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The Results of the 15th Party Conference of the C. P. of the Soviet Union.

By A. I. Rykov.

We publish below the concluding speech delivered by Comrade Rykov at the 15th Party Conference of the C. P. S. U. Ed.

The proceedings of the 15th Party Conference of the C. P. S. U. are at an end. It is clear to everybody that the 15th Party Conference will be recorded in the history of our Party as a Conference which was held at one of the most critical moments in the development of our Party, and that it solved the most important questions of building up the Party and the national economy in the spirit of Leninism. The questions which stood on the agenda of the 15th Party Conference are of such great importance that if it had been possible they would have formed the subject of discussion by a Party Congress.

All the decisions of the 15th Party Conference are marked by the complexity and difficulty of those tasks by which the Party and the working-class are confronted. In the sphere of economic work the 15th Party Conference has not only drawn the balance of the past year, which, to judge by its commen-

ment, could have brought the country serious economic shakings, but also the balance of the whole period of socialist construction and the balance of the inner Party conditions.

The 15th Party Conference marks the close of a tremendous epoch of the "reconstruction" period, of that period of which the Party and the working class can be proud and in the course of which the working class has displayed a most extraordinary heroism and whole-hearted devotion to the work of building up Socialism under conditions of tremendous difficulty. This period is now closed.

The 15th Party Conference took place during the transition to a new period. It has worked out the guiding principles for work under the new conditions of new construction of the whole of our economy upon a higher basis as regards the technical production. It has elaborated the practical means for industrialising the country according to the general instructions of the 14th Party Congress. This part of the work of the 15th

Party Conference alone raises its importance to an exceedingly high level.

The entire Conference and the whole Party can in no way disguise the fact that in this new stage of our development we are confronted with enormous difficulties of an internal and external nature. The difficulties of an internal nature are connected with the considerable role of the petty bourgeois and capitalist elements in our national economy, particularly in the villages. They are also connected with the technical and cultural backwardness of our country. The Conference and the Party can in no way close their eyes to these difficulties in the further development.

In the sphere of international relations we are passing through a protracted period which constitutes a breathing space, but no one of us can guarantee that this peaceful breathing space will last so long as our Party and the working class desire that it should. The questions of war and of peace do not depend upon us but upon that encirclement in which we have to carry on our work of organising the new society. The main guarantee for the continuation of this breathing space is the strengthening of the connections of our working class with the international proletariat.

The 15th Party Conference will be recorded in the history of our Party as having passed the most important decisions on the inner-Party situation. Those difficulties which we have experienced and will experience in the sphere of socialist construction were bound to call forth certain vacillations in the ranks of the Party. This has repeatedly been the case on former occasions in serious moments in the life of the Party, when this or that part or this or that section of our Party has failed to agree with it and made opposition.

The opposition with which we had to deal at the 15th Party Conference is well known to us through the whole history of our Party. If one follows the history of the Party in the period since the October revolution, then one sees that every possible deviation was easily made. The most persistent form of the fight against Leninism is Trotskyism. Hence it is not surprising that the new opposition, the new attempt to revise the Party line, to revise Leninism, again made its appearance under the flag of Trotskyism. It is now in connection with those new tasks before which the Party and the working class stand, that there have been revealed in the ideology of Trotskyism, more clearly than ever, elements of a social democratic deviation and of defeatism.

But the opposition with which we had to deal at the 15th Party Conference had some special features. Never previously in the history of the Party has there been a case in which the Opposition went beyond the limits of the C. P. S. U. and united with every possible opposition groups in the Communist Parties abroad. In the same way our Party has never had a case in which opposition groupings displayed such party splitting forms of activity as the last Opposition has done.

The 15th Party Conference met in a period when the Opposition had suffered complete bankruptcy and when the workers at the meetings of the Party had delivered it a decisive blow. The Conference met after the appearance of the well-known document which was signed by six members of the Central Committee who belong to the Opposition. This document has removed the menace to the unity of our Party and has removed the dangers arising from the fractional Party-disruptive activity of the Opposition. It is the opinion of the whole Party that after the publication of this document there was every reason to expect that the opposition would make further steps in order to approach the Party, that the Opposition would do everything possible in order to secure the ideological unity of our Party.

After hearing the lengthy speeches of the chief leaders of the Opposition, we must say that the expectations of our Party have not been fulfilled: The Opposition is endeavouring in the first place to maintain their ideological block, and secondly it endeavoured to make use of the tribune of the Conference in order to make an ideological attack on Leninism. This appears as a new confirmation of the correctness of the decision of the Central Committee and of the Central Control Commission as to the removal of the leaders of the Opposition from the Politbureau and the removal of Comrade Zinoviev from the delegation of our Party in the Communist International. The Opposition is still sticking to its errors. The Party must expose these errors of the Opposition in face of the working class of the whole world.

The resolutions of the Conference were adopted unanimously. This characterises the extraordinary powerful unity to which the Party has attained in recent times. This unity must teach the Opposition something. Up to now the Party has given the Opposition an adequate period in which to defend its views and also to make good its errors. The Opposition must realise that the Party cannot permit anybody to put its patience to too great a test and to raise a fresh discussion on the decisions passed and confirmed by the Party. Up to now far more attention has been devoted to the Opposition than its role and influence in the ranks of the working class warrant. The working class and the Party can no longer permit the Opposition to hinder their practical work by its actions and by attempts to arouse a discussion on questions which have already been decided by the Party.

The 15th Party Conference took place at a turning point between two great epochs. The working class and the Party have behind them the great historical epoch of civil war, of interventions and of the restoration of the devastated economic life. The Party and the working class have displayed in the course of this epoch a most extraordinary self-sacrifice and have successfully accomplished the most difficult tasks. We are entering on a new epoch with far greater forces, with a strengthened working class, with its increased activity, with a numerically and ideologically strengthened Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

If our Party and the working class were capable in the period of restoration of overcoming enormously difficult tasks, if they were capable of overcoming all vacillations both in the ranks of the working class and in the ranks of the Communist Party, then there cannot be the least doubt that the working class and the C. P. S. U., which have gathered force and experience in the arduous work of the period of restoration, will no less successfully overcome those new tasks which now stand before our Party.

It has repeatedly happened in our Party that this or that group of comrades has strayed from the main track of Communism, but in the course of a short time perceived their errors and rejoined the united ranks for common work with the whole of the Party. This course is open to the present Opposition. But no matter whether the Opposition follows this course or not, the Party will continue with the greatest determination and consistency, and with the exertion of all forces, the work of defending Leninism, the work of the further victorious development of the October Revolution, the work of establishing Socialism in our country.

POLITICS

The "State of Emergency" in Italy.

By G. Aquila.

The events of recent days in Italy indicate that the Mussolini Government and the Fascist regime have now come to a seriously critical moment.

The present situation is the result of two factors — partly parallel and partly intersecting: on the one hand, the **strengthening of the anti-Fascist feeling among the workers, the greater part of the petty bourgeoisie of town and country, the army officers' corps, etc;** on the other hand, the **strengthening of the opposition tendencies in the Fascist camp itself against the big bourgeois policy of Mussolini and of the Fascist Government. In order to keep down the threatening anti-Fascist forces, Mussolini finds himself compelled to make very extensive concessions to the opposition forces of the petty bourgeoisie within his own camp.**

The most important measures for "the safe-guarding of the regime" are as follows:

1. **Dissolution of all non-Fascist parties, unions and associations.**
2. **Suppression of the entire non-Fascist Press.**
3. **Introduction of compulsory internment of "all those who have committed acts calculated to overthrow the social, economic or national constitution of the State, to endanger the security and to frustrate and hinder the activity of the State administra-**

tion, as also those who declare their intention to do anything of the kind. (!)

4. **Formation of a Fascist political police service** at every headquarter-station of the Fascist militia.

5. **Declaration of invalidity** in regard to all passports for abroad; severe punishments for anybody attempting to quit the country without a passport and for those who give assistance in such an attempt: obligation to resort to use of arms to prevent anybody from crossing the frontier without a permit.

In addition to these "measures", the so-called "Law for the Protection of the State" was decided upon by the Ministerial Council on November 5th: in short, the law introduces **capital punishment**. The most important provisions of this law are:

1. **Capital punishment** for those who make an attempt upon the life, person or personal liberty of the King or his regents, of the Queen, the Heir Apparent or of the Prime Minister.

2. **Capital punishment** for those who commit an act calculated to subject the State to dependence upon foreign countries (?) or to threaten the independence of the State; for those who betray the political or military secrets concerning the security of the State and who possess themselves of such secrets.

3. **Capital punishment** for those who commit acts calculated to incite the citizens to armed insurrection against the constitution of the State; for those who take part in an insurrection; and for those who incite to civil war.

4. **Conspiracy** for purposes of any of the above-mentioned "crimes" will be punished with 15 to 30 years imprisonment; defence of them in the Press, with 5 to 15 years' imprisonment.

5. The resuscitation of parties, unions and associations, which have been dissolved, even though carried out under a fresh name (!), will be punished with imprisonment up to 10 years. The members of such organisations will be punished with imprisonment up to 5 years.

6. An Italian citizen, who, within the territory of the State, spreads false, exaggerated and tendentious reports concerning the interior position of the country or develops any action injurious to the national interests will be punished with 5 to 15 years' imprisonment.

7. An Italian or a foreigner who commits the above-mentioned "crimes" abroad, will be condemned by the Italian courts "in contumaciam" (in his absence).

8. All the above-mentioned "crimes" will be tried by special courts under the presidency of a general of the army, navy air-service or militia, and which will be composed by five officers of the Fascist militia. In the trials the penal code book valid in times of war will be followed.

Does Mussolini desire to prevent by means of these "measures" and "laws" possible future "attempts at assassination"? After the "attempted assassination" at Bologna, which never happened, and after the recent disclosures of the French police following the arrest of Ricciotti Garibaldi, Mussolini and the Fascist Press will for some time not dare to talk of attempted assassinations. Garibaldi, who has been arrested in France, a nephew of the national hero of the Italian bourgeois revolution of the fifties and sixties of last century, admits, in view of the flawless evidence of the French police, having received from the Fascist Government 500,000 lire for the organisation of "assassinations" of Mussolini. He was in constant communication with the chief of the police in Rome, who was the intermediary between him and the Fascist Government. Garibaldi also organised the "assassination" in September; the French police found in the possession of Garibaldi the papers of the youthful Luccetti, who last September threw a bomb at Mussolini's automobile in Rome; and Garibaldi admitted that he it was who, under orders from the Fascist Government, sent Luccetti to Rome to undertake this "unsuccessful attempt at assassination" upon Mussolini. By the way, it might be said: the disclosures of the French police, or the circumstance that Garibaldi's machinations have only now been disclosed, indicates, on the part of the French Government, a political manoeuvre as neat as it is despicable. For months the French police and the French Government were aware of the role that Garibaldi was playing but did not disclose and prevent the "attempted assassinations" and the subsequent acts of violence on the part of the Fascist bandits. The French Government kept back the disclosures until a moment favourable to them in relation to foreign politics,

is now presented by the Catalonia conspiracy, about which they had also been informed for months. Whereby — and this should be stated clearly — it was not the intention of the French Government to provoke a war by accentuating the tension between France and Italy, but merely to serve the purpose, on the one hand, of putting a wedge in between Mussolini and the Spanish Government; on the other hand, to exercise pressure upon Mussolini and compel him to come to heel.

The chief import of the proceedings, however, lies at the moment in domestic affairs, and the problem of further developments is comprised by two questions: how will big capital act in regard to the redistribution — perhaps only momentary — of power in the Fascist camp, and to the concessions made under pressure of circumstance to the petty-bourgeois Fascists? and how will the anti-Fascist forces in the country, in the first place the workers and the masses of poor peasants, react to the "intensified dictatorship", i. e. to the limitless accentuation of suppression and oppression.

