close of Bukharin's speech let loose a tremendous storm of applause.

After speeches of greetings by representatives of the Moscow youth organisation, Comrade Smith answered in the name of the Congress.

The Congress then heard the greetings of a delegation of the military division which bears the name K. I. M. (Young Communist International). The delegation of young soldiers was welcomed with indescribable ovations. In answer to the greetings of the soldiers the delegates took the oath: "In the spirit of our great leaders Liebknecht and Lenin we swear to mobilise the working class and peasant youth all over the world for an irreconcilable struggle against the imperialists of all countries, and to work to secure that in the coming war the soldiers of all countries use their weapons to defend the Soviet Union, to protect the oppressed peoples, to overthrow the bourgeoisie and to win victory for the working class and the world revolution."

The congress received Comrade Krupskaya with applause which lasted several minutes. Krupskaya then greeted the congress in the name of the old Bolsheviks.

Comrade Thaelmann then spoke and reminded the young communists of the international duties in the struggle against imperialist war.

The chairman asked whether a translation of Thaelmann's speech was necessary, whereupon the delegates replied in the negative, declaring that although most of them could not understand German they had nevertheless understood the spirit of Thaelmann's remarks.

The speeches of greetings were interrupted by the march in of a detachment of young pioneers. The speaker for the detachment, the thirteen year old Comrade Avkeyevitch spoke with the confidence of a practised speaker and wished the Congress success in its deliberations and in its struggle against the imperialist bourgeoisie.

Comrade Cachin then appeared on the stage and welcomed the Congress in the name of the C. P. of France. "For us old fighters it is a great satisfaction to see that for which we fought realised in such a great country", he declared.

He was followed by a delegate of the Y. C. L. of China, Liu Wu-tchu, who was received with enthusiastic cries of "Red Front!" and protracted applause. The young communist Negro Phillips was similarly received when he spoke to the Congress.

The international delegation from the Spartakiade then marched into the theatre to the strains of the "International" and the March of the Communards. The speech of greetings made by Comrade Rossignol was welcomed by the Italian delegates with the singing of "Bandiera Rossa" (The Red Flag).

In the name of the Presidium of the Congress Comrade Ferrat (Italy) replied to the speeches of the Spartakiade representatives.

After the election of the secretariat and the commissions and after a speech of greetings from the representative of the Labour School which bears the name of the Y. C. L., the Congress sang the "International" under the conductorship of its composer Degeyer. With the singing of the "Young Guard" the official part of the programme was then concluded and the opening session of the Congress closed. A concert and entertainment then followed.

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Moscow, 29th August, 1928.

Yesterday the second plenary session of the fifth World Congress of the Young Communist International took place under the chairmanship of Blenkle.

Comrade Chitarov (E. C. of the Y. C. I.)

made his speech on the danger of war and the chief tasks of the Young Communists in the struggle against imperialist war. He declared:

Broad masses of the working youth are still under bourgeois influence. Like the organisation of the bourgeois youth,

we under-estimate the militarisation of the youth. Italian fascism has won great masses of the youth. The Young Socialist International is following a right-wing course and is steadily losing ground.

The economic situation of the youth is very bad, particularly of the peasant youth. The protection of the youth is being diminished in all countries. The role of the youth in the factories is growing. By the introduction of the moving band and the introduction of rationalisation the youth has taken on a new importance in the process of production. Apprenticeship in the factories is declining, but the exploitation of the apprentices in handwork is increasing. The youth is badly organised in the trade unions; there is even a further retrogression to be recorded on this field. The responsibility for this rests chiefly on the shoulders of the Amsterdammers who give the youth no rights and even attempt to rob them of those they have already won. The Young Socialist International is attempting to win influence over the young trade unionists by organising them in a special youth organisation.

In recent years the fighting activity of the working youth has grown. In individual countries a number of strikes of young workers have taken place. The influence of the Communist youth in the trade unions is growing. Since the last World Congress the Communist Youth have taken part in a number of armed struggles in China, Indonesia, Poland, Bulgaria and Greece. Our chief work is against the danger of war and imperialism. The French Communist Youth actively fought against war in Morocco and Syria, and the British Communist Youth against the intervention in China. In connection with the visit of the British fleet, the Scandinavian youth did good work. We learned to connect our anti-militarist work with the partial demands of the soldiers.