In order to pacify the big bourgeoisie and to convince them that the concessions made to the petty bourgeoisie are merely sham concessions, Mussolini now offers the big bourgeoisie an unprecedented robbery of all the other classes in the country, including the petty bourgeoisie and also the lower and middle classes of the bourgeoisie, as well as of the well-to-do peasants and big farmers. A 20-billion loan is being floated, partly for the purpose of redeeming the short-term national-debt bonds, which are now due and have no cover, or to exchange them for "Fascio-loan stock", but chiefly to create out of the influx of cash a fund out of which credits can be granted to industry. All institutes are compelled by law to sink their available money wholly or partly in the "Fascio-Loan". The institutes in question are obliged, after fulfilling their legal obligations, to use at least half of their cash in hand or means accruing to them up to December 31st, 1927, in purchasing "Fascio-Loan" certificates or place the money in special accounts with the Bank of Italy. Extense "national propaganda", based upon the most ruthless means of extortion, is to be employed to "encourage" private people also to invest in the "Fascio-Loan".

By this means the bourgeoisie is gripped at its weakest point; this overt robbery of the whole nation is to serve as an expedient from the economic crisis, one of the chief factors of which is an acute capital crisis.

What will the present and future victims of the robbery, namely, the masses of the petty bourgeoisie and the seriously affected lower and middle classes of the bourgeoisie, have to say to this "boldest financial manoeuvre of the world"?

The other question is: how will the workers and the masses of poor peasants take the latest intensification of the suppression and oppression they have to suffer?

The prohibition of the parties hit the Communist Party harder than any other party in Italy, for the other parties already scarcely had any organisation worthy of mention. On the other hand, during the long years of rabid persecution, the Italian Communist Party has learned to build its organisation so firmly that it defies every effort of Mussolini to suppress it.

The strengthening of the party as an organisation was merely a result of its political invigoration. The influence of the party throughout the working class and also among the broad strata of the urban and country petty bourgeoisie, who are deeply disappointed in Fascism and embittered by their penury, has made such progress within the last year that it definitely surpasses the influence of all the other "opposition" and "anti-Fascist" parties, whose treacherous half-heartedness was the best of support of Fascism.

This development will make further important progress during the future stages of the "Fascist revolution". The unlimited suppression and oppression of the workers and the peasants, on the one hand, the "boldest" robbery "known to international finance" of all classes of the Italian nation for the benefit of the big bourgeoisie, on the other hand, which robbery will also inevitably have its effect upon the opposition petty-bourgeois wing of Fascism, create in Italy a revolutionary situation which, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Italy must lead to the overthrow of the Fascist regime and of the rule of the Italian bourgeoisie!

The Political Significance of the Elections in America.

By John Pepper.

The elections in the United States reveal many changes in the political life of America.

One is best able to understand the political significance of the elections which have just taken place when one compares them with the last elections of November 1925. The elections in 1924 resulted in the complete victory of Coolidge or, in other words, of the Republican Party as a political tool of finance capital. The elections of November 1926 represent in the first place a definite defeat of Coolidge and of the Party Apparatus of the Republican Party which is in the hands of the big bourgeoisie.

The elections of 1924 reduced the Democratic Party to a Party of the "solid South". The present elections, on the other hand, signify an advance on the part of the Democratic Party, which shows a considerable increase in the Eastern States.

In 1924, in addition to the great historical parties of the bourgeoisie, the Republican and the Democratic Party, there stood a "third" petty bourgeois Party, the La Follette movement which managed to poll nearly five million votes but was unable to win any great number of mandates. No third Party came forward in the present elections. The "radical" and "progressive" elements sought to try their luck again within the Democratic and Republican Parties.

The elections of 1924 put an end to that state of affairs in which a small group of "progressive" republican and "radical" democratic senators came forward as an organised group, able to turn the scale between the two parties, and at one time made a coalition with the reactionary elements of the Republican Party and at another time with the conservative elements of the Democratic Party.

The present elections have however — and that is the most important political result of the elections — again produced this state of affairs. It is true the Republican Party possesses a nominal majority. As a matter of fact the group of "insurgents", of "progressive" senators have won so many seats that they can again openly come forward against the official party apparatus of Coolidge. The Democrats, it is true, have not obtained a majority, but Coolidge has lost his majority in the Senate.

The great victory of Coolidge in 1924 and the defeat of the La Follette movement for a long time rendered dumb all opposition against the ruling Party apparatus. Economic partial crises and the policy of American finance capital have again called forth an opposition.

The following driving forces are playing a role in this opposition: firstly, the industry of the middle west which is not so closely allied with finance capital and which is forming an ever-growing opposition against the European orientation of finance capital. Secondly, the farmers who even if they are not today being ruined to the same extent as was the case before the elections in 1924 when a universal wheat crisis prevailed, are nevertheless, in many parts of the country, showing considerable political discontent owing to the crisis in the cattle breeding industry and the cotton crisis. The process of trustification promoted by the Coolidge governments has stirred up broad strata of the petty bourgeoisie — and this is the third element of the opposition. Fourthly, however, the forces of the working class, insofar as they have taken part in the elections, strengthened the oppositional elements and contributed towards the defeat of the official candidates of the Coolidge government and the election of "progressive" and "radical" democrats.

The proletariat, as an independent factor, as a class, did not play any role in these elections. The candidates of the Socialist Party and also of the Workers (Communist) Party polled very few votes. The loose form of independent political action which in several States assumed the form of the "United Labour List" (in which the Communist Party participated), was not able to rally any great masses round it. It was only in the State of Minnesota that the farmer and labour movement assumed a mass character and succeeded in returning its candidates.

The elections again reflect the confused and undeveloped political conditions in the United States. In the United States the actual political struggles do not take place so much between the political parties as within the various political parties in the form of the struggles of fractions and of groups against one

another. The Republican and the Democratic Parties are to an equal degree parties of the big bourgeoisie, and both of them constitute a block of the various classes within a political party. Roosevelt in 1912 and La Follette in 1924 attempted to split the old parties and to form a "third", a petty bourgeois Party. Both attempts, however, were shortlived; they could not form any permanent parties. The 5 million petty bourgeois, farmers and workers who in 1924 voted for La Follette and at that time were so far advanced politically that they organised themselves independently from the old historical parties of big capital — these masses have in the meantime returned to the old historical parties and came forward in the election as "progressive" Republicans and "radical" Democrats.

It would be incorrect to regard the defeat of Coolidge as the appearance of a "progressive" block in the senate, as a radicalising of the political life of America. One could rather describe it as the exact contrary. Compared with 1924, when these petty bourgeois forces had separated from the two historical parties, their return to the Republican and Democratic Parties is a step backward. But one should also not forget that this progressive block can turn the scale if it forms an alliance with the Democratic Party against the Coolidge government. On the other hand there exist the possibility that the reactionary Republicans will form a block with the conservative elements of the Democratic Party, as has already happened more than once in the past on several important questions (tariffs, taxation, world politics).

The American Federation of Labour which, as the organisation of the aristocracy of labour, has pursued for decades the policy of "punishing its enemies and rewarding its friends", and thereby forms the greatest obstacle to the development of an independent class party of the proletariat, will now point triumphantly to the victory of the "candidates of the working class" in the Republican and Democratic Parties and will thereby arouse illusions in the working masses.

The actual policy of the United States will not be altered by these elections. It remains, what it was: the policy of finance capital.

The Treachery of the Japanese Reformists.

By H. Eidus.

Telegraphic information is at hand, to the effect that several reformist organisations, led by the reformist Sodomy Federation, have left the Japanese Workers' and Peasants' Party. Thus the political party of the Japanese proletariat, created with such great efforts, falls to pieces before it could even begin to take up work.

The first attempt at the creation of a proletarian party in Japan was made in December of last year. The Japanese Peasants' Union (Nomin-Kumiay), the "centrist" organisation, took the initiative, inviting the collaboration of both the reformists and the Left elements. The reformists, in the person of the Sodomy, were, however, afraid that the Left would play a predominant role in the party and, at the last moment, refused to participate in the Constitutional Convention of the party.

This decided the party's fate: it existed for exactly two hours; after which it was closed by the police. The latter apparently decided that, since the Sodomy was not taking part in it, nothing good could come for the government from the party.

The demand for a political proletarian party is, however, very much alive in Japan. In view of the coming parliamentary elections on the basis of the extension of the election laws, it is essential that, along with the old bourgeois parties in Japan, a political-proletarian party should be created. The Left elements, in the persons of the revolutionary Hio-gikaya, the Proletarian League of Youth, the Society of Japanese Pariahs, "Suheysia", and the Society for Political Study, decided therefore voluntarily to refrain from participation in the Constitutional Convention, in order that the Sodomy should have no pretext for sabotaging the party.

The party, under the name of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, was created on the 5th March. The Peasants' Union played a so-to-speak numerical role in it, while the Sodomy played the role of reformist "political commissar", keeping a sharp lookout that no sort of Left infection should creep into the party.

The Sodomay, however, did not reckon with the aspirations of the revolutionary elements in the party.

Although Hio-gikaya and the other Left organisations did not participate in the Constitutional Convention of the party the question of admitting members of these organisations personally into the party was not decided in the negative. The second Plenum of the C. C. of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, discussing this question, even declared for the "open door" in the party, for the Left elements. In connection with this, several local branches of the party contained a considerable proportion of revolutionary elements, while in certain local branches, the Left elements even formed the preponderating majority.

This of course could not be agreeable to the Sodomay and other Japanese reformists. At the 3rd Plenum of the C. C. of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, in the end of July of this year, the question of the admission of the Left elements into the Party, and of the recognition of the local branches of the party, already penetrated with Left elements, was again raised by the Sodomay.

The members of the C. C. of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, belonging to the Peasants' Union, on which the decision chiefly depended, found themselves in a difficult position. On the one hand they did not wish for a break in the united proletarian front, which would be caused by the expulsion from the party of the Lefts, on the other hand they were intimidated by the threats of the Sodomay to leave the party, which would have meant either the natural falling to pieces of the party, or its breaking-up by the police. Moreover the Japanese Peasants' Union had gained the support of the Sodomay on the question of opposing the disruptive policy of the Right Yamansi Federation, seceding from the Peasants' Union, and forming a new Japanese Peasants' party. The members of the C. C. of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, belonging to the Peasants' Union, therefore voted for the reformists' suggestion not to admit into the party the Left elements. The question of the recognition of the local branches of the party, already penetrated by the Lefts, was held over until the October Plenum of the C. C. of the Workers' and Peasants' party.

The Japanese Peasants' Union was however unable to take up a firm position, and like the typical centrist organisation that it is, continued to hesitate on this question. On the one hand it could not but see that the Sodomay was not particularly inclined to support it against the disrupters of the Yamansi Federation, since the latter, in its political outlook, was much nearer to the Sodomay than to the Peasants' Union. On the other hand the resolution of non-admission of the Left elements into the Workers' and Peasants' Party evoked great indignation among the local branches of the Peasants' Union. Under the influence of the last-mentioned a resolution was carried by the Ex. Com. of the Peasants' Union, censuring the resolution of expulsion of the revolutionary elements from the Workers' and Peasants' Party, as "the darkest page in the history of the Japanese Workers' movement".

This resolution, however, did not prevent the C. C. of the Workers' and Peasants' Party from taking certain measures of an organisational character against the Lefts, when this was demanded by the Sodomay Congress which took place in the beginning of October at Osaki. This congress demanded the immediate expulsion of all Left elements from the local branches of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, and the C. C. of the latter ordered all local branches to immediately expell all Left elements on pain of their non-recognition at the next plenum of the C. C. of the party.

Now, telegraphic information has arrived, to the effect that all the reformist organisations, led by the Sodomay, being dissatisfied with the resolution of the Ex. Com. of the Peasants' Union, censuring the expulsion of the Left elements, have left the Workers' and Peasants' Party.

Only the Japanese Peasants' Union has remained, in complete isolation, in the party, since the other organisation remaining in the party — the ship-stewards' union — is of no real importance.