There is to be booked a considerable increase in the political activity of the youth, progress in the mass work and the application of new methods, good trade union work in Poland, Germany, Britain and France. The Trotskyist opposition was not able to win any influence worth speaking of in our ranks. The Chinese Young Communist League has developed into a mass organisation. We have also had success with the connecting of the legal with the illegal work. The Young Communist League in the Soviet Union has over two million members and works actively for the building up of Socialism.

Our weaknesses and deficiencies are: insufficient organisational strength, considerable fluctuation in the membership figures, the membership is still chiefly composed of young workers from the small and middle-scale factories and shops, insufficient work in the sport, trade union and other mass organisations of the working class. The organisational weaknesses are partly to be accounted for by objective difficulties like the capitalist stabilisation and the capitalist persecution, but also partly by subjective errors like the insufficient regard paid to special youth methods. The way out of the difficulty lies by no means in the de-politisation of the youth movement. On the contrary, our next tasks are: increased political action, the maintenance of the political features of the youth, increase of the youth character of the mass work, increased penetration into the factories, particularly the large-scale factories, strengthening of the trade union work, strengthening of the Leninist educational work, creation of Young Communist Leagues in the colonies where none as yet exist, the creation of auxiliary organisations in the country, the winning of the youth from the influence of the class enemy (loud applause).

After the reading of numerous telegrams of greeting and after speeches of greeting from delegations of the working youth, the session was closed.

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Moscow, 31st August, 1928.

The third plenary session was opened yesterday under the chairmanship of Comrade Mehring.

Comrade Gorgitch

made the report on the organisational situation and the tasks of the Y. C. I. on behalf of the executive committee:

Since the fourth world congress, he contended, the Y. C. I. had learned to put its instructions concretely. At the fourth congress there had been certain exaggerations in estimating

the strength of the organisations. The leagues were growing ununiformly. The Swedish and Greek leagues were the only leagues which were growing steadily. The large leagues were a standstill and the small leagues were losing members. The illegal leagues had maintained themselves very well despite the white terror and had even made progress. The most important task for these leagues was the preservation of their nucleus and the maintaining of the illegal activity of the organisations. The strength of the Y. C. L.'s in relation to the party was not normal. Four years ago the relations of the youth to the party were 1 to 5, to-day, however, the youth represented only 15%. The only exception was Sweden, where the youth with 84% were not far behind the party. The Y. C. L.'s in the capitalist countries were not yet mass-organisations.

Since the last congress the Y. C. I. had founded the following new organisations: Australia, Palestine, South Africa, Indonesia, Persia, Honduras, San Salvador and India. One of our most important tasks is to found organisations in Central and South America. The children's movement was making progress, twelve new organisations having been formed. The standstill or even retrogression in the individual countries is caused by the application of dry-as-dust methods.

A great number of errors and deficiencies are to be noticed in the internal organisation. Up to the middle of 1927 the re-organisation made no progress and only the org-conference at the end of 1927 brought new life into the re-organisation. The problem of the fluctuation of membership must be solved. The C. P.'s do not support the Y. C. L.'s enough and their support is purely formal. It is necessary for the E. C. of the Y. C. I. to give the leagues practical assistance. A number of the departments of the E. C. of the Y. C. I. work poorly. The work in the mass organisations is insufficient. The work in the non-party young workers' organisations, in the sport organisations, amongst the peasant youth, in the cultural organisations and in the colonies must be strengthened. The German Jungsturm non-party organisation has been successful and it is necessary to create similar organisations in other countries.

An important question is the education of new leagues officials. It is necessary to study new and better methods and to issue concrete and popular instructions, to control the carrying out of decisions, to specialise the work of the officials and to draw all the members into the active work of the Leagues. Illegality is threatened in the near future. We must carry on a sharp struggle against the reaction and for our legality and prepare ourselves organisationally and ideologically. We must learn to work concretely and to make organisational questions, questions for the whole organisation (great applause).

The congress was then greeted by a White-Russian youth delegation. The Young Communist League of Poland then handed the congress a flag.

WORKERS' SPORT MOVEMENT

Declaration of the Foreign Participants in the Moscow Spartakiade.

To the Worker Sportsmen of the Soviet Union!

To the Worker Sportsmen of all Countries!