Telegrams from Japan add that the conversations taking place between those leaving the party and those remaining in it will probably lead to nothing. This is more than probable, since the Sodomay was only looking out for an opportunity of leaving the party. Least probable is the second suggestion that the Left elements will take the places of the reformists leading the party, and will turn it into a revolutionary organisation. This

can hardly be expected in the present police-conditions prevailing in Japan.

It is impossible to exaggerate the significance of the collapse of the party, especially in connection with the coming parliamentary elections. The political movement of the Japanese proletariat has received a blow from the Japanese reformists, from which it will not soon recover.

CHINA

The Latest Development and the Separatist Efforts of the Imperialists in China.

By Tang Shin She.

In spite of the failure of the workers' and students' revolt in Shanghai and of the attack by Siau Chau the governor of Chekiang, on Sun Chuan Fang, the power of the latter in the five provinces is broken. Kiangsu, a very important province for the defence of the territory of the Canton government, has fallen in the hands of the revolutionary forces by the capture of Kiukiang, a town possessing very great strategical importance for Sun-Chuan-Fang. The whole of South Fukien is likewise in the hands of the Canton army. Sun-Chuan-Fang still retains possession of the three provinces of Kiangsu, Anhwei and Chekiang, but his own army, consisting of two divisions, has been thoroughly routed in the recent battles. The leaders of the two divisions have fallen. His power is at present based on the weak troops of his vacillating supporters. The three remaining provinces could be very easily captured by the Canton government, but it is necessary to allow a pause in order to reorganise the numerous troops who have recently come over to the revolutionary army. In addition to this the Canton government desires if possible to convert Kiangsu into a neutral zone, in order to avoid immediate collisions with the governor of Shantung, Chang-Tsung-Chang, a follower of Chang-Tso-Lin.

The resignation of Wu-Pei-Fu in the last few days is due to the numerous mutinies of his own troops and their desertion over to the Kuomin army. The Kuomin army is now pressing forward from South Honan under the leadership of General Fang-Tsung-Chow and in Central Shensi under the leadership of General Yü-Yo-Min, against the remainder of Wu-Pei-Fu's troops. The main troops of Feng-Yu-Hsiang are at present at Suiyuan, in the neighbourhood of Kalgan. These troops will not march to the South, but in the event of a declaration of war on the part of the Canton government against North China, i. e. against Chang Tso Lin, will advance on Kalgan and Peking. The Governor of Shansi who is at present in the neighbourhood of Feng-Yu-Hsiang's headquarters and who up to now has cooperated with Chang-Tso-Lin, sympathises with the Kuomin army, because he himself is threatened by Chang-Tso-Lin.

The new situation in China shows, on the one hand, the front of the Canton government, i. e. the revolutionary army of China and the Kuomin troops, and on the other hand the pro-imperialist front, i. e. the army of Chang-Tso-Lin and Chang-Tsun-Chang. In between there lies the zone which can be designated as neutral, occupied by the remnants of the troops of Sun Chuan Fang and Wu-Pei-Fu and the army of the governor of Shansi. This situation compels the imperialists to employ new methods in their policy of suppression in China, namely the dismemberment of China. They wish to recognise both the Cantonese government and Chang-Tso-Lin.

The cunning Japanese imperialists have attempted once before to divide China. This was at the time when they realised that Chang-Tso-Lin could not obtain power over the whole of China and when the financial crisis in Manchuria was growing continually worse. They desired the absolute rule of Chang-Tso-Lin in Manchuria and of Wu-Pei-Fu in North China. South China, after they had incited every General against the other as much as possible, was to be left to its fate. After the capture of Hankow and Wuchang by the Canton troops they intended to award Manchuria and North China, i. e. six provinces and three districts, to Chang-Tso-Lin and to grant South China to the Canton government. They were so serious in their attempt to carry out this programme that when Chang-Tso-Lin did not show himself sufficiently compliant and wished to undertake another attack against the Kuomin army, they sent him an

open note of protest against his making preparations for war. The idea underlying the plan of Japan is to retain Manchuria at all costs and to bring about there as soon as possible a stabilisation of the finances. After Chang-Tso-Lin had submitted, under compulsion, to the will of Japan, the Japanese financier, Okura, negotiated with him regarding a loan of twenty million Chinese dollars.

The English formerly placed their entire hopes on the advance of Wu-Pei-Fu, Chang-Tso-Lin, Sun-Chuan-Fang and others against the South, that is, on the annihilation of the Canton government. Now that they have met with severe disappointment in this respect, they have changed their policy. The English Governor General of Hongkong, who had formerly designated the strike committee which was collaborating with the Canton government, as a robber organisation, declared at the beginning of October, after the announcement of the raising of the boycott of English goods and ships, that England would very gladly help the Canton government to establish law and order in Kwangtung, provided its policy held more aloof from Soviet Russia than hitherto. This shows the inclination of the British to establish connections with the Canton Government, and it further shows the subordination of English policy to that of Japan. The Japanese press in North China and the English press in South China are eagerly propagating the recognition of the Canton government, and on the other hand speak of the formation of a kingdom of Chang-Tso-Lin in Manchuria. They presuppose that the Canton Government will fully agree to this division of China.

The Canton government is the bearer of the national liberation movement in China. It goes without saying that it does not desire to unite only one portion of the country and to leave the other to the double exploitation of the imperialists. On the 8th of November the Canton Government sent a letter to the Consul General of Portugal, who is the Senior member of the Consular body at Canton, by means of which the press of the whole world was informed that the Canton Government is fighting for its recognition. The original text of the letter is as follows:

"Sir,

In order to avoid misunderstanding and to assist to a right perception of the new realities of the national situation resulting from the extension of Nationalist authority over the greater part of China, I have the honour to return the enclosed letter dated November 5th and transmitted through the post, which purports to be a protest communicated by 'The Senior Consul at Canton' by direction of 'The Senior Minister of the interested Powers represented at Peking' who declare that they cannot recognise the legality of the internal taxes authorised by 'The Canton Authorities' on consumption and production of goods within the Liangkwan Provinces (Kwangtung und Kwangsi) on the ground that same are 'in direct violation of the Treaties'.

My Government does not recognise the existence of the 'Senior Minister of the interested Powers represented at Peking' — who lacks Juridical sanction — nor are the status and the relations of the same Powers vis a vis my Government regulated on a basis which can properly entitle them to raise the question of a 'direct violation of treaties'.

I have the honour to add that my Government is ready to discuss this and other questions as and when all or any of the Powers represented at Peking realise that national Power and authority has long ceased to be exercised in Peking and that the revolutionary and constructive forces of Nationalist China have now transferred this national power and authority to my Government.

Chen Yu jen, Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs."

With regard to the recognition of the Senior Consul at Canton, the Canton Government is of the opinion that the Russian Ambassador, Comrade Karachan, should be the doyen of the diplomatic corps and not the imperialist tool, the Portuguese Consul. The letter further states that the Peking government has no longer any right to existence, because the Chinese people consider the Canton Government to be their representative. No mention is made regarding a partition of China, regarding the dismemberment of the country. The imperialists who are no longer able to ignore the Canton Government, are endeavouring to settle the matter according to their own taste. They therefore wish to recognise the Canton Government,

Chang Tso Lin and perhaps also Sun Chuan Fang and Wu Pei Fu, and, if possible, many other generals who possess a little strip of the country. That means the splitting of China according to the same policy England has pursued in India.

In Manchuria it is intended that there shall be realised that at which Japan has for long been aiming. The Manchu dynasty is to be restored. After the retreat of the Kuomin armies from Peking, the Chinese monarchists openly attempted to force their ideas into the camp of Chang-Tso-Lin, Chang-Tsung-Chang and Wu-Pei-Fu. Today an attempt is to be made, in the first place to set up Chang-Tso-Lin as king of Manchuria, and later to make the dethroned Manchu emperor in Peking.

These two actions, dismemberment of China and restoration of the monarchy, are the last desperate endeavours of the imperialists in China. If they fail in these attempts as they have in all their recent aims, then they will have lost the game.

THE MINERS' STRUGGLE IN ENGLAND

The Situation in the English Coalfields.

Shall Starvation Defeat the English Miners?

By Katherine B. H. Cant (London).

The line of two meetings recently held in England, is full of significance at the present moment. Prime Minister Baldwin was right when at the first — the Tory Party Congress — he likened the State of England to that of pre-war Europe — two armed camps waiting to attack.

The Miners' Federation delegate meeting on the one hand changed the whole character of the struggle sharpening it to a state of war by the withdrawal of the safety men the appeal to the General Council. The Tory meeting displayed the fixed attitude of the Government towards the workers. Its keynote was "Smash the Trade Unions" and logging as punishment for assaults against peacefully disposed citizens during industrial disputes.

In this situation, the conditions under which the miners and their wives and children are struggling are growing daily more terrible.

The strike has already lasted over six months. More and more Poor Law authorities are refusing all relief and the numbers of families who have no income at all is increasing rapidly. In England when a Board of Poor Law Guardians has no more money from the locality to expend in relief for the destitute, it must apply to the Ministry of Health for permission to raise money on loan.

Practically every Board of Guardians in the English mining areas is in this position, — when the position becomes too difficult two things can happen — the choice depending on whether the board is dominated by a Labour or Conservative member. If the Tories are in the majority, the Board follows the example of the Monmouth Board, which has discontinued all relief to wives and dependants of miners. "Labour" boards of Guardians may either reduce the starvation pittance granted to the women or may borrow till they exhaust their credit and then they are removed from office by Tory democracy and are replaced by a committee of "dictators" nominated by the Board of Health. This has happened in Chesterle-Street.

Apparently the highest figure of relief given to a miner's wife is now 12/- per week with 4/- for each child and a maximum figure of £ 1, for a family, but in the last weeks 8/- has become the more usual figure with 2/- for the children.

Earlier in the strike in localities where relief was as low as this the women and children's fund was able to supplement the standard. This fund has reached a total of over £ 230,000. Its weekly income is about £ 5200. But whereas this figure could give a little help to most of those who needed it at the beginning, the demands from new districts constantly coming in from where the Guardians have refused or reduced relief, now make it totally inadequate.

This situation, in spite of all the fund can do, means starvation to the majority of miners wives and children in Great Britain. Describing a feeding centre in County Durham, M. T. A. Mackenzie says in the Spectator — a capitalist journal — "The sight in the public hall surprised me. I could have thought

myself in Poplar or Canning Town in the old days of the dock strikes. The same under-fed faces greeted me. — Big eyes, white faced narrow cheeks. Many of the little girls seemed worst of all."

The situation in several of the mining areas has lately been aggravated by the appearance of the terror of small-pox — a disease which has been unknown in Great Britain to any great extent for the last 30 years. Little children in Lancashire are being stricken down by this disease, in a weakened condition from starvation which renders their chances of recovery very slight indeed. In these areas there is no money to ensure even the simplest precautions against epidemics. Urgently as money is needed for the feeding of the miners' dependants, even this need pales before the lack of clothes and boots at the present moment. In this connection, the onset of winter has brought to light these most appalling conditions. One teacher writing from Bridgend in South Wales gave a list of 37 boys in his own department who were without any foot wear whatever — who had to trudge barefoot through the cold, mud, and rain to school. From Porth in the same district reports show that the children's clothing as well as their boots is in a shocking state, some boys being without jerseys or trousers and all being without warm under-clothing.

From Mansfield in Nottinghamshire comes a list of 25 children in one school who are underclothed — and with this and many other similar cases, the Women's Committee declares itself absolutely unable to cope unless much greater help both in money and in kind is immediately forthcoming.

The Committee has organised local boot repairing centres at which the children's footwear is mended by voluntary labour, but these are seriously handicapped by the lack of leather and materials and by the condition of most of the boots and shoes which are absolutely beyond repair.

The women's Committee says that where such conditions are characteristic among the children, they invariably find the mothers much worse off. "Mothers cut up their own under-clothing to clothe the children". "Poverty is so acute that blankets and winter clothing are unknown in thousands of homes". "Though ten tons of clothing are sent weekly into the coal-fields, a much greater response is necessary if all the hard hit homes are to be equipped with the goods so urgently needed".

In spite of their suffering and that of their wives and children, the miners by their resolution at the delegate meeting, have declared their absolute determination to fight on till they achieve victory; at the same time they have in the same resolution demanded the fullest support which it is possible for the whole working class of Great Britain and of Europe to give them. In this demand they are well within their just rights. They are bearing the brunt of the capitalist attack on the conditions and standards of all workers. It is the battle of all that they are fighting, and their defeat cannot and must not be tolerated by the working class.

Therefore we appeal to every working woman and to every worker in Europe to send instant help, no matter how small, to the miners in Britain. Relief must be doubled and trebled if the next weeks of this long heroic struggle are not to end in defeat.

The Miners of the Soviet Union to the Miners Federation of Great Britain.

Comrades,

On the day when the seventh month of your heroic fight begins, the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Miners' Federation of the Soviet Union, in the name of 500,000 organised miners of the Soviet Union, send to you, the heroic miners of Great Britain, their warmest brotherly greetings and the best wishes for complete success in your fight.

Throughout these six months we have followed with the greatest enthusiasm your unexampled struggle. We see with enthusiasm how heroically you are defending your vital interests against the brutal offensive of the employers who are supported by the reformists and the advocates of class collaboration of every description.

You are fighting not only for your own interests. You are fighting for the interests of the English proletariat and of the workers of all countries. And we miners of the Soviet Union

will support you just as firmly and constantly in the future in your just struggle as we have done hitherto.

We stigmatise all the traitors on the General Council who up to now have done nothing to prevent the import of coal into England and to see that adequate material aid come to you.

The greatest indignation and contempt is aroused in us by the leaders of the Amsterdam and of the so-called Miners' International who have done nothing up to now in order to place an embargo on the transport of coal to Great Britain, who do their utmost to hinder the carrying out of an international solidarity strike of the miners and only allow inadequate material support to come to you.

We desire with our whole heart and soul that your fight, in spite of the treachery of the leaders of the General Council, of the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions and of the Miners' International, and with the support of all honest and class-conscious workers of the world, will be carried out to a successful end in accordance with your desires.

Long live the victory of our brothers, the heroic miners of Great Britain!

Long live the international solidarity of the proletariat!

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Miners' Federation of the Soviet Union.

Signed: Schwarz, Chairman.
Gorbatshev, Secretary.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Congress of the American Federation of Labour.

By Earl Browder.

From October 4 to 14th, the annual national convention of the American Federation of Labour met in Detroit, the city of Henry Ford's automobile factories. The convention marked important developments, especially in the matter of international relations, in which the orientation towards Amsterdam (ore more properly the acceptance of Amsterdam's orientation towards the A. F. of L.) was emphasised. In national affairs the convention sank deeper into the swamp of collaboration with the employers, and continued with renewed venom the war of extermination against the followers of the Profintern. In general the convention must be characterised as an **orgy of reaction**.

Domestic and international policy were fused into one demonstration of mad rage against Soviet Russia and against the Trade Union Educational League, against William Foster, and against the communists in the trade unions.

The reaction was led by John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers Union. In an impassioned speech Lewis declared that an "organised campaign of every rag-tag and bob-tail" in the Union was being waged by the TUEL and the Communist Party to oust him (Lewis) from his office.

One main argument brought forward against the proposed delegation to Russia was that its organiser, Albert Coyle of the Locomotive Engineers, was also helping the opposition in the Miners Union and was, therefore, connected with the Communists as "an agent of Moscow". With great ceremony was produced a private letter from Coyle to a miner friend, which had been stolen from the mails, giving advice for the struggle against Lewis. This frantic demonstration in Detroit proves that the miners' opposition, which is headed by a socialist, John Brophy, now president of District No. 2 of the Union, has rallied a formidable opposition support. To defeat this opposition, Lewis thinks the most effective means is to raise the issue of Moscow, although of course Brophy, the socialist, is far from a "Moscow orientation" In this atmosphere was adopted the most vicious anti-Russian resolution that even the A. F. of L. has ever written.

Relations with Amsterdam.

A rapprochement with Amsterdam made progress in Detroit. It will be recalled that the A. F. of L. withdrew from Amsterdam in 1920 because of its "revolutionary" propaganda. This year the convention report declared:

"Though correspondence has been continued with the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam) as yet there has been no agreement upon the differences that prevent the affiliation of the A.F. of L. to the Amsterdam International. The Amsterdam International has been standing splendidly in defense of trade union principles against all appeals to compromise with communist groups. The good will and support of American labour are with the organisation in this position. We trust that eventually a mutually satisfactory basis for reaffiliation will be developed."

What that "satisfactory basis" is, for which the A. F. of L. is seeking, was made clear in the meeting of the Metal Trades Department where such a basis was found. It is the complete and unconditional surrender of Amsterdam to the A. F. of L. A delegation from the International Metal Workers Federation, including Dissman (Germany), Ilg (Switzerland), Brownlie (England) and Labe (France), appealed for affiliation on the grounds that "the formation of European trusts, combinations and cartels, notably the new Steel Trust, which is grouping Belgian, German, and French metallurgical interests, was a menace to American as much as to European labour". The answer of the American leaders laid down the "satisfactory basis" upon which the A. F. of L. is entering Amsterdam.

Frey, iron moulders union and leader in the A. F. of L. declared that "it would be well to have an information bureau" but he feared that "such an organisation might evolve until a strike in one country might mean an automatic assessment levied on all constituent members". His speech was echoed by the other A. F. of L. officials. They were all strong in favour of "international unity" — against the communists — and provided there were guarantees that Amsterdam remains only an "information bureau" and under no condition does it organise common action or financial aid in struggles against the employers.

This A. F. of L. conception of "international unity" was promptly accepted by the Amsterdam delegation. Brownlie made the official reply in which he, declared:

"The International Metal Workers Federation has no authority, nor does it attempt to exercise any authority over any industrial dispute that may take place in the United States, Great Britain or elsewhere."

Again and again it was emphasised that Amsterdam is a "loose, voluntary organisation" which places no obligations upon its members, being a mere "information bureau". Konrad Ilg made a long speech to say that they did not even want any membership contributions from America, but only "moral unity" with the officials.

All of this pleased very much the A. F. of L. leaders. They had found the "satisfactory basis", and they therefore voted to affiliate the Metal Trades Department with Amsterdam. But, carefully imitating the capitalist politicians who join America to the World Court "with reservations", so also the A. F. of L. officials safeguarded themselves in joining the Amsterdam information bureau. The resolution declared: "We will not surrender or permit any encroachment upon our rights", and provided that no decisions of the International shall be binding upon the American trade unions.

Mexico and the Church Struggle.

There is a very strong block of Catholic leaders in the A. F. of L., who work in close connection with their Church. It was to be expected that they would make a strong attack upon the Mexican Federation of Labour because that body is supporting the Calles Government in its struggle against the Church. William Green, who as a non-Catholic presides over an executive council most of whom are Catholics, tried to steer the convention towards neutrality. But the committee report added the provision for a commission to be set up for investigating "the relations between CROM (Mexican Federation) and the Calles Government".

In spite of all the protestations of non-interference in the internal affairs of other lands, this resolution was undoubtedly a hostile move against the CROM, and an attempt to force CROM to withdraw its support from the Calles Government. It is an intervention in Mexico, in favour of the Catholic Church. This was made doubly clear later on, when the executive council

failed to send a delegate to Mexico for the celebration arranged by the CROM, at which a number of European labour leaders were present.

Collaboration with the Employers.

Strikes and all manifestations of the class struggle were frowned upon in Detroit. The great panacea for all ills of the workers was put forward — class collaboration. Identity of interests between working class and capitalist class was proclaimed.

For this purpose the A. F. of L. puts forward the B & O Plan and similar schemes. It declares that the "company unions" are not efficient instruments for real class collaboration, which requires the help of the labour leaders to be effective. The principles of the "company unions" are accepted completely in the B & O Plan, but the method of applying these principles is improved upon — therefore the A. F. of L. opposes "company unions". But this year they abandoned the programme of capturing the company unions and transforming them into trade unions — probably because only the Communists have made any efforts in this direction (the New York subway strike; the Passaic textile strike; the boot and shoe workers strike; etc.).

Labour banking was given strong support. It was pointed out that there are now 30 such institutions, with total resources of 110 million dollars. But due to the bankruptcy of the Philadelphia bank, the fact that the officers of the Pittsburgh bank are in prison for defalcation, and other troubles during the year in the labour banking field, the A. F. of L. issued a warning that caution must be used to avoid disaster in the field.

The new so-called labour insurance (which is organised on purely capitalist lines) was given the unconditional endorsement of the A. F. of L. The Workers Education Bureau, which in the past year has accepted a large sum of money from the Carnegie Foundation, was given the official blessings.

Collaboration with the capitalist political parties was officially continued. This received its most brazen expression in the beginnings of a campaign for Al Smith, Democratic party governor of New York state, for the presidency of the U.S. in 1926. Participation of the trade union officials in the governmental military machinery (Citizens Military Training Camps) was again approved.

Where the Class Struggle Entered.

In spite of all efforts of the officials, yet the class struggle forced its way into the floor of the Convention. This came from the strikes of the Passaic textile workers and of the New York cloak and dressmakers, in both of which the communists and TUEL elements have been and continue as leading spirits. The convention found it necessary to give its support to both struggles.

The Passaic strike was organised and led by the Communists for seven months before the A. F. of L. touched the situation at all. The strikers demanded that they be allowed to affiliate, but the A. F. of L. refused to accept them, and even sent out circular letters to all unions warning them not to contribute to the assistance of the Passaic strike because it was led by Communists. But the storm of protest, and the great volume of support that came from the unions in spite of this prohibition, finally forced the A. F. of L. to accept the strikers into the union, although only after the leader, Weisbord, had retired. So, in spite of opposition from vice-president Woll, the convention started a fund of \$25,000 for the Passaic strike.

The cloak and dressmakers strike is a sequel to the great struggle of 1925 inside the union, during which the right-wing administration was overthrown by a combination of communists and progressives. This new leadership launched a struggle for the five-day, 40-hour work week, forcing the support of the right wing for the struggle. The furriers union, under communist leadership, had already won the five-day week, followed by the Carmakers. Just before the convention Henry Ford had announced the five-day week would apply in his factories hereafter. All these developments combined to make a national and even international sensation, and concentrated attention upon the 40,000 cloakmakers of New York, in their fourth month of struggle for the five-day week. It was impossible for the convention to do anything but endorse the fight.

Condition of the Unions and the Problem of Organising the Unorganised.

Despite the favourable conditions of the past year, with industry running at top speed and large masses of unorganised workers moving towards organisation, the American Federation of Labour continued to lose in membership. From 2,877,296 in 1925, the number fell to 2,813,910 in 1926. Even this figure does not show the real loss; for although the miners union is reported at the same strength as last year, yet it is quite well-known that this union has lost 100,000 members, due to the disrupting tactics of Lewis and to the pressure of the employers.

Not a word was said in the convention about organising the half-million workers in the steel industry. Apparently the officials are ready to abandon these workers to the Steel Trust. This completely hopeless attitude was clearly exhibited in the separate gathering of the Metal Trades Department, where it was announced that the little union of Steel Workers (about 10,000 highly skilled men) had withdrawn from the Department, and it was reported that this was accepted without question because the Metal Department had no contact whatever with the Steel industry — and apparently expects to have no contact in the future.