We, worker sportsmen, participants in the Spartakiade from the capitalist countries, members of the Lucerne Sports International and of the Red Sports International, had the opportunity, during the Spartakiade, to become acquainted with the great achievements of the first Workers' State of the world, both in the sphere of sports as in every other domain. What we have seen here strengthens our conviction that in the Soviet Union the working class really holds the power in its hands and thanks to this rule the working class has to record achievements which are not possible in any other country of the world.

We are happy to have taken part in the Spartakiade which was a powerful demonstration of the proletarian class sport

against the bourgeois-fascist sport — especially against the Amsterdam Olympiade.

We were able to convince ourselves that the Spartakiade was in fact a demonstration of the whole working class, in which all sections of the proletariat took a lively part. We regret that many worker sportsmen from our countries have allowed themselves to be held back from participating in this proletarian international class festival of the worker sports by the misleading assertions and the threats of the Lucerne Sports International leadership. We were also able to ascertain that the Spartakiade was not at all a one-sided party communist demonstration and declare this arbitrary assertion to be contrary to the facts.

Numerous signs go to show that the splitting tendencies of the Lucerne Sports International leadership will be intensified as a result of the Spartakiade, although the unity of the workers sport is becoming a more urgent necessity in face of the growing inclusion of the bourgeois sports associations into the fascist-imperialist designs.

The Spartakiade also strengthened our conviction that the struggle for the creation of a united Workers Sports International is of vital interest to the international worker sports movement and that this united Sports International must be established by all means on the basis of the class struggle. In connection therewith it is urgently necessary to establish the international united front of the worker sportsmen and the close collaboration of the worker sportsmen of all countries with the sports associations of the Soviet Union and with those associations affiliated to the Red Sports International, i. e. to struggle for the increased resumption of sport relations.

As is known, the leaders of some associations of the Lucerne Sports International have threatened to adopt a number of punitive measures against participants in the Spartakiade, solely because these participants have in this way expressed their solidarity with the worker sports movement of the Soviet Union and for the unity of the international worker sports movement. We must raise the most decided protest against these measures which mean the preparation of a split of the worker sports movement on a large scale.

In bringing this conviction, which we have won from our own experience and without being influenced by anybody, to the knowledge of every single worker sportsman, be he a member of the Lucerne Sports International or of the Red Sports International, we appeal to him to fight with us together against these designs and for the establishment of the international united front of the worker sports movement.

Especially in the sphere of sport have the workers of the Soviet Union to record the greatest achievements. The revolution has made physical culture accessible to the broadest masses of the toilers, so that the workers can now proceed with sound forces to the gigantic work of socialist construction.

It is precisely for this reason that the imperialists are attempting to prevent the workers of the Soviet Union from carrying on their work of peaceful socialist construction.

As a result of this the danger of new wars, and especially of a war of attack on the Soviet Union, has enormously increased; the worker sportsmen of all countries must therefore support the struggle for the defence of the only workers' State, the Soviet Union, the struggle against the new imperialist wars.

Long live the worker Sportsmen of the Soviet Union!

Long live the joint co-operation of the worker sportsmen from the ranks of the R.S.I. and the L.S.I.

Against the splitting tendencies, for the international unity of the worker sports movement, for a united worker Sports International!

Against every imperialist war!

Long live the Soviet Union!

Long live the rule of the working class in all countries!

This Declaration is signed by all delegations (Germany, France, England, Finland, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Uruguay, Austria, Switzerland, Norway, Sweden, Algeria etc.)

AGITPROP.

Comintern Publishers' Exhibition in Moscow.

By Robert (Moscow).

During the ten years of the Comintern's existence, the work of communist and revolutionary publishing has made great progress in all countries. In the capitalist countries (in this part of the exhibition technical reasons have prevented the Soviet Union from being represented) the work of our publishers falls under three main headings: the publication of agitation material meeting the needs of the moment, the creation of propagandist and instructive literature on the principles of Marxism and Leninism, and the issue of literature for winning over the great masses tending to the Left, and sympathising with the Soviet Union.

The exhibition shows that successful work is already being done. The first of these tasks has been taken in hand in at least 40 countries, and in no fewer than 47 languages. Communist agitation literature is available from Argentine to Korea. During the last few years communist publishing work has received a mighty impetus from the great Chinese revolution, and has made great advances in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, in Asia, and in South America. As far as the suppressive policy of the bourgeoisie permits it, Marxist Leninist instructive literature is being systematically published in a great number of countries, and much valuable propaganda literature has been issued dealing with the Soviet Union.

In Germany revolutionary publishing work is exemplary. A few examples: the **Internationale Arbeiter Verlag** (International Labour Publishers) devote themselves chiefly to the publication of agitation literature. During the last election campaign these publishers brought out no fewer than 26 pamphlets, in mass editions (apart from the May Newspaper and the satirical election paper "The Sting") all dealing with urgent questions of the labour movement (parliamentary policy, German social democracy, arbitration in actual practice, Soviet Union, social policy, neo-imperialism, Roman Catholic Party, Phoebus scandal, etc). Other valuable publications of this firm are its contributions to the history of the German revolution: the **Spartacus Letters**, Frölich's "Ten years of War and Civil War", and the "Illustrated History of the German Revolution". This last work is appearing in separate parts at an extremely low price, placing it within the reach of broadest possible circles. Besides this, the firm has published an excellent edition of **Rosa Luxemburg's Complete Works**, and an excellent series of "Elementary Text Books of Communism".

Much success is also to be recorded for the publishing firm **Verlag für Literatur und Politik, Vienna and Berlin**, which was founded in 1924. It intends to publish the theoretical works of orthodox Marxism and Leninism, as also a complete edition of **Lenin's** works, in the German language. Its "**Marxist Library**" already comprises 10 volumes, and is extremely popular among the German workers. This firm is further endeavouring to spread international revolutionary belles lettres, and has been very successful with a number of works by revolutionary writers of the Soviet Union. **Gladkov's "Cement"** ran into three editions, and was reprinted both by social democratic and communist newspapers. The number of readers of "Cement" may be estimated at some hundreds of thousand. Another important publication issued by this firm is the theoretical periodical "**Under the Banner of Marxism**", the sole periodical in Germany standing for orthodox Marxism, and dealing with every theoretical problem from the standpoint of dialectical Marxism.

The **Verlag für Literatur und Politik** has thereby been enabled to gain at the same time an acknowledged position among the bourgeois intelligentsia of Left tendencies, to penetrate into non-party and social democratic strata, and even to push into the background the social democratic publishing firms.

The "**Neue Deutsche Verlag**" is another extremely successful publishing firm. Its original object was the publication of the periodicals and pamphlets of the I. W. R., but its activities have expanded beyond these narrow confines, and it has become the centre of the Left movement in Germany. Its weekly, the "**Arbeiter-Illustrierte Zeitung**" (A.I.Z. Workers' Illustrated) is characteristic of this development. In 1922, when "**Russia in Pictures**" was founded in support of the Russia relief fund, the monthly edition was 20,000 copies. The circulation has increased from month to month with the growing trend to the Left among the broad strata of the working class. At the present time this paper has a weekly circulation of almost 400,000; it is the largest workers' illustrated paper in the world, and the only one of its kind. Its propaganda for the Soviet Union and for the red class front is of paramount importance for the further development of the German labour movement.

The "**Neue Deutsche Verlag**" also publishes a number of other periodicals meeting the urgent needs of the German labour movements: "**New Russia**", "**Film and People**", "**The Worker Photographer**", the satirical newspaper "**Der Eulenspiegel**" ("The Wag"), and, recently, a number of peasant newspapers.

The "**Neue Deutsche Verlag**" is accomplishing at the same time valuable publishing work in the sphere of social policy; it publishes scientific text books dealing with this subject, as also literature on the Soviet Union and against capitalist rationalisation. This firm is the publisher of the "**Illustrated History of the Russian Revolution**", and of many works of revolutionary belles lettres, etc. In this direction the firm has still many opportunities for further development and expansion.

The "**Universum Bücherei**" is another undertaking worthy of mention. This represents a new type of book co-operative. The members of this book community pay a small sum quarterly, receiving in return a richly illustrated and superior monthly magazine, and every three months a volume of one of the works of the latest proletarian writer, well bound and in attractive form.

A point of decisive importance for revolutionary publishing work is the **method of distribution** employed, the channels through which the revolutionary book is spread among the masses. The bourgeois book trade is naturally prejudiced and partisan against revolutionary literature. Besides this, the reader from the working class must be differently served, and offered conditions different to those possible for the bourgeois book purchaser. The starvation wages of capitalist rationalisation do not allow the workers to go to the bookshops. The proletarian book must find other means of reaching its readers.