It was to make a demonstration in the direction of organising the automobile workers that caused the convention to be assembled in Detroit, the automobile center of America. After the employers associations had greeted the convention with such public hostility, and even forced the churches to join them in rebuffing the A. F. of L., a great pessimism settled over the officials. The metal trades unions had already, in separate meeting, declared their helplessness in face of the automobile industry, and passed the problem over to the general convention. There a resolution was adopted calling for an organisation campaign, but immediately after the convention was over it was announced that application of the resolution would be "postponed".

Principal Results of the Convention.

The convention of the A. F. of L. in Detroit may be summed up in a few points.

1. It showed that the Amsterdam International is begging the A. F. of L. to take over its direction upon any terms demanded; this invitation is being accepted by the A. F. of L., over half of whose constituent membership is already affiliated to the industrial secretariats.

2. The A. F. of L. is "interfering in the internal affairs" of the CROM (Mexican Federation of Labour) in the interests of the Catholic Church and American imperialism, in such a manner as to threaten the disruption of the Pan-American Federation of Labour.

3. Employers in the steel and automobile industries have served notice upon the A. F. of L. to "keep out"; all signs point to the abandonment of all efforts to organise these unorganised industries.

4. The one remaining mass union in America, the United Mine Workers, is in a deep crisis, and threatened with destruction. In this situation the reactionary Lewis raises the issue of "Moscow" against the Brophy opposition, showing its intention of splitting the union rather than give up power.

5. The B & O Plan, labour banks, and trade union capitalism is again taken as the basic platform of the A. F. of L., while class collaboration is continued in all other fields. The formation of a labour party is rejected, collaboration with the Republican and Democratic parties continued.

6. War to the death is declared against Soviet Russia, and against the forces of revolution in the American labour movement. But this declaration comes at a time when the communists are winning control of entire unions, and leading mass strikes, after defeating the bureaucrats at several points in the labour front.

Thus we see the clear crystallisation within the American labour movement of that same alignment of forces that characterises the international field at the present time — on the one side, Russia and the forces of proletarian revolution, on the other side, America and the forces of capitalism. And while in

America the forces of revolution show themselves at their weakest point, yet here also they are growing step by step, and challenging the domination of imperialism and its agents. At the very heart of the citadel of reaction, the American Federation of Labour, the proletarian revolution raises its head and becomes the dominant issue.

The Revolutionising of the Labour Movement in Poland.

By K. Leski (Warsaw).

Precisely on the ninth anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution the proletariat of Warsaw furnished a proof of its class consciousness. It furnished the proof that its advance-guard is taking the lead in determined struggle against the fascist dictatorship of Pilsudski. This is to be seen by the elections held on the 7th November of the Health Insurance authorities of the town of Warsaw. The revolutionary anti-fascist elements went to the poll as "Workers Left" and emerged from the elections with an overwhelming victory. The "Workers Left" obtained 12,544 votes and thereby returned 21 candidates, that is a quarter of the total representation.

The candidates put forward by the Polish Socialist Party (P.P.S.) and the reformist trade unions received altogether only 9948 votes and lost one seat.

The Christian Democrats promoted and financially supported by the factory owners, suffered a complete defeat; they lost half of their seats and the number of their votes sank to 7000. The National Labour Party, which after the May putch went over to the fascist camp of Pilsudski, received only 1148 votes. The reformist Jewish-socialist "Bund" polled 1175 votes.

The victory of the "Workers Left" is of the greater importance as it was obtained under the most fearful terror on the part of the fascist government and the bourgeoisie and their confederates, the leaders of the P. P. S.

The elections of the Health Insurance Authorities were the first elections to be held after the May putch, the first elections which have taken place under the fascist dictatorship. It therefore bears an outspokenly political character, and the Warsaw police, at the head of which there stands the notorious Gorzechowski, a member of the P. P. S. used every means in order to throttle the hated "Workers Left".

The election Committee of the "Workers Left" was subjected to constant repression right from the beginning. Arrests of the members of the Committee, house-searches, threats and chicanery, were the order of the day. Even the election meetings of the Communist member of Parliament Sochacki were broken up by the police. All election literature of the election committee was confiscated and those responsible for its issue are being prosecuted.

The terror reached its highest point on the day of election. All the other parties taking part in the elections enjoyed complete freedom. The entire police was mobilised solely against the "Workers Left", and all those who conducted propaganda for list No. 6, the list of the "Workers Left" were arrested. According to the report of Pilsudski's organ, "Glos Pravdy" ("Voice of Truth"), 207 persons were arrested.

Nevertheless, in spite of the most fearful terror, in spite of the repressions on the part of the police and their friends the P. P. S., in spite of the shameless incitement of the press of the factory owners, of Pilsudski and of the P. P. S., the working class have given expression to their revolutionary will. They went to the poll determined not only to wrest the management of the Health Insurance from the dirty clutches of bourgeois exploiters and of the P. P. S., but also to demonstrate their readiness for a more extensive political fight against the fascist dictatorship which supports the exploiting class, and against the P. P. S. which renders loyal service to this dictatorship.

FOR THE UNITY OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

Progress towards Unity in Bulgaria.

By Bela Szanto (Moscow).

In the early part of August of this year, the whole of the Reformist Press was full of the "victory" of Amsterdam over the "Communists" in Bulgaria. Under the heading "How was the united front brought about in Bulgaria?" the "Press Reports" of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, in its No. 29 of August 3rd, 1926, dwells upon the bankruptcy of the Comintern and Profintern in Bulgaria, who are alleged to have done everything possible in order to secure, in the interests of their "Coup d'Etat policy" and through the "conquest" of this country, an opening for a sally against Europa. Now, however, according to the Amsterdam reports, the Communists in Bulgaria are completely beaten! And wherein does this defeat lie? Amsterdam does not preserve the secret very long and it transpires that the Bulgarian workers have learned of something better and "the united front of the trade unions has become an accomplished fact".

"This turn of affairs", says the Amsterdam "Press Reports" of August 3rd, "constitutes a fine testimony to the workers of the Balkans. They may well be proud that they are the first to come to their senses. When the basis upon which the agreement was arrived at is examined, it can be said that it corresponds in a large measure to the principles which are represented by the Amsterdam trade unions of all countries in relation to unity."

Amsterdam's "victory", however, does not appear to have lasted very long. As a matter of fact, Amsterdam people in Bulgaria "won" the victory over the Communists during the absence of the secretary of the Bulgarian Reformist Trade-Union Federation, **Grigor Danow**, who, when he returned from Paris, supported by the right-wing Reformists in the trade-union federation, discovered with his penetrating glance that the victory was no victory. He declared that if it was not possible to be certain of snatching the trade-union movement away from the "Bolsheviki", unity must be renounced. Danow then organised a national conference of Reformist trade unions for August 8th, in order to "rectify" the united platform agreed upon on July 21st. Although he met with strong opposition within the ranks of the Reformists, he succeeded with 38 votes against 23 in putting through a resolution which practically meant the break-up of the unity previously created.

Wherever there is a question of sabotaging the solidarity of the trade-union movement, **Johann Sassenbach**, the secretary of the Amsterdam Trade Union International must have a hand in the matter. In order to stiffen the back of the schismatic Danow, Sassenbach wrote him the following letter, which we have taken from the organ of the Bulgarian Social-Democrats, "Narod", of August 17th:

"International Trade Union Federation"
No. 52,
Amsterdam, Aug. 11th, 1926.

The Bulgarian Trade-Union Federation,

Nischka, No. 15.

Sofia.

Dear Danow,

Your letter of July 26th of this year (the letter was addressed to the Bulgarian Trade Union Centre in the absence of Danow to the Amsterdam International re points of the united platform. B. S.) arrived during my absence from Amsterdam and was immediately exploited by the Press. If I had been here, the communication published in the bulletin would not have had such a confident tone. I would not really have tried to criticise the results of the unity negotiations, but I should not have omitted to express my doubts upon the subject.

It is clear that the tasks which the Balkan Trade Union Conference set itself were not fulfilled. In reality, the decision

which was arrived at signifies that the Bulgarian Trade Union Centre withdraws from the International Trade-Union Federation, although this decision is obscured. In any case, you yourselves say that the decision arrived at does not afford a complete guarantee that a decision relating to the unconditional affiliation to the Amsterdam International will be taken at the First Congress.

Without doubt the Communists will again begin their machinations and disturb this unity. New quarrels will arise and to me it appears doubtful whether this will be of advantage to the Bulgarian trade-union movement. It also seems equally doubtful to me whether the Communists would support this programme, which in general is good. It cannot be denied that your organisation has to contend with difficulties; again, it cannot be denied that a real unity of the Bulgarian working class would be a great advantage. In any case, I consider it my duty to express my doubts.

I shall send a copy of my letter to the national centres of the Balkan countries, as also to the other organisations which took part in the Balkan Conference, so that no misunderstandings may arise.

With best wishes for the thriving development of the Bulgarian trade-union movement, I remain,

With kind regards,

International Trade-Union Federation,
Sassenbach, Secretary.

Suddenly the Amsterdam "Press Reports" also turned about. There was no further word of the Bulgarian workers' "coming to their senses" and shaking off the Communists; no further word of the "basis" upon which the unity was arranged and which corresponded in a large measure to the principles relating to unity as represented by the Amsterdam trade unions of all countries. No! Away with it!

The Amsterdam "Press reports" of August 31st published the following communication:

"The amalgamation negotiations held in Bulgaria between the National Centre, which is affiliated to the International Trade-Union Federation, and the Federation of "Independent" Workers' Associations have failed. It appears, however, that the agreements, which were arrived at while the general secretary of the Bulgarian Trade-Union Federation affiliated to Amsterdam was abroad and which would have led to withdrawal from the I. F. T. U., were so drawn up that they gave complete freedom of movement to the Communists and afforded not the slightest guarantee of equal exercise of influence by both parties, a fact which was triumphantly admitted by the Communists in their journals. The Bulgarian Trade-Union Federation, therefore, considered it necessary to make various alterations in regard to the agreement. As the proposal met with a refusal from the Independents, fusion is not to be thought of for the moment.

The independent trade unions of Bulgaria naturally acted differently. They issued a proclamation in which they disclosed the disruptive work of the Danow group in the Bulgarian Reformist trade-union federation and that of the Amsterdam International, and declared that they still stand for the united platform as agreed on July 21st, and called upon the Bulgarian workers to establish solidarity in the trade-union movement upon this basis. Further developments show that the Reformists in Bulgaria reckoned without due regard for the working masses, who are determined to have unity. The conferences held in the meanwhile between the Reformist metal workers' and the garment workers' unions have declared themselves in favour of unity and also in the other Reformist unions the tendency is in favour of effecting unity. How much ground the Reformists have lost in Bulgaria is to be seen from the congress of the union of Reformist printers, the pillar and chief support of the Reformist trade-union federation. This union held its congress on October 3rd and 4th and, in the question of, and on behalf of, unity, as well as on other subjects, arrived at important decisions, which might serve as a ringing memorial for the Reformists of all countries.

At the congress, the secretary of the union, **Grigor Danow**, who is at the same time secretary of the Reformist trade-union federation, delivered a speech against unity. He talked

wildly against the Communists and raised the bogey of the "Moscow danger". This resolution, however, did not gain a single vote at the congress; on the other hand, there was an overwhelming majority in favour of the following resolution:

"1. The congress condemns all those who, through the rejection of the unity platform of July 21st, frustrated unity; 2. the congress declares that, in view of the circumstance that the unity of the trade unions is not yet effected and that there are still two trade-union centres in Bulgaria, the amalgamation of the reformist and independent printers' organisations is only possible outside the two trade-union centres. The congress is prepared to enter immediately into negotiations with the Independents. The congress instructs the newly elected executive to start at once with the drafting of a united platform with the following points: a) The united association of printers of Bulgaria shall remain affiliated to the printers' international; b) as long as there are two trade-union centres in Bulgaria, the printers' association shall remain aloof from both and assumes the moral duty of acting as intermediary in the cause of unity in the trade-union movement; c) the united printers' association may not support, directly or indirectly, any political party, and its fighting task shall be to fight for the improvement of the position of its members by lawful methods."