The sale of literature requires a special apparatus, and the amount of literature sold will increase in proportion to the increasing efficiency of this apparatus. In Germany there are about 50 book dealers and literature sales centres in sympathy with us, and dealing chiefly in revolutionary literature. The literature distributors of the various proletarian organisations group themselves around these literature centres, forming their chief buyers, and pass on the literature received on preference terms (discount and easy payments) to the members of the organisations and their sympathisers.

Experience is already showing us that the system of the collective supplying of whole organisations, nuclei, local groups, trade union sections, etc. through the agency of their appointed literature distributor, is one of the best and most efficient methods of sale. In many districts this system has been developed to such an extent that it has been found necessary to appoint professional distributors occupied solely with the sale of literature. The selling apparatus must be further developed on these lines in the future.

Another selling centre has recently been established for those districts or works not yet possessing their own literature distributors. This supplies literature directly, on extremely advantageous terms, on previous receipt of the amount. This organisation will further contribute to carry the revolutionary book to those to whom it has hitherto been inaccessible.

The press can do much towards encouraging the sale of literature, as may be seen from the results obtained by those newspapers which have contrived, by means of attractive supplements, careful reviews, and extracts from literature dealing with the pressing problems of the day, to give a decided impetus to the sale of literature in their sphere of circulation.

In France the sale of literature has made rapid strides in the last few years. All important publications in theoretical literature are issued in comparatively large editions and excellently got up. The "Bureau d'Édition, de Diffusion et de Publicité" concentrates its efforts on the publication of the general literature of agitation and propaganda, whilst the "Éditions Sociales et Internationales", another publishing house supporting Left tendencies, publishes Lenin's works, as also revolutionary writings of a belletristic character. The sale of revolutionary literature has doubled since 1926. An illustrated periodical: "Nos Regards", in the style of the A. I. Z., has been appearing in France for some months.

In Great Britain the growth of the Left movement has brought with it new readers for Marxist literature. The most read books are John Reed's "Ten Days", Lenin's "State and Revolution", and Bukharin's "ABC of Communism". It is interesting to note that this literature is chiefly sold in London, Scotland, and the industrial districts of South Wales and Lancashire.

In the United States the "International Publishers" were founded in 1924. This firm has published 66 books in the three and a half years since then. Bukharin's "ABC" and "Historical Materialism", and the compilation "Russian 10 Years After", have already reached their second and third editions. An important advance is the publication of the classical works of Marxism, hitherto very little known in America. The weaknesses of the American labour movement are mirrored in the methods of selling revolutionary literature: Two thirds of this literature are sold to bourgeois booksellers, universities, public libraries, and individual buyers.

OBITUARY

Comrade Julius Choraz-Volek.

Comrade Julius Choraz-Volek, one of the members of the Czechoslovakian delegation to the VI. Congress of the Comintern, died suddenly of heart disease on 24th August.

He was the son of a poor peasant family, and became a village school teacher. During the imperialist war he was taken prisoner by the Russians in 1914, and spent the whole of the war years as prisoner of war in Russia. He came into contact with the Russian workers, became friends with them, learnt the Russian language, studied Russian Marxist literature, and found his way to Bolshevism. Whilst the majority of the Czech prisoners of war were mere tools in the hands of counter-revolution in Siberia, Comrade Choraz took sides at once, in 1917, with the proletarian revolution. He entered the Ukrainian Red Army, and fought in its ranks. Afterwards he went to Moscow, collaborating in the publication there of the Czech newspaper "Prukopnik Svobody". He was sent as Red Guardist to the Eastern front, and took active part in the fighting against Holtchak and against the Czechoslovakian counter-revolution.

In 1920 Comrade Choraz returned to Czechoslovakia, where he co-operated at once with the comrades working for the organisation of the Communist Party. He devoted himself entirely to revolutionary activities.

Of late Comrade Choraz edited the newspaper of the Czechoslovakian Party, the "Rovnost", published in Brünn.

At the World Congress he was a member of the Programme Commission. Comrade Choraz was well known as a speaker at workers' meetings.

He died at the age of 40, leaving behind a wife (a Russian) and one child.

TO OUR READERS!

The monthly subscription rates for the "Inprecorr" are as follows:

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The Business Manager.