The printers' association was the leading union in the Reformist trade-union federation. It marked out the line of advance. There is every indication that in this case, too, its congress resolutions will serve as a guide to the other Reformist trade unions. The congress deposed the former secretary of the association, Grigor Danow, the secretary of the Reformist trade-union federation. Danow, the enemy of trade-union unity, Danow, the disruptionist, was defeated in his own stronghold.

The line taken by the printers must be adopted by the other Reformist trade unions in Bulgaria; then unity will be realised over the heads of the splitting and in spite of the Reformist bureaucracy.

Amsterdam's Disruptive Activity among the Teachers.

By N. K.

Towards the end of July of this year there appeared in the Press an announcement that Amsterdam was arranging for August 1st in Paris a conference of teachers' organisations for the purpose of creating a new educational workers' international. Later it was stated in the Press that this conference had taken place, but the resolutions remained unknown. Only quite recently we succeeded in getting hold of the protocols of the Conference proceedings, which cast a vivid light upon this new action of Amsterdam, which is directed immediately against the existing (Paris) International of Educational Workers and aims at a split.

The fact of the matter is that the present teachers' international tends in two directions:

The first current is formed by the various pedagogic internationals of a Pacifist-clerical nature, which are connected in some way or other with the League of Nations and are dependent upon the ruling classes of the bourgeois States (for instance, the International of San Francisco, which is subsidised by the American multi-millionaries). These internationals do not make it their task to work for the professional interests of the teachers and they do not fight for the improvement of their material and legal position. They are merely a plaything in the hands of the governing classes and are lacking any independent policy.

The International of Educational Workers is the only real international trade-union organisation working from the class standpoint of the proletariat and striving genuinely for an improvement in the position of teachers. The International of Educational Workers is affiliated neither to Amsterdam nor yet to the Red International of Labour Unions but numbers in its ranks teachers' organisations belonging to one or another international, as also some which are regarded as "unattached".

It is nothing more than the circumstance that the International of Educational Workers has succeeded in actually realising a united front among teachers which causes Amsterdam

to regard it with disfavour and to oppose it by means of forming a teachers' international of its own. The present attempt on the part of Amsterdam to cause a split in the International Teachers' Association is not the first. In the year 1922, Amsterdam set up a special commission for the convening of a teachers' International, but on each occasion the arrangement came to nothing.

Two years ago Amsterdam finally created an international composed of officials and teachers, but, as Sassenbach himself stated, not a single teachers' organisation belongs to it.

The present attempt on the part of Amsterdam is, therefore, a continuation of the old policy of sabotage of the united front of the teachers.

At the conference held in Paris on August 1st, at which Sassenbach took the chair, there were present representatives of the national syndicate of France, of the Association of Viennese Teachers, of the Association of Austrian Teachers and of the Association of Elementary-School Teachers of Germany. The teachers' unions of England and Germany declined to participate in the conference.

The conference accepted the draft of the regulations for the prospective international, which, right in their very first point, set up restrictions for people holding other opinions. The clause reads: "The international may be entered by teachers' organisations of all educational branches, provided they acknowledge the principles and methods of the International Federation of Trade-Unions." The international will naturally be willing to co-operate with other organisations — "as long as these do not acknowledge principles which conflict with those of the International Federation of Trade-Unions."

If, for instance, a teachers' organisation does not approve of the principle of co-operation with the bourgeoisie, but advocates a genuine proletarian united front, it cannot hope to enter the international created by Amsterdam, for this is quite at variance with the tasks of the latter body.

At the conference, something was also said (and it must be borne in mind that all those present were friends of Amsterdam) in warning against the creation of a new international, as this step is a dangerous one, because the Communists could accuse them of practising disruption; it would perhaps be better to join the International of Educational Workers and thereby gain a majority.

The proposal was made that the Belgians and Luxemburgers should for the present not withdraw from the International of Educational Workers and that it should be permitted to belong to two internationals. As soon as Sassenbach observed that the delegates were wavering, he tried to disguise his overt efforts towards a split by proposing an elastic clause to the effect that "the conference acknowledges the necessity of establishing international connections between the teachers' organisations affiliated to the International Federation of Trade-Unions". In autumn, when the conference meets for the second time, the form of these international connections will also be fixed.

In a word; if we can, we will construct an international; if, however, it cannot be done, it will be a matter of no difficulty to give the organisation a shape which will disguise all traces of disruption.

A brief examination of this truly criminal action of the Sassenbachs suffices to show what grievous damage it might cause in the matter of unity and genuine fusion on the part of the masses of teachers, who, in a still greater degree than the workers of the bourgeois countries, are split up into different guilds and corporations. Amsterdam's attempt to destroy the international association of teachers which is already in existence constitutes open derision of the proletarian united front.

Once more, in this slight but graphic example, Amsterdam has disclosed its real spirit, which, in dull stupidity and fanaticism, envisages the expressions of proletarian solidarity with implacable animosity.

THE NINTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

The Women and October.

By F. Njurina (Moscow).

Nine years ago the whole world heard the mighty voice of the new master. In overalls and with horny hands, the workers of a sixth part of the globe assumed their place among those who had ruled and governed for centuries.

Nine years have since passed away. The greatest enthusiasm, iron will to conquer, unswerving belief in its own strength were necessary to smash all these enemies and with firm step proceed towards the appointed goal.

Constantly, without intermission, the Bolsheviki have stood for the idea that, among the defenders and creators of Socialism, woman has the ability to take up a position of equal right and equal worth.

At present, thousands and thousands of working women, peasant women and workers' wives are engaged in the various branches of Socialistic construction. Not only in the towns, where the cultural level of the proletariat is incomparably higher, where the power of old prejudices can be more easily overcome, but also in the village there are now not only thousands upon thousands of women working as members of the village soviets, but even some occupying the chair. The red kerchief, the symbol of the new woman has become a common sight not only in the factory and workshop, in the soviet, the trade union and co-operative society, but also in the village soviet, on peasant committees for mutual aid, at lecture courses, in schools and in the workers' colleges.

The best kind of work among the working women has proved to be the meetings of women's delegates.

The social traitors of every kind, who claim for themselves the monopoly as "fighters for true national democracy", have not even in their dreams pictured such thousand-strong meetings, at which the working and peasant women, quite openly and without the slightest compulsion, elect their female delegates and send them to learn to take part in the administration of the State and to become links between their constituents and the Soviet Power and the Communist Party.

Not only in the towns but also in the villages numerous meetings elect their female delegates who, afterwards report to them concerning their whole activity. Of such female delegates there were over half a million during the present half year and more than 10 million working women and peasant women took part in the election of these delegates. At the present time, the elections of the new delegates are just coming to a close and their number will probably be greater than ever. Moreover, in the elections of these new delegates still greater masses of working women, peasant women and workers' wives are participating this year than last.

The women workers and peasant women are not only called upon to elect their delegates. The new Soviet-elections which take place at open meetings of workers and employees of the industrial concerns and State institutes, at special meetings of female workers, of the women in cottage industry and of domestic employees, as well as at extensive gatherings of peasants, are participated in by a tremendous majority of the working women, who enjoy absolutely equal rights with the men to vote and also to be elected for the most responsible posts in the administration of the State, both in the lower and in the higher departments of the Soviet Power.

The activity and responsibility of the masses of women are made use of in the stupendous work of emancipating the female workers and peasant women from the economic fetters of everyday life (erections of day-nurseries, children's playgrounds and children's homes, soup kitchens and wash-houses), as also for the immense political work, with the object of defending the Republic of Labour against the attacks of open and secret enemies.

The female workers and peasant women long for peace, just as do Russian workers in general. The country needs peace for its constructive work. The female workers and peasant women of our country are prepared to make every possible sacrifice for peace and in the interests of peace. It is only when danger threatens the existence of the Soviet Power that the toilers of the Soviet country, and along with them the female workers and the peasant women, take their places in the ranks of the fighters. In our country there is no room for Imperialist thought. They know, however, full well that war and intervention cannot be combatted with pathetic sermons but only by means of a determined fight against capitalist society, which is incapable of existing without war, and that, in reality a fight against the possibility of attack upon the Soviet Union is possible only if the Soviet Republic is sufficiently strong and capable of resistance to deprive all enemies of the working class of every desire to intervene.

The toilers are most profoundly conscious of the international solidarity of the working class. The feeling of internationalism is one of the deep-lying feelings of the toilers in the Soviet Union and also of the working women. Who has not witnessed the enthusiasm with which the women workers and workers wives sacrificed their earrings, crucifixes and rings during the collection on behalf of the starving women workers and working men of Germany. The largest collecting rooms were overcrowded and no sacrifice would have been too great for the working women to make for the benefit of their German sisters.

The unparalleled, heroic struggle of the English miners calls forth from the working women of the Soviet Union a sympathy no less deep. Gifts are being constantly received, in addition to the voluntary deductions from wages. A special committee of women, attached to the Central Trade-Union Council of the Soviet Union for the support of miner's families has done magnificent work in this direction. With bated breath the working women of the Soviet Union await news concerning the progress of the strike and are ever ready to make fresh sacrifices in order to help the English workers.

The workers' delegations from various countries are always received with the utmost friendliness.

The working women of the Soviet Union repose the deepest faith in their sisters beyond the frontiers. They await with impatience the hour in which the proletariat of the Capitalist countries will finally rise for the decisive battle against the bourgeoisie.

From their own experience the working women of the Soviet Union know that the place of the working women of all countries is in the ranks of the proletarian fighters for the World-October. With their hands outstretched to them in the celebration of October, the working women of the Soviet Union call upon the working women of all countries to draw closer together to protect and to defend the only Workers' Republic in the world and to fight for the World-October.

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

The Bureaucracy of the Co-operative Societies against Support for the English Strike.

By Karl Bittel (Moscow).

No question in the whole activity of the international co-operative movement has previously demonstrated so clearly the fact that the bureaucracy of the co-operative mass organisations are on the side of the bourgeoisie and against the proletariat as has the question of the English miners' strike. This practical experience is so pronounced that it should serve as signal to proletarian members of the co-operative societies!

The slogan that "neutrality" is to be observed in relation to the English strike was issued by the International Co-operative Alliance. By its own attitude it gives a practical illustration of what is to be understood by this neutrality; all proposals for material, or, at least, moral, support have been turned down. At the same time, every effort to help has been declared a breach of the statutory principle of political neutrality. With incredible

cynicism, assistance was refused even when the reformist trade-union bureaucracy had to yield to the pressure of their own masses and the English co-operative societies were compelled, in order to save their own existence, to appease the indignation of the strikers (almost all of them members of co-operative societies) by arranging various measures of relief. Ever since their first telegram on April 23rd, the co-operative societies of the Soviet Union have constantly endeavoured to induce the Co-operative International to undertake a relief campaign, but at the last sitting of the Central Committee, held at Hamburg in the middle of October, it was clear that all their endeavours were utterly vain. Six months of urgent appeal, protests on the part of the proletarian opposition in the various countries, the cry for help coming from the starving children and women of the mining districts and even the difficult position into which numerous miners' co-operative societies have sunk, all failed to rouse the gentlemen from the neutral complacency. These co-operative leaders, May and Goedhart, joined the English leaders, Allan and Whitehead and the reactionary clique, Kaufmann and Kasch, in their extreme anti-Labour attitude. The monstrous import of this betrayal of Labour must now be energetically brought to the attention of the masses of the members of co-operative societies in every country. For it is eminently clear from this case that the co-operative movement is well on the way to becoming completely lost to the Labour movement and an object of the class politics of the bourgeoisie. The objective contemplated is unfeignedly to turn the proletarian co-operative organisation into a tool to be used against the class-conscious proletariat. These co-operative people, who have been joined by the Social-Democratic co-operative leaders, Renner, Freundlich, Serwy, Poisson, Thomas, Cerne, Johansson and Suter, not only look quietly on while the heroic front of the English miners is broken through starvation; they aggravate matters by withholding the relief work of the co-operative societies, which might have been of important assistance. Through their resolutions in London, Antwerp and Hamburg, the Co-operative International issued the slogan for the blacklegging of the strike and the betrayal of the fighting miners. This disgraceful work of the co-operative leaders can be set right only through the masses in the co-operative movement!

We have already stated that the headquarters of all reaction among the co-operative leaders lies within the German co-operative bureaucracy. It is true that in that country less than in any other could they prevent the proletarian opposition working with a certain amount of success through the German co-operative societies in support of the miners' strike. Despite all threats to expel the members in question and even to have the police dissolve the respective co-operative societies themselves appeals were on several occasions complied with. For this reason, the leaders issued a proclamation in the "Konsumgenossenschaftliche Rundschau" (Hamburg, October 16th, 1926), describing support of the English strike by a co-operative society as unscrupulous and pernicious lawlessness instigated by the "tools of Moscow". Whoever is exercising proletarian solidarity is threatened with expulsion and the society in question with dissolution by the police.

In view of this situation, the successes already achieved by the proletarian co-operative opposition are all the more remarkable. A number of co-operative societies with proletarian tendency, such as Halle, Schwarzenberg, Nürtingen, Suhl, Gräfenroda and Remscheid, have proved their practical solidarity. There were lively discussions with the reformists in several of the big societies, including Berlin, Hamburg, Cologne and Leipzig, the outcome of which was the rejection of the proposals. In the same way a Communist proposition was defeated at the Thüringia Co-operative Conference. Regular contributions are made by the staffs of a number of co-operative societies, and especially by that of the Co-operative Wholesale Society in Hamburg (not, of course, by the managers and other higher officials of the latter). Without doubt, the opposition has succeeded in exciting more interest in the question of the English strike than in any previous question. Thereby the proletarian activity in the co-operative movement has been enhanced. Here are two characteristic examples: In Nürtingen (Württemberg) the Communist fraction at the general meeting proposed that 100 marks should be sent out of the profits to the English miners, whereupon the Social-Democrats (despite strict injunctions from Mr. Feuerstein) moved that the sum should be increased to 200 marks, and this amendment was carried unanimously. Again in Württemberg, at Göppingen, the

Communists made a proposal which was ruled out by the chairman; thereon a collection was at once made and the Social-Democratic delegates also contributed. In other co-operative societies there have been heftily discussions, which, as in the case of Berlin, led to the breaking up of the meetings.

In Czechoslovakia, the Czech co-operative movement has officially organised a strikers' relief and remitted sums through the centre. The co-operative society congress held at the end of September in Pilsen sent a message of sympathy to the strikers. In Great Britain itself, the co-operative societies, and especially those in the strike districts, are forced to give support. The central fund, which was instituted after a hard fight on the part of the opposition, has collected nearly 40,000 sterling, against which credit-notes have been distributed in the mining districts.

In the Soviet Union, the co-operative societies are linked up with the unparalleled relief campaign of the trade unions, which up to the present have sent over a total of 888,000 pounds sterling. It should be especially pointed out that the distinctly Social-Democratic co-operative movements in Belgium and Austria have done nothing at all for the strike.

Apart from the shining example of the Soviet Union and in a certain measure that of the Czech co-operative movement, which is under Communist influence, the co-operative bureaucracy has endeavoured in a more pronounced way than ever before to separate the co-operative societies from the proletarian class-front. This strong pressure has increased the strength of the opposition. The occasion is a favourable one for ranging the million-strong masses of the proletarian membership in battle array against the anti-Labour bureaucracy and to show that the co-operative movement can be a useful link in the international Labour movement.

THE WHITE TERROR

The Case of Max Hölz.

By Felix Halle (Berlin).

Max Hölz did not spring from the proletariat of the big towns but of the country. After leaving school he first worked as a farm hand. The intelligent youth, however, made the acquaintance of an engineer, who took him to England with him and thus he gained a wider horizon. Strictly educated as a Catholic, Hölz, right throughout his youth had petty bourgeois ideals. He was desirous of obtaining a better position in life for himself in order to be able to recompense his parents in their old age for the trouble and sacrifice they had had to undergo to rear and educate their children.

It was not until the world war that Max Hölz began to concern himself with social problems. He was first drawn into the economic and political struggles of the working class in the post-war period. In the year 1919 one third of the population of the little town of Falkenstein, in Vogtland, was unemployed. Max Hölz was elected to the Unemployed Council. As he very energetically championed the interests of the unemployed he soon came into conflict with the laws of the bourgeois State. Persecuted for having caused disturbances, he had to flee.

It was in this period of illegality that he made his first attempt to obtain a fundamental knowledge regarding the proletarian class struggle. His teacher was the former social-democratic member of the Reichstag, Rühle, who at that time had become a typical ultra-Left supporter of the K. A. P. D. (Communist Labour Party). Hölz very rapidly grasped the world outlook and the aims of Marxism, but as regards the methods of the class struggle he never obtained a Leninist training. Dominated by a passionate temperament, he exerted a suggestive force upon the masses.

In 1920, on the occasion of the Kapp Putsch, Hölz immediately emerged from his illegality and with his few hundred armed proletarians, who nevertheless yielded him unquestioning obedience, succeeded in exercising such a power in Vogtland that the Government saw itself compelled to despatch a greater force of Reichswehr troops against him. The Vogtland prole-

ariat was unable to stand against this superior force. After his band of followers had been broken up Hölz fled to Czechoslovakia.

The German Government demanded his arrest and extradition as a common robber and incendiary. The Czech courts, however, were compelled, owing to the proofs brought before by the Defence, to recognize that the actions of Hölz did not constitute common crimes, but military measures in civil war, and therefore Hölz was able to claim right of asylum as a political fugitive. The Czech Government thereupon refused to extradite Max Hölz. In the proceedings connected with the demand for his extradition the lying assertions of the bourgeois press that Max Hölz was a common criminal were officially refuted.

Hölz did not, however, remain for long in secure asylum abroad, but like a true revolutionary and in spite of the fact that over a dozen warrants were out for his arrest, returned secretly to Germany and carried on agitation for the proletarian revolution. The solidarity of his class comrades shielded him for over a year from his persecutors. The intensification of the situation in Central Germany in March 1921, the act of provocation by Severing and Hörsing in calling in the Scnupo (Defensive Police), again summoned Hölz to the scene of struggle. He immediately appeared as the recognised military leader at the head of the fighting proletariat of Central Germany. After the defeat of the working class Hölz again went into hiding. Owing to treachery he finally fell into the hands of the authorities.

The trial of Max Hölz before the Special Court was dominated by the demand of the bourgeoisie for vengeance for his having attempted to call into question their rule. It was demanded that Hölz should not be tried and sentenced as a political prisoner, but that he should be branded as a common criminal. A reward of over 50,000 marks was offered merely for evidence that should serve to "convict" Max Hölz. All this hounding down did not fail to achieve its result. While Hölz's troops were crossing the Manor of Roitz an estate owner named Hess was shot. The prosecuting authorities now endeavoured to make Hölz out to be the murderer of this estate owner. Although at the preliminary proceedings the widow of the deceased, at repeated examinations, had not recognised Hölz as the perpetrator at the main proceedings and under the pressure of the whole atmosphere of suggestion prevailing, she indicated Max Hölz as the one who had fired the shot. A member of Hölz's band was also found who declared that he had seen Hölz shoot the estate owner. Another man of his band, who had previously been given three years imprisonment for fraud, who claimed to be a writer and journalist and had joined the "Red Army" as a reporter (in reality as a spy), stated that he had heard Hölz say that he, along with his followers, had shot the estate owner.

These statements did not suffice even the bourgeois court to condemn Hölz as a murderer as the Prosecution desired. The court found a way out by bringing in a verdict of an unpremeditated killing, that is, manslaughter. The sentencing of Hölz to 15 years imprisonment for manslaughter with loss of civil rights enabled the court also in other cases to represent him as a man who did not have much consideration for the lives of his fellow-men.

At his trial Hölz admitted all his revolutionary acts and only emphatically denied the charge of murder and manslaughter of the estate owner and two other alleged attempts to kill. After being sentenced Hölz consistently characterised the sentence on account of manslaughter as an error of justice, and took up the fight against this. Hölz spoke the truth. Now, after five and a half years, the one who actually committed the deed for which Hölz was condemned has made a confession before a notary and will give himself up within the next few days. Following on this confession the chief witness for the prosecution has now declared that his statement at the trial was due to mistaken identity. Even the widow of the deceased, Frau Hess, has admitted in a written declaration that she may have been mistaken in her accusation of Hölz.

Max Hölz has been condemned to a total sentence of life long imprisonment and permanent loss of all rights. With the fresh evidence the Hess case completely falls to the ground.

As no person found guilty of high treason is to be found in prison — at least so far as members of the Right Parties are concerned —, the crime of high treason for which Hölz can now only be held guilty, must, after five and a half years imprisonment, be pronounced to have been expiated. Even according to bourgeois law there no longer exists any reason for keeping Max Hölz in prison. The working class must therefore demand his release all the more energetically.

Letter from Roumanian Prisoners.

To the London Workers!

(c/o the Central Committee of the C. P. G. B.)

Dear Comrades,

We succeeded in sending out this letter from the military prison of Yilava, a letter which is destined to convey you our fraternal greetings and to strengthen the connections between the Roumanian and the British proletariat.

In the damp underground prison cells of this former fortress, behind prison bars, we have read with excitement of the heroic struggles of the British working class against the offensive of the capitalists, who want to cut the wages and lengthen the working hours above all for the miners, but later on for all other sections of the working class and finally for all workers of the world. We were whole-heartedly with you, with our five million British fellow-workers in their great struggle of the general strike, which was betrayed by the reformist leaders in Great Britain and by the Amsterdamers of all countries as well as by the international social democracy.

We have observed with particular enthusiasm the activity of the Communist Party, of the Communist International and of the Russian working class for the support of this gigantic struggle.

We also watch with enthusiasm the continuation of the struggle of our fellow-workers, the British miners, and we are firmly convinced that the working class of all countries will quickly free itself from the influence of the opportunists and support the British miners morally and materially in order to assure their victory and that of the whole working class.

We, workers and peasants of Rumania, are with you in all these struggles with our whole hearts, at a time when we ourselves have to lead the hard and terrible fight against reaction and terror, which rules over the whole Balkans. Tortures and murder are the daily weapons of our ruling classes. Murderous are the conditions in the prisons.

We are in the military prison of Yilava, a fortress near Bukarest, we are 87 political prisoners under sentences from one year to hard labour for life. Among us are factory workers, who have fought among their fellow-workers for their ideas and have formed communist organisations; revolutionary peasants from Bessarabia, who fought in the insurrection of Tatarbunar or worked for the enlightenment of the oppressed and terrorised Bessarabian people; Bessarabian intellectuals, sentenced for the same actions; intellectuals from Old Rumania and workers from the occupied territories, Siebenbuergen and Banat. Recently Comrade Boris Stefanov, a former Member of Parliament of the workers and peasants of the Dobrudja, was brought here. He was arrested because he came to our country recently in order to publish a legal workers paper for the defence of the interests of the workers, peasants, artisans as well as of the intellectuals and the oppressed national minorities. It was also intended to take Comrade Pavel Tkatchenko here, but he was murdered as many others, in Bessarabia.

Life is very hard here. We are locked up in underground and damp cells; our health is in constant danger. Many of us suffer from rheumatism others from consumption. We demanded repeatedly that these comrades should receive medical treatment, but it was refused. Besides, not even in hospital our people are taken care of. Some days ago the Bessarabian peasant Vasil Vremenko was taken to the Bukarest military hospital, because he had an ulcer at his foot as a consequence of maltreatment by the police during the examination. In hospital, however, he was forced to do heavy work and when he refused, the hospital commander, a military physician, ordered that Vremenko should be taken into the punishment cell, that notorious upright

coffin, despite the fact that Vremenko could hardly stand on his feet.

The food is absolutely insufficient. 13 Lei are provided for each of us a day, but 800 gram black bread cost 9 Lei and two pounds of bread 24 Lei. Thus we only receive a weak soup and three times a weak polenta. We get only 300 gram soap a month and must use that also for our own laundry. However, even these rations will be shortened now. The prison administration has already received orders in this respect from the War Minister. Besides there is the continuous increase of prices. In the civil prison the situation is still worse, there the prisoners receive only 6 Lei per day. We get neither blankets nor underwear from the prison administration and there are only 31 dishes for 87 prisoners. For more than two months we have had no baths and are threatened with diseases.

Besides all that we are exposed to the continuous attack of the administration, to insults and punishments, among them that of the punishment cell, this horrible torture. It was attempted to force us to hard labour (cleaning of toilets and heavy rural work), but neither persuasion nor tortures could induce us to do it.

The contact with our families is systematically cut off. If they are allowed, however, to see us, then only behind iron bars. Letters, which are not written in Rumanian language, are not delivered. Recently we were informed that prisoners would from now on no more be transported in cars, but would have to walk to Bukarest. We have immediately protested against this menacing measure and made alarm because this measure was obviously intended to provide opportunities to shoo people still more easily "whilst attempting to escape". Our cells are not heated at all. Further, we will have to fight still a great struggle in order to get blankets for the winter.

Murderous attempts are made against us. At light day people shoot at us. Only by a fortunate circumstance four of our comrades escaped death. We were compelled to go twice on hunger strike as a protest against these attempts.

By a fortunate accident the book "Les Bourreaux" (The Hangmen) by Henri Barbusse got into our hands and it was read to the Bessarabian peasants. They are quite enthusiastic and want to describe to Comrade Barbusse a number of happenings which he might publish.

The support that we receive from the Red Aid is insufficient, for the terror in our country prevents in many cases the relief work.

We have seen that the press of your party had treated our case and that of comrades in other prisons repeatedly and we thank you for your help, which came in time and proved the strength of international organisation. At present we address ourselves to you, because you were the first to take the initiative for an international struggle against the white terror in Roumania.

As far as we could, we have watched from here all your campaigns which found so much response among the British, and particularly amongst the London workers, and which strengthened our spirit and our belief in the world revolution. At the same time, however, we found, that your campaigns were handicapped by the fact that no direct contact existed between you and us, the victims of white terror. The purpose of this letter is the establishment of such a direct contact, as we are convinced that the struggle against prison barbarities and for the rights of the political prisoners in the dungeons of the Roumanian Oligarchy, for the enforcement of a general political and military amnesty as well as for offences in connection with the agrarian reform, — that the struggle against white terror in general and the Communist Party of Roumania in particular, concerns not only the workers and peasants of Roumania, but the workers and peasants of all countries under the leadership of the Communist Parties. Therefore we urge the London working class, which has always supported us, to accept the patronage over the political prisoners in the Yilava prison, which was filled with communists since 1919 and will not become empty, till the workers and peasants of Roumania, together with the workers and peasants of the whole world, will overthrow the oligarchy, which can only rule with blackest terror.

Long live the international solidarity of the workers, peasants and the national minorities!

Long live the international struggle for the abolition of white terror in the Balkans, Poland, Italy, Spain and the colonies!

Long live the general political and military amnesty!

Long live the rights of the political prisoners in the Roumanian prisons!

(87 signatures)

An Increased Campaign is Necessary to Rescue Sacco and Vanzetti.

Although the execution of the two revolutionaries, Sacco and Vanzetti, has been postponed, a new trial has not been granted. American class justice is persisting in a cruelty unexampled in history by causing for years the Damocles sword of a threatening execution to hang over the heads of the two condemned revolutionaries. The monstrous lust for revenge which is displayed in the attitude of the American authorities is due to the fact that Sacco and Vanzetti, of whose innocence nobody doubts any longer, have in their time carried on a powerful campaign of agitation against American justice and its revolting methods.

It is necessary therefore to increase the pressure on the part of the European and American proletariat. In Europe there offers at present a special opportunity of doing this. Mr. Fuller, the Governor of Massachusetts, that State in which Sacco and Vanzetti have been imprisoned and condemned, has arrived in Europe (France). Fuller has the right to pardon the condemned and to remove those judges who abuse their office. Up to now he has not shown any intention either to pardon Sacco and Vanzetti or to remove judge Webster Thayer, who is the chief criminal in the Sacco and Vanzetti trial and who bears the responsibility not only for causing the trial to be dragged on for years but also for the recent refusal to grant a new trial.

In these circumstances the mass protests must make it clear to Governor Fuller who is now on a pleasure trip, that the international working class will not surrender Sacco and Vanzetti to American blood justice. In the meantime the movement on behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti is growing. In Paris a tremendous protest meeting has been held. At this meeting, Sacco and Vanzetti were elected as honorary chairmen. A number of other meetings were also held in France, for instance in Marseilles. It is significant that the meeting in Marseilles was convened by an antifascist Committee of Action.

The movement is likewise growing in Norway. The Trade Union Federation in Oslo has initiated a protest action. Demonstrations have also been held in Germany, Austria and in Czechoslovakia. Sections of the bourgeoisie are also raising their voice against the monstrous scandal. Thus, just recently, a number of members of a French group of the "Inter-Parliamentary Union" — of course in very moderate tones — called the attention of the government of the United States to the fact that justice and humanity should be applied in the case of Sacco and Vanzetti.

The action for Sacco and Vanzetti must be continued still further until they are released from the dungeons of the American bourgeoisie.

WORKERS' DELEGATIONS IN THE SOVIET UNION

Declaration of the Second French Youth Delegation.

To the Working Class and Peasant Youth of the U. S. S. R.

The Second French Youth Delegation is leaving the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics today. We hasten to let you know our impressions of the tour which we have just finished. We thank the entire working class youth of the Soviet Union for the welcome given us and their great hospitality.

During the four weeks of our investigations, we have obtained some valuable and important documents.

We wish to state, by way of reply to the lies of our bourgeoisie, that we have not seen what other people have wanted us to see, but just what we have wanted to see ourselves. We have been granted the widest facilities for our enquiries. The plan of work we traced out has been entirely carried out. All doors of the factories, works, institutions and rest-homes have been thrown open wide for us.

During our work we have maintained continuous contact with the wide masses of workers and their organisations, which have aided us in our task.

Wherever we went, the workers and peasants expressed great satisfaction with the Soviet regime. They are all ready to defend the Soviet Union against the attacks of the bourgeoisie.

In the U. S. S. R. all those who work who have attained their eighteenth year have the right to be elected. Workers, peasants, women, soldiers, the youth, all administer and direct the political and economic affairs of the country themselves. They have wide control over those whom they elect, no matter in what field they may be. The youth and the women participate actively in the life of the Soviets. It is not a rare thing to encounter young workers as presidents of Soviets.

In the factories we visited, we noticed a rise in the level of production which has now reached the pre-war level. On various occasions we have observed the development of the economic situation of the U. S. S. R. It was held back in its development by the burdensome heritage of tsarist industry, but with the entry of a great number of skilled workers into production, with the utilisation of highly perfected machinery, we now see industry developing more and more along the path of Socialism.

The factories are run by Red directors. We were touched by the modesty of these directors. The majority are former workers who had been deported by the tsarist bourgeoisie. Side by side with these Red directors, technical directors are at work in close collaboration. Contact between them and the workers is maintained through the factory committees. These latter are elected by the workers and have a great influence in getting the collective agreements and the code of labour laws properly applied, and in continually improving the conditions of the workers. The workers are interested in running their factories. In the productive conferences, they give their advice on various questions of interest to the factory and on the increase of production.

The majority of the workers receive adequate wages. The unskilled workers get wages on which it is rather difficult for them to live. We understand why such a difference of wages exists, for the necessity of increasing production puts the skilled workers in a more favourable position. Measures have been taken to secure a rapid increase of the lower grade salaries.

The delegation was glad to see the care which is given to the new generation. Women get two months leave before and two months after childbirth. There are creches and kindergartens in the factories. The women can go to these creches during working hours and nurse their children.

We have also noticed institutions for **vagrant or orphan children** where the latter are brought up with a school and trade education which will turn them into good citizens and workers.

Injured or invalid workers receive their full wages until completely cured. We have studied the social insurance system and declare it to be very satisfactory.

The former palaces and castles of the bourgeoisie have been transformed into sanatoria and rest-homes where hundreds of thousands of workers go every year.

From the point of view of social aid, the Soviet Union occupies the first place in the world.

The youth has extremely good conditions of labour. From 14 to 15 years of age, young workers are at work four hours and from 16 to 18 years, six hours per day. They go to factory apprenticeship schools where they get a complete technical training. Juveniles of 14 to 18 years get a minimum holiday of four weeks. As soon as they enter the factory, the youth get a fairly high salary which is raised every six months according to their qualification.

The revolution has also brought great advantages to the peasants. The state lends some of the money to the peasants to purchase agricultural machinery. With this machinery, they are getting accustomed to work collectively. The peasant youth is now able to be trained. Numerous agricultural schools have already been founded which give the young peasants a good technical training.

By various visits to the Red Army, we have been able to be convinced that it is the only working class army which will defend the First Proletarian Government and aid the world proletariat in its fight for liberty. The Red soldier enters this army with pride. Once in the army, he is not merely a machine, like in bourgeois armies, but a conscious fighter who observes discipline which is imposed by consent. Young workers or peasants joining the Red Army who happen to be illiterate soon learn how to read and write. The young soldiers are being continually educated. Inside the Red Army, great political work is conducted by the nuclei of the Party and Communist Youth.

In Odessa, we were acquainted with the consequences of the French Occupation in 1918. Under the direction of General Anselme the French killed, shot, hung and arrested uninterruptedly.

The delegation protest indignantly against these acts of the French Government quite worthy of the capitalist regime it represents. We salute the sailors of the Black Sea who fraternised with the revolutionary workers of Odessa, and the numerous victims of French imperialism.

The delegation is firmly convinced that all the achievements mentioned above have only been possible thanks to the proletarian dictatorship and under the guidance of the Bolshevik Party and Communist Youth which have now nearly two million members.

Everyday we see arming against the U. S. S. R. the capitalist forces who want to see this country crushed. The workers and peasants of the U. S. S. R. who support the Soviet government more than ever, are firmly determined to defend their conquests. But the aid of the international proletariat is indispensable.

Therefore, it will be our duty to make this aid a reality and to combat the lies circulated by the French bourgeoisie. We will be able to do this. One by one, we will be able to shatter all their arguments. We will enable the entire French proletariat to learn about the U. S. S. R. in its true colours, its strength and its weaknesses. We will succeed in grouping the French workers around the U. S. S. R. in the struggle that has to be conducted against the world bourgeoisie.

In France, we want to follow the example of the U. S. S. R. and work for the overthrow of our bourgeoisie, but we know that first of all we must bring about the unity of the working class and the working youth as also national and international trade union unity.

We declare that we are all in favour of the united front of the workers for the struggle against the bourgeoisie. We declare that we will work in our respective trade unions for the realisation of trade union unity.

The delegation has decided that this declaration will serve as a basis for conducting a campaign in France to make the U. S. S. R. known.

We are leaving the Soviet Union with an excellent impression and increased determination to fight for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the triumph of the world revolution.

Long live the alliance of the Soviet and the French young workers and peasants!

Long live the united front of struggle of the young workers of the whole world!

Long live trade union unity!

Long live the coming definite victory of the world proletariat against the bourgeoisie!

Leningrad, October 28, 1926.

Signed:

Gaucher, Coutheillas, Fleuriet, Roguier, Tauleigne, Martinet, Malot, Mansencal, Forgeron, Coupaye, Guidici